



Afterschool Innovations in Brief Focusing on Older Youth

December 2009

Opening Doors to Work and Careers

The Challenge of Recruiting and Retaining Older Youth

A High School Dropout Prevention Tool

A Place for Older Youth to Mentor and Be Mentored

Afterschool Innovations In Brief: Focusing on Older Youth



Despite the many benefits of afterschool programs, far too many youth in middle and high school do not have access to high quality programs during these critical hours. We are pleased to join the Afterschool Alliance in recognizing and sharing exemplary models of afterschool programs that work with older youth and help put them on the path to success.

--Dennis White, president and CEO of MetLife Foundation

In recent years, study after study has demonstrated that afterschool programs make a real difference for children, families and communities. The 8.4 million children who benefit from these programs offer powerful evidence of their value. Yet, millions of others have no afterschool programs available to them. Right now, more than 15 million children are unsupervised after the school day ends. Further, older youth are more likely to spend time unsupervised in the hours after school, with more than 12 million in grades 6-12 responsible for taking care of themselves after school.

Typically, young children participate in afterschool programs for the enrichment opportunities as well as to satisfy their family's child care needs while parents are at work. As children enter adolescence, the immediate need for child care is diminished, and there can be the perception that afterschool programs are no longer needed or appropriate. However, older students still need mentoring, enrichment and guidance in a positive social environment. Despite the need, no federal program specifically targets afterschool for the older youth population. And, due to limited funding, local communities have been forced to make difficult choices about how to use afterschool resources, often leaving older youth with few afterschool options.

Our nation needs to expand afterschool programming so that it is available to every child who needs it. The best way to realize growth is to educate leaders, funders, media and the public about the many benefits afterschool programs offer. This compendium pulls together both research and personal stories that demonstrate the wide range of outcomes affected by afterschool, illustrating how these programs help older youth, families and communities.

With support from MetLife Foundation, the Afterschool Alliance is proud to present this series of four Issue Briefs examining critical issues facing older youth, schools and communities, and the vital role afterschool programs play in addressing these issues. The four briefs address: opening doors to work and careers; recruiting and retaining older youth; high school drop prevention; and

mentoring. Each brief combines statistics, comments from experts and community leaders and examples of outstanding afterschool programs.

Through a competitive awards process that identified highly effective and lesser known programs and models, six afterschool programs nationwide were named MetLife Foundation Afterschool Innovators. In addition to being highlighted in one of the four briefs, each of the awardees received a \$5,000 grant to sustain and expand their work.

Below is a brief summary of each of the four Issue Briefs and a description of the six MetLife Foundation Afterschool Innovators. The full text of each brief is included in this compendium, and can also be found on the Afterschool Alliance website: <http://www.afterschoolalliance.org/researchIssueBriefs.cfm>

Afterschool: Opening Doors to Work and Careers

Afterschool is an opportune time to expose students to careers and teach them skills that can unlock doors to future career prospects. During the afterschool hours, there is time for apprenticeships, guest lecturers and project-based activities that are not always available during a school day filled with the core curriculum. Through partnerships with community based-organizations, schools, institutions of higher education and the business community, afterschool programs are playing a key role in preparing youth for work and careers.

The students who participate in the SSJP program are talented, enthusiastic and serious about making a distinctive contribution to the field of healthcare and science. As valued members of our community, we are committed to them, to their future and to the quality patient care and the research contributions these young people will make in the future. With workforce development programs like this, everyone wins.

-- Michelle Keenan, Director of Community Programs at Brigham and Women's Hospital

■ **Brigham and Women's Hospital's Student Success Jobs Program (SSJP)** in Boston, Massachusetts is an intensive afterschool and summer employment and mentoring program for high school students in Boston, Massachusetts. The program introduces high school students from the city's lowest income communities to careers in health care, science and medicine by offering paid internships within the hospital, and by providing the guidance of health care professionals who serve as role models and mentors. Now in its ninth year, the program shares a strong commitment with the hospital to improving the health of its surrounding communities by providing educational and employment opportunities to young people through

SSJP. The program creates pathways into science, health, or medicine careers for those who have traditionally been underrepresented in these fields.

Afterschool: The Challenges of Recruiting and Retaining Older Youth

Afterschool programs across the country provide critically needed services to our nation's children and families, however many afterschool providers find it difficult to recruit and retain children once they enter middle and high school. Teens offer afterschool a special set of challenges, which they must overcome in order to attract and retain participants. Older youth are more autonomous, busier, better able and more likely to articulate specific needs, and less appeased by activities designed for a general audience. While older youth can clearly benefit from participation in afterschool, programs must employ innovative strategies to attract and keep older youth engaged.

■ **The ICAN Peer Leadership Program** in Chandler, Arizona works with students ages 13-18 from an economically disadvantaged area. The program works closely with the Chandler Police Department Gang Unit to challenge a group of teens to develop and apply leadership skills in self-run community service projects. Since 2006, the participants have been tackling underage drinking by establishing a community awareness and prevention campaign throughout Chandler. The ICAN program, which also provides daily homework help, transportation and educational field trips, maintains a high retention rate by addressing the desire for responsibility and leadership opportunities among its teen participants.

We know that older youth prefer to engage in activities when they have input. We're very proud of our success engaging young people in productive projects, like developing a community awareness and prevention program to reduce underage drinking. We're delighted to be honored for our work with this Afterschool Innovator Award.

--Christy McClendon, ICAN CEO

By allowing teens to have an authentic voice, we provide them the framework to engage in positive, creative and leadership opportunities that showcase their talents and competence.

--John Weiss, Neutral Zone Executive Director

■ **The Ann Arbor Teen Center Neutral Zone** in Michigan offers older youth opportunities to engage creatively and socially in their community. The Neutral Zone is a drop-in program open to all teens in the Ann Arbor community where members can come in when they have time to participate. The activities are mostly self-run, offering responsibility and flexibility to

participants resulting in high recruitment and retention rates. Adolescents involved in the Neutral Zone can choose from more than 21 programs including community leadership, education, literary arts, music performance, visual arts and technology. For example, in the Youth

Owned Records program, teens create and produce their own music and participants in the Volume Literary Arts Program write and perform slam poetry.

Afterschool: A High School Dropout Prevention Tool

Thirty percent of all public school students—and 50 percent of low-income students—drop out of school before graduation. Schools are exploring a variety of resources to increase graduation rates as they struggle to keep students on track. Schools alone cannot do the work of engaging kids in learning and preparing them for jobs in an increasingly competitive 21st century economy. Using the afterschool hours constructively and productively can ensure the success of students by keeping them engaged and preventing them from dropping out.

■ **RiverzEdge Arts Project** in Providence, Rhode Island is unusual in that it operates micro businesses year-round, in a mentoring-based learning model that supports both art skills development and the soft and hard skills for future success. Through the program, youth learn “by doing” alongside experts and peer mentors who support their artistic development and skills one-on-one. At RiverzEdge, high quality arts education is

It's amazing to see what happens when you invest in individuals, build strong relationships, and provide thoughtful community support. The youth just soar into their futures! One hundred percent of RiverzEdge participants graduate from high school and get accepted to colleges and art schools around the country and one hundred percent are better prepared as problem solvers, critical thinkers and engaged citizens to tackle life and societal challenges ahead. We are very proud!

-- **Bekah Greenwald, RiverzEdge Arts Project Executive Director**

In the last 19 years, nine in ten of our MESA graduates have matriculated to the college or university of their choice. The students in the MESA program work extremely hard and every day they teach us all something new about what people can accomplish if they're just given the opportunity and the support they need to reach their goals.

-- **Gloria Nelson, Executive Director of Colorado MESA**

combined with academic support, applied business training and service learning for better future outcomes for youth and a better world.

■ The **Colorado MESA** program in Denver, Colorado is a premier educational resource and experiential program serving students throughout high school. MESA's mission is to increase the number of economically disadvantaged and at risk students who graduate from high school fully prepared for post secondary education in engineering, math, science, computer science, business and other math and science-based fields. Hands-on activities, team building and mentoring

help build social and literacy skills. Field trips to colleges, universities and industry sites, as well as engineering and science-related design challenges excite students, sharpen their skills and increase their awareness of career opportunities.

Afterschool: A Place for Older Youth to Mentor and Be Mentored

Mentoring is a proven strategy for helping young people develop into productive adults, and afterschool programs are an ideal setting to connect young people with adults who can help. Mentoring provides an opportunity for community members of all ages—from older youth up to seniors—to get involved in shaping young people’s lives.

- **Challenging Horizons Program** in Columbia, South Carolina provides two innovative afterschool mentoring programs: Transitional Mentoring and Self-Efficacy Enhancing Mentoring. The Transitional Mentoring program pairs students transitioning from elementary to middle school with college students taking a course on the transition from high school to college. The knowledge and enthusiasm of the college students, acting as role models, provides support for the middle school students, easing their transition to middle school while also promoting the goal of higher education. The Self-Efficacy program pairs mentors with youth who are receiving supplemental education. During weekly meetings, mentors teach self-regulation skills and promote positive attributes designed to help middle school students become self-reliant, persistent learners.

We know that mentoring and our approach to mentoring can make the critical difference in the lives of youth. We see it every day in the successes of the students who participate in our program.

**--Dr. Bradley H. Smith,
Associate Professor of
Psychology at the University of
South Carolina and Director of
the Challenging Horizons
Program**

These four Issue Briefs examine just a few of the ways afterschool programs support our older youth and families. Highlighting best practices and showcasing some of the many exemplary afterschool programs build a powerful case that afterschool is vital for successful youth, strong communities and healthy families.

The Afterschool Alliance is a nonprofit public awareness and advocacy organization working to ensure that all children and youth have access to quality afterschool programs. More information is available at www.afterschoolalliance.org.

MetLife Foundation supports education, health, civic and cultural programs throughout the United States. For more information about the Foundation visit www.metlife.org.



Issue Brief No. 36

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The Afterschool Alliance, in partnership with MetLife Foundation, is proud to present the first in a series of four issue briefs examining critical issues facing older youth and the vital role afterschool programs play in addressing these issues. The four issue briefs address workforce and career development; recruitment and retention of older youth; dropout prevention and mentoring. These issue briefs examine just a few of the ways afterschool programs support middle and high school youth, families and communities.

Afterschool: Opening Doors to Work and Careers

Preparing youth for success in tomorrow’s workforce is of increasing concern to our nation’s schools, communities, policy makers and businesses. Afterschool programs, which have proven to keep kids safe, help working families and inspire learning, are also a powerful tool that helps young people develop the skills needed for the 21st century workplace. Through partnerships with community-based organizations, schools, institutions of higher education and the business community, afterschool programs are playing a key role in preparing youth for work and careers.

A Critical Time for Supporting America’s Workforce

During this time of unprecedented economic uncertainty, families are increasingly worried about their present and future employment prospects, and what kinds of opportunities await their children. Looking beyond the current economic climate, the last several decades have seen the industrial and manufacturing based economy shift to a service economy fueled by information, knowledge and innovation. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, between 1996 and 2006 the United States lost three million manufacturing jobs. In that same time frame, 17 million service sector jobs were created, specifically in the areas of health care, education, environment, security and energy.^{i,ii} Many of the fastest growing jobs in the service sector are high-end occupations, including doctors, nurses, health technicians, lawyers, engineers, sales and marketing professionals.ⁱⁱⁱ While no one knows the how long current economic conditions will last, or their ultimate impact on the labor market, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics historically shows these areas of the labor market to be relatively recession-resistant.^{iv} In these unprecedented economic times, it is impossible to predict the precise path of the labor market, but we can use history as our guide and assume that these industries—health care, education, environment,

Clearly we cannot prepare our children and youth for these changing times by looking at learning and development time in the same old ways. Afterschool and summer learning present an essential new opportunity... It could make all the difference in the world.
**-- Terry Peterson,
Afterschool and
Community Learning
Network**

security, and energy—will continue to grow, or at least remain stable while other areas may contract.

In response to the current economic climate, workplaces are making changes associated with increased productivity and innovation such as flatter management structures, just-in-time inventory and flexible work arrangements – changes that are critical to our economic recovery and future global competitiveness.^{v,vi} However, we must also change how we prepare our young people for the workforce. Advanced economies, innovative industries and high growth jobs require educated workers who possess 21st century skills such as:^{vii}

- Critical thinking and problem solving
- Information technology application
- Teamwork and collaboration
- Creativity and innovation
- Social and cross-cultural skills

Further, the 21st century economy is a global one, and the U.S. must prepare its youth to be knowledgeable about world regions and global issues and to communicate across cultures and languages. The economies of China, India and Japan are expected to represent 50 percent of the world’s GDP within 30 years.^{viii} Currently, one in five U.S. jobs is tied to international trade, a proportion that will continue to increase.^{ix} As a result, once in the workforce, today’s youth will most likely engage in commerce with other countries, management of employees from other cultures and countries, collaboration with colleagues from around the world and tackling global problems such as hunger, climate change and disaster recovery.^x

Basic Competencies are not Enough

There is widespread consensus that our education and workforce systems are failing to adequately prepare our students and workers with the skills necessary for success in the workplace. For the past decade, our educational system has focused on closing achievement gaps between the lowest and highest performing students, and emphasizing

Teaching all students to think and to be curious is much more than a technical problem for which educators, alone, are accountable... The problem goes much deeper – to the very way we conceive of the purpose and experience of schooling and what we expect our high school graduates to know and be able to do.

--Tony Wagner, The Global Achievement Gap, 2008

core subjects such as reading, math and, as of 2007, science. While these remain essential endpoints, focusing solely on basic curricula does not address the growing demand for advanced skills. A recent report by the Conference Board states that basic skills, such as reading and writing, are simply not enough to prepare youth for postsecondary education or the workforce.^{xi} Further, people with only basic competencies are the most likely to struggle in the rising high-skill, high-wage service economy.^{xii} According to one study, employers estimate that 45 percent of high school graduates do not have the skills to advance beyond entry-level jobs. Recent high school graduates agree: 39 percent of those now enrolled in college and 46 percent of recent college graduates believe they have gaps in their preparation.^{xiii}

In addition, U.S. students are faring poorly compared to their counterparts on international assessments, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which measures necessary 21st century skills like critical thinking and problem solving. These results are significant – countries that do well on PISA demonstrate higher increases in GDP growth.^{xiv} Studies show that cognitive skills are significantly more important in determining economic outcomes than the traditional measure of educational success: school attainment. In other words, the amount of time someone spends in school is not as important as what happens during that time, and what is learned during that time must be broader than the current focus on minimum competencies in reading, math and science.^{xv}

Quality afterschool programs provide a unique venue in which young people can develop the range of skills they need to enter the 21st century workplace.

-- Corporate Voices for Working Families

Afterschool Fosters the Development of 21st Century skills

According to a report released jointly by the Conference Board, Corporate Voices for Working Families, Partnership for 21st Century Skills and Society for Human Resource Management, all stakeholders (business, educators and community members) should consider a variety of methods to enhance the workplace skills of older youth. Examples include internships, summer jobs, work-study programs, job shadowing, mentoring, on-the-job training, as well as other educational approaches that include real-world experiences or community involvement.^{xvi} The afterschool field recognizes that preparing the future workforce to be competitive in the global economy is something quality programs

can contribute to, and that many of the approaches cited above are commonplace in afterschool programs.

Children and youth of all ages who participate in afterschool programs maintain better grades, have lower rates of truancy, are more engaged in school and attain higher levels of achievement in college.^{xvii} Afterschool programs provide benefits to older youth that reach well beyond the school day, offering avenues to college and the workplace by exposing youth to global issues, providing opportunities to develop and use technology, promoting cross-cultural understanding, collaborative thinking, leadership and civic participation.^{xviii}

- **Global Kids** is a New York City based nonprofit committed to educating and inspiring urban youth to become global and community leaders – creative thinkers, problem solvers, and contributing citizens prepared for academic and workplace success. Through leadership development, academic enrichment and digital media programs, Global Kids works with youth after school and online to build digital literacy, foster substantive virtual dialogues about current events and promote civic participation. Global Kids holds in-person and online youth conferences, including roundtables and summer institutes at the Council on Foreign Relations and online in Teen Second Life. Global Kids students create action campaigns to educate Second Life participants about global issues and

create educational video games in which players learn about social and global issues.^{xix}

Afterschool provides the perfect platform for older youth to acquire basic knowledge and skills, while cultivating applied skills. By introducing real world issues and experiences, afterschool programs can give youth access to a wider world. The skill building and exposure to real work experiences help older youth think about their futures – some for the first time.

- **Brigham and Women’s Hospital’s Student Success Jobs Program (SSJP)** is an intensive afterschool and summer employment and mentoring program for high school students in Boston, Massachusetts. The program introduces high school students from the city’s lowest income communities to careers in health care, science and medicine by offering paid internships within the hospital, and by providing the guidance of health care professionals who serve as role models and mentors. Now in its ninth year, the program shares a strong commitment with the hospital to improving the health of its surrounding communities by providing educational and employment opportunities to young people through SSJP. The program creates pathways into science, health, or medicine careers for those who have traditionally been underrepresented in the field.

Participating in SSJP as a high school student, and now as a college student, has provided me with professional, hands-on experience in a pharmacy setting that helps me develop the skills and confidence I need to work in the medical field. SSJP ultimately helped me navigate the many career opportunities in health care, and allowed my passion for science to flourish.

--Gladys, age 20. Brigham and Women’s Hospital SSJP Graduate

- The **JA Academy** in Worcester, Massachusetts was developed by Junior Achievement in collaboration with the Worcester Public Schools’ Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) college access program. The goals include decreasing the district’s drop-out rate, increasing college attendance rates among underrepresented students and providing low-income youth with the skills needed to achieve success in the YouthWorks summer employment program. JA Academy engages groups of high-potential, but average performing, students in an intensive two-year afterschool program on a college campus. The participants are provided consistent and caring adult mentors who teach them financial literacy and workforce readiness/business ethics courses, as well as workshops on admissions and financial aid, residential life, campus clubs and activities, support services and academic majors offered at the college. Academy students are also invited to participate in the YouthWorks summer jobs program. Students gain enhanced understanding and respect for the connections between educational attainment and future success in the workplace.

Successful afterschool programs develop and promote strong relationships among youth, schools, families, community organizations and institutions of higher education. The afterschool field’s use of experiential, hands-on activities makes learning more holistic,

authentic and meaningful. This approach provides older youth with the opportunity to achieve the basics while engaging in projects they like, promoting civic responsibility, helping prepare youth for higher education and the workplace.

- **Centerstone’s Community Kitchen** is an afterschool program for older youth with severe behavioral issues; youth who are often ineligible for other afterschool programs. The program’s primary focus is teaching culinary arts and life skills training. Meals prepared by the students are distributed to various agencies that feed Nashville, Tennessee’s hungry and low-income populations. Students can also participate in the catering component of the program that produces freshly prepared meals for businesses, agencies and other groups in the Nashville area. The program empowers at-risk and disadvantaged youth by nurturing self-esteem, teaching pro-social and job skills, and providing career opportunities. Participants are also eligible for work-study opportunities with local chefs.
- **The Food Project** in Boston provides local youth with afterschool employment, education and skill development opportunities. These skills are developed through partnering with adults to grow and distribute healthy food using sustainable methods on four acres of urban farmland and 33 acres of suburban farmland. Students (“interns”) work 8 to 10 hours a week during the school year, and 35 hours a week for eight weeks of summer. Different internship tracks encompass unique sets of activities and goals, as well as a schedule based on the demands of work. Students can choose from tracks such as community supported agriculture (CSAs), diversity in groups, farmers’ market, kitchen/culinary arts, rural enterprise/agriculture, serve and grow/recruitment, urban education and outreach. Through this program, a diverse group of students participate in every aspect of sustainable farming from the ground to the market to the table, and learn to work collaboratively and attain leadership skills.

Conclusion

The future of the U.S. as a global leader depends on the ability of American workers to think critically, act strategically and communicate effectively. Reinvigorating the economy, achieving energy independence and taking advantage of growth industries requires a skilled workforce that is ready to invent and create, apply knowledge of different cultures, and be flexible to new and different ideas. Afterschool programs are providing global literacy opportunities to youth who would otherwise be unable to access them while helping youth gain the 21st century skills that employers want and need. As the skills needed to compete in the workforce of the future continue to evolve, so will the practices of afterschool programs. Today, afterschool programs fulfill many needs, not the least of which is helping to keep America competitive. The extra learning time, and time to develop leadership, teamwork and problem-solving skills, are essential to ensuring that today’s youth are prepared for tomorrow’s workplace.

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- ^{xvi} The Conference Board; Partnership for 21st Century Skills; Corporate Voices for Working Families; Society for Human Resource Management (2006). *Are They Really Ready to Work? Employers' Perspectives on the Basic Knowledge and Applied Skills of New Entrants to the 21st Century U.S. Workforce*. Washington, D.C. Retrieved on February 20, 2009 from, http://www.21stcenturyskills.org/documents/FINAL_REPORT_PDF09-29-06.pdf.
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Issue Brief No. 37

April 2009

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Afterschool: The Challenges of Recruiting and Retaining Older Youth

Afterschool programs across the country provide critically needed services to our nation's children and families, however, many afterschool providers find it difficult to recruit and retain children once they enter middle school and high school. Teens offer afterschool providers a special set of challenges, which they must overcome in order to attract and retain participants. For example, older youth are more autonomous, busier, better able and more likely to articulate specific needs, and less appeased by activities designed for a general audience. While older youth can clearly benefit from participation in afterschool, programs must employ innovative strategies to attract and keep older youth engaged.

Older Youth Need Afterschool

Older children are more likely to spend time unsupervised in the hours afterschool. Nearly 10 million children in grades 6-12 are responsible for taking care of themselves afterschool.ⁱ Without safe, supervised activities, older youth are at particular risk of engaging in a variety of unsafe behaviors during this time. Studies consistently show that the hours between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. are the peak hours for juvenile crime and experimentation with drugs, alcohol, cigarettes and sex.ⁱⁱ

Afterschool programs provide academic benefits to older youth during a period when they may be losing interest or feeling disengaged from school. Studies show that when older youth participate in afterschool programs they demonstrate:^{iii, iv}

- Increased school attendance
- Improved homework completion
- Increased standardized test scores
- Increased socialization and problem solving skills
- Improved study habits and motivation
- Lowered risk of dropping out of school

Furthermore, older youth who regularly participate in afterschool programs report feeling more optimistic about their future and have higher expectations for themselves, including an increased interest in attending college and exploring possible career paths.^v

Older Youth Face Distinct Barriers to Participation in Afterschool

Typically, young children participate in afterschool programs for the enrichment opportunities as well as to satisfy their family’s child care needs while parents are at work. However, as children enter adolescence, the immediate need for child care is diminished, and there can be the perception that afterschool programs are no longer needed or appropriate. Although older students still need mentoring, enrichment and guidance in a positive social environment, participation in afterschool programs declines when children transition from elementary school to middle school.^{vi}

Financial constraints play a role in afterschool options for older youth. Despite the need, no federal program specifically targets afterschool for the older youth population. And, due to limited funding, local communities have been forced to make difficult choices about how to use afterschool resources. Understandably, communities often make their youngest students the first priority, but this leaves older youth with few afterschool options. In some cases federal resources, by law, can not be used for older youth, in others it’s a lack of sufficient resources or targeting that makes it difficult to direct the funding towards programs for older youth.^{vii}

- The 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC): 36 percent of centers serve middle school students, but only 20 percent of these centers exclusively target this population; 15 percent of centers serve high school students, with only five percent of centers exclusively targeting high school students.
- The Child Care Development Fund: Child care vouchers can be used to support afterschool programs, but may only be used for children ages 5-12.
- Supplemental Educational Services (SES): SES vouchers support after school tutoring for children targeted under Title I, which is similarly focused on the lower grades.

Afterschool and youth development programs look and feel different for older youth than for elementary school age kids. Teenagers are looking for programs that foster personal growth, provide skill-based learning, mentorship from adults and service learning opportunities.
– **School’s Out Washington, 2008 Annual Report**

While additional funding is badly needed, other barriers exist. Many older youth face external pressures such as the need for paid employment, caring for family or other outside responsibilities, making it difficult to justify participating in enrichment activities after school. Older youth may be hesitant to participate in a program that they see as either an extension of the school day or as a place for younger children and considered “uncool” by their peers.^{viii} Often, older youth want free, unstructured time with their friends, and believe that afterschool programs don’t relate to their needs.^{ix} Further, some afterschool programs face difficulty retaining the older youth who do join. Whether stemming from biases, disinterest in the program, or alternative options for spending their

time, many afterschool participants abandon their programs during the middle and high school years.

In summary, barriers to afterschool participation by older youth include:

- *Employment*: Approximately 40 percent of 16 and 17 year olds work during the school year, and one-quarter of these work 20 or more hours a week.^x
- *Disinterest/ Boredom*: Twenty-five percent of older youth afterschool participants drop out of their programs within two months citing disinterest in the activities.^{xi}
- *The “Relax” Factor*: Sixty-five percent of afterschool nonparticipants say that they prefer to simply hang out afterschool rather than extend their learning day.^{xii}
- *Family Responsibilities*: Twenty percent of youth not currently participating in an afterschool program report that family responsibilities prevent them from attending afterschool programs.^{xiii}
- *Transportation*: Many youth face difficulties in finding transportation to and from afterschool facilities. Forty-nine percent of parents of afterschool nonparticipants say that transportation is the main reason their child does not participate in afterschool programs.^{xiv}
- *Financial Constraints*: The resources for afterschool programs for older youth simply do not exist in many communities.^{xv}

Afterschool Programs Employ Innovative Strategies to Keep Older Youth Engaged

Successful afterschool programs have developed innovative strategies to attract and keep older youth engaged. Techniques such as promoting leadership and real world experience, providing opportunities to socialize and do what is of most interest, offering flexible attendance policies and accessible locations and acting as a bridge between school and community are among those employed by programs.

It's great when you can teach the older generations about this history and they get excited. I never thought I could teach other people and they would listen. But they do and it feels good. – Christina Tilghman, Youth Guide, MYTOWN

Promoting leadership and real world experience: Afterschool programs can attract older youth by providing opportunities for generating income and assuming leadership roles. Through paid internships and/or access to real world experiences, afterschool programs can address the desires for increased responsibility and leadership.

- **MYTOWN (Multicultural Youth Tour of What's Now)** is a youth employment and development program in Boston, Massachusetts. The program educates low and moderate-income teens about the history of their families, neighborhoods and the city and then trains the

youth to lead walking tours and workshops for over 2,000 Boston residents and visitors each year. By providing youth with paid work experience, a strong sense of community involvement and a sense of worth, MYTOWN effectively engages older youth's desires for employment and responsibility and has positive effects on both the program participants and the community at large.

- **The ICAN Peer Leadership Program** in Chandler, Arizona works with students ages 13-18 from an economically disadvantaged area. ICAN's Peer Leadership Program works closely with the Chandler Police Department Gang Unit to challenge a group of teens to develop and apply leadership skills in self-run community service projects. Since 2006, the participants have been tackling underage drinking by establishing a community awareness and prevention campaign throughout Chandler. The ICAN program, which also provides daily homework help, transportation and educational field trips, maintains a high retention rate by addressing the desire for responsibility and leadership opportunities among its teen participants.

We think it's great what they're doing. Alcohol is one of the biggest problems we have in this community and this helps keep it out of the parties.

**– Detective R. Kelley,
Chandler Arizona
Police on the ICAN
Peer Leadership
Program.**

Studies show that older youth will remain in afterschool programs if they attend with their friends and the programs center around their interests.^{xvi} Successful afterschool programs offer older youth the chance to participate in a wide variety of activities with their peers, while getting the supports and supervision they need, such as help with homework and engaging in a variety of learning experiences.^{xvii}

- **Harlem RBI** is a youth development program in East Harlem, New York City that utilizes a combination of sports, academics and a team environment to teach and inspire youth to recognize their potential. In Harlem RBI's Team Enrichment Program, each teen plays on a baseball or softball team from January to August and can also choose to play baseball or softball in the fall. This provides a year round engagement in the program, ensuring that teens will remain involved in the program and receive both the physical and social benefits of playing on a team. The Team Enrichment Program also takes into account the growth of participants by increasing opportunities and responsibility as youth rise through the program. This innovative, sports-infused program ensures that its participants' needs are addressed and has a participant retention rate of over 90 percent.

Offering flexible attendance policies and accessible locations: Flexibility is a key component in afterschool programming for older youth, both in attendance requirements and activities. Older youth who have other obligations such as work or family are more likely participate in afterschool programs that don't have rigid attendance policies. Programs that can provide transportation, are easily accessible or organize buddy systems so that teens can walk or ride with friends are also more likely to enroll and retain older youth.^{xviii}

- **The Ann Arbor Teen Center Neutral Zone** in Ann Arbor, Michigan offers older youth opportunities to engage creatively and socially in their community. The Neutral Zone is a drop-in program open to all teens in the Ann Arbor community where members can come in when they have time to participate. The activities are mostly self-run, offering responsibility and flexibility to participants

resulting in high recruitment and retention rates. Adolescents involved in the Neutral Zone can choose from more than 21 programs including community leadership, education, literary arts, music performance, visual arts and technology. For example, in the Youth Owned Records program, teens create and produce their own music and participants in the Volume Literary Arts Program write and perform slam poetry.

Experience has shown that teens become interested and remain invested in programs if they are given the opportunity to serve in authentic leadership roles and initiate new ideas.

**– John Weiss,
Executive Director of
the Ann Arbor Teen
Center Neutral Zone**

Acting as a bridge between school and community: By building a strong network that includes youth, parents, schools, and the community, afterschool programs can ensure that more youth are willing and able to participate. Successful afterschool programs partner with community based organizations to provide engaging programming and offer teens support and mentoring outside of the school day. By promoting strong relationships among youth, schools, families and the community, afterschool can recruit participants and provide compelling programs that will keep older

youth in attendance. Further, afterschool staff who show that they enjoy being a part of activities and reflect the genders and ethnicities of participants tend to be the best at engaging students and ensuring their retention.^{xix}

- **The Brooklyn College Community Partnership (BCCP)** is a network of afterschool programs that provide youth from several Brooklyn area schools with exposure to college, giving them increased opportunities in the fields of art and technology. The program connects the youth to college students and faculty who serve as mentors and help the students explore future careers and develop academic skills. The BCCP's Arts Network provides youth with hands-on experience in various art forms and its Project Peace program involves youth in community service activities that help youth develop art and writing skills. The BCCP also offers participants academic tutoring and assistance with the college application process. Here, positive role models with previous academic success provide youth with an environment that is beneficial both to their current academic situation and their future prospects in college and beyond.

Conclusion

Although the benefits of afterschool programs for older youth are abundant, and awareness of the need for afterschool is growing, many programs still struggle to recruit and retain older students. Programs know that in order to be successful they need to balance the interests and wants of older youth with the need to provide a safe and enriching environment. Fortunately, afterschool providers across the country are developing strategies and techniques that build on the interests of adolescents and minimize barriers to participation, so that kids stay engaged in afterschool throughout their middle and high school years. These successful programs are stimulating the minds of our nation's teens and preparing them for the future, while helping ensure that more teens will have access to afterschool programs that are adept at fulfilling their interests while also meeting their needs.

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Issue Brief No. 38

July 2009

The Afterschool Alliance, in partnership with MetLife Foundation, is proud to present the third in a series of four issue briefs examining critical issues facing older youth and the vital role afterschool programs play in addressing these issues. The four issue briefs address workforce and career development; recruitment and retention of older youth; dropout prevention and mentoring. They examine just a few of the ways afterschool programs support middle and high school youth, families and communities.

Afterschool: A High School Dropout Prevention Tool

Yes, afterschool helps youth develop academically but, more importantly, it helps them find their passion and better themselves long-term.

---U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan speaking at the Afterschool Alliance “Breakfast of Champions” on April 28, 2009

Over one million students who enter ninth grade each year fail to graduate with their peers four years later because they drop out of school. Seven thousand students drop out of school every day, and each year roughly 1.2 million students fail to graduate from high school. More than half of these students are from minority groups.ⁱ Afterschool programs are a proven way to address the issues and risk factors that lead to dropout and provide a path to graduation and beyond.

High School Dropout Impacts Everyone

Youth who fail to graduate from school significantly diminish their chances to secure a good job and promising future. Not only do the youth themselves suffer, but they are responsible for substantial financial and social costs to their communities, states and the country. They are less likely to accumulate wealth, which impacts living conditions, educational opportunities and job opportunities. Dropouts earn less, pay fewer taxes, are more likely to collect welfare and more likely to engage in criminal behavior.ⁱⁱ Further, individuals with lower income, less education and lower-status occupations and employment have poorer health and less means to obtain adequate health care.ⁱⁱⁱ

- Over the course of a lifetime, a high school dropout earns \$260,000 less than a high school graduate and \$1 million less than a college graduate.^{iv}
- Dropouts from the class of 2006 will cost the U.S. more than \$17 billion in Medicaid and expenditures for uninsured health care over the course of their lifetimes.^v
- High School dropouts are three and one-half times more likely than high school graduates to be arrested, and more than eight times as likely to be in jail or prison.^{vi}

- Sixty eight percent of state prison inmates across the country do not have a high school diploma.^{vii}

Dropping Out of School is a Process

It takes more than a day to drop out of school. Studies show that a single event rarely causes a youth to drop out; rather it is the result of a long process of disengagement that can begin before kindergarten. Patterns linked to high school dropout can be set by the third grade – and failing grades or discipline problems in elementary or middle schools serve as common markers. While dropping out may be a process, there are clear warning signs and risk factors along the path before dropout occurs.^{viii} One study^{ix} found significant risk factors in four domains: individual, family, school and community. While there is no single risk factor that can be used to accurately predict who is at risk of dropping out, the accuracy of dropout predictions increases when combinations of multiple risk factors are considered. Risk factors that are significantly related to high school dropout include:^{x,xi}

- Learning disabilities or emotional disturbances
- Adult responsibilities such as a high number of work hours or parenthood
- Belonging to a peer group engaged in high-risk behavior
- Low school achievement
- Retention or over-age for grade
- Poor school attendance
- Low educational expectations
- Low commitment to school
- No extra curricular participation
- Low socioeconomic status
- Low education level of parents
- Lack of family interest in school

Many of the above risk factors are a direct result of a school’s environment, including available resources, student body performance and academic policies and practices. The onset of standards-based reforms and high-stakes testing combined with tightened budgets that strictly limit the availability of art, music, foreign language, science and PE, increases the likelihood that at-risk students will drop out of school.^{xii} Students who might otherwise lose interest in school often remain engaged when they are presented with an enriched curriculum that provides them with experiential, hands-on learning in a wide range of subject areas such as art, music, foreign language, science and physical education. Students themselves report a lack of relevant curriculum as a main reason they drop out. A majority of dropouts surveyed felt that schools could improve the chances that students would stay in school if they provided opportunities for real-world learning, more engaging coursework and smaller classes with more individualized attention.^{xiii}

Afterschool Programs Successfully Engage and Support Youth

Studies show that afterschool programs effectively address and help resolve many of the issues that lead to dropout.^{xiv} While school districts across the country wrestle with shrinking funds and tightened budgets, afterschool programs provide an ideal platform

for the broad variety of curricula and personalized instruction that keep students interested in learning and committed to staying in school. Youth who participate in afterschool programs improve in key areas that foster success in school, including social and emotional development, increased interest and engagement in school and avoidance of risky behaviors.^{xv} These programs are especially crucial in reaching young people who are most at risk at turning points as they transition from middle school to high school and are searching for meaningful academic, vocational and recreational activities that keep them invested in their own success.^{xvi}

- Children in LA’s BEST improve their regular school day attendance and report higher aspirations regarding finishing school and going to college than their peers who do not participate in the afterschool program. While LA’s BEST is a program for elementary school students, they also engage older youth as volunteers and mentors. Further, dropout rates among LA’s BEST students are 20 percent lower than the overall district dropout rate, highlighting the importance of early intervention.^{xvii}
- Sixty-five percent of former Citizen Schools 8th Grade Academy participants enrolled in high-quality high schools compared to 26 percent of matched nonparticipants. The high school choice program takes advantage of Boston Public Schools' policy of elective high schools. 8th Grade Academy apprentices conduct research on high schools, including average test scores, dropout rates, and college matriculation rates, and analyze the data to select what they consider to be a high quality high school. Out of those who went on to enroll in an elective high school, ninety-two percent of participants were promoted on time to the tenth grade. This is critical, since earning promotion to tenth grade on time is a key predictor of high school graduation (i.e. preventing dropout).^{xviii}
- Youth in the Quantum Opportunities afterschool program were half as likely to dropout of high school and two and one half times more likely to go on to further education after high school than their peers.^{xix}

Several areas have been identified as effective strategies for dropout prevention. These include: academic strategies such as mentoring and tutoring, service learning and alternative schooling; making the most of instruction through experiential learning and educational technology; making the most of the wider community through school-community collaborations and career and technical education; and ensuring that schools are safe places to learn.^{xx} Many of these strategies are incorporated into high quality afterschool programs, making them effective tools in preventing high school dropout.

- **The After-School Apprenticeship Program (ASAP)** is a national adaptation of the successful Chicago teen apprenticeship program After School Matters, which allows high school students to explore a variety of career opportunities through training and paid work placements, helping them develop skills that translate to the

When high school students get authentic, hands-on leadership experiences and exposure to careers, as they do through the After-School Apprenticeship Program, then they have a reason to stay in school and aim for college. They’ve learned what it feels like to do work they love, do it well, and be respected and rewarded.

**-- Lucy N. Friedman,
president of The After-
School Corporation (TASC)**

workplace. The ASAP program offers high school students in New York City, Boston and Providence the opportunity to be trained through an apprenticeship in either the arts or sports. The students learn a craft alongside master practitioners, and then apply these skills during paid summer internships where they work with younger students. The After-School Corporation (TASC) piloted ASAP in 2008 at two sites in New York City with positive results. Student attendance rates averaged between 80 and 90 percent, and program staff reported that participants showed improvements in self-confidence, understanding of life skills and the ability to work as a team. Students reported gains in problem solving skills, leadership, patience and responsibility.

- The **Colorado MESA** program in Denver, Colorado is a premier educational resource and experiential program serving students throughout high school.

College has been a life-long dream, and MESA is helping make it a reality. I would have never have thought that I could be going to college because I'm the only one in my immediate family that has tried to make an effort for further education. I am planning on going to veterinary school.

**--Amanda Thomas
Graduate of the Alternative Center for Education,
now attending Front Range Community College**

MESA's mission is to increase the number of economically disadvantaged and at risk students who graduate from high school fully prepared for post secondary education in engineering, math, science, computer science, business and other math and science-based fields. Hands-on activities, team building and mentoring help build social and literacy skills. Field trips to colleges, universities and industry sites, as well as engineering and science-related design challenges excite students, sharpen their skills and increase their awareness of career opportunities.

Afterschool programs that engage the interests and passions of students are more likely to attract and keep participants, allowing them to take full advantage of the program and earn the credits they need, so they

have the opportunity to graduate with their peers.^{xxi}

- **RiverzEdge Arts Project** in Providence, Rhode Island is an art and leadership program where high school students work with artists in fine and commercial arts. They guide youth to create art, and run an arts enterprise in an environment that stresses hands-on learning, teamwork, mutual respect, responsibility and workplace discipline. Participants build self-awareness and work skills by creating and selling products and services in the competitive arts and business markets, developing their creative voice and preparing them for the job market. One hundred percent of participants go on to graduate high school in a city with a 34 percent dropout rate.

RiverzEdge gives me responsibility and leadership skills I wouldn't normally be provided and makes me more socially open minded.

--Elleen Ebiwa, 17, Teen artist and RiverzEdge Arts Project participant

Effective dropout prevention programs take a comprehensive approach, not only addressing academic support, job training and school credits, but also addressing other social and personal factors that often prevent students from succeeding.^{xxii}

- **The High School Credit Recovery Program** in Wilmington, Delaware includes an afterschool dropout intervention module that targets students at risk for dropping out because they have fallen behind in academic credits. The program uses a multitude of interventions to reengage youth, including creating a learning environment that allows for different readiness levels and fostering communication and cooperation between community-based organizations and the school district. The students are provided with services that address non-academic issues such as substance abuse prevention and treatment, HIV/AIDS, violence prevention, assistance with life choices and decision making. The goal of the program is to graduate healthy, responsible youth.

Conclusion

Successfully confronting the dropout crisis in this country will take a multi-faceted approach that addresses the multiple risk factors common among high school dropouts. One obvious facet to any dropout prevention strategy is encouraging and supporting participation in afterschool programs. Participants in afterschool programs benefit from personal skill building, academic enrichment, family outreach, engaging extracurricular activities and, in some cases, opportunities to earn income, all within a safe environment and positive peer group. Afterschool programs can prevent students from falling through the cracks, ensuring that they receive the appropriate level of attention, instruction, engagement and support to graduate from high school prepared for college, the modern workforce and life.

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Issue Brief No. 40

September 2009

The Afterschool Alliance, in partnership with MetLife Foundation, is proud to present the final in a series of four issue briefs examining critical issues facing older youth and the vital role afterschool programs play in addressing these issues. These issue briefs address workforce and career development; recruitment and retention of older youth; dropout prevention; and mentoring. They examine just a few of the ways afterschool programs support middle and high school youth, families and communities.

Afterschool: A Place for Older Youth to Mentor and Be Mentored

Mentoring is a structured and trusting relationship that brings young people together with caring individuals who offer guidance, support and encouragement. Mentoring programs have grown rapidly in recent years and now serve an estimated 15 to 20 percent of young people who need the care and support of a mentor.ⁱ While that percentage translates to three million youth, it leaves almost 15 million more youth unserved, many of whom are from disadvantaged social and economic backgrounds or do not have caring adults in their lives.ⁱⁱ Mentoring is a critical element in every child's social, emotional and cognitive development. It builds a sense of industry and competency, boosts academic performance and broadens horizons. Along with parents, mentors help young people realize their potential by providing them with support, advice, encouragement and friendship. Afterschool programs, with their history of supporting families and communities, are an ideal platform for successful mentoring programs.

The Benefits of Mentoring are Wide-Reaching

Mentoring programs provide mentees with multiple benefits, and can make positive differences in several areas of youth behavior and development, including:ⁱⁱⁱ

- Improved self esteem
- Stronger relationships with parents and peers
- Greater school connectedness
- Improved academic performance
- Reductions in substance abuse, violence and other high-risk behaviors

Mentors also gain considerable rewards such as:^{iv}

- Improved health and self esteem
- Sense of accomplishment
- Insight into one's own childhood or children
- Public recognition
- Inclusion in a volunteer community

You're motivated when, over the course of a year, you see how much they've improved. We had a seventh-grade student who had been kicked out of several schools—she was defiant and angry. Eventually, though, the program just clicked with her, and she went from the worst level to the best level and stayed there. You see that and just say, "Wow!"

--John Terry, a senior psychology major and Challenging Horizons volunteer

The positive effects of mentoring are well documented, and as a result, many mentoring programs seek to expand their reach by integrating older youth as mentors to younger children. These relationships not only provide participants with the same benefits as traditional mentoring relationships, but also offer the youth mentors additional rewards including:^v

- High school credits
- Leadership opportunities
- Increased interest in social issues
- Greater respect for others' cultures
- Increased knowledge of child development
- Increased personal and interpersonal skills

Despite Clear Rewards, Barriers to Successful Mentoring Programs Exist

The overall record of success of mentoring programs is encouraging. Studies show that mentoring relationships are most likely to promote positive outcomes when they are close, consistent and enduring.^{vi} In order for mentoring relationships to be successful, they must incorporate several key elements:

- Close emotional bond based on empathy and authenticity, basic compatibility and opportunities for having fun.^{vii}
- Youth-centered approach, focusing on the developmental needs of youth.^{viii}
- Consistent, regular meetings, at least four hours per month.^{ix}
- Enduring relationships that last one year or longer.^{xi}

Most mentoring is site-based, taking place in a wide array of settings such as the workplace, faith-based organizations, community settings, juvenile corrections facilities, and schools, where the vast majority of mentoring takes place.^{xii} School-based programs offer benefits such as convenience, safety and the ability to attract a wide pool of volunteers. However, there are downsides. Because the school-based mentoring approach is built around the school curriculum and calendar, it is inherently limited in its ability to create the close, long-term relationships that are critical to successful mentoring.^{xiii} Further, school-based programs tend to focus on academic achievement often at the expense of other enrichment activities and experiences.^{xiv}

Just by having Farid as my mentor, my sense of pride and independence rose...he was able to see me, and what I could be...I am most grateful that he volunteered to become a part of my life.
--Damon, a high school sophomore in Georgia

Afterschool Programs are an Ideal Venue for Mentoring

Afterschool incorporates the benefits of the school-based mentoring model without the potential limitations imposed by school calendars or a stringent focus on academics. Afterschool programs, many of which operate in summer and during holiday breaks, provide critical flexibility that allows participants to take part in experiences that reach beyond the traditional school calendar.^{xv} Afterschool programs can engage community-

based organizations – expanding the pool of administrators and volunteers and providing more enduring relationships.

Afterschool can also facilitate the involvement of older youth as mentors, providing them with a structured, familiar environment and supportive adults to help them fulfill their commitments as mentors to younger children, benefitting all participants.^{xvi}

- **Challenging Horizons Program (CHP)** in Columbia, SC, provides two innovative afterschool mentoring programs: Transitional Mentoring and Self-Efficacy Enhancing Mentoring. The Transitional Mentoring program pairs students transitioning from elementary to middle school with college students taking a course on the transition from high school to college. The knowledge and enthusiasm of the college students, acting as role models, provides support for the middle school students, easing their transition to middle school while also promoting the goal of higher education. The Self-Efficacy program pairs mentors with youth who are receiving supplemental education. During weekly meetings, mentors teach self-regulation skills and promote positive attributes designed to help middle school students become self-reliant, persistent learners.

My Little Sister Alexis is a shy, smart and funny sixth grader. She ... loves to learn experientially – so, we’re exploring her dream to become a doctor or a teacher by field trips to places that can fuel her desire to learn. Recently we went for her first outing (ever!) to the Pacific Science Center. For Alexis, it was magical. We also spent a very long time in the bumper cars at Seattle Center, uh, learning about the laws of physics, but, really, laughing and giggling and letting Alexis just be the 11-year old she is in a safe and fun space.

--Tina, a Big Sister from Big Brothers Big Sisters of Puget Sound

Afterschool mentoring programs can offer access to long-term relationships, which are vital to successful mentoring. Mentors who have the opportunity to forge these bonds teach life-long skills that help young people navigate current challenges, while providing the foundation for success in the future.

- **Big Brothers Big Sisters of Puget Sound** in Seattle, WA, connects actively involved community members with middle school students. The goal of the program is to prevent and intervene in youth violence through mentorship – offering consistent, safe and stable support and encouragement. The program, which unites the public, private and nonprofit sectors, successfully matches 300 caring adults with 300 middle school students. Mentors meet with their student once a week, for at least a year, successfully addressing the challenges of truancy, violence and risky behavior in a holistic manner.

Offering access to enrichment activities that engage youth is a hallmark of a successful afterschool program, and also a critical component of a successful mentoring program. Providing participants with access to extracurricular activities strengthens bonds and boosts retention and participation. Connecting youth to caring adults is one of the key

factors in keeping youth involved in afterschool programs – programs that inspire learning, keep kids safe and help working families.

- **Movement City** in Lawrence, MA combines arts and academic support with leadership development and multi-layered mentoring. This innovative mentoring program incorporates a residency program, in which college seniors and recent graduates participate in everyday operations and develop the culture of the program, serving as role models and mentors to the program’s youth. The residency program provides resident mentors free living space for up to two years in return for a commitment to Movement City, assisting in programs, workshops and activities. The program provides training to all staff, and encourages older teens to mentor younger participants. Paid staff members mentor both youth participants and residents.

Academic supports can be an important part of mentoring; pairing struggling students who may not have access to academic assistance with caring adults. These types of mentoring programs are often the turning point for students who might otherwise drop out of school.

- **Communities in Schools of Peninsula’s Math Mentor Program** in Vaughn, WA provides trained adult mentors to middle school students who are at risk for academic failure, specifically in math. Together, the mentor and mentee discuss problem-solving techniques; identify equation strategies; work on homework; play math games; use computer-assisted instruction; and focus on math basics to improve learning. The participants meet once a week, and continuously adjust their strategy based on the needs of the student. This approach leads to gains in math scores and innovative academic encouragement.

I learned. I couldn’t understand the teacher in class, but I did understand math with my mentor.
--**Middle school math student at the Communities in Schools of Peninsula’s Math Mentor Program**

Conclusion

All young people have the potential to succeed in life and contribute to society; however, not all youth get the support they need to thrive. Mentoring programs help give youth the confidence, resources and skills they need to reach their potential. Afterschool programs offer an ideal platform in which to implement the necessary components of a successful mentoring program, ensuring positive outcomes for all participants.

ⁱ Mentor (2006). *The National Agenda for Action. How to Close the America’s Mentoring Gap.*

ⁱⁱ Rhodes, J.E., & DuBois, D.L. (2006). Understanding and facilitating the youth mentoring movement. *Social Policy Report*, 20(3). Available online at: <http://www.srcd.org/documents/publications/spr/spr20-3.pdf>

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

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