Identity Development and Feelings of Fulfillment: Mediators of Future Civic Engagement

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Previous research on youth civic engagement has focused on the direct association between previous civic behaviors and future civic participation. However, as with most activities, adolescents will not continue to participate if they do not derive fulfillment, enjoyment and meaning from the activity. To explore this, we examine the relation between civic engagement in adolescence and in adulthood, and we also examine whether being engaged and fulfilled by the civic activity in adolescence and forming a positive citizenship identity partially mediates this relation. In order to test this hypothesis, we use a large, longitudinal dataset of African American and European American youth who were followed throughout adolescence and into young adulthood. One wave of the data collection took place during and in close geographic proximity to the Million Man March, thus providing a salient civic opportunity for a majority of the participants. The implications of our findings are discussed in the context of program and policy development.

We begin this paper with a brief discussion of the importance of adolescent positive citizenship. For a more comprehensive discussion, please refer to our previous report on the association between social interactions and citizenship behaviors (Zaff, Malanchuk, Eccles & Michelsen, 2002). In the remainder of the introduction, we discuss the hypothesized role that deriving enjoyment, fulfillment and meaning plays in perpetuating civic behaviors.

Positive citizenship (the act of making one's home, school, community and/ or society a better place) provides needed services to the community and society, and can also promote psychological, social, and intellectual growth for the young

citizen (Aguirre International, 1999; Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Janoski, Musick & Wilson, 1998; Johnson, Beebe, Mortimer & Snyder, 1998). Unfortunately, relatively few youth participate in civic activities, with fewer than 50% participating in volunteer activities throughout the 1990's and the early 2000's (e.g., Harris Interactive, 2001; National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998; U.S. Department of Education, 1999) and fewer than 40% of eligible youth voting in presidential elections. Non-presidential election years give an even bleaker view of youth political involvement, with fewer than 20% of youth going to the polls. Furthermore, only 14% of adolescents and young adults between 15 and 24 years of age report ever participating in a club or organization that directly deals with politics or the government (National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998). Considering that nearly 80% of youth report being members of one or more non-political activities or clubs per year (Ehrle & Moore, 1999; National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998), the key issue is how to engage youth in civic activities.

Positive Citizenship Identity and the Fulfillment and Enjoyment of Civic Activities.

Several researchers have hypothesized that civic engagement predicts the development of a positive citizenship identity (e.g., Youniss & Yates, 1999). This identity is hypothesized, in turn, to predict future civic engagement. This hypothesis is consistent with Erikson's theory of development in which he posits that an identity search begins in early adolescence and that internal and external experiences during childhood and adolescence are accumulated and lead to a

commitment to particular values and beliefs (Erikson, 1968). Erikson theorized that the achievement of an identity occurs by the end of adolescence, but for many the search for an identity continues into adulthood. To examine this theory with regard to citizenship, researchers have focused on whether participation in non-civic and civic activities leads to a positive citizenship identity, beginning with the assumption that participation in civic activities is equivalent to a civic identity. For instance, in one study, consistent participation in extracurricular activities during high school was found to be related to a 50% greater likelihood of voting and volunteering in young adulthood (Zaff, Moore, Romano Papillo & Williams, in press), with another study finding that participation in instrumental activities is associated with later political involvement (Glanville, 1999). Research results also suggest that engaging youth specifically in civic activities in adolescence predicts future civic identity and future civic participation (Hahn, Leavitt & Aaron, 1994; Youniss, McLellan, Su & Yates, 1999).

Caution should be taken when interpreting these results, because positive citizenship identity was defined by the researchers as being continued participation in a civic activity. However, participation is not equivalent to a sustained commitment to civic values and beliefs. Other researchers have examined the association between identity development in other domains and later activity participation. This includes an emerging arts or athletics identity being associated with continued participation in the arts and athletics (Fredericks, Alreld-Liro, Hrnde, Eccles, Patrick & Ryan, 2002), vocational identity being associated with future vocational activities (Vondracek & Skorikov, 1997), and a more developed

racial identity being associated with participation in campus organizations committed to racial causes (Mitchell & Dell, 1992). In summary, then, the association between present and future civic engagement is potentially more complex than a direct relation, with a commitment to civic values and beliefs potentially acting as a mediator between current and future civic participation.

A positive citizenship identity might only be one mediator of future civic engagement, with another potential mediator being how fulfilling and enjoyable youth perceive the initial activity to have been. For instance, researchers have found that youth are more likely to benefit from activities they find engaging and which require considerable concentration and skills (Larson, 2001). Additional support comes from research on "flow" (i.e., a balance of challenge and skill in an activity that leads to an optimal experience) that has shown that youth who derive high enjoyment in their respective activities, who are challenged by the activity and who have an undivided interest in the activity are subsequently the most engaged in their respective activities (Askawa & Csikszentmihalyi, 1998; Moneta & Czikszentmihalyi, 1996; Rathunde & Csikszentmihalyi, 1993). These findings of fulfillment and enjoyment are particularly salient since happiness predicts an increased commitment to volunteer activities (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001), thus suggesting an association between civic activity fulfillment and the development of a civic identity. Engaging youth by giving them a voice in program design and implementation, instilling a sense of accomplishment and worth in youth, and having teachers who are prepared to lead programs are some of the factors that predict youth being fulfilled in the programs (Garvey, McIntyre-Craig & Myers, 2000; Katula, 2000; Morgan & Streb, 2000).

In summary, the empirical literature suggests that youth developing a civic identity and being fulfilled by and enjoying a civic activity predicts future civic engagement in adulthood. However, there has not been a study that has examined this process over time, the goal of the present study. More specifically, we analyzed data from a large, longitudinal survey of youth who were followed throughout high school and into young adulthood in order to address the following hypotheses (see Figure 1 for the theoretical model): 1) civic engagement in late adolescence predicts civic engagement in young adulthood; 2) the association between civic engagement in late adolescence and young adulthood is partially mediated by how fulfilling the activity in adolescence was and by whether the youth had developed a positive citizenship identity; 3) the association between fulfillment and participation in young adulthood is partially mediated by the development of a positive citizenship identity. The dataset that we use is particularly interesting, because an opportunity to participate in a civic activity in late adolescence, the Million Man March, was very salient for a majority of the sample.

Method

Data Source

The data come from The Maryland Adolescent Development in Context study (MADIC). There were two main purposes of MADIC: to examine social contextual influences of behavioral choices and to examine various developmental trajectories during adolescence. This survey is intentionally rich with information

on family background, parenting, peer influence, schools, neighborhoods, ethnic socialization, and several individual-level variables. The data were also collected during a historical period in which a major opportunity to participate in a positive citizenship activity was present: The Million Man March. Much organization of the march took place in Prince George's County, Maryland, a historically African American community and the location of the survey.

The survey was begun in 1991 and consisted of a total of six waves (beginning of 7th grade, summer between 7th and 8th grade, 8th grade, summer after 11th grade, summer/fall of 1997 and summer/fall of 1999), but we use data only from waves 4 (summer after 11th grade) and 5 (summer/fall of 1997; i.e., one-year post-high school) for the present study in order to examine the developmental trajectory of civic engagement from late adolescence into early adulthood. The investigators used a mixture of self-administered questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, and telephone interviews to collect the data. For the purposes of the present study, we use data collected from the target youth and the primary caregiver. Many of the questionnaire items were derived from other large-scale longitudinal studies and other validated scales. A multitude of open-ended questions were also asked in order to attain more in-depth responses to under-explored areas of youth development, such as youths' values.

Participants

Approximately 1,000 participants (and accompanying primary caregiver) were followed from 7th grade into early adulthood (three years post-high school). For the present study, we focus on wave 4 and the wave 5. The sample is 51%

male and 61% African American (about one-percent of the sample self-reported as mixed-race and were included in the total sample analyses). Ninety-two percent of the primary caregivers are female. The sample comes from families that represent a broad range of socioeconomic statuses, with a median income for African Americans between $50,000 and $55,000 and for Caucasian Americans between $60,000 and $65,000. Fifty-four percent of primary caregivers are high school graduates, with 40% continuing on to graduate from college. Furthermore, the participants come from a diverse mix of neighborhoods, including: low-income, high-risk urban; middle class suburban; and rural (see Table 1 for a break-down by ethnicity).

Measures

We use measures that assess individual-, parent-, peer, and cultural constructs. Following is a brief description of the different constructs included in our analysis (these variable descriptions were used in our previous report on the association between social interactions and civic engagement; Zaff et al., 2002):

Demographics. The following demographic variables were included in all analyses: measures of gender (male or female), ethnicity (African American, Caucasian American or mixed/other) and parent education (i.e., highest educational attainment in household).

Youth activity participation. The category of activity participation is comprised of civic participation and participation in other extracurricular activities. Civic participation includes questions from wave 4 on civic activism and

volunteering. Civic activism includes a question asking if the youth had participated in the Million Man March and a question asking if they had participated in any other form of civic activism. For the Million Man March question, we considered positive responses to be either attendance at the march or intentionally watching the march on television. We included intentionally watching the march as an indicator of positive citizenship engagement so that we could include the responses of females since the attendance at the Million Man March was restricted in its mission to males. A third question asked if the youth had volunteered for any community service activities. Other questions included whether youth had participated in service or religious organizations or whether they had tutored another student. A civic participation index ranging from 0-6 was then created based on the total number of activities in which the youth were involved, with each activity given equal weighting. The other type of activity engagement is other extracurricular activities, such as sports or clubs. This was measured on a scale from 0 to 6, based on the number of activities in which the youth were involved.

Family involvement. There were multiple questions pertaining to family involvement, all from wave 4. The first is how often parents had been involved in their parent, teacher, student association (PTSA) when their children were in the 11^{th} grade. The second question asked whether they had been engaged in the Million Man March when their children were in the 11^{th} grade. These two measures were summed together to form a parent civic participation index. The other family-level question pertains to ethnicity-related activities. This question asks the youth about the types of ethnicity-related activities in which they were involved with their family when they were in 11^{th} grade (alpha = .71). Finally, a youth

religiosity measure was included that asks about the types of religious activities in which youth were involved with their family when they were in 11th grade (alpha = .72); this measure was standardized.

Ethnicity importance. Two measures from wave 4 were used to assess the importance that ethnicity plays in the lives of youth and their families. The first was asked of parents when their child was in 11th grade (alpha = .84). The questions include how often they talk about their racial background, how often they celebrate special days connected to their racial background, how important their racial background is to their daily life, among others. The second measure was asked of youth when they were in 11th grade (alpha = .74). Questions include how much pride they have in their racial background, how important their racial background is to their daily lives, and how much knowledge they have of their racial background.

Social support. These measures, all from wave 4, tap the different types of supports that youth have in their lives. The first measure deals with positive peer influences, asking questions such as how important school, church and college is in their peers' lives (alpha = .81). A second peer question asks about the different issues that the youth may discuss with their friends, such as how things are going in their life or with their families and whether they are having problems in school (alpha = .85). Another measure asks about social support from adults in school, such as whether they seek help from tutors or teachers with schoolwork (alpha = .64). A final social support measure assesses youth's

perceptions of the level of parental monitoring, asking about whether their parents keep track of their activities (alpha = .84).

Positive citizenship identity. This measure, from wave 4, assesses the desire that youth have to better society, more specifically whether they have altruistic/communal values. This measure was constructed from open-ended questions asking what youth would do if they had three wishes or had one million dollars. Two other questions asked about the type of person that the youth want to be when they are older. This measure was constructed from open-ended questions asking what youth would do if they had three wishes, what they would do if they had one million dollars and what type of person they wanted to be when they are older. Five judges reviewed the coding schemes for face validity. Agreement averaged .90 for the three codes. Discrepancies were discussed and resolved by the authors. The final composite was a count of any mention on the three indices that indicated altruism, the desire to be helpful for the common good, and the desire to avoid being detrimental to the common good for a range of 0 to 3.

Feelings of fulfillment about civic activism. There were three possible mentions in response to the open-ended question: "How did attending or viewing the Million Man March make you feel?" Each was coded for positive feelings or results (e.g., pride, strength of group, spirits were lifted); negative feelings or results (e.g., anger, disgust, confusion); mixed feelings or results (e.g., cynical at first, then more hopeful); and other (e.g., astonished). Only the positive responses were counted, for a range from 0 to 3.

Civic engagement outcome. This measure at wave 5 is comprised of a question asking how often participants had participated in a range of civic activities, including civic activism, helping friends, running for student government, giving money to charity or to a political group, and engaging in a political discussion.

Analysis Plan

We conduct a multiple regression to determine if youth civic engagement predicts being fulfilled with regard to civic activism and having a positive citizenship identity. Next, we conduct a multiple regression to examine whether youth civic engagement predicts adult positive citizenship. Finally, we include both youth civic engagement and being fulfilled or having a positive citizenship identity in the same model to predict adult civic engagement. If, as we hypothesize, the strength of the relation between youth civic engagement and adult civic engagement is reduced and a relation between being fulfilled or having a positive citizenship identity remains, then we can conclude that being fulfilled in an activity and having a positive citizenship identity partially mediates the relation between late adolescent and adult civic engagement. For the analyses in this stage, we control for parent education, gender and ethnicity variables, as well as parent, peer, school, cultural and other individual level variables.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics (see Table 2) reveal a few differences between sub-groups. For instance, the African American youth participate more in civic activities at wave 4 than the European American youth, but the European American youth participate more in other extracurricular activities at wave 4. European American youth also score higher on the religiosity scale. Furthermore, European American parents participate more in the PTSA than African American parents. The African American youth, however, report higher levels of adult social support at school. Regarding gender differences, parents of females report that their ethnicity is more important to them than parents of males (it should be noted that this question was only asked of African American participants). Females also score higher than males on having friends with positive characteristics, having support from their friends, having adult social support at school, perceive a higher level of parental monitoring and hold higher levels of altruistic/communal values.

Social Interactions, Individual Characteristics and Previous Civic Engagement Predicting Positive Citizenship Identity

We examined whether wave 4 social support, family involvement, individual level and civic engagement variables predict wave 4 positive citizenship identity. To determine these relations, we regressed the predictors on the wave 4 positive citizenship identity measure. In the full model (F (11, 657) = 3.27, $p < .001$), only wave 4 civic engagement is a significant predictor ($B = .11$, $p < .05$).

Social Interactions, Individual Characteristics and Previous Civic Engagement Predicting Positive Feelings about the Civic Experience

We next examined whether wave 4 social support, family involvement, individual level and civic engagement variables predict having positive feelings about the previous civic activity. To determine this relation, we regressed the predictors on the wave 4 variable measuring the participants' feelings about their wave 4 experience at the Million Man March. This civic feelings question was only asked of the African American sample and therefore we only conducted the analysis on this sub-sample. Two predictors are significant in the full model ($F(15, 373) = 5.87$, $p < .001$), wave 4 civic engagement ($B = .37$, $p < .001$) and wave 4 youth report of importance of their ethnicity ($B = .11$, $p < .05$).

Social Interactions, Individual Characteristics, Previous Civic Engagement, Identity, Feelings of Fulfillment, and Previous Civic Engagement Predicting Future Civic Engagement

For this analysis, we examine the association between the wave 4 predictors and wave 5 civic engagement (see Table 3). At the first step, we included demographic variables: ethnicity, gender and parent education. This step is significant with only parent education being a significant predictor.

At the second step, we added wave 4 civic engagement and wave 4 participation in other extracurricular activities, resulting in a significant change in the R^2. Both of these added variables are significant predictors of wave 4 civic engagement. Parent education remains significant, as well.

At the third step, we added the composite parent civic participation variable and wave 4 youth religiosity. Although the model is significant, with parent education, wave 4 civic engagement and wave 4 participation remaining significant predictors, there is not a significant change in the R^2. Neither parent participation nor youth religiosity is significant.

At the fourth step, we added the social support variables of parental monitoring, school social support from adults, positive characteristics of friends, and youth's perception of friend communication and support. This model results in a significant change in the R^2, with parent education, wave 4 civic engagement, wave 4 participation in other extracurricular activities and wave 4 youth's perception of friend communication and support being significant predictors.

At the final step, we added wave 4 positive citizenship identity. The addition of this variable does not result in a significant change in the R^2, nor does it change the significance of wave 4 civic engagement. Therefore, we can conclude that wave 4 positive citizenship identity does not mediate the relation between wave 4 civic engagement and wave 5 civic engagement. This total model accounts for 11% of the variance explaining wave 5 civic engagement.

We next ran models separately for the European American and African American samples (see Table 4). For the African American sample, the results are similar to those of the total sample. The one difference is that participation in other extracurricular activities is not a significant predictor of wave 5 civic engagement. Wave 4 civic engagement, parent education and youth perception of friend communication and support are significant. The full model accounts for

12% of the variance explaining wave 5 civic engagement; comparable to the results for the total sample. For the European American sample (see Table 5), as for the African American sample, wave 4 participation in other activities is not a significant predictor. Interestingly, parent education is not a significant predictor of wave 5 civic engagement for European Americans. The full model for this sub-sample accounts for nine percent of the variance for wave 5 civic engagement.

We then ran the model for the African American sample with ethnicity-related variables included (see Table 6). A couple of interesting results emerge from this model. For one, neither civic nor other participation in wave 4 is a significant predictor of wave 5 civic engagement once social support variables are included. For parent participation in civic activities, we split participation in the Million Man March and the PTSA into two variables. Million Man March participation is a significant predictor whereas PTSA membership is not. Parent report of importance of ethnicity is significant, as well. Finally, we ran the full model, including ethnicity related variables, with feelings of fulfillment in the final step instead of positive citizenship identity (see Table 7). The fulfillment variable is not a significant predictor and its inclusion did not reduce the strength of the relation between wave 4 and wave 5 civic engagement. Therefore, we can conclude that feelings of fulfillment do not mediate the relation between civic engagement in adolescence and adulthood. Also, since positive citizenship identity and being fulfilled are not significant predictors of wave 5 civic engagement, we can conclude that positive citizenship identity as measured here does not mediate a hypothesized relation between feelings of fulfillment and future civic engagement.

Discussion

By using a large, rich dataset derived from a diverse community, we were able to examine multiple hypothesized predictors of civic engagement in young adulthood. More specifically, we hypothesized that civic engagement in late adolescence would be associated with future civic engagement even after accounting for individual, parent, friend, school and cultural level variables. We also hypothesized that developing a positive citizenship identity and being fulfilled by the civic activity would mediate the relation between adolescent and adult civic engagement. Finally, we hypothesized that a positive citizenship identity would partially mediate the relation between being fulfilled by a civic activity and later civic engagement.

Our findings partially support our hypotheses. Adolescent civic engagement, participation in other extracurricular activities and social support from friends are all uniquely associated with young adult civic engagement. However, parent civic participation, parental monitoring, social support from adults, youth religiosity, having friends with positive characteristics and positive citizenship identity are not associated with young adult civic engagement. These results are somewhat consistent with previous research findings. For instance, others have found that participation in civic and other extracurricular activities during high school is associated with later civic engagement in adulthood (Yates & Youniss, 1999; Zaff, Moore, Papillo & Williams, in press). These studies have also controlled for varied parent, peer and school level variables; though, not for variables indicating youth's values or their feelings about their civic experiences,

as our study did. Our results also intersect with the theoretical and empirical background of the positive youth development field, in which researchers and practitioners theorize that engaging youth in positive activities will result in later positive behaviors (National Research Council & Institute of Medicine, 2002; Zaff & Moore, 2002). We also found that higher levels of parent education, our indicator for socioeconomic status, predicts later youth civic engagement. This makes sense since youth who grow-up in lower SES households have more barriers to participation in civic activities, such as lack of civic opportunities (Hart, Atkins & Ford, 1998).

Having friends as an influence makes theoretical sense since friends become a greater influence as youth move through adolescence (Larson, 2001). However, parents have still been found to be consistent positive influences in youth's lives (Cox, in press), and therefore it is surprising that no parental variables are significant for the full sample. Interestingly, though, results from the analysis on the African American sub-sample show that parent participation in the Million Man March is a significant predictor for future civic participation by the youth. Although there is empirical precedent for this association based on modeling of behavior (Fletcher, Elder & Mekos, 2000), we are not sure why this is the case only for the African American sample, especially considering that a previous study that we conducted (Zaff, et al., 2002) found parent civic participation to be a significant predictor of later youth civic engagement in late adolescence for all early adolescents. One possibility, though, is that the Million Man March is highly salient for the African American youth and therefore their parents' participation could be a

strong socializing agent. The fact that parents' perceived importance of their ethnicity is also a significant predictor provides additional support for ethnic socialization in the African American community leading to future youth civic engagement; the African American community is traditionally considered to be more communalistic than the European American community (Nobles, 1973). Further research is needed to determine if this is a replicable finding and, if so, more specifically what the content of ethnic socialization includes.

Youth religiosity, youth positive citizenship identity and feelings of fulfillment about civic participation were also not found to be significant predictors of later civic engagement. Again, this goes against previous research that has shown religiosity to predict volunteering behavior (Serow & Dreyden, 1990; Youniss, et al., 1999) as well as our own research that has shown the additive influence of altruistic/communal values (our indicator of a positive citizenship identity) on civic engagement (Zaff, et al., 2002). We would expect the fundamental teachings in most religions to be consistent with being good citizens. There is the possibility that younger adolescents might not critically analyze these teachings and simply follow them in the short term whereas older adolescents might be more critical. Also, considering the life transitions between 11th grade, the point at which religiosity was measured, and one year after high school, changes regarding religiosity might occur over this time period as youth individuate more fully from their parents and continue their own identity search. We thought that the fact that our civic engagement predictor contained a question about participation in religious organizations might have resulted in collinearity with the youth religiosity measure. However, although the correlation between

youth religiosity and wave 4 civic engagement is significant, the correlation is relatively small (r = .28 for African Americans and r = .32 for European Americans). Regarding a positive citizenship identity, our measure might be only one component of such an identity. Others have found that multiple motives exist for community involvement (Batson, Ahmad & Tsang, 2002) and therefore it is possible that such a multi-dimension approach might be more appropriate for an indicator of positive citizenship identity. More research is needed on the association between civic engagement and religiosity and positive citizenship identity before definitive conclusions can be reached. In fact, civic participation in adulthood might be an indicator of a positive citizenship identity, as suggested by others (e.g., Youniss & Yates, 1999), since such participation would represent a commitment to civic causes. Our measurement of feelings of fulfillment was only relevant for the African American sample and focused on the Million Man March. Future research that uses a more encompassing and inclusive measure that asks about feelings of fulfillment could lead to significant findings.

Limitations

Aside from the measurement issue regarding positive citizenship identity alluded to earlier, there are a few limitations that should be discussed. First, our civic engagement predictor and outcome is comprised of civic activism, volunteering, tutoring and involvement in service and religious organizations. Although these represent a broad set of activities in which youth may be involved, all of the activities require youth to join an organization. There are many other

forms of citizenship that are not covered. For instance, an adolescent might see importance and take great pride in recycling and picking up trash in the neighborhood in order to improve the environment. Another adolescent might make it a point to help an elder with his or her groceries. Using scales that allow for reporting of participation in such a spectrum of behaviors could further the research base of positive citizenship. Also, because of small sub-groups, we were not able to assess individual types of civic participation.

The trajectory of participation that we examined encompassed a two-year period, from 11th grade until one-year post high school. Tracking predictors from an early time point through 11th grade and into adulthood would help to uncover the factors that begin earlier in youths' lives and persist throughout high school to socialize youth to participate in civic behaviors in adulthood. Furthermore, tracking civic engagement later into adulthood would help answer the question regarding the longevity of civic behaviors.

Implications

Our research provides additional evidence that civic engagement in late adolescence predicts civic engagement in early adulthood. This study also adds to the body of civic engagement research by controlling for multiple relevant variables such as parent and friend social support, culture, youth's values and their fulfillment regarding their experiences. By including these variables, it is evident that multiple levels of a youth's environment might be good targets for programs to promote youth civic engagement.

Most civic engagement programs take the perspective that integrating civic education with civic experiences will result in higher percentages of youth becoming involved in civic activities. Although our study corroborates this perspective as well as others finding that engaging youth in particular activities will result in continued participation in same or similar activities (Youniss & Yates, 1999; Zaff & Moore, 2002), our study and previous studies (e.g., Zaff et al., 2002) illustrate that there are other factors that program developers and policy makers need to incorporate into their initiatives. For instance, since support from and communication with friends influences youth participation, program and policy makers may seek to incorporate the potential power of friends to promote civic engagement. Furthermore, parents may model civic participation and therefore including parental involvement in some form could lead to even greater program effects. This is the case for the African American youth in the present analysis, but not for the European American youth. As we mentioned before, though, replication of this finding is needed before we can make a recommendation for one ethnic group over another. The cultural milieu in which youth are raised may also be an avenue for the promotion of civic participation. This might include tailoring a program that is consistent with the ideology of the particular culture, such as a more collectivist culture traditionally associated with the African American community.

In conclusion, multiple factors from multiple levels of youth's lives predict their civic participation in adulthood. Social support, socioeconomic status and the culture in which youth are raised are all important influences. Program developers

and policy makers should be aware of this holistic perspective when creating their initiatives in order to maximize their effects.

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Table 1. Demographics of Survey Sample.

	African American	Caucasian American
Sample Size	N=612	N=323
Median Family Income (1993)	$50-55,000	$60-65,000
Highest Education in Household	38% College Degree	60% College Degree
Family Structure	51% Intact	71% Intact

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics by Gender and by Ethnicity

	Total	Males	Females	Blacks	Whites
Youth Civic **Engagement**					
Wave 5 civic engagement	.**55** (.74)	**.54** (.79)	.**55** (.71)	**.57** (.76)	**.50** (.67)
Wave 4 civic engagement	**2.18** (1.22)	**2.08**(1.20)	**2.28** (1.23)	**2.33**	**1.87** (1.16)***
Wave 4 other participation	**1.43** (1.05)	**1.42** (1.06)	**1.44** (1.04)	**1.36**	**1.55** (1.01)**
Family Involvement					
Parent Million Man March	**2.17** (.54)	**2.01** (.49)	**1.97** (.44)	**2.00** (.47)	--
Family Involvement in own-ethnicity activities	**2.65** (.94) (888)	**2.90** (.87) (256)	**2.88** (.93) (259)	**2.92** (.90) (506)	--
Parent PTSA Membership	**.61** (.49)	**.59** (.49)	**.63** (4.8)	.**56** (.50)	**.72** (.45)***
Parental civic engagement	**1.16** (.72)	**1.13** (.74)	**1.19** (.70)	**1.20** (.72)	**1.15** (.70)
Youth's religiosity	**.00** (.75)	.**00** (.72)	.**00** (.77)	.**00** (.70)	**-.21** (.79)***
Ethnicity Importance					
Importance of ethnicity for parent	--	**3.24** (.85) (269)	**3.41** (.77)* (267)	**3.32** (.82) (527)	--
Importance of ethnicity for youth	--	**3.41** (.56) (274)	**3.36** (.58) (272)	**3.40** (.56) (533)	--
Social Support					
Positive characteristics of friends	**3.22** (.74) (913)	**3.00** (.72) (443)	**3.43**(.71) *** (470)	**3.20** (.72) (519)	**3.21** (.78)
Friend communication & support	**3.95** (1.26) (960)	**3.51**(1.21) (467)	**4.36**(1.17) *** (493)	**3.92** (1.31)	**3.99** (1.19) (306)
Social support from adults	**2.67** (.83)	**2.60** (.82)	**2.74** (.83)	**2.79** (.83)	**2.54** (.82)***
Youth's perception of parental monitoring	**3.78** (.93) (993)	**3.56** (.91) (485)	**4.00**(.90) *** (508)	**3.77** (.97) (585)	**3.77** (.85)
Values					
Wave 4 altruistic/ communal values	**2.00** (.93) (1057)	**1.91** (.92) (515)	**2.08** (.93) ** (535)	**2.02** (.93) (619)	**1.92** (.93)
Enjoyment of civic participation	**.54** (.78) (927)	**.81** (.82) (267)	**.75** (.78) (270)	**.79** (.83) (524)	--

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

Table 3. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Predictors of Youth Positive Citizenship (Total Sample).

		Step 1		Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Demographics						
Race		.01	.05	.05	.04	.04
Highest education level in family		.22***	.14**	.14**	.14**	.14**
Child gender		.02	.00	.00	-.05	-.05
Youth's Prior Participation						
Wave 4 civic participation			.18***	.17***	.14**	.14**
Wave 4 other participation			.15***	.14***	.13**	.13**
Family Involvement						
Parent's civic participation				-.02	-.02	-.02
Youth's religiosity				.04	.03	.03
Social Support						
Positive characteristics of friends					.02	.02
Friend communication & provision					.16***	.16***
School social support from adults					-.00	-.00
Youth's perception of parental monitoring					-.01	-.01
Positive Citizenship Identity						
Altruistic/communal values of						-.02
Adjusted R-squared		.046***	.100***	.099***	.115***	.114***
Change in R-squared		--	.058***	.002	.023*	.000
(N)						(535)

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

Table 4. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Predictors of Youth Positive Citizenship (African American Sample).

		Step 1		Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Demographics						
Highest education level in family		..24***	.17**	.17**	.17**	.17**
Child gender		-.02	-.04	-.04	-.10	-.10
Youth's Prior Participation						
Wave 4 civic participation			.19**	.17**	.14*	.14*
Wave 4 other participation			.13*	.13*	.10	.10
Family Involvement						
Parent's civic participation				-.02	-.02	-.02
Youth's religiosity				.09	.08	.08
Social Support						
Positive characteristics of friends					..08	.08
Friend communication & provision					.14*	.14*
School social support from adults					.02	.02
Youth's perception of parental monitoring					-.03	-.03
Positive Citizenship Identity						
Altruistic/communal values of						-.04
Adjusted R-squared		.051***	.104***	.107***	.121***	.119***
Change in R-squared		--	.058***	.009	.025	.001
(N)						(308)

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

Table 5. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Predictors of Youth Positive Citizenship (Caucasian American Sample).

		Step 1		Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Demographics						
Highest education level in family		.22**	.12	.13	.15	.15
Child gender		.08	.06	.06	-.02	-.01
Youth's Prior Participation						
Wave 4 civic participation			.22**	.23**	.19*	.20*
Wave 4 other participation			.10	.10	.09	.09
Family Involvement						
Parent's civic participation				-.03	-.03	-.04
Youth's religiosity				-.01	-.01	-.01
Social Support						
Positive characteristics of friends					-.05	-.04
Friend communication & provision of support					.21*	.21*
School social support from adults					-.04	-.04
Youth's perception of parental monitoring					.00	.00
Positive Citizenship Identity						
Altruistic/communal values of youth						-.04
Adjusted R-squared		.042**	.094***	.085***	.093**	.089**
Change in R-squared		--	.062**	.001.	.028	.002
(N)						(181)

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

Table 6. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Predictors, Including Ethnicity Related Variables, of Youth Civic Engagement (African American Sample).

		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5	Step 6
Demographics							
Highest education level in family		.24***	.17**	.18**	.17**	.16**	.16**
Child gender		-.02	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.09	-.09
Youth's Prior Participation							
Wave 4 civic participation			.19**	.13*	.12*	.09	.10
Wave 4 other participation			.13*	.11	.11	.09	.09
Family Involvement							
Parent participation in Million Man March				.09	.10	.12*	.12*
Family involvement in own ethnic-				.18**	.18**	.17*	.17*
Parent PTSA membership				-.02	-.02	-.01	-.01
Youth's religiosity				.03	.04	.03	.03
Ethnicity Importance							
Importance of ethnicity for parent					.05	.05	.05
Importance of ethnicity for youth					-.02	-.03	-.03
Social Support							
Positive characteristics of friends						.08	.08
Friend communication & provision						.14*	.14*
School social support from adults						-.01	-.01
Youth's perception of parental						-.02	-.02
Positive Citizenship Identity							
Altruistic/communal values of							-.03
Adjusted R-squared		.051***	.104***	.133***	.129***	.144***	.142***
Change in R-squared		--	.058***	.040**	.002	.026	.001
(N)							(307)

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

Table 7. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Predictors, Including Ethnicity Related Variables, of Youth Civic Engagement (African American Sample).

		Step 1		Step 3	Step 4	Step 5	Step 6
Demographics							
Highest education level in family		.24***	.17**	.18**	.17**	.16**	.16**
Child gender		-.02	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.09	-.09
Youth's Prior Participation							
Wave 4 civic participation			.19**	.13*	.12*	.09	.12
Wave 4 other participation			.13*	.11	.11	.09	.09
Family Involvement							
Parent participation in Million Man March				.09	.10	.12*	.12*
Family involvement in own				.18**	.18**	.17*	.18**
Parent PTSA membership				-.02	-.02	-.01	-.01
Youth's religiosity				.03	.04	.03	.02
Ethnicity Importance							
Importance of ethnicity for parent					.05	.05	.06
Importance of ethnicity for youth					-.02	-.03	-.02
Social Support							
Positive characteristics of friends						.08	.08
Friend communication & provision of support						.14*	.14*
School social support from adults						-.01	-.01
Youth's perception of parental						-.02	-.02
Feelings of Fulfillment from Civic Participation							
Positive feelings about civic activism							-.06
Change in R-squared		--	.058***	.040**	.002	.026	.001
(N)							(307)

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

Figure 1: Positive Citizenship Development from Late Adolescence into Early Adulthood