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# Extended Education – an International Perspective

## Proceedings of the International Conference on Extracurricular and Out-of-School Time Educational Research

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Barbara Budrich Publishers
Opladen • Berlin • Toronto 2013

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from
Die Deutsche Bibliothek (The German Library)



ISBN 978-3-86649-402-2
**eISBN 978-3-8474-0306-7 (eBook)**



Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme
Ein Titeldatensatz für die Publikation ist bei Der Deutschen Bibliothek erhältlich.

Verlag Barbara Budrich  Barbara Budrich Publishers
Stauffenbergstr. 7. D-51379 Leverkusen Opladen, Germany

86 Delma Drive. Toronto, ON M8W 4P6 Canada
www.barbara-budrich.net

Jacket illustration by bettina lehfeldt graphic design, Kleinmachnow

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# Introduction

In 2007 Ludwig Stecher was invited to participate in the "International Conference on Exploring the Ways to Activate the After-School Program" at Pusan, South Korea. The conference was organized on initiative of the Korean Ministry of Education & Human Resource Development and the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI).

Invited to the conference were scientists and representatives of various national ministries of five countries – Sweden, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, and Korea – to discuss about there experiences with afterschool education.

Ludwig Stecher was invited to present the German Study on the Development of All-day Schools (Studie zur Entwicklung von Ganztagsschulen: StEG). At that time he was working at the German Institute for International Educational Research as scientific coordinator of the study.

All countries participating in the conference had one thing in common. In the last approximately ten to twenty years they have made comprehensive efforts to expand and develop the institutional learning and care opportunities to supplement (traditional) schooling.

Although the priorities, concrete organization as well as institutional organizational forms of state or private programs differ amongst the participating countries, the conference in Korea showed that the programs had a number of common features or common problems – regardless whether they were extracurricular activities at German all-day schools, summer camps in the United States or the activities at Swedish leisure-time centers.

This pertains first to the fact that the programs often assume, among other things, instructional or more generally: supplementary school functions. Therefore in almost all countries an improvement in the scholastic support of lower as well as higher achieving students is expected, a better utilization of the educational potential of all social classes, a reduction in social inequalities in acquiring education as well as more possibilities for interdisciplinary, social and intercultural

learning education. The conference also showed just as clearly, however, that in almost all countries not only educational policy arguments, but also questions of the employment market and family policy play an essential role in the justification of out-of-school programs and activities.

As with teaching in schools, extracurricular and out-of-school activities are a pedagogical setting (usually) designed by adults, which is (often) supervised by the school or community institution and which is focused on definable – albeit broadly and certainly diverging – learning goals in both the cognitive as well as the psychological areas. These activities and programs differ from school in that:

- in some countries they are not taught by teachers (in the stricter sense),
- there is generally no performance assessment with grades,
- they are often organized in mixed-aged groups,
- they are usually only subject to a low level of curricular requirements,
- and they often offer children and youths more freedom of choice than school (see Stecher & Maschke, chapter 1).

Extracurricular and out-of-school activities thus allow for, among other things, new and different possibilities for learning and development within but also outside the curricular-mandated educational topics or subjects. One of the issues, which concern the school-related extracurricular activities – for example at all-day schools – is the cooperation of teachers with other personnel involved in the activities. The conference showed that cooperation in only the fewest of countries functioned smoothly and that questions of training – for all-day teachers as well as for other personnel – are virulent in almost all countries. Not even considering questions of (differently scaled) pay.

Another issues that was discussed at the Korean conference had to do with the effectiveness of out-of-school and extracurricular activities. Analogous to the classroom as an intentional pedagogical setting, also the question of what constitutes a qualitatively good activity and what it achieves arises. From effectiveness research it is

known that this perspective can be seen as a matter of the question of the educational quality of the activities (see Fischer & Klieme, chapter 3).

After coming back to Germany Ludwig Stecher discussed his experiences with his colleagues Eckhard Klieme and Jutta Ecarius. We were rapidly convinced that more research in this direction has to be initiated and that more international collaboration is needed.

Furthermore, research conducted by Jessica Woods showed that afterschool educational research was – and still is – only little embedded into the national and international educational research associations.

To improve this situation and to create a platform for international research exchange on extracurricular and out-of-school educational research we decided to initiate a kick-off meeting for an international network in Germany. The German Ministry of Education and Research appreciated the idea and decided to fund the conference.

The conference took place at the Justus-Liebig-University of Giessen in October 2010.

We want to acknowledge Marie-Luise Dietz, Amina Fraij, and Roman Thorn for their support and cleaning up the final manuscript.

*Jutta Ecarius, Eckhard Klieme, Ludwig Stecher, and Jessica Woods*

# 1. "Out-of-school education" – a new chapter in educational research?

*Ludwig Stecher and Sabine Maschke*

## 1.1 Out-of-school education as part of a cultural moratorium for children and adolescents in a learning society

Numerous terms have been used over the last few decades to describe the central characteristics of contemporary society. In the field of education these are such terms as "information society" (cf. Burke 2003), "education society" (cf. Caruso 2006) or "knowledge society" (cf. Wingens 2002). Common to all are the following concepts,

- first, that they declare education or knowledge to be a "social resource" (Wingens; 2002, p. 18) that is necessary to maintain national competitiveness in light of internationalized markets and
- secondly, that the individual within these concepts is conceptualized as an "educational entrepreneur" who counteracts dequalification of his knowledge by continually learning and thereby maintaining his market value.

Yet lifelong learning cannot be explained solely by the needs of a changing economy or a progressive knowledge revolution. Baethge, Buss and Lanfer (2003, p. 26) point out that the demand for lifelong learning and further education historically was encountered by a specific individual. His value orientation especially in terms of his own lifestyle had been subjected over the last decades to processes of change resulting in a "strengthening of expressive traits such as independence, image, participation and co-determination". Accordingly, lifelong learning becomes a necessary resource for an autonomous and individualized lifestyle from the individual's perspective. The goal of edu-cation in this sense is an "educated individuality" like that described by Kaube (2006, p. 13).

If the individual would like to meet both demands – society's and one's own – this can only be accomplished in practice by learning. To the extent we see the central demand of contemporary society on the individual to be the learning process, modern societies should in the following be referred to as learning societies rather than as knowledge or information societies – in accordance with Antikainen et al. (1996)

Development of the learning society can be described historically on the basis of a number of indicators. One such indicator pertains to the rising education level of the population. The percentage of school graduates qualified to attend university rose from 6 percent in 1960 to almost 40 percent in 2002/03 (BMBF 2005, S. 88). In the first postwar decades schooling ended for most adolescents at a relatively early age. With this came an early transition into working life. Today it is different. Schooling does not end for most until after completing longer-term education and training programs. For example, the average age of entry into vocational training has increased from 16.6 years (1970) to 19 years (in 2000; Wahler 2004, p. 15). This means that adolescents are learning increasingly longer (in schools).

But the learning society is distinguished not only by a rise in the level of formal educational. Another indicator of the learning society is an increase in out-of-school and extra-curricular learning in adolescence compared with in the past. In almost every country participating in this conference, numerous efforts have been observed over approximately the last 10 to 20 years to expand and develop the institutional learning and care opportunities to supplement (traditional) schooling. Further development of these opportunities is the focus of educational reform efforts in many countries in the future as well.

In Sweden, for example, the number of places for the (voluntary) pre-school class was expanded from ca. 70,000 in 1975 to just under 400,000 in 2005. At the same time the number of places in the leisure-time centers available to 6- to 9-year-olds outside of regular school hours increased from approximately 25,000 (1975) to 330,000 in 2005 (Nordenstam/Uleveson 2007, p. 290;cf. Lundahl 2008).

In South Korea there have been intensive efforts since 1996 to establish additional state educational opportunities (comparable in structure to all-day schools in Germany) at schools. The "expansion of after-school activities" is one of the 50 most important tasks men-

tioned in Vision 2030, the national strategy for the future (Ham 2007, p. 69).

In Great Britain the 5-year plan for 2004 to 2009 stipulated that by 2006 each municipality establish at least one all-day elementary school and by 2008 at least 1,000 all-day elementary schools offer educational and care opportunities from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. (DfES 2004, p. 39). Further expansion of all-day schools is also planned for the secondary level (ibid, p. 65).

A similar development with regard to all-day schools has become apparent in Germany since the beginning of the century. The number of all-day schools has more than doubled from 4.951 in 2002 to 11.825 in 2008/09 (KMK 2010). Further expansion of all-day schools and all-day educational and care opportunities can be expected for the future as well.

In the United States 6.5 million children and youths are presently (2007) enrolled in after-school programs. This is approximately 11 percent of the age group between 3 and 18 years (Kindergarten through grade 12). Another 15.3 million in this age group would attend such programs or activities according to a recent survey ("America after 3pm") if they were available (Afterschool Alliance 2007, p. 4). Corresponding to this great and in recent years increasing need for after-school activities, there has been a dramatic increase in financial expenditures for the support of such programs in the United States. For example, expenditures for the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program rose in just four years from a total of US$ 40 million to approximately US$ 1 billion between 1998 and 2002 (Kane 2004, p. 1).

Furthermore, in most countries a private market for out-of-school education has been established in addition to the state-run and official educational programs and initiatives. For example, in South Korea there is – similar to the Japanese Juku schools (cf. Schubert 2002) – an extensive system of private learning and tutoring institutes which, among other things, prepare students for the central exam at the end of high school at the transition to university studies. Such institutes are, however, first attended not at the end of schooling but rather already during elementary school for learning support. The official numbers for Korea show that approximately 73 percent of elementary school children are involved in such private out-of-school educational activi-

ties (Ham 2007). In Germany an extensive market in the area of out-of-school private tutoring has been established as well (i.e. Schülerhilfe and Studienkreis). Dohmen et al. assume on the basis of current studies that "approximately every eighth to tenth student (at primary level) currently makes use of tutoring; for students at the secondary levels I and II it is probably even almost every fourth. Furthermore it can be said that every third to fourth student has had tutoring over the entire course of his/her schooling" (2007, S. 24).

The previously mentioned figures indicate that the phases of childhood and adolescence have changed significantly. To describe this change, Zinnecker used the term "educational moratorium" or "cultural moratorium" (Zinnecker 1991). This term alludes to the fact that the phase of adolescence and increasingly also that of childhood have been transformed. The key issue of this moratorium phase is the acquirement of education and educational degrees (general: of cultural capital; cf. Bourdieu), which should create the best possible starting point for later professional success. The term educational moratorium targets more than privileged careers in the sense of an (educational) middle-class youth model (cf. Zinnecker/Stecher 1996, p. 165ff.) because it means precisely that all social classes are included in this social transformation process. "Although it was reasonable for the analysis of youth in the industrial society to differentiate between a studying and working youth, an analysis of contemporary youth needs to start with a generalized model of the educational moratorium and to study this moratorium in its specifics and to study this moratorium at all levels of the social hierarchy in terms of its specific characteristics and its socially differentiating reproductive functions in society." (Zinnecker 1991, p. 15)

The transformation of adolescence in the sense of the educational moratorium affects not only youths but also the entire family. At the same time that education gained importance historically for securing the livelihood and social position of the individual in the learning society, a change occurred in the reproduction strategies of families. (cf. the special focus issue of the Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 5/2006). If in previous eras maintaining the social class or status of the family was mainly ensured through the transfer of economic capital, "more and more social groups [...] are starting to pass on their position in society by having their children, in competition with other children and

youths, complete programs for acquiring cultural and educational resources." (Zinnecker 1995, p. 88[1]). The (indirect) inheritance of educational capital has replaced direct inheritance of money and possessions as the mode of status reproduction between family generations (Ditton 1992; Brake/Büchner 2003; Stecher/Zinnecker 2007). Within the framework of this (historically new) reproduction model the (upbringing) responsibilities of parents are redefined: They have become their children's advocates in acquiring culture and education. This includes in particular planning, supervising and supporting their children's school career. As the acquirement of educational and/or cultural capital takes place not only at school but also includes numerous out-of-school educational options, this additionally means that parents – for the most part mothers – have the task of cultivating their children culturally at home as well as outside of school (music school, youth art schools, clubs, etc.) (Pasquale 1998; Horn 2006, p. 624f.).

In our opinion, the previous remarks show that a further increase in the number of out-of-school educational opportunities is probable due not only to increasing efforts of society to raise the general level of education but also to the (distinctive) attitude of families towards education.

We see further evidence to support these assumptions in the increasing importance of for example pre-school education.

The importance of out-of-school learning activities and programs are also reflected more and more in educational research – as can be seen in the German "Study on the Development of All-day Schools" (StEG) and the German "National Educational Panel Study" (NEPS). The many different aspects characterizing out-of-school education are presented in the "Handbook on All-Day Education" edited 2008 by Thomas Coelen and Hans-Uwe Otto.

Of course the increase of out-of-school programs and activities just described cannot be explained only from the perspective of learning and families reproduction strategies. The aspects of care also play an important role in the expansion of out-of-school facilities – at least in economies where both parents are increasingly absorbed in their jobs. And education and care complement one another here. But we want to focus on the educational processes.

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[1] Translation Jürgen Zinnecker.

## 1.2 How is out-of-school educational research different from in-school educational research?

The question of what makes out-of-school educational research different from school educational research cannot be answered without taking a closer look at the differences between the three main categories of learning environments, which we call – in German speaking countries – formal, non-formal, and informal learning environments. In Anglo-American countries we usually find a differentiation between formal and informal contexts. But after this section, it may be become clearer why it is useful to make a distinction between non-formal and informal learning contexts.

If we assume a simplified model we can understand educational process as the result of how the individual deals with a specific educational opportunity and/or educational context – in the sense of an opportunity-utilization model as defined by Fend (1998). From this point of view the following question arises for educational research regarding the individual: Why do some people acquire education – and others do not? In terms of educational context the central question for educational research is: Why do some contexts make it possible (easier/harder) to acquire education – and others do not?

If we consider the various educational contexts (learning environments) that a learning individual is involved in, we can divide them into three categories according to the classification prevalent in the German-speaking countries: formal, non-formal and informal educational contexts.

### *1.2.1 Formal educational contexts*

Let's take schools as the example for formal educational contexts in the following.

Formal education contexts are characterized by the fact that they are linked to institutions and organizations. This means that the pedagogical interaction – in our case lessons – take place as part of a larger organization. This larger organization is characterized in a sociological sense generally by a division of work, different levels of hierarchy, internal rules/regulations and specific objectives (social function of schools).

An essential aspect is a legitimate certification. Success or lack of success of a school career is certified and documented. These documents create a public image in the sense of educational titles (Bordieu) that affects beyond the formal context access to further educational contexts and the opportunities in life in general.

A further essential characteristic of formal educational contexts is that from the viewpoint of the providers of learning content (in schools: teachers) teaching is usually based on a pedagogical intention and professional action. It is typical of formal contexts that the quality of the pedagogical interaction is ensured and standardized by a homogenous profession – achieved through a degree in education. We will see that this is an essential difference to the non-formal educational contexts.

A further characteristic of formal educational contexts is that the participants – in our case the students/pupils – do not participate voluntarily but are more or less required to participate (compulsory school attendance).

If we assume from the viewpoint of teachers a pedagogical intention for their actions, we can then also assume from the viewpoint of the students intentional deliberate behavior for learning in schools. At the least students know that if they want to learn something they can best do this in the classroom.

A further essential criteria of formal educational contexts is the fact that learning generally is not or only to a very small extent self-directed, but rather follows a prescribed schedule (curriculum) with respect to organization, methods, and content.

### *1.2.2 Non-formal educational contexts*

Let's use a music school here as an example for this type of educational context in the following.

As in formal educational contexts, non-formal contexts are also linked to institutions and organizations. Here as well teaching and learning processes are integrated in the overall context of an organization.

Having previously determined that it is essential for formal educational contexts to serve a legitimate certification function, we can now determine that there is no such certification function for non-

formal educational contexts (there are of course exceptions). Although a music school would certify the success of a music pupil, the legitimate public image of these certificates is limited (they cannot be used to file suit for admittance to a music college).

As in formal contexts – and this is one of the central aspects that we would like to stress here – we can assume also for non-formal educational contexts that teachers/instructors – the providers of learning content – usually act generally with a pedagogical intentional. Based on our example of the music school and similar out-of-school educational contexts, however, it becomes apparent that these actions are less standardized by a homogenous professional training than in a formal context. We find, for example, trained music teachers as well as freelance musicians teaching at music schools. This becomes even more apparent in the out-of-school activities in all-day schools, which in some cases are taught by parents or higher grade students.

Whereas for formal educational contexts a compulsory character prevails, non-formal educational contexts are characterized by the fact that participation is voluntary. We'll come back to this important difference when we address the problem areas of out-of-school educational research.

As in formal educational contexts, we generally assume that learning from the participant's perspective takes place intentionally also in non-formal educational contexts. This means that a specific learning goal is deliberately pursued by the participants.

And finally we can – as in schools, although not standardized to the same degree – generally assume that in non-formal educational contexts organization, method and content are determined for the most part by the teacher or person in charge. Here again learning is often not self-directed.

### *1.2.3 Informal Educational Contexts*

Finally, let's take the family as an example for an informal educational context.

Whereas formal and non-formal educational contexts are characterized by their link to organizations and institutions, the link to the immediate lifeworld is what is vital for informal educational contexts

like families. Learning takes place directly in everyday activities. Certification with a public image does not exist.

Using the term providers of the learning content – in our case parents, or friends in groups of the same age – in informal educational contexts is not unproblematic. If we nonetheless want to use the term provider, we can generally assume that the providers do not act with pedagogical intentions based on professional practical knowledge (which does not mean that parents cannot also act with pedagogical intentions).

From the perspective of the persons learning – the children of a family – learning is generally more incidental and less intentional. Typical of learning in informal educational contexts is en passant learning, in other words learning through everyday life.

The organization, methods and content of learning in these contexts are different from those described above in educational contexts in that they are not prescribed. Learning is usually self-directed and progress based on the spontaneous activities and freedom of choice of the individual.

Out-of-school educational research primarily concerns itself with non-formal and informal educational contexts – although the main focus of this conference is on non-formal contexts. This is for a good reason. According to Klaus Mollenhauer one of the key tasks of educational research is to design and establish situations where successful learning processes can occur. An essential task of out-of-school educational research is therefore to answer the question of how non-formal educational contexts should be designed so that successful and optimal learning processes are made possible.

### *1.2.4 Some differences between out-of-school and in-school educational research*

Out-of-school educational research includes both the areas of non-formal and informal contexts. Comparison of the characteristics of the formal and non-formal/informal contexts already reveals essential differences between school and out-of-school educational research. We would, however, like to present systematically some of the essential differences once again. As most of the presentations at this conference are concerned with the area that we would describe as part of the

non-formal sector, we would like now to compare only the formal and non-formal contexts.

We would like to use the all-day school as a model for this comparison. The all-day school is particularly suited for this in our opinion, as it almost completely covers the heterogeneity of non-formal educational contexts with the different forms of out-of-school activities in addition to classroom teaching (as a formal educational context). On the one hand, there are classroom-related activities like homework assistance or courses in specific subjects and on the other hand leisure time activities like musical productions or cooking classes.

It is our basic conviction that we can apply to out-of-school activities a similar educational quality model or model of effectiveness as that applied to classroom teaching. Numerous correlating models can be found in the research on school effectiveness, but usually a distinction is made an input, a process and an output level. If we compare formal school and out-of-school activities on these levels, several essential differences, among other things, become evident.

*Input Level*

Typically, questions about the qualification levels of the staff are addressed on this level. Whereas research questions in the school education context are primarily concerned with teachers (for example regarding the quality of teacher education), research on out-of-school activities must deal with a much greater heterogeneity of the personnel and their qualifications. As the Study on the Development of All-day Schools (StEG; see chapter 2 in this volume) shows, primarily early childhood educators and school social workers, work in all-day schools in Germany. Views of teaching and ideas about what education is are different from those of school teachers in general. This leads to the very exciting question for out-of-school research of how, based on their different understanding of their profession, cooperation between school teachers and the other staff is structured.

*Frequency and intensity of participation*

Whereas the compulsory character of classroom teaching makes the question of frequency and intensity of student participation (all students spend the same amount of time in class) fairly irrelevant, it is an essential characteristic of most out-of-school activities that they are voluntarily chosen by the students; at least at open all-day schools. The students decide themselves if they want to participate in the available courses or not and if so in which ones. (This is generally true especially for activities outside of school.) This means that we find all-day school children and youths who do not attend any courses on the one hand and on the other a (usually smaller) group who attends courses five days a week.

StEG shows that the positive effects of out-of-school activities become stronger the more often children and youths participate in the activities. Therefore the dose is crucial to the possible effects of out-of-school activities. For out-of-school educational research this means that it needs study questions relating to which students choose which activities and why other student groups do not do this; questions which usually do not need to be considered in school educational research.

Yet a third point that clearly reveals the differences between out-of-school and school educational research relates to the area of effects/developments of competencies. Here differences between classroom/educational effects and effects on the school performance level can be seen. Research on classroom teaching provides a model that can be applied relatively easily to the school performance level. The basis for this is a canon for assessing an increase in knowledge acquirement that is documented in the curriculum. Particularly for out-of-school activities in all-day schools, however, effects are also expected on other levels that we can summarize as educative effects. These include social learning, intercultural learning, learning strategies or a positive academic self-concept. Out-of-school educational research is dealing here with different competency areas with different levels that cannot be deduced from a generally valid and approved curriculum. Accordingly, competency models must be designed differently here than in the core subjects taught in classrooms.

As we can see, out-of-school educational research in part has to look at questions different from those of classical school educational research. Some of these areas we have spoken about will be more closely illuminated during the course of the conference. But as in school educational research, questions on the effectiveness of out-of-school programs and their effects on children and adolescents are the focus of out-of-school research.

### 1.3 Relationship between out-of-school and in-school educational research

At the end we'd like to deal with an aspect of educational research which played an important role at the Korean Conference in 2007 mentioned in the introduction to this volume: the relationship between school and out-of-school education. Noam and colleagues (Noam/Biancarosa/Dechausay 2003) describe in their book "Afterschool Education" five different forms of this relationship. From our point of view the different models they outline, are useful not only for all-day school research on the relationship between classroom lessons and extra-curricular activities but also for describing collaboration and cooperation between the school system and the out-of-school system in national education systems as a whole.

The first model named by Noam and colleagues was the 'unified model'. "Under this model, out-of-school programs can become essentially indistinguishable from school, since they take place in the same space and are usually under the same leadership (the school principal). At the other extreme lie 'self-contained' programs, which intentionally choose to be separate from schools." (Noam et al., cit. in National Research Council 2009, p. 176)

Between these two extremes lie three other models. The first one is called the 'associated model'. For this model a strong collaboration between teachers and out-of-school staff – normally based on regular meetings – and content parallelism are essential. The difference from the unified model lies in the "more informal feel" of teaching (ebd., p. 177). "In the coordinated model, out-of-school […] programs connect their activities to the general school […] curriculum and standards but not to what students are learning in class on a daily or weekly basis." (Ebd.) In the last model, the 'integrated model', the sphere of school

and out-of-school activities are totally disconnected. The advantage of this model can be that "they can provide students with an alternate entry point into […] [school and learning] if they have already been turned off from school […]" (Ebd.)

### 1.4 Final Remark

At the end of our contribution it's time to give an answer to the question: Out-of-school education – a new chapter in educational research? Our answer is yes. First, afterschool educational research has to deal with some very new research aspects – some of them we mentioned in the previous sections (like cooperation between different professions, like taking into account the dose of afterschool activities, like a broader view on effectiveness, like the heterogeneity of relevant activities and programs). And second, we are convinced that the area of afterschool education will increase further more, and linked to it the need for afterschool educational research as well. So, yes, we think that afterschool educational research is a new chapter of educational research – but in many respects it is an unwritten chapter. To fill this chapter is one of the purposes of this conference.

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# 2. Quality and effectiveness of German all-day schools. Results of the study on the development of all-day schools in Germany

*Natalie Fischer and Eckhard Klieme*

## 2.1 Introducing "all-day schools" in Germany

*Political motives and definition*

In Germany, "schooling" is traditionally associated with an academic curriculum taught between about eight o'clock in the morning and – at least in primary school – noon or one o'clock in the afternoon. Hobbies, games and other extracurricular activities are not generally offered and lunch is not provided.

The introduction of "all-day schools" has been a major topic in recent educational debates. Introducing "all-day schooling" is based on a number of rationales and changes in society. According to the Twelfth Report on Children and Youth (BMFSFJ, 2005) arguments in favor of expanding the provision of all-day schooling in Germany fall into four main categories:

- *education policy arguments* regarding the development of skills and abilities of all students;
- *youth policy arguments* concerning the psychosocial development of children and youth;
- *family policy arguments* including the issue of work-life balance as well as social support for families; and
- *employment policy arguments* concentrating on providing adequate child care to allow educated woman who are also mothers to offer their skills to the workforce.

In pragmatic and political terms, one of the main arguments for all-day school programs is based on demographic developments and

changes in the structure of the labor market. Given that all-day schools should make it easier for parents to balance work and family life, proponents argue that all-day schools may improve the efficiency of the labor marketplace by allowing qualified mothers to offer it their skills (BMFSFJ, 2005). With respect to families, having both parents gainfully employed causes changes in family structures and, thus, in the nature of childhood (e.g., Baumert, Cortina & Leschinsky, 2003 or Holtappels, 2005). As support networks comprised of relatives and neighbors erode or break down altogether (Holtappels, 2005) there is a growing demand for institutional child care – in all-day schools, for example. This demand is particularly acute among single parents and relates to the employment policy arguments in favor of all-day schools (Klieme, Kühnbach, Radisch & Stecher, 2005).

Consequently, youth policy arguments assume that the changing environments of children and adolescents are leading to decreased social experiences and contacts. It is argued that young people's psychosocial development and their integration in the adult world would be enhanced by attendance at all-day-schools. Thus, another important argument in its favor is the hypothesis that all-day schooling responds to the "need for social integration" (Holtappels, 2005).

In the past decade the focus of academic and political debate concerning all-day schools has shifted to the educational benefits of all-day schools, mainly because of Germany's poor performance in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) studies (Tillmann, 2004). It is anticipated that the extracurricular activities offered at all-day schools will boost academic achievement. In particular, benefits are expected to accrue for those students who are in need of special support, for example, children and adolescents from immigrant families (Holtappels, 2005). As all-day schools offer support for weaker students (e.g., help with homework, remedial lessons in specific subjects), it is argued that all-day education will provide "at-risk" groups with necessary support. Thus the link between academic achievement and social background could be weakened.

All in all, these assumptions imply that all-day learning shifts the balance between schools on one hand, and the family and peer groups on the other, thus weakening distinctions between the education system and other societal systems (Luhmann, 2002). Learning in all-day schools is not limited to academic curricula but includes social, moti-

vational and cross-curricular competencies. Consequently, organizational and institutional changes are required and expected with the introduction of all-day schools.

Currently, federal states and governments are investing in two areas: increasing the availability of all-day schooling for children and youths; and improving pedagogical work and teaching quality at those all-day schools. Due to increased funding and the changed political climate, the number of all-day schools in Germany has risen greatly (see Figure 1). In 2009, 47% of German schools were considered to be all-day schools.

The criteria for classification as an all-day school are defined by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany. All-day schools are "*primary and secondary schools which, in addition to timetabled lessons in the morning, offer an all-day programme comprising at least seven hours per day on at least three days per week. Activities offered in the afternoon are to be organised under the supervision and responsibility of the head staff and to be carried out in cooperation with the head staff. The activities are to have a conceptual relationship with the lessons in the morning. All-day schools, which are far less common in Germany than the traditional "Halbtagsschule", provide a midday meal on the days on which they offer all-day supervision*" (Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2008, p. 356).

In addition, different forms of all-day schools are distinguished based on student level of obligation. In schools with "open-all-day" programs, participation is voluntary and students choose to participate individually. In "compulsory" all-day programs students are required to stay in school for extended hours at least three days a week[1] (Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2005). Consequently, even though 47% of schools offered all-day programs in 2009, only about 25% of students participated.

[1] Note that there are differences between the German States (Laender).

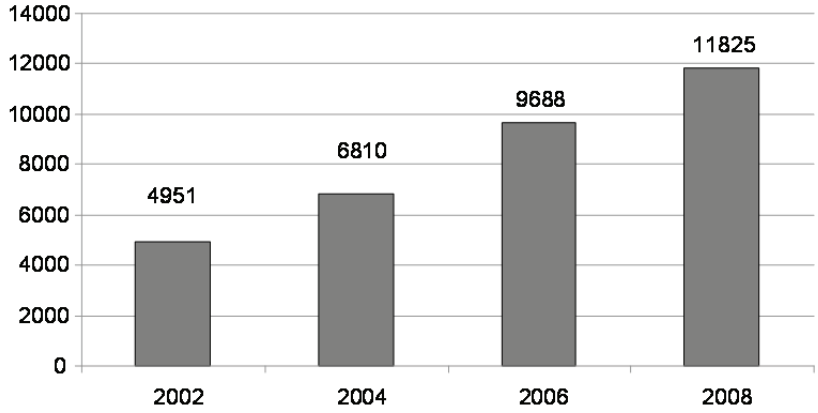


*Figure 1: Development of all-day schooling in Germany: number of schools characterized as all-day schools from 2002 to 2008*

Source: Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, Bildungsbericht 2010

*Scientific evidence*

As political reasons for funding and supporting all-day schools rely heavily on expected academic and educational improvements, it is necessary to summarize briefly the scientific basis for these expectations.

Before StEG, research on the educational effects of all-day schools in Germany was limited with respect to sample size, representativeness, and methodology (see Ludwig, 1993 or Radisch, 2009 for an overview). All in all, results of the very few studies comparing all-day schools to half-day schools (e.g., Witting, 1997; Baldischwiler, 1985; Balluseck, 1996; Köller & Trautwein, 2003) were inconsistent. In several case studies researchers failed to find any significant differences in the academic performance of students attending all-day schools and their counterparts at half-day schools; in some cases the performance of students at all-day schools was in fact slightly poorer (e.g., Witting, 1997; Eigler, et al., 1977; Fendel, 1967). Nevertheless,

when controlling for the social backgrounds of the respective student populations, all-day schools appear to show evidence of better outcomes than would otherwise be expected. However, all-day schools seem to compare rather more favorably with half-day schools where their effects on aspects of social integration and on school climate are concerned (e.g., Witting, 1997; Joppich, 1979; Köller & Trautwein, 2003).

Recently, German researchers started using data from large scale studies such as PISA and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) to analyze the educational effects of all-day schools. Unfortunately, because of the cross-sectional design of those studies the educational and selection effects cannot be differentiated (Hertel et al. 2008; Radisch, Klieme & Bos, 2006). Because of this issue, international results have to be considered as well.

Although German all-day schools differ considerably with respect to organisation and conceptual base, extracurricular activities are provided at every German all-day school. Accordingly, results of United States studies and reviews and meta-analyses about the effects of school-based and out-of-school extracurricular activity participation on several cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes are useful (see, for example, Eccles et al., 2003; Feldman & Matjasko, 2005). Recent overview articles, meta-analyses and reviews support the assumption of positive correlations between extracurricular participation and academic performance measured by grades (Eccles et al., 2003; Feldman & Matjasko, 2005) as well as influences of participation on the development of social, physical and intellectual skills (Durlak, Weissberg & Pachan 2010; Eccles & Barber, 1999). Although mostly grades and college completion were investigated as dependent variables, there are hints that academic competencies can be influenced as well (Lauer et al., 2006).

However, recently this rather product-oriented approach has widened. Either process-quality (as Miller & Truong, 2009) or quantity of participation, also referred to as "dosage" (as Vandell, Reisner & Pierce, 2007), are included in models of after-school program effectiveness. It is assumed that these factors are crucial to the achievement of positive effects from extracurricular participation.

As to quality, the following features have been shown to be important: structure (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000), adult supervision (Van-

dell et al., 2007), supportive relationships and opportunities for skill-building (Miller 2003; Miller & Truong, 2009). In accordance with self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000), it can be assumed that extracurricular activities have a high potential to address students' basic needs (see also Fischer, Radisch & Stecher, 2009). Barber et al. (2005), for example, consider extracurricular activities to be settings that provide opportunities to enhance identification with the values and goals of the school. They assume that participating in organized leisure activities is a way for adolescents to meet their need for social relatedness. In his approach called "Positive Youth Development", Larson (2000) argues that the effects of structured activities are triggered by social processes in peer groups (cf. Eccles & Barber, 1999) where adolescents can experience more autonomy than in classrooms.

Concerning dosage of the activities, Fiester, Simpkins and Bouffard (2005) describe "absolute attendance" as signing up to participate in an activity as compared to not participating at all, "attendance intensity" as the amount of time per week/month, etc., spent participating in an activity, and "attendance duration" as the length of the period of time during which participation in the activity took place (one year, a semester, etc.). Fiester et al. (2005) emphasize the importance of these variables in the evaluation of the effects of extracurricular activities. In particular, reviews and evaluations of after-school programs emphasize positive correlations between attendance duration and school motivation and grades (Simpkins, Little & Weiss, 2004; Welsh et al., 2002). Vandell et al. (2007) focus on the importance of dosage and link regular participation in extracurricular activities to positive academic, social and motivational development.

The analytical framework of StEG includes dosage and quality of extracurricular activities and also focuses on context variables outside school (e.g., community context) as powerful prerequisites for student change (Figure 2, cf. Stecher, Radisch, Fischer & Klieme, 2007).

In this approach, it is assumed that the effects of extracurricular activities on academic and non-academic student outcomes can be mediated by the students' perceptions of the process quality of the activity as well as by their attendance duration and attendance intensity. Moreover, the effects are dependent on individual variables such

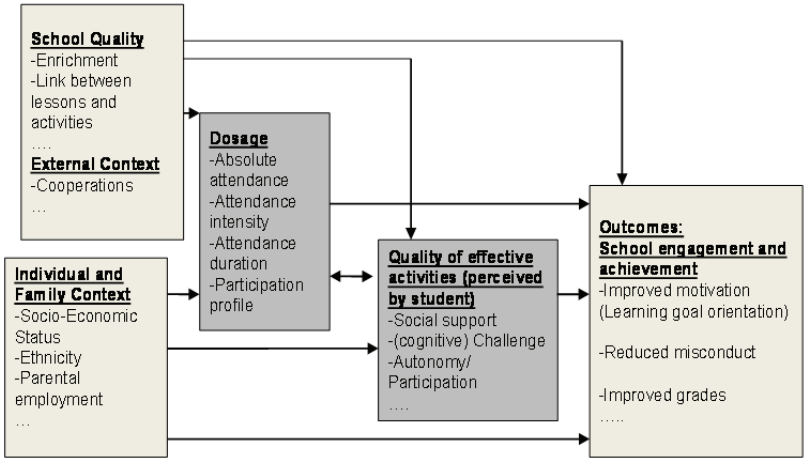


*Figure 2: Model of individual effects of extracurricular activities in the school (based on Stecher et al., 2007; Miller & Truong, 2009; Vandell et al., 2007)*

as ethnicity, cognitive abilities, and social background as well as on school quality and external context variables.

## 2.2 The study of the development of all-day schools (StEG)

StEG is a multi-perspective and multi-criterial longitudinal study[2] funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the European Social Fund. Four institutions cooperated to conduct the study[3] and 371 schools were included in the sample. Members of the target groups (i.e., the schools' principals, teachers, other pedagogical staff, parents and students) filled in questionnaires at three measurement points (= waves) in the years 2005, 2007 and 2009. For sample size information see table 1.

[2] Further information: www.projekt-steg.de.

[3] German Institute for International Educational Research (Klieme/Fischer); German Youth Institute (Rauschenbach), Institute for School Development Research (Holtappels), Justus-Liebig-University (Stecher)

*Table 1: Nationwide Sample*

| | **2005** | **2007** | **2009** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Students | 30,562 | 26,357 | 26,985 |
| Parents | 20,950 | 17,523 | 16,349 |
| Teachers | 8,837 | 6,772 | 6,311 |
| Pedagogical Staff | 1,750 | 1,690 | 1,584 |
| Cooperation Partners | 676 | 812 | 729 |
| Principals | 357 | 316 | 300 |

Characteristics of schools and activities were analysed based on the data collected. The effects participating in extracurricular activities had on student development and on the families of the participants were also analysed. An overview of some important results based on complex statistical analyses including growth-curve and multi-level modelling[4] is provided in this paper. Control variables such as school track (highest track vs. all other tracks), organization type (open vs. compulsory), socioeconomic status (SES) and immigration background (of students and families), and the sex and age of the students were included in the models.

A longitudinal three-wave design was administered to a subsample of more than 10,000 fifth-graders (in 2005). More than 9,000 of them filled in at least one questionnaire, and more than 6,000 responded at two waves (Furthmüller et al., in press). Many of the results reported here are based on this longitudinal subsample (see Figure 3).

[4] Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) was applied to deal with missing values on the parameter level. The MLR estimator was chosen to meet non-normality and non-independence of observations. Standard errors are corrected using TYPE = COMPLEX, which is a function of Mplus that takes the clustered data structure into account.

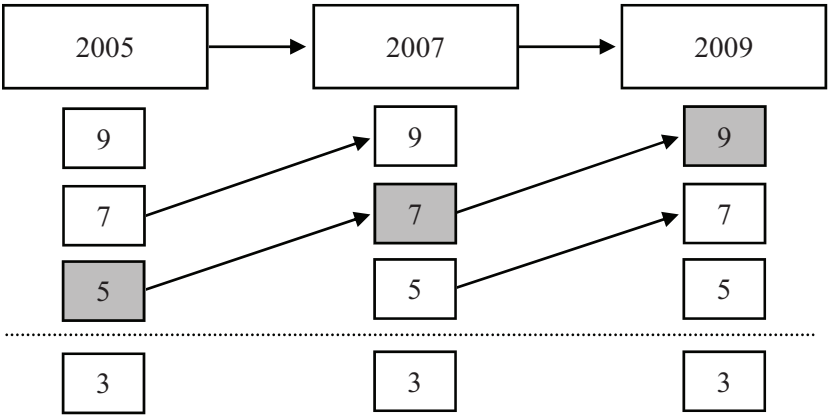


*Figure 3: Student sample and longitudinal three-wave-subsample of StEG (grey boxes)*

## 2.3 StEG results

### *2.3.1 Families*

Family-related arguments in favor of all-day schooling include the likelihood of improvement in the work-life balance and the provision of additional educational support for parents. The Federal Department for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth expects "… the introduction of all-day school to strengthen families and support parents in finding for themselves an optimal balance between being active in the family and active in the form of occupational employment" (BMFSFJ, 2006, p. 6). Thus potential benefit of all-day schools lies in the additional adult supervision provided for children whose parents both work outside the home. Results of StEG support this notion. More than 80% of primary school children whose mothers are employed full time participate in the additional activities available at all-day schools. There is a linear decline in the number of participating students dependent on the mother's employment status (mother half-time employed: 66.5%; mother not employed: 48.5%).

Yet some argue that over and above this supervisory function, all-day schooling is needed to substitute for the ongoing decline in the quality of the upbringing children currently receive from their parents (Appel, 2004). In particular, it is assumed that all-day schools will help raise successful adults by supporting families of low SES, children at risk, and immigrant children. StEG results confirm this assumption. By and large, parents report that all-day schools are supportive in connection with academic learning as well as with broader educational problems. Figure 4 demonstrates that parents of low SES especially, report relief concerning homework and disciplinary problems.

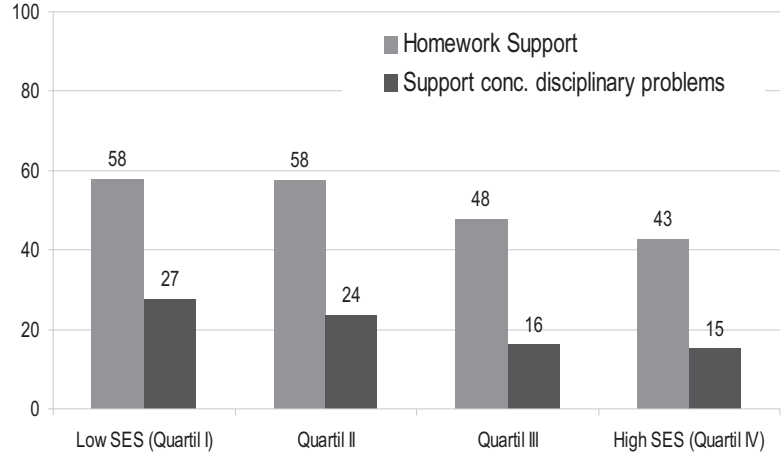


*Figure 4: Parent support (%) and SES (measured by HISEI).*

Source: StEG Parent Questionnaire 2009 (cross-sectional analysis)

If all-day schools are to provide support and promote integration of children at risk, it is crucial that at risk children and those with diverse family backgrounds are reached. StEG results indicate that this is the case in secondary schools. Concerning participation rates in all-day secondary schools, no differences were found based on SES or immigration background. Still, at all measurement points of StEG, primary school children of low SES showed considerably lower participation

rates when compared to their peers of higher SES. This relates to the fact that full-time employment of both parents predicts participation in primary school.

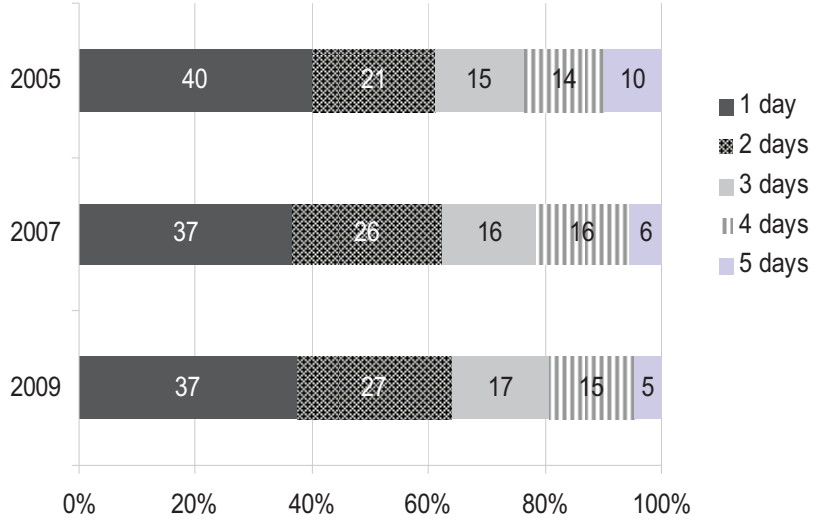


*Figure 5: Participation intensity (days per week) in grade 5*

Source: StEG Student Quest. 2005-2009 (Panel-Schools, cross-sectional analyses)

On the whole StEG results show that all-day schools can be beneficial for all families. Partly based on experienced support, family-relationships of children who regularly participated in the afternoon activities improved. This is reported by secondary school students and their parents. At the same time, StEG data reveal that all-day-students do not differ from half-day students concerning frequency of family activities such as discussions, games or trips.

Summing up, StEG demonstrated that all-day schools can support parents and families, if students participate on a regular basis. Currently, in open all-day secondary schools this is not the typical pattern.

Figure 5 shows that even in grade 5 the majority of students participate in extracurricular activities only once or twice per week.

Participation intensity per week is considerably higher in primary schools. As the day-care aspect diminishes, students tend to participate less frequently. This constrains the probable effectiveness of all-day schools in Germany.

### *2.3.2 Schools*

Klieme et al. (2005) argue that all-day schools are defined by organizational features such as an extended timeframe, provision of lunch, recruitment of additional staff (besides teachers), and regulations governing the choice of academic and non-academic activities provided (which may or may not be voluntary). Besides a more flexible organization and disposition of time, all-day schools differ from half-day schools in the following aspects:

- academic and non-academic enrichment (extracurricular activities linked to lessons);
- integration of educational personnel (besides teaching staff); and
- cooperation with partners from outside the school system.

The results of StEG add to a better understanding of these aspects.

#### *Academic and non-academic enrichment*

Extracurricular activities are provided by every all-day school in Germany, although their pedagogical concepts are very heterogeneous (Holtappels et al., 2007; Hertel et al., 2008). Table 2 contains the StEG categories of activities and examples.

StEG results show that most schools provide a large variety of activities and that becoming an all-day school leads to a considerable increase in the diversity of activities provided. By 2009 more than 90% of primary and secondary schools offered homework support. Although academic and non-academic enrichment programs have been initiated, most students participate in non-academic activities during

*Table 2: Variety of Activities*

| Category | Examples |
|---|---|
| Homework support | Homework support, re-hearsal time |
| Academic enrichment | Mathematics, science |
| Remedial courses | For immigrant children, for low-level learners |
| Non-academic enrichment | Sports, theatre, gardening |
| Supervision (daycare – in primary schools) | Leisure time |

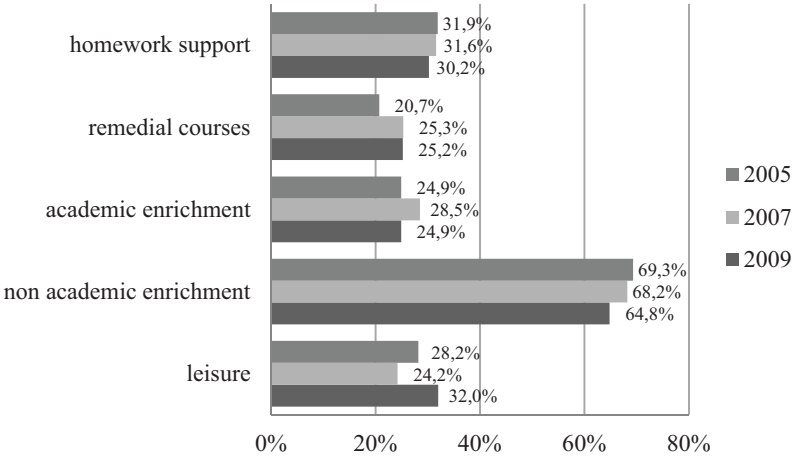


*Figure 6: Participation rates in all-day secondary schools dependent on type of activity*

Source: StEG Student Questionaire 2005-2009 (Sek. I; aggr. (school-level), Panel-schools, cross-sectional analyses, participants)

the extended school hours in all-day primary and secondary schools (see Figure 6).

As mentioned above, the non-academic activities conducted in the afternoon are developed to have a conceptual relationship to the academic lessons of the morning. In this way it is assumed that the non-academic activities will have a greater impact on student learning. Moreover, Klieme et al. (2005) suppose that there is a risk of declining school quality if a school's core activity instruction is only loosely connected to its afternoon programs. Data collected from the StEG principal questionnaire reveal that this conceptual link is often missing. Although in primary schools conceptual relationships between lessons and activities[5] increased during the study, in secondary schools no development at all was reported. This could be associated to a deficiency in the level of cooperation of teachers and adult supervisors in the activities.

However, changes at the organizational level are expected to affect non-cognitive outcomes rather than academic achievement. Effects on achievement are only to be expected if an all-day school makes deliberate changes to the culture of teaching and learning in the lessons as well as in the activities. This concerns the quality of learning processes in the afternoon activities.

*Prozess quality of extracurricular activities*

As stated above, all-day learning can be assumed to have positive effects on individual developmental trajectories – provided that certain quality criteria are fulfilled. For example, by addressing the needs of competence, autonomy and social relatedness, the activities are expected to enhance social learning, motivation, school commitment and academic learning. In this way, attendance at all-day schools can be expected to contribute to the integration of immigrant and low SES children and youth.

In StEG, students were asked to report the process quality of the afternoon activities with respect to three categories considering the basic needs introduced by Deci and Ryan (1985). As an indicator of autonomy experience, participation in the activities was rated. The

[5] Measured by items such as "There is usually a connection between the topics of the projects/working groups and the topics of the subjects dealt with in class or they usually result or are derived from them".

feeling of competence was measured by items concerning activation and challenge in the activities. Confirmatory factor analyses showed that these aspects were based on one factor, "process quality", in StEG (which also includes other motivational aspects). Another factor, "student-staff relationship", illustrates the relationship between students and adults (i.e., teachers or additional staff) during the activities as an indicator of social relatedness. Table 3 contains item examples.

*Table 3: Indicators of activity quality*

| **Scale** | **Process quality** | | Student-staff relationship |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Content Example** | Participation | Activation and Challenge | |
| **Item Example** | Often we can decide about topics in the activity. | Every student has to work actively on a task. | Students and staff get on well with each other. |

Cross-sectional results of StEG indicated that student-perceived process quality of activities was at a medium level and did not change during the study. However, student estimation was based on a number of conditions. Figure 7 illustrates two of them. First, as the figure is based on the longitudinal student sample it can be seen that perceived process-quality declined with age. In fact, this is a rather normal development. School attachment and evaluation as well as motivation tend to decline with age (Eder, 2010; Jacobs et al., 2002). Second, although process-quality and student-staff relationship resulted in two factors in confirmatory factor analyses, they are related to each other. The better student-staff relationship is judged, the higher the perceived process-quality.[6]

As StEG-data indicate, there is also a connection between school climate (i.e., teacher-student relationship, teacher-staff relationship, teacher strain, student deviance on the school level) and student perceived process-quality. At the individual level, it was found that besides age and perceived student-staff relationship, students' ratings of

[6] As stated above, this and all other results rely on complex growth curve modeling, although figures show simple relationships (just for illustration).

process quality were influenced by another variable: if students were given the opportunity to decide about extracurricular participation for themselves they tended to give higher ratings to process-quality than their peers who were assigned to activities by their parents or teachers.

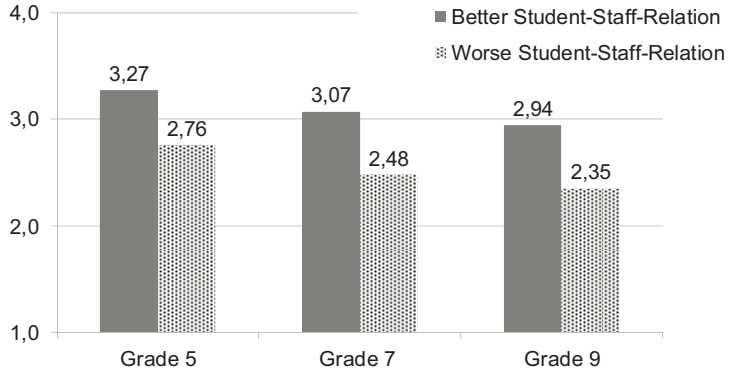


*Figure 7: Relationship between student-perceived student-staff relationship and process-quality of activities (Y-Axis), Range of both variables: 1-4, students were grouped (better or worse student-staff relationship) by median-split to create this figure*

Source: StEG Student Questionnaire 2005-2009 (Sek. I, longitudinal sample, Activity participants)

*Integration of educational personnel (in addition to teaching staff)*

StEG results indicate that in primary all-day schools more than 60% of the additional activities offered are supervised by staff recruited especially for this purpose. In secondary schools most activities are directed by teachers. An important prerequisite to the linking of extracurricular activities to academic lessons is the cooperation of teachers and other educational staff (Klieme et al., 2005). As Klieme et al. (2005) argue, a half-day school cannot be converted into an all-day school without broad consensus on educational goals. The processes

of planning and agreeing to extended hours and additional staff increase the necessity for coordination and cooperation. StEG results indicate that satisfaction with cooperation among teachers and additional staff is stable and at a high level but there are differences concerning the topics that require cooperation: More discussion of educational problems concerning individual students tend to take place at all-day schools, however, joint development of integrated projects and activities is rare. This corresponds to the lack of conceptual relationship between morning lessons and afternoon activities.

*Cooperation with partners from outside school*

Becoming an all-day school is associated with opening the school facilities to community associations. Cooperative partners often send staff to the schools to conduct activities. Table 4 provides information about the most important cooperative partners.

StEG results indicate that an increasing number of schools cooperate with external partners (see table 5). Moreover, the number of cooperative partners per school increased steadily from 4.5 in 2005 to 6.2 in 2009. All in all, cooperative partners report satisfaction with the relationships although their organization and structures (i.e., regulatory framework, contracts) vary widely.

*Table 4: Important Partners*

| % of schools cooperating with | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Primary School* | ***2007*** | ***2009*** |
| *Sports* | 76,6 | 85,1 |
| *Youth welfare service* | 54,4 | 65,8 |
| *Cultural education* | 55,7 | 64,8 |

| % of schools cooperating with | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Secondary School* | ***2007*** | ***2009*** |
| *Sports* | 69,3 | 70,5 |
| *Youth welfare service* | 54,1 | 58,7 |
| *Cultural education* | 50,5 | 53,6 |

Source: StEG Principal Questionnaire 2005-2009 (Panel-Schools)

*Table 5: Number of Schools with Cooperative Partners (%)*

| 2005 | 2007 | 2009 |
|---|---|---|
| 70.9 % | 85.1 % | 86.9 % |

Source: StEG Principal Questionnaire 2005-2009 (Panel-Schools)

### *2.3.3 Student development*

As stated above, the educational results achieved by all-day schools have become an important political issue recently. The few empirical results from Germany suggest greater effects on social learning than on academic achievement. However, international studies indicate that participation in extracurricular activities affects several aspects of student learning. The analytical framework of StEG (Figure 2) assumes that participation in all-day schools can affect student learning directly or indirectly. The latter implies that quality and attendance variables are influential. Results of StEG indicate that effects were based on *long-term* participation in the activities, that is to say, students who reported participating in the all-day activities at no less than two measurement points of StEG showed considerable advantages in development. Independent of the process-quality of activities, this could be tracked for social (mis)behaviour and for grade retention risk (i.e. the risk of having to repeat a school year).

As Figure 8 indicates, grade retention risk in compulsory all-day schools is considerably lower than in open all-day schools. However, if students participate (no less than 2 waves of StEG) in extracurricular activities in open all-day schools, retention risk decreases considerably and approaches the level of risk in compulsory all-day schools. This effect is very stable, even when controlling for many possible predictors such as school track, SES, etc. Although StEG results do

not indicate whether retention policies in compulsory all-day schools differ from those in open all-day schools, the reduction of the risk of having to repeat a school year in open all-day schools indicates that extracurricular participation can be linked to a lower risk for individual students.

This result suggests that the development of school grades should also be influenced by participation in extracurricular activities. However the data only imply this when the long-term extracurricular participation took place intensively (i.e. at least 3 days per week) respectively. Considering the results regarding participation intensity in secondary school (Figure 5), only a few students took advantage of this potential benefit.

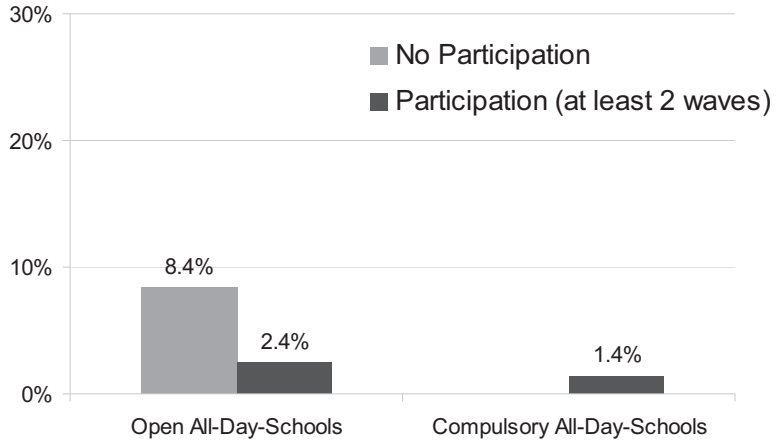


*Figure 8: Student risk of having to repeat a school year based on all-day school type (open vs. compulsory) and extracurricular participation (note that in compulsory schools all students are required to participate)*

Source: StEG Student Questionnaire 2005-2009 (Sek. I, Panel-schools)

Similar to former German studies, StEG results showed extracurricular participation to have a positive effect with respect to social misbehavior in school: students who participated in the activities reported a more positive development (namely, a decline in behavior such as teasing other students, disturbing lessons, vandalising property, violence and absenteeism) than their peers not participating in the activities. However effects on positive aspects of social behavior (prosocial behavior) can only be found if process-quality is taken into account as well.

StEG results show that individual effects of extracurricular participation in all-day schools depend mostly on the quality of the activities. This holds true for school grades, school attachment, social engagement and learning goal orientation. If students participate for a certain period of time (i.e., at least two waves of StEG) in activities that they rate to be high in process-quality (and student-staff relationship) they show more positive development in these areas than their non-participating peers. This is shown at the individual level as well as at the school level.

Considering that schools differ in the process-quality of their extracurricular activities and in student-staff relationships, StEG aggregates student judgements provided in the cross-sectional samples to predict the probability of individual achievement in the longitudinal sample. These analyses show that school quality influences the individual development of students' skills. This is emphasized by a result concerning process-quality of morning lessons: in schools where teachers reported more individualization in the lessons, extracurricular participation had a positive effect on mathematics grades and school attachment.

On the whole, StEG results indicate that all-day schools can contribute to improved academic and non-academic achievement, given that students regularly make use of the additional activities and dependent on activity and school quality.

Figure 9 gives a broad overview of the reported results.

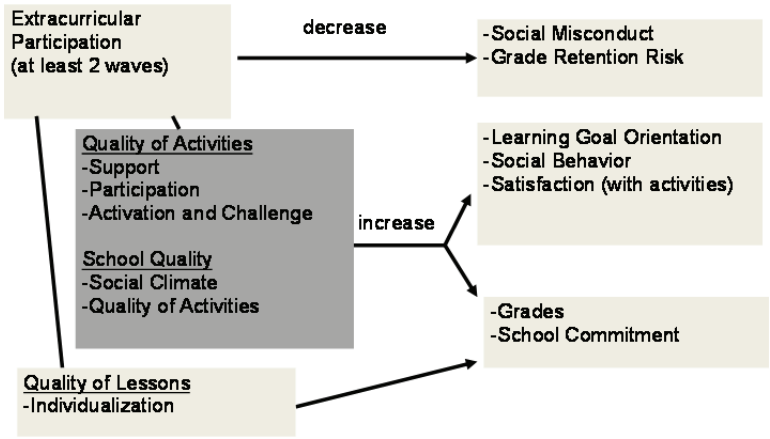


*Figure 9: Broad overview of the StEG results with respect to student development*

## 2.4 Summary and future prospects

Political motives for introducing all-day schools and extending their availability were based on suggestions from the fields of education, youth, family, and employment. International empirical results confirm the assumption that extracurricular participation in schools has positive effects on a number of aspects of student development. Becoming an all-day school in Germany requires many changes at the school level in order to provide academic education, childcare and extracurricular activities for at least seven hours per day three days a week.

StEG assessed school and student development at three measurement points (2005, 2007, 2009). Results show evidence of an improvement in family-work balance for parents. Moreover, parents feel supported by all-day schools. This is especially true for families of low SES. Unfortunately, their primary school children tend to participate in the all-day programs slightly less than children from higher

SES families. No such differences were found at the secondary school level. All-day schools can enhance family climate if students participate regularly. Nonetheless, StEG results indicate a declining intensity of extracurricular participation per week with age. As schools become all-day institutions, they provide more and more academic and non-academic enrichment opportunities. Although extracurricular activities should be conceptually related to academic lessons in the morning, this is not always the case.

StEG also elicited responses from students regarding their perceptions of the quality of the learning processes during the extracurricular activities. All in all, quality of extracurricular activities is rated rather positively. Student ratings are based on student-staff relationship, student age, and other characteristics of students and their schools.

Concerning student development, StEG results show that developmental advantages to some extent are related to process-quality of the extracurricular activities and duration and intensity of participation. Given this, all-day schools can enhance motivational and social development of students as well as their grades. However, as StEG focuses on school development, it can only provide initial insights in these areas.

As students often participate in activities for half a year, future research should be conducted with shorter intervals between measurement points. Moreover, academic achievement should be measured by objective tests in addition to grades. Further research is needed to identify additional quality features, especially for non-academic activities, and to consider the content of specific activities (i.e., remedial course vs. social learning) in relation to different student outcomes.

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## 3. The Dutch all-day school in European perspektive

*Manuela du Bois-Reymond*

### Instead of an introduction

*„Es ist schlimm, rief Eduard, dass man jetzt nichts mehr für sein ganzes Leben lernen kann. Unsre Vorfahren hielten sich an den Unterricht, den sie in ihrer Jugend empfangen; wir aber müssen jetzt alle fünf Jahre umlernen, wenn wir nicht ganz aus der Mode kommen wollen.“*

*"It is too bad, proclaimed Eduard that one can no longer learn for one's whole life. Our ancestors could hold on to the lessons they received in their youth; but we need to learn things anew every five years, just to avoid becoming completely outdated."*

Goethe, Wahlverwandtschaften

### 3.1 Education in European perspective

It is not so long ago that education and educational policies have become a European issue. A stepping stone was the White Paper of 2001 in which the European Commission formulated for the first time and explicitly the framework for a European youth policy with large implications for educational reform. Since then many documents followed, reassuring the educational aims of making broad learning for all young Europeans a top priority of the member states (EC 2008; 2009).

At the heart of educational reform lie two prominent discourses, the "Big Two" one might call them: lifelong learning and non-formal education. The concept of lifelong learning points to the evident fact that schooling is not restricted to a well defined age group any longer,

as it was in past times and normally covered the age brackets 6-15 years for most children and young people. Now learning has become a life task. A complementary development concerns the places and ways of learning: it is not only within the classroom and the traditional subjects that pupils and students are supposed to learn but also outside school and in various settings of formal and non-formal combinations. Taken together, these two developments make that the learner builds up a *learning biography* which consists of formal, informal and non-formal elements and lasts, ideally, their whole life (Stauber, 2007; Walther et al., 2006).

Why did the "Big Two" gain such power in national and international educational discourses and policies? Essentially because of four interconnected developments: Firstly the transformation of traditional industrial and agricultural societies into advanced knowledge and service economies; secondly the transformation of collective into individualized life courses within new institutionalized frameworks, and thirdly loss of old forms of securities and the coming into being of risk societies, as Ulrich Beck (1992) has coined that type, meaning that modern world is governed more than ever by contingency and unintended side effects of intended actions. Finally there is, forthly, the transformation of homogeneous nation states into heterogeneous societies with a growing and rapidly changing influx of different migrant groups besides the "nationals" which deeply affects *all* inhabitants living in such new societies (Martiniello & Rath, 2010).

These developments, albeit not unidirectional, signal similar developmental paths. Within globalization, EU member states become ever more dependent on each other and other world regions in economic and social politics; also the European Commission exerts influence in that direction. Educational systems react to such trends and developments. They are confronted with similar problems and think up similar solutions; international pressure on national schools to compete with their contemporaries in other EU countries and larger regions increases despite the subsidiary principle which disallows for direct EU interference in national social and cultural affairs. Consultation between member state representative commissions and procedures result in benchmarking in the field of education and training and are quasi-mandatory for further national educational policies. International comparisons, most prominently PISA, add to unifying strategies

and goal setting which lead to interchange of governance models.[1] Lifelong learning and new combinations of formal, non-formal and informal learning are seen as powerful means to overcome the drawbacks of traditional schooling.

EU benchmarks in the field of education and training for 2010 and the coming decennium are:

- No more than 10% early school leavers;
- Decrease of at least 20% in the percentage of low-achieving pupils in reading literacy;
- At least 85% of young people should have completed upper secondary education;
- 12.5% of the adult EU populations should participate in lifelong learning.

(Commission of the European Communities 2009: 14; see also EU program Education and Training 2010, 2020).

Two conclusions can be drawn from this list. The first is that there is broad agreement on these (and other) benchmarks among the EU community and the second is that the goals are still far from being reached and keep having to be adjusted since the benchmarking began in 2001 (for Europe to become the most competitive economy in the world).

In past years education is perceived by European and national politicians as a process which has to span the whole trajectory from early to (upper) secondary and higher education. Early and primary education has become one of the prime areas of attention. To combat social and educational disadvantage, it should start at age 3 with much emphasis on language acquisition and with much variation in learning offers and learning approaches to be taught by highly qualified personnel in small learning groups to allow for an individualized way of teaching and learning. Language acquisition is particularly, but certainly not exclusively, important for children with migration back-

[1] The author of this contribution takes part in a EU project "Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe (GOETE) (www.goete.eu/).

grounds as getting behind in language in the first school years will negatively affect the further educational career of the child and can hardly be amended later. Recent research shows that bi-lingual education for children of minority groups is advantageous and not detrimental to competent language acquisition as was supposed for a long time. Being taught one's mother language (or the mother tongue of one's parents) might be perceived by minority groups as friendly signal of the host society and therefore has good effects for social integration (Mchitarjan & Reisenzein, 2010; Berry et al, 2006; Gogolin 2011; see also Eurydice, 2004).

Pre- and primary school education should take place in adequately equipped buildings and classrooms with attached facilities of a canteen for healthy lunches and a school yard to give preschoolers room to develop their body capacities; there should be after school centers with a rich array of mental, social and physical challenges. Some EU countries, Scandinavians among them, provide such basic facilities for their preschoolers, in most countries though the groups/classes are too big. In the Netherlands for example up to thirty 4-5/6year olds are in one group in often insufficient physical surroundings and with insufficient teaching personnel. New initiatives of all-day schools in the pre-primary sector (see below) testify to recognition of quality education for the little ones.[2]

A second main area of attention in EU policies is given to early school leavers. On average across the EU, 13% of native young people and twice as many of migrant youth abandon school early.[3] It is estimated that between 25 and 40 per cent of fifteen-year-old first and second generation immigrant students[4] perform below level 2 established as minimum qualification by the EU – in at least one basic school subject (PISA, 2006; Council of the European Union, 2008).

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2 A recent advice of the Dutch Education Council advises the government to open primary school for 3-year olds which would come into place for the crèches which are often insufficiently equipped and run by insufficiently qualified personnel. Flanders has already integrated 3-year olds in school (Nieuwsbrief Jeugd 26 Mei 2010, Nr. 19).

3 EUROPA – Press Releases – Early school leaving in Europe – Questions and answers Memo 11/52 Brussels, 31 January 2011.

4 First generation students were born outside the country of assessment; second generation students were born in the country of assessement and their parents were born in a different country. Meanwhile one has to take a third generation into account which is defined as children and parents born in host country and one or more of grandparents not born in host country.

One of the reasons for early school leaving is a break between primary and secondary education which interrupts the learning trajectory. The Netherlands and Germany (also Austria) belong to the European countries with a rigid selection of pupils into vocational and general tracks at early ages (NL at the age of 12, Germany with 10 years). Educationalists largely agree that early tracking is detrimental for *all* students and for those with less social and cultural capital especially as PISA and many other studies demonstrate (PISA, 2006). Establishing all-day schools in these countries therefore is strongly advocated.

Increasing accomplishment rates of upper secondary education, as is demanded by EU standards, has not only to do with delay of selection tracks but in addition with different transition regimes and how those are embedded in national labour markets. Member states with dual transition regimes generally succeed better in bridging school to work transitions than educational systems which decouple vocational education from work experience (Walther, 2006). Taken the neuralgic points of European educational systems into account, it becomes evident that more and other learning efforts are expected by young (and older) people than was custom in traditional schools.

In the remainder of this article I will first give some thoughts to changes in the youth biography of children and young people and what learning means today. I shall commence by giving an account of Dutch "brede school" in primary and secondary education as it has taken shape during the past two decennia. In the final section I will get back to the European scene asking what might be learnt from the past for a better future.

## 3.2 Changing youth biographies and learning

Youth sociologists have reached broad agreement on the impact of far reaching changes in youth biographies having to do with developments afore mentioned: knowledge and service economies demand new qualifications (Sachs, 2008). High job turnover rates create short term work contracts and short term prospects. Under conditions of uncertain labor market perspectives, young people have no long-term anticipation of their future and working life; cannot have it. They know that they will have to adopt an attitude of flexibility ("genera-

tion flex") in order to swiftly adapt to unexpected situations. At the same time they are pressed by society and press themselves to develop plans for their future (Leccardi, 2006). They will have to make a career plan to know which further steps would lead to the aspired goal yet knowing that the plan might not work out, and what to do then. Children and young people and their educators – parents and teachers first – face risks which disturb the generational order: the older generation is in many respects not superior any longer and cannot guide the young along safe paths. This pertains to labour market entry as well as environmental disasters and ICT competence.

The influx of immigrants from many different countries in and outside Europe has hardly led in any host society to full integration of the newcomers. Meanwhile the newcomers are not so new anymore but still don't feel that they have the same rights of participation than the natives. Schools have only partly proven as "integration machines", and there is fierce discussion about success or failure of multiculturalism in many European nation states – with the EU as bystander.[5] Persistent inequality in schools and (later) on the labour market makes educational trajectories of students with migration backgrounds more precarious than is justified in comparison with the native population even if second and third generation young migrants perform better at schools than their respective parents (Reconciling, 2008).

To what extent students develop a *learning habitus* which is in accordance with the prospect of lifelong learning, depends much on the chances in and outside school to develop a stable learning motivation. Intrinsic motivation is based on subjectively felt relevance of school and curriculum. Lacking motivation of students (and teachers!) has become a wide spread feature in contemporary educational systems, showing in drop out rates and disinterest (and with teachers in burn out) (Evers, 2004; Kyriac, 2001). All-day schools, it is supposed, can sustain or increase learning motivation by offering non-formal activities which give the learner more freedom of choice and partici-

[5] One in six European feels discriminated. Discrimination on the ground of ethnic origin is the most widespread form of discrimination in the EU (Social Agenda The European Commission's Magazine on Employment & Social Affairs April 2010, p. 10).

pation than the formal curriculum (Mørch & du Bois-Reymond, 2006).

Choosing in itself has become a feature in contemporary western-style societies and shapes the lives of people from very early age onwards as shown in the want and can of children to take part in mass consumption in their peer and free time cultures. A growing amount of their spare time children spend in non-formal activities like sport, music and art courses and, of course informally with ICT and the new social media which are seldom connected to formal learning (Hengst, 2009; Boonaert/Vettenburg 2011[6]).

Attached to discourses of non-formal education is that of competencies (Rychen & Salganik, 2003; Bekerman, 2006). The discourse pertains to formal as well as non-formal and informal learning. During the last years, the Netherlands has seen a wave of initiatives advocating self-administered learning in the educational system, from lower to university levels, including teacher training. The idea is that the pupil, the student, the future teacher should acquire knowledge individually (or in small groups), supported and supervised from the sideline. Such learning philosophy is based on a broadening of the concept of knowledge, opening "hard" subjects to domains of "soft" subjects like music and arts as well as "soft" competencies such as being able to organizing own learning paths, communicate competently with divers interlocutors, defend own interests, work/learn in teams, manage stress situations and, last but certainly for many vocational students not least, learn how to write a neat solicitation letter and (learn to) be on time. Non-formal education in that sense implies didactic approaches which are suitable for self organized learning and planning which are essential qualifications for managing transitions within and outside school.

The EFA – Education for All by 2015 – agenda calls for a "comprehen- sive approach to learning in which non-formal education is an essential and integrated part. (…). Improved monitoring of the supply and demand for non-formal education is urgently needed at the national and international levels." (EFA 2008, p. 21).

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6 They found that internet use of poor youth does not differ significantly in use from that of non-poor youth.

### 3.3 The Dutch "brede school"

The Dutch all-day school ("brede school" BS) originates in the 1990 and has spread unevenly since: quicker in the primary and more slowly in the secondary educational sector. In 2009, one quarter of all primary schools was BS or part of BS, amounting to 1700 schools. In the secondary sector it was one third out of 1,267 schools (Oberon 2009, 19[7]). In both sectors the numbers are still growing albeit at a slower pace than in earlier years.

#### *3.3.1 Primary sector*

In the primary sector, a BS cooperates with crèche and preschool facilities, besides possible other neighborhood partners. Child-related targets are to provide optimal conditions for the development of children, to create a *non-disruptive learning trajectory* throughout obligatory education (5-16 years), and to increasing non-formal activities. General targets are directed toward *social cohesion* and security in the neighborhood, more cooperation between educational and care institutions, strengthening the bond between parents and school and helping parents with educational problems by in-school professionals or transferring them to specialized professionals outside school.

In the begin years one of the main tasks of the BS was to help parents (mothers) to combine child care with work thereby increasing labor market participation of women. Meanwhile *all* primary schools are obliged to facilitate pre- and after school care and supervision in the lunch hour.

Ideally the BS functions as a *network school*: the school forms the spin in a net of other actors and institutions in the neighborhood, like libraries, cultural centers, health and child well-being services, traffic and security education, etc. This concept would have to be realized by guaranteeing not only day care from early in the morning to late in the afternoon but also lower the threshold between kindergarten to (pre-) school. Ideally all child-relevant arrangements should be

[7] All fact information derives from Oberon Jaarbericht 2009 of which henceforth only the pages are quoted. Oberon, an independent research bureau, has conducted earlier evaluations in 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005 and 2007. See for a more extensive account du Bois-Reymond, 2009

located in one building. This ideal is put in reality by very few BS. Most schools can only respond to some of these features, with extension of care hours mostly wanted by parents and realized by BS although there are still not enough places for pre-schoolers available. BS in neighborhoods with disproportional high rates of families with migration histories[8] would provide care and activity programs during summer vacation; one third does (p. 29).

Initiating and governing BS is laid by the community (parents) and the municipality which administers financing and maintenance of the buildings (60% of BS complain about insufficient room; p. 33). Further financial means are generated through subsidies from higher government levels, private sponsors and participating organizations. Central authorities keep aloof and only look to it that schools comply with general quality and curriculum standards.

According to self-evaluation, most primary BS have difficulties, they say, to report unequivocal positive results concerning set educational goals. The figures reveal big discrepancies between pedagogical philosophy and daily reality particularly in the field of behavioral problems of children and help for them: only 10% of BS see provable evidence that behavioral problems of children have diminished, and only one quarter confirms that those children get adequate help (p. 36). Also support for parents is meager despite that the concept of a network school is precisely for school and parents to work closely together to spot developmental drawbacks of children early. Figures about non-formal learning are more favorable: about half of the BS attest children are exposed to cultural experiences and sport exercises.

Asked what they ambition for the near future, most BS professionals opt for a strengthening of the pedagogical work and to realize an uninterrupted learning trajectory – only few BS felt they have reached that goal (p. 40).

### *3.3.2 Secondary sector*

During the last years, BS in secondary education has become evenly spread among all school types, from lower vocational to upper general

[8] In the NL in the 4 big cities Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht most migrant families live and there are schools in these cities with up to 180 different languages spoken.

level. As in primary education, main goal is to optimize the development of children/students, part of which is "connecting school and life world of the student" (p. 43). That indicates a growing concern with traditional learning and teaching and how to find ways to increase learning motivation. Interestingly no mention is made of uninterrupted learning trajectories as a goal, and I will show later that the breach between primary and secondary school has not been bridged by the BS.

Due to increasing pressure from above (government) and below (parents), there has come heightened competition among schools to attract students. Schools must work hard to convince students and their parents that they offer a program which is attractive and promising for the future career of students. BS schools do not only stress cognition within formal curriculum but even more social and cultural competencies in non-formal learning areas. They develop profiles with main emphasis on:

a) Enrichment curricula, especially in language proficiency, combined with offers in sport, culture, nature & technique and ICT;
b) Enhancement of educational opportunities (i.e. home work classes, additional lessons in certain subjects for weak or, on the contrary, talented students);
c) Special care for students with social and behavioral problems (i.e. training in social competencies, aggression containment, anti-bullying courses, etc.);
d) Neighborhood contacts: stimulating identification with the neighborhood through offers for students in and outside school, parents and other inhabitants;
e) Care arrangements before and after school hours.

The a) profile scores highest in the self definition of the BS schools, with 65%, followed by b) 54%, c) 44%, d) 27% and e) 12% (p. 44). The profiles are not mutually exclusive and overlap in many respects. Yet the strongly varying percentages indicate where schools (and school boards[9]) lay the emphasis. Profile-overlap also points to the

[9] Not only in the primary sector but even more so in the secondary sector with bigger and more complex organizations, it is less the individual school and more the municipality for

fact that neither is there a concise definition of "brede school" nor a clear demarcation between a BS and other schools. Differently put, practically *all* schools show features of BS profiles.

### *3.3.3 Goal network school*

While the network school is frequent in the primary sector, that is less the case in secondary education. Reason is the magnitude of school organizations, often consisting of several hundred if not thousands of students and housed in big locations outside the neighborhoods where the students and their families live. Therefore the possibilities to establish close bonds with specific neighborhoods and their inhabitants – first of all parents – are restricted. That is all the more detrimental for the relationship between school and migrant parents who are even harder to reach through the established communication channels (parents have to come to school once or twice a year for getting information of progress/lagging behind of their children; get letters, telephone calls or possibly emails in case of truancy) than native Dutch parents. It is one of the promising results of network BS in the primary sector that the relationship between parents and school has become more relaxed and frequent, not only because the parents of young children meet teachers and child care takers daily, but also because primary schools offer parent coffee hours and other neighborhood related activities. Secondary BS do all that to a lesser extent, not only because the students are at an age when they do not need parental support in getting home but also because the families often live far away from school. Yet, especially in cities and neighborhoods with high concentrations of migrant families there are secondary BS which do run parent programs, like language courses or information evenings on educational problems, healthy meals, danger of drug addiction, etc.

Looking at which partners are involved in secondary BS, one finds that out of 24 possible cooperation partners/institutions[10], most

public schools and the school boards for the private schools which determine the profile and other school-related issues. There is big concern in the public and among teachers that the school boards take away decisions from the individual schools thus eroding their autonomy. About 2/3 of Dutch schools are private schools with own school boards.

10 Those are, in order of most – least chosen partner: municipality (1), sport club (2), center for art and culture (3), school-social work (4), police (5), theater/podium (6), health service (7), library (8), welfare service (9), artists (10), business sector (11), bureau youth

BS choose only a few none of which except municipality scores higher than 50%, most lower than 30% (p. 48):

- Municipality and sport clubs take the top positions of active cooperation (55%);
- Cooperation with other secondary (BS) schools and upper secondary and higher professional education institutions score low on the list: between 10% and 20%;
- Cooperation with primary schools: 25%;
- Cooperation with (local) enterprises and labour market related institutions: 30%;
- Cooperation with youth work: 28%.

It shows that most BS narrow the concept of the intended network school to what practically all secondary schools offer anyhow in the afternoon (sport and cultural activities); only very few BS cooperate extensively with other educational and neighborhood organizations. (For the German discussion of the all-day school the low rate of cooperation with youth work is of special interest.) Because the regular school day extends into the early noon hours, students want to keep the remaining hours of the day for activities outside school which they themselves choose.

The once emphatically proclaimed aim of BS-as-network-school, *viz.* community development, has not been reached according to municipalities: only 8% see evidence that the social cohesion in the neighborhood has improved through BS and only 7% ascertain that problems of "hanging around youth" in the street have diminished (p. 69). Drawing parents more closely to school affairs does not work well enough although one quarter of municipalities has established parent meeting locations (p. 70).

care (12), youth center (13), commercial sport school (14), parent association (15), primary school (16), museum/gallery (17), upper secondary vocational/adult education (18), other secondary schools (19), music school (20), neighborhood association (21), higher professional education institution (22), amateur art club (23), housing corporation (24).

### 3.3.4 Goal interconnecting formal and non-formal education in learning and teaching

One might get the impression that extra curricular activities such as sport and culture would be an integral part of a BS. That is the case only to a limited degree. While sport activities are offered quite regularly on a weekly basis, cultural projects are restricted in most schools to several times per year and so are technique and multimedia.

Although a main goal of the BS movement is to find new combinations of formal and informal/non-formal learning and educating, it was never intended to integrate formal and non-formal curricula in such a way that they would form one coherent scheme. The position of the "formal school" with its emphasis on cognitive achievement in separate subjects is in no way questioned. In that sense a thorough renewal of the formal curriculum cannot be expected. This is even more unlikely as there is, as in other countries and further boosted by PISA international comparisons of educational performance, a tendency of going back-to-basics in the formal curriculum with emphasis on reading, writing, mathematics and science subjects.[11]

A closer look reveals the following (p. 51 ff):

- Organizing activities of a BS is part of the task package of most teachers;
- Most non-formal activities take place within the school;
- Only a good one third of BS has an *integrated* program of formal and non-formal education; two thirds regard non-formal activities as *addition* to the formal curriculum;
- Non-formal activities take place to a great extent during school hours in over half of the BS.

These figures do not reveal what precisely is meant by "integration". In other words: what is the relation between established subjects and

[11] According to a recent report of the school inspection, test scores in English, math and Dutch in *all* school types have dramatically deteriorated and one in ten teachers in secondary schools does not have the capacities to teach effectively and competently while 18% of the teachers has no terminal degree (Ministerie OCW: Nota werken in het onderwijs, 2011).

didactics with non-formal activities? Also, the fact that most non-formal activities take place within the school does not necessarily point to an extensive use of the potentialities such activities would suggest making learning experiences in a wider field outside school. But most disturbing is that a vast majority of BS is content with non-formal education as addition, not integration.

### *3.3.5 Goal non-disruptive learning trajectory*

Whereas the threshold between kindergarten/preschool to primary school (beginning at the age of five) has been lowered considerably, even to the extent that practically all 4-year olds enter school and stay together until they are 11/12 years old, the transition from primary to secondary school still forms a major hurdle for most students. The nationally administered CITO test[12] at the end of primary school forms a deep censure in the school career of every child, BS or regular school. In addition, the final CITO test is corroborated by a pre-test, administered earlier in primary school the outcomes which already suggests what further education the children will follow.

Looking at the small percentages of cooperation of BS in secondary education with either the primary sector or schools in the upper secondary and higher professional education one might doubt strongly that the original goal of a non-disruptive trajectory is viable. That doubt is further deepened as only for 10% of BS claim that they *want* to reach that goal in the future whereas for municipalities furthering the development of non-disruptive learning trajectories and (also thereby) improving child development is mandatory (p. 56; 59). How these two viewpoints relate to each other remains unclear and we cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that the basic structure of Dutch schools with its deep breach between primary and secondary education is not touched, despite other positive developments of the BS. Latest figures show that of all 15-18 year olds, almost one third transits from primary to lower secondary schools and that the percentage of students in special schools has increased over the last years despite explicit educational policy to reduce the number of special schools

[12] CITO: Centraal Instituut voor Toets Ontwikkeling (Central Institute for Test Development).

and integrate students with special needs in regular (BS) schools. And although there is general increase of students who go to higher tracks in secondary education, that does not hold for the higher tracks *within* lower secondary education (Trendrapportage, 2010, p. 62).

### *3.3.6 Growing complexity – growing bureaucracy*

In primary as well as secondary sector, the municipality is the main actor in initiating and coordinating the various activities and partners of the BS. Parental initiative taking, actively participating in and identifying with the school of their children ("our school") get weaker when schools are bigger and run by professional managers. Many BS delegate the organization of extra curricula activities to paid functionaries from outside the school who have hardly or no contact with the teachers. In order to overcome those drawbacks, some BS hire so-called combination functionaries who are engaged to coordinate extra curricular activities in cooperation with the school, mostly between school and sport, culture and youth care, rarely between more than one of these fields.

Combination functionaries have the advantage above outside functionaries that they know both, the school as well as the other co-operation partners. Teachers and school principals therefore prefer those functionaries; they unburden them from ever more administrative tasks. In addition, many BS have appointed a special coordinator who is responsible for the (further) development and organization of the school in question. Again, such functionaries are meant to ease the pressure of growing non-teaching tasks teachers have to perform.

Generally speaking the complexity of the organization of big BS secondary schools is such that regular face-to-face communication of *all* partners involved has become almost impossible; only 13% of all BS in that sector manage to do that and only half of them have an established organ to enable interrelated communication. Asked if they find that the school schedules give enough room for organizing activities which belong to the program of a "brede school", half of the interrogated schools deny that, indicating that they lack financial and human resources; even fewer respond positively to the question if there is a solid basis for the BS program on the work floor (the teachers) (p. 50).

### *3.3.7 Evaluation*

Self evaluation of the interrogated BS shows a mixed picture. Fifty percent confirm an increase of activity offers for students, especially in the field of art and culture; what the matter with the other fifty percent is unclear.[13] Disappointingly, only 30% of the BS say that there is evidence that students with problems get help, and the same holds for more participation of students in school. On the whole, only 11% are convinced that students' achievement have become better.[14]

Two alternatively exclusive conclusions can be drawn: a) the low percentages tell that in average it does not matter if a school is a BS or not concerning student problems and achievements and b) it does matter but it is too early for hard empirical evidence. A third conclusion could be: BS would do a much better job if they had more financial means and human resources.

When municipalities make their agenda for the further development of the BS, they see the best chances in the primary sector (harmonizing pre- and primary school facilities – 65%) and the least for a decrease of drop out rates in the secondary sector (87%; p. 61). Not all municipalities formulate quality criteria to which a school must comply to be accredited as a BS; one third does so by means of self-evaluation of the school and only 4% does so by means of an independent party (p. 67). Three quarters of BS have not conducted a systematic evaluation; one quarter is on its way (p. 67).

At this point in time there is no evidence that BS do a better job than other schools in terms of achievement scores in the "hard" subjects; if they do for the "soft" subjects and competencies is even harder to measure. Also there is doubt among the self-evaluators if problems of students are handled better in BS. In this respect it is troubling that latest figures show that, although participation of students with migrant backgrounds in secondary education has slightly improved over the last five years, almost one third of 12-15 year-olds with a non-western background is kept in primary and special schools, and so called practical schools (Trendrapportage, 2010, p. 61). For both, pri-

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13 Categories: I do not see result yet (27%); I see result but cannot prove it (26%); there is evidence (47%). See p. 54.

14 I do not see results yet (26%); I see results but cannot prove it (63%). See p. 54.

mary and secondary sector, one can state though that there is broad public support for further development of BS in the Netherlands[15].

### *3.3.8 Teacher training*

Teacher training institutes in the Netherlands are in the course of renewal: future teachers must become better professionals to face the challenges of schools in a society with knowledge ambitions. While the ministry of education very actively pushes this development, it refrains from direct interference: the institutes are autonomous in their policy as to what profile they offer to attract students. They are not free to choose the students though; everybody with at least a diploma in secondary general education may enter as well as persons with higher education in other than educational studies. Some institutes would want an entry test to be able to refuse students with low language and math proficiency which all of them complain about and there are voices to be heard to open such possibilities, but the issue is not settled yet.

Curricula are modernized by specifying the competencies teacher students must acquire during their training period of four years. These competencies cover the respective subjects as well as social and organizational skills needed to be master in the classroom and the school as an ever more complex organization. The competencies on their part are based on a common knowledge canon which the training institutes together are busy to develop; that process is still going on. Also a restricted number of places is made available for teacher students to continue after their Bachelor with a Master in education. Some institutes work together with universities, and this development is supported (and financed) by the ministry. Training periods in schools take place from the start of the study and amount to one quarter of the whole curriculum. The students are required to document their learning process in a digital portfolio which is accessible to the teacher trainers.

For our discussion here it is of relevance that the "brede school" as a comprehensive concept is, despite all reforms, not an integral part

15 A recent report accounts that a development of general upward mobility over the last fifty years is accompnied by a trend of downward mobility among men (not women) who do not amoun or reach the school level of their parents (RMO 2011).

of the new teacher training curriculum; neither is it mentioned in recent documents.[16] Also in other educational research on all-day schools, teacher training is seldom seen as an integral part of the reform.

### 3.4 Education in European perspective revisited

We began our discussion by purporting that a better integration of formal and non-formal learning is most necessary to improve educational opportunities in Europe. The ambitions of the Commission to combat educational disadvantages, put down in a number of concrete goals to be strived after by the individual member states and to be evaluated regularly, are indeed high. To come closer to reaching such goals would mean to instil in the learners (and their teachers) a *learning habitus* which is deeply rooted in their biographies. Learning (and teaching) arrangements in traditional schools obviously fail to do that as shown in disturbingly high drop out rates in most European countries and other unfavorable indicators, teacher burn out among them.

Taking the Netherlands as a test case, we discussed the features of the all-day/"brede school" in primary and secondary education. Without repeating the conclusions of our analysis, we can state that the new school type has not convincingly demonstrated its superiority above regular schools when it comes to enhancing educational achievement and social integration. *All* schools, it seems, are resistant to open their doors for a thorough integration of formal and non-formal/informal learning (and teaching) which is so explicitly and repeatedly advocated, not only by the European Commission but by most educationalists as well. Neither is there evidence that *non-disrupted learning trajectories* have come closer through the introduction of BS.

Not only in the Netherlands but in all European countries *modularization* of knowledge units, *test learning* (and teaching) and standardization of achievement definitions and measurement have become leading principles in educational politics. These instruments are detrimental to holistic motivated learning and teaching. At the same time

[16] The author of this contribution, taking part in project GOETE (see note 1) has recently conducted expert interviews with teacher trainers; only few mentioned the BS and the breach between primary and secondary education as a problem.

the resistance of students (and teachers) against these developments grow. Both (and parents as third party) feel that the school does not serve their true interests. Students would want more individual attention (and respect) of the teachers, they would want to feel more *immediate* relevance of what they learn instead of hearing that what they have to learn is relevant for their future – and is that so, one might ask. Their potential *employability* must be enhanced without the school and society at large being able to guarantee it. That (work-) future, we have argued in line with youth sociological studies, has become dimmed and uncertain for many learners; they know (feel) the pressure on realizing prolonged educational careers for competing on the labour market, but that is not what is meant by *intrinsic motivation* which lifelong learning biographies need.

It is not only students who are discontent with the established school, teachers are as well. They suffer under crowded classes, with a growing instead of decreasing number of pupils who expose anti-learning behavior in various forms and degrees. At the same time there is, not only in the Netherlands, the policy to abolish special schools and integrate pupils with learning and other disabilities and problems in the regular classes. That looks progressive (and was an old claim of the democratic movements of the 1960s and 1970s) but often, and certainly in the Netherlands, goes together with cuts in means and teaching personnel. Instead ever more layers of non-teaching professionals are put around the (BS) school to establish help chains for pupils and students with special needs. These professionals – while having to fight against economy measures themselves – defend their special competency all the more fiercely. All that leads to ever more fragmented solutions.

Originally meant to overcome the bifurcation of formal and non-formal education, we found that the all-day school does not succeed in doing so. On the contrary: a *knowledge hierarchy* develops with the "real" professionals, the teachers, on top and most of the non-formal professionals below in terms of prestige and pay – a hierarchy which students and parents perceive as well.

Finally: while the ideology and reality of governing from above is replaced by the concept of *governance* with the intention of uniting all parties involved and is conceived and designed as a reflexive and self-correcting process, for otherwise no sustainable solutions will

result for such complex endeavors as are schools in post-industrial societies, precisely that concept seems hard to put to practice. Instead educational systems in Europe are in danger of creating a "democratic deficit" (Papageorgiou, 2010, 644) by not being able to create true *learning communities*.

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# 4. Development, quality, and effectiveness of out-of-school time education in Switzerland

*Marianne Schüpbach*

## 4.1 Out-of-school and extracurricular education in Switzerland – Different programs and activities

Today there is a differentiated range of various temporal forms in kindergarten and school or out of kindergarten and out of school (EDK, 2005). The term used for kindergarten or school plus extracurricular education is "*Tagesstrukturen*" in German, or "day structures" in English.

The term "day structures" is currently being used for the combination of kindergarten or school plus out-of-school and extracurricular education and care for kindergarten and school-age children (Schüpbach, 2010). Day structures can be provided by the school itself or by other institutions. They can therefore be realized through different measures:

- all-day schools or
- core classroom times for all children in a class plus out-of-school or extracurricular education such as after school programs, lunch clubs, and childminders.

### *4.1.1 All-day school*

In Switzerland an all-day school is mainly understood as a school providing a program for the whole day, made up of school (classroom instruction) and extracurricular activities such as supervised school lunch, homework club, and recreational activities. Usually the school is responsible for all of the offerings (see Mangold & Messerli, 2005; Schüpbach 2010).

In Switzerland there are only a few all-day schools. Most of the municipalities are currently seeking solutions for children's out-of-school and extracurricular activities that fit their particular needs (Verein Tagesschulen Schweiz, 2007). Overall, two kinds of all-day school settings can be found: voluntary all-day school, in German "*offene Ganztagsschulen*", and obligatory all-day schools, in German "*gebundene Ganztagsschulen*". Voluntary all-day school offer extracurricular activities on a voluntary basis, with parents and children free to decide if and on what days they will participate. Obligatory all-day school means that all children are at school, for school lessons and extracurricular activities, five days a week. There are only very few obligatory all-day schools in Switzerland.

Arrangements of the day structure differs between the obligatory and voluntary all-day school models (see Figure 1). In an obligatory all-day school, the school day is divided into core times and times before and after school. Core times are times when all children must be present. Core times include

- classroom instruction
- lunch
- integrated periods for completion of assignments (instead of homework done at home)
- the obligatory core times are from the start of classroom instruction (usually 8 a.m.) to approximately 3:30 p.m., with a half-day on Wednesdays (see Figure 1).

In a voluntary all-day school with the additive model, extracurricular activities are offered outside of the obligatory school instruction (core times), in the morning before school, over lunchtime, and after school in the afternoon (see Figure 1). Utilization of these options is voluntary and modular – that is, they can be booked as individual units during the week according to need – and the individual modules are usually realized based on the demand for them (Schüpbach, 2010).

| Time | Obligatory all-day school | Voluntary all-day school |
|---|---|---|
| From 7:00 a.m. | Before school "reception" time | Module: Voluntary activities, before school "reception" time |
| 8:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. | Classroom instruction | Classroom instruction |
| 12:00 – 1:30 p.m. | Lunch | Module: Lunch |
| 1:30 – 3:30 p.m. | Classroom instruction with integrated study time | Classroom instruction or Module: Voluntary activities I |
| 3:30 – 6:00 p.m. | After school time | Module: Voluntary activities II |

All children required to be present ("core times")

*Figure 1: The obligatory and voluntary all-day school models (Schüpbach, 2010, 114)*

### *4.1.2 Traditional school hours in the last decades*

Up to now, classroom instruction in kindergarten and the lower level of primary school in most cantons was held as alternating half-class instruction (EDK, 2005). For decades, this structure of classroom instruction was the rule. In some places in Switzerland, the primary schools still have these traditional hours. In this traditional timetable, children in each class are divided into two groups, Group A and Group B, shown here in Figure 2. Children in the lower primary grades mostly receive classroom instruction in these groups. This means, for example, that on Monday Group A has school from 8 to 10 in the morning, and Group B has school from 10 to 12. In the afternoon, from 2 to 4 or 1 to 3, both groups are instructed together. On the different days of the week, the two groups alternate between the earlier and later morning hours.

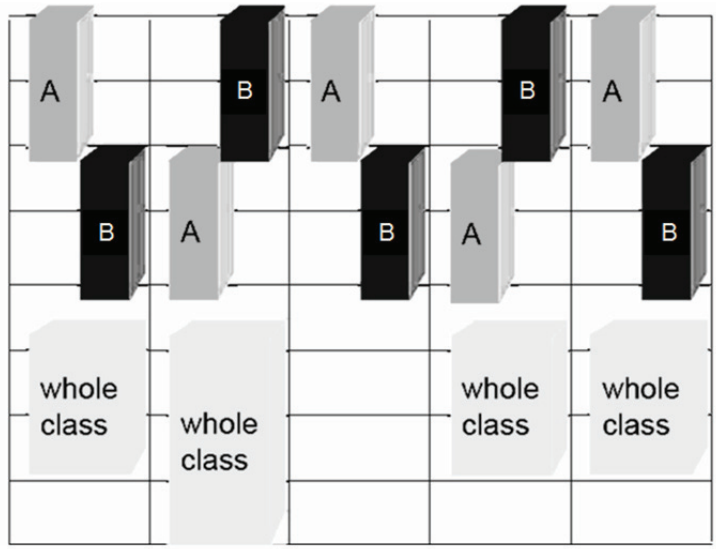


*Figure 2: Example school timetable with half-class instruction (Schüpbach, 2010, 101)*

Instruction in the groups (half of the class) usually introduces reading or math skills that are then practiced in the whole-class setting in the afternoons. This means that teaching methods in the primary school are totally oriented to instruction with whole class and half classes. For parents and children, this means that school hours vary daily throughout the week.

### *4.1.3 Core times (Blockzeiten in German)*

Core times are a school-internal time structure in kindergarten, primary school, and more rarely the lower secondary level (see Figure 3). This time structure groups morning instruction periods into longer blocks. With core times in primary school, all children have school on five mornings a week for at least 3 1/2 hours (or for four periods) and on one to four afternoons (EDK, 2005). These "core times" are comparable to what is called the "*verlässliche Grundschule*" in Germany (Ramseger, Dreier, Kucharz & Sörensen, 2004), meaning that school

is always held over five hours and even if the teacher is ill, for instance. With school times clearly defined through core times, the aim is to make it simpler for the family to care for the children and to make it easier to organize out-of-school and extracurricular education and care. The introduction of core times is often considered to be the first step towards a future all-day school (EDK, 2005; Schüpbach, 2009; Schüpbach, Bolz, Wustmann & Mous, 2006). Core times are morning blocks of four periods five days a week and a number of afternoon blocks depending on the school level. Today, in most of the cantons of Switzerland core times for kindergarten and primary school have become very widespread.

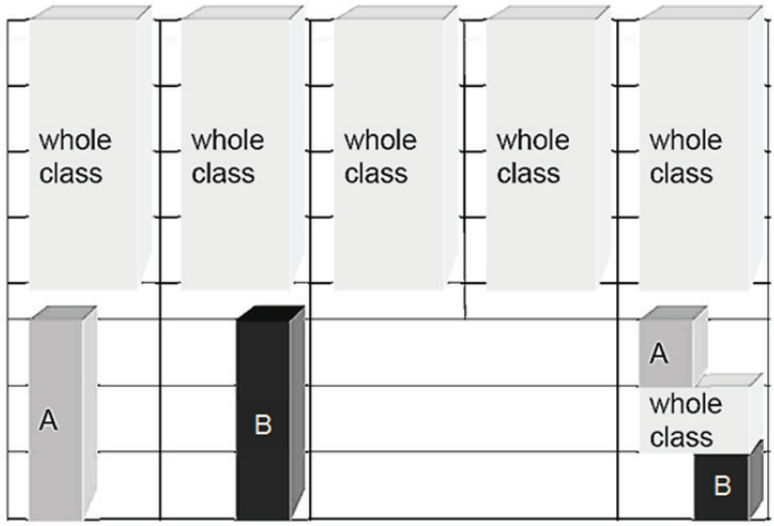


*Figure 3: Example school timetable with blocks of 3 1/2 hours, minimum (Schüpbach, 2010, 102)*

*4.1.4 Other out-of-school and extracurricular education offerings*

"After school care clubs" are for children in kindergarten, primary school, and in part also for the lower secondary level. "Lunch clubs" provide supervision and a meal over lunchtime; they can be run by private or municipal organizations. Lunch clubs are usually from 12 to 2 p.m. "Childminders" take care of and supervise up to five children of different ages in the childminder's home. Care by childminders is an important segment within care offerings for preschool and school-age children. It is very popular owing to its flexibility. This is a short overview over the different out-of-school programs and (extra-) curricular activities.

## 4.2 Research overview: Studies on out-of-school and extracurricular education in Switzerland

Research on the topics of out-of-school and extracurricular education and care only began a few years ago in Switzerland and is still young. The available studies can be divided into three areas:

- studies on supply and demand
- evaluations of all-day schools and schools with core times
- studies on effectiveness.

I will highlight these three areas in the following.

*4.2.1 Studies on supply and demand*

*Supply and utilization:* First, some studies were conducted on the supply and demand for extrafamilial education and care services (early childhood and school-age). These are largely statistical analyses and reports on status and development in Switzerland commissioned by the federal government. A number of reports in Switzerland since the 1990s show that the percentage of families that utilize the extrafamilial education and care offerings available has increased in recent years. In 1991 14% of households with children under the age of 15 used these offerings; by 2007 this had increased to 35.5% (BFS, 2002; EDI & BFS, 2008). More than 60% of families utilize private care options.

These private care options are most frequently relatives of the family (54%) (see Figure 4). Twenty-six percent of the families that utilize extrafamilial options use daycare, all-day kindergartens, or all-day schools; 14% use childminders or foster families. Acquaintances or neighbours help 8% of families with child care. Lunch clubs and/or afterschool care clubs are used by only 4%. Utilization of the various offerings differs depending on the age of the children (EDI & BFS, 2008).

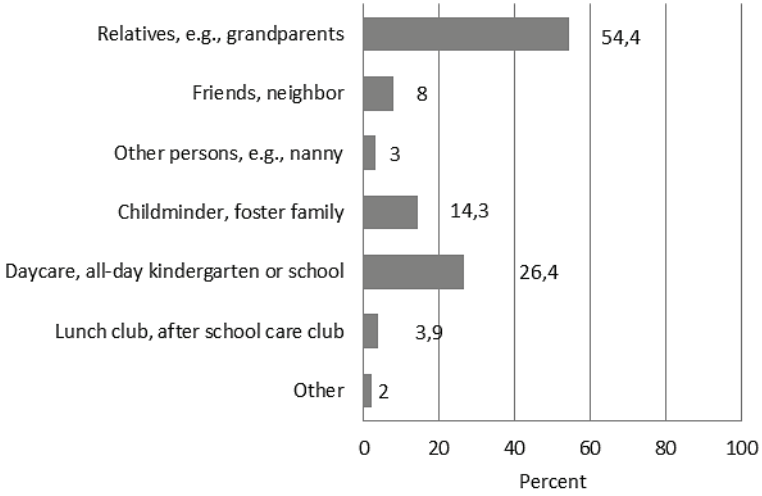


*Figure 4: Couples' households with one or more children (BFS, 2007)*

For data collection and analysis of the data, the many different terms currently being used in the context of all-day education and care make things difficult. For example, it is difficult to differentiate between offerings called variously "all-day schools," "extrafamilial education and care," or "day structures". A further difficulty for surveying extrafamilial education and care nation-wide are the different political authorities in the individual cantons. At the cantonal level, the authorities responsible can be in the social services department and/or the department of education. In addition, the responsibility of the municipalities varies from canton to canton. What complicates this ever more

is, that the responsibilities for the preschool and school areas can also be different.

*Demand:* A number of studies examined future demand for external provision of education and care for preschool and school-age children in Switzerland. In sum, it was found that the demand for extrafamilial education and care for pre-school and school-age children has not yet been met (Infras, Mecop & Tassinari, 2008; Stern, Banfi & Tassinari, 2006). At the same time, women with children under age 15 reported that the extrafamilial education and care options – with their high cost and limited supply – continue to be an obstacle to reconciling work and family (Schüpbach, 2010).

### *4.2.2 Evaluation of all-day schools and schools with core times*

New research and development questions emerging in connection with the introduction of core times and day structures have been little studied up to now (Schüpbach, Wustmann, Bolz & Mous, 2009). Available are only a very few evaluations of pilot projects. If the introduction of core times becomes a project in school or teaching development, the focus is on topics such as development of the scheduling, the rhythmization of teaching and individualization of instruction, team teaching, and cooperation among teachers in instruction. In recent years the following have been evaluated: implementation of core times, all-day schools, and lunch clubs and their acceptance by teachers and parents in different cantons and school municipalities in Switzerland (cantons Basel-Stadt and St. Gallen; municipalities Zurich, Solothurn, Unterleberberg).

For the municipality of Solothurn it was found that core times bring about some new developments in instruction and the school day and some changes in the rhythmization of the day (Schüpbach et al., 2009). This can be seen first and foremost in the new team teaching and the rhythmization of teaching and individualization of instruction. The response to team teaching has been fundamentally positive on the part of teachers and parents and children. With regard to teaching structures and the rhythmization of instruction through teacher-taught lessons and student-centered activities (in 90-minute blocks), the teachers reported a trend towards an increase in individualized forms

of instruction – and thus towards a strengthening of instruction in favor of children's self-guided activities and learning and towards increasing use of expanded, open forms of teaching and learning (such as elements that are calming and foster concentration, or more frequent changes between working in groups, in pairs, or alone) (Schüpbach, et al., 2009). Overall, all surveys found high acceptance of core times and all-day schools by both teachers and parents (Baier et al., 2009; Schüpbach & Bolz, 2005; Schüpbach, Mous & Schönbächler, 2007; Schüpbach, Wustmann, Bolz & Mous, 2006; Steger, Looser, & Rufer, 2008; Stöckli, Larcher, Scheuble, Weilenmann & Zollinger, 2003).

### *4.2.3 Effectiveness studies*

In the area of studies on the effectiveness of out-of-school and extracurricular education in Switzerland, only initial findings are available, which is also the case in the international context.

A study by Lanfranchi, Gruber, and Gay (2002) examined the effects of preschool offerings on school success. The main finding was that children who had had extrafamilial education and care were rated significantly higher on language, cognitive, and social skills by their kindergarten teachers and first-grade teachers than children who had been cared for exclusively at home. Thanks to the transitional experience of extrafamilial facilities, especially children from immigrant families master entering school significantly better than children without this intermediary reference who have to make their way in a world that is at first foreign.

Within the EduCare study (Herzog & Schüpbach, 2005) there was a focus for the first time on questions concerning the quality of various forms of education and care and their effects on school achievement and primary school children's social and emotional development (age 6-8 years). The study was conducted as a longitudinal study in 11 cantons in the German-speaking region of Switzerland.

### *4.2.4 Selected results of the EduCare study (Herzog & Schüpbach, 2005)*

The EduCare study is a study that we are conducting from March 2006 to July 2011 under a grant provided by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

*Conceptual framework of the study*

The basic assumption is that there are parallels between the quality of instruction processes and out-of-school and extracurricular education and care and the underlying mechanisms. This makes the transferability of instructional learning possible (Radisch, Stecher, Fischer & Klieme, 2008). The conceptual framework of the Educare study is based on the model of effects in the *Studie zur Entwicklung von Ganztagsschulen* (STEG) [study on the development of all-day schools] (Radisch et al., 2008). The model is based on findings pertaining to the quality and effectiveness of after school programs (Miller, 2003) and on models in educational effectiveness research (Scheerens & Bosker, 1997) and was adapted by Klieme (2007) for out-of-school and extracurricular activities.

Figure 5 shows the model, which has an input level – the child (individual characteristics, skills at the beginning of school) – and places of education and socialization (family and school offerings). For school and family, following Tietze, Rossbach, and Grenner's (2005) descriptive/analytical concept of educational quality, three areas or dimensions of quality are distinguished: structural quality, orientation quality, and process quality. According to Tietze (1998, p. 23), quality in a school or family can be understood and described as a multidimensionally determined, empirically capturable phenomenon. Nevertheless, this kind of approach is not completely value-neutral.

We extended the model to include utilization of offerings following Helmke (2004) and intensity of utilization of offerings following Fiester, Simpkins and Bouffard (2005).

The model is a model of offerings and utilization applied to the all-day school, assuming that mediation processes on the part of the child and the child's active use of the offerings and subsequent leam-

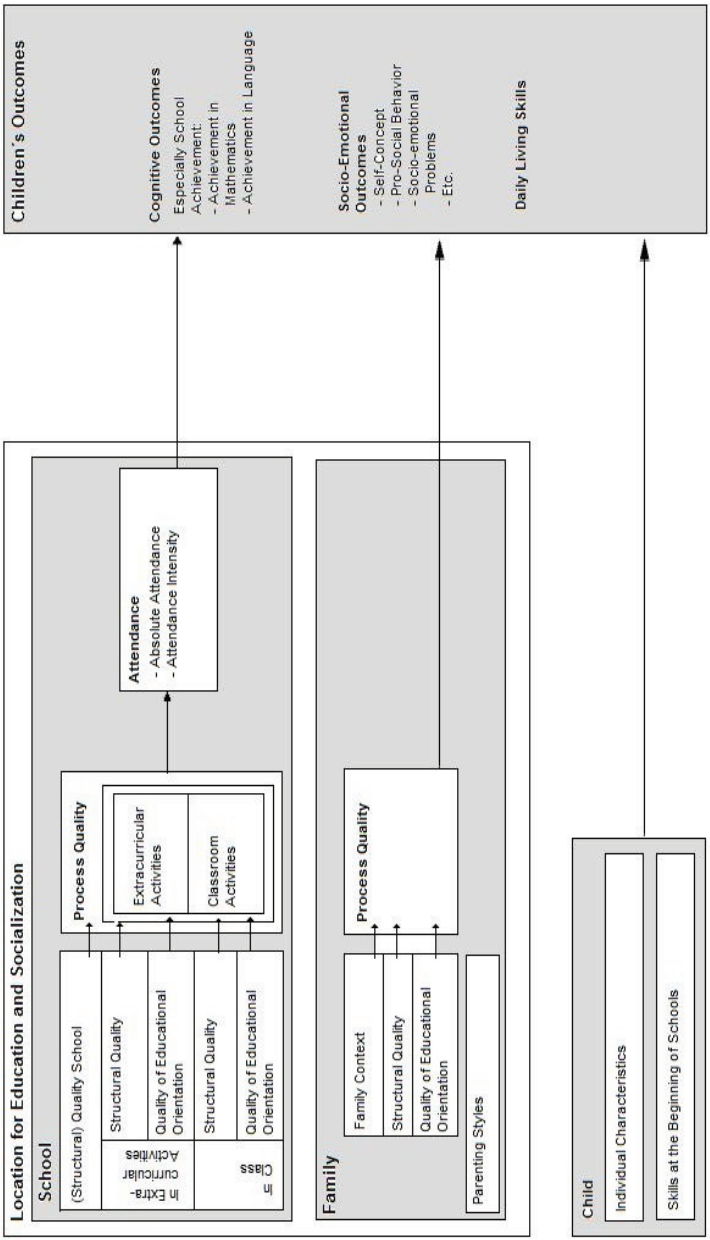


*Figure 5: Conceptual framework of the study (Schüpbach, 2010, p. 180)*

ing activities also influence the effects of the process quality (Helmke, 2004). The model also contains the effectiveness level (Schüpbach, 2010).

*Research questions and hypothesis*

In the Educare study we are investigating the following research questions:

- How do students in all-day schools and in schools with core times develop, compared to the control group ("traditional school form") at the end of grades 1 and 2?
- … in consideration of the school setting's educational quality in mathematics, language, pro-social behavior, and daily living skills.

We assume that (general hypothesis):

- at the end of grades 1 and 2 all-day school students with a higher attendance intensity of a minimum of 7.5 hours spread over a minimum of three days a week show better development in cognitive and social/emotional areas than students in schools with core times do, and both groups do better than students in the control group.
- … in addition we assume that for all groups, the process quality of the educational setting has an effect on development in cognitive and social/emotional areas in all of the school settings.

*Design and sample*

The investigation of the research questions requires a longitudinal study with a quasi-experimental design (Bortz, 1999). The research design has three groups: All-day school students and students in schools with core times are test groups, and the control group students are students in schools with traditional school hours. The sample was drawn in three steps: In the selected German-speaking cantons in

Switzerland, based on relevant socio-demographic data of the municipalities in which the schools are located (population, percentage of immigrants, unemployment rate, education level of the population), we selected schools that met the criteria for the two test groups. Because the overwhelming majority of all-day schools are in cities and urban agglomeration municipalities, due to the selected procedure the concentration on these municipalities is also reflected in the sample. Thus – with the exception of the population of the municipalities ($p < .05$), as the students in schools with core times are more often found in larger municipalities than students in the control group – there are no significant differences with regard to the socio-demographic characteristics of the municipalities between the school classes in the control group. Next, in a second step, we randomly selected schools and schoolhouses. In the third step we randomly selected children in the school classes and their families. The sample consists of students in the first grade in school year 2006/07 and their families. On average, 9 children per school class were selected (Schüpbach, 2010).

The final sample consists of: 51 all-day school students, considering the intensity of attendance at extracurricular activities (we included only all-day school students who attend extracurricular activities for a minimum of 7.5 hours spread over a minimum of three days a week), 244 students in schools with core times, and a control group of 226 students that attend traditional hours and no extracurricular activities (control group). These 521 students in total are situated in 11 cantons, in 56 schools, and 70 classes.

*Evaluation strategy*

Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS 17.0. Hypothesis 1 was tested by means of one-factor univariate analysis of covariance. The three groups (students in all-day schools [with intensive use], students in schools with core times, and control group students) (factor) were compared with regard to any differences in their school achievement in language and mathematics and in pro-social behavior, socio-emotional behavior (strengths and difficulties),[1] and daily living

[1] To measure child development we used selected scales of an adapted version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, 1997) for parents.

skills (independent variables) after grade 1 and after grade 2. To measure the effective achievement progress of the children at school, in all analyses we statistically controlled for their skills at the beginning of school, and in the analyses on cognitive development we controlled for intelligence (IQ) and the influence of the family, and in the analyses on daily living skills[2] we controlled the influence of family (covariates). To test hypothesis 2 we used two-factor univariate analysis of covariance, which in addition to the factor group also included the factor educational process quality in the school[3]. In the individual developmental areas, also the covariates mentioned above were included in the model.

As disproportional sampling did not succeed, which we had planned to do due to the unequal incidence of the two school forms (all-day schools are much rarer in Switzerland), the groups were weighted prior to the analyses reported in the following. We applied weighting based on statistical theory, called design weights, to correct for unequal known selection probabilities and thus overweight or underweight the individual groups (Diekmann, 2004, p. 365). For handling missing data, we used the listwise deletion method. The missings showed no systematic bias.

*Main Results*

For school achievement in language we found a highly significant difference between students in all-day schools with intensive utilization of out-of-school and extracurricular education and care, students in schools with core times, and students in the control group with traditional school hours (see Table 1). A look at the differences between the groups at the two time points reveals that the students in all-day schools had significantly lower achievement in language than the students in the other two groups after grade 1. At the end of grade 2, however, students in all-day schools showed the highest achievement in language of all three groups, with significantly higher achievement

[2] Daily living skills were measured using the Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales (VASB) (Sparrow, Balla, Cicchetti, 1984) as developed by Tietze et al. (2005) and adapted by us for the Swiss language context.

[3] Process quality: quality of children's experiences and interaction with the social and physical environment.

in language than the students in the control group. The students in the different groups also differed significantly in school achievement in mathematics after grade 1 and after grade 2 (see Table 1). The students in the control group showed the highest achievement in mathematics, followed by students in schools with core times and students in all-day schools; the students in all-day schools differed significantly from the control group after grade1 and from both of the other groups after grade 2.

The children's pro-social behavior was rated by their parents. After grade 1, the children in all groups showed similar ratings on pro-social behavior (n. s.). Only after grade 2 were differences apparent: Students in all-day schools showed the most positive pro-social behavior as rated by their parents. The difference between students in all-day schools and students in the control group on pro-social behavior is statistically significant (see Table 1). The results with regard to socio-emotional strengths and difficulties as rated by parents were similar to those for pro-social behavior after grade 2 (see Table 1).

When, in addition to group, the factor process quality of the educational setting is considered, the results of the two-factor univariate covariance analyses for school achievement in language show a significant interaction effect of group x process quality at the end of grade 1 (see Table 2).

This means that children in the groups showed different development in dependency on the process quality. Students in all-day schools showed the best achievement in a high quality setting (more open instruction/open setting), whereas the quality of the setting was not statistically significant for students in schools with core times and students in the control group. However, there were no significant differences after grade 2. After grade 1 the results with regard to the children's socio-emotional strengths and difficulties were the same as those for language achievement (significant interaction effect group x process quality) (see Table 2).

*Table 1: The effects of school form (all-day, core times, traditional)*

| Area | Comparison group | M | SE | N | df | F-value | p | Eta² |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Achievement in language (scale 1-100) (grade 1) | All-day school students[1,2] | 38.01 | 2.19 | 132 | 1 | 14.42 | ≤.001 | .06 |
| | Core times students | 50.36 | 1.94 | 164 | | | | |
| | Control group | 53.03 | 1.85 | 179 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[2,3] | 54.05 | 2.19 | 132 | 1 | 4.77 | ≤.01 | .02 |
| | Core times students | 53.74 | 1.79 | 195 | | | | |
| | Control group | 46.83 | 1.81 | 188 | | | | |
| Achievement in mathematics (scale 1-100) (grade 1) | All-day school students[2] | 46.12 | 2.05 | 132 | 1 | 4.48 | ≤.01 | .02 |
| | Core times students | 49.53 | 1.71 | 185 | | | | |
| | Control group | 53.84 | 1.66 | 194 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[1,2] | 44.12 | 1.92 | 132 | 1 | 8.80 | ≤.001 | .03 |
| | Core times students | 50.68 | 1.57 | 196 | | | | |
| | Control group | 54.53 | 1.57 | 191 | | | | |
| Pro-social behavior (z-value) (grade 1) | All-day school students | .09 | .06 | 148 | 1 | .84 | n.s. | .02 |
| | Core times students | -.01 | .06 | 182 | | | | |
| | Control group | -.01 | .06 | 169 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[2] | .23 | .07 | 128 | 1 | 3.27 | ≤.05 | .01 |
| | Core times students | .04 | .06 | 177 | | | | |
| | Control group | -.03 | .06 | 184 | | | | |
| Socio-emotional development (z-value) (grade 1) | All-day school students[1,2] | .22 | .06 | 148 | 1 | 4.67 | ≤.01 | .02 |
| | Core times students | .00 | .05 | 182 | | | | |
| | Control group | .01 | .06 | 169 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[2] | .25 | .06 | 128 | 1 | 3.98 | ≤.05 | .02 |
| | Core times students | .09 | .05 | 176 | | | | |
| | Control group | .01 | .05 | 183 | | | | |
| Daily living skills (z-value) (grade 1) | All-day school students[1,2] | .20 | .05 | 148 | 1 | 3.92 | ≤.05 | .02 |
| | Core times students | .05 | .05 | 180 | | | | |
| | Control group | .01 | .05 | 169 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[1,2] | .26 | .07 | 128 | 1 | 3.69 | ≤.05 | .02 |
| | Core times students | .09 | .06 | 176 | | | | |
| | Control group | .02 | .06 | 183 | | | | |

[1] all-day school students vs. core times students ($p \leq .05$)
[2] all-day school students vs. control group ($p \leq .05$)
[3] core times students vs. control group ($p \leq .05$)

With regard to school achievement in mathematics, the results show a highly significant interaction already at the end of grade 1 and at the end of grade 2 (see Table 2). The children in the different groups showed different development in dependency on the process quality. At both time points this is the case especially for students in all-day schools, who showed better development in settings that were classified as having lower educational quality (more directive instruction)

*Table 2: Effects of school form (all-day, core times, traditional) when process quality in the educational setting is also considered*

| Area | Interaction *comparison group x process quality* | M | SE | N | df | F-value | p | Eta² |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Low and high quality | | | | | | |
| Achievement language (scale 1-100) (grade 1) | All-day school students[2] | 24.15 | 4.11 | 36 | 2 | 6.48 | ≤.001 | .02 |
| | | 43.34 | 2.56 | 96 | | | | |
| | Core times students | 51.76 | 2.63 | 86 | | | | |
| | | 49.08 | 2.75 | 78 | | | | |
| | Control group | 51.17 | 2.54 | 91 | | | | |
| | | 54.57 | 2.62 | 88 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students | 53.37 | 4.13 | 36 | 2 | 1.26 | n.s. | .00 |
| | | 54.18 | 2.60 | 96 | | | | |
| | Core times students | 56.82 | 2.36 | 112 | | | | |
| | | 49.68 | 2.71 | 83 | | | | |
| | Control group | 47.00 | 2.44 | 102 | | | | |
| | | 46.69 | 2.70 | 86 | | | | |
| Achievement mathematics (scale 1-100) (grade 1) | All-day school students[3] | 62.32 | 3.59 | 40 | 2 | 10.78 | ≤.001 | .04 |
| | | 39.05 | 2.39 | 92 | | | | |
| | Core times students | 49.45 | 2.20 | 107 | | | | |
| | | 49.68 | 2.54 | 78 | | | | |
| | Control group | 54.63 | 2.19 | 106 | | | | |
| | | 52.91 | 2.40 | 88 | | | | |
| (grade 2) | All-day school students[2] | 54.88 | 3.59 | 36 | 2 | 7.14 | ≤.001 | .03 |
| | | 39.88 | 2.23 | 96 | | | | |
| | Core times students | 52.45 | 2.05 | 112 | | | | |
| | | 48.54 | 2.33 | 84 | | | | |
| | Control group | 52.36 | 2.11 | 103 | | | | |
| | | 57.09 | 2.28 | 88 | | | | |
| Socio-emotional development (z-value) (grade 1) | All-day school students[1,2] | -.19 | .11 | 44 | 2 | 8.91 | ≤.001 | .04 |
| | | .40 | .07 | 104 | | | | |
| | Core times students | -.02 | .07 | 100 | | | | |
| | | .02 | .08 | 82 | | | | |
| | Control group | .04 | .07 | 90 | | | | |
| | | -.03 | .08 | 79 | | | | |

[1] all-day school students vs. core times students x process quality ($p \leq .01$)
[2] all-day school students vs. control group x process quality ($p \leq .01$)
[3] core times students vs. control group x process quality ($p \leq .01$)

than in higher quality educational setting (more open forms). The differences in achievement of the students in different settings in schools with core times were not significant. In the further areas of development there were no significant interaction effects of group x process quality.

*Summary of the EduCare study*

These are the first available results concerning the effects of all-day schools and schools with core times on students' development at primary school age compared to "traditional school structures."

The main results of these investigation show that students that attend an all-day school perform better in cognitive and non-cognitive areas – except in mathematics – than control group students do. The intensity of attendance is only relevant for daily living skills. An interesting finding is that in this study the same effects are found here when the intensity of utilization of the all-day school is not taken into consideration. This means that the amount of attendance at extracurricular education plays no role here in the positive development of the all-day school children.

When we take the school setting's educational quality into consideration, there is an advantage for the non-cognitive area for all-day school students in high-quality settings (more open instruction) as compared to the control group students. In the cognitive area there is a stand-off situation: A high-quality setting is more beneficial for improvement in language but less beneficial for mathematics. This means for mathematics that a more directive instructional setting is more profitable. For control group students the quality-level is not relevant.

The study took place over a period from the beginning of primary school grade 1 up to the end of grade 3. I presented the results concerning the first two grades, at the beginning of the student's school career, so we could investigate effects of the different school settings controlling for family factors and individual child characteristics right from the start. Already after two years, the available findings show amazingly concise effects of the different school forms. Future research with a larger sample is needed to validate these findings (Schüpbach, 2010).

### 4.3 Research gaps and trends in research in Switzerland

Overall, it can be said that research activity in this area is still in its infancy. This is directly associated with the fact that out-of-school education has only been widely discussed and has only begun to be

implemented in Switzerland within the last five years. For many decades, very little attention was paid to extrafamilial education and care for preschoolers and school-age children (Schüpbach, 2006).

Our look at the three focal areas of research in Switzerland showed that up to now, very few researchers have studied these topics in Switzerland. For the evaluations of specific pilot projects, it is often researchers at universities of applied sciences that have greater access to third-party funding for evaluations in general than researchers that specifically conduct out-of-school time research. As for the research focus on quality and effectiveness, which is especially interesting in this context, it turns out that we at the University of Bern are the only researchers working in this area.

What about the directions of future research? What is needed is a more differentiated analysis of the various forms of out-of-school and extracurricular education in Switzerland and their effects. These forms have been further differentiated and developed very quickly in recent years. In addition, it is important for future studies to examine larger samples and to include students at the primary and lower secondary levels. The objective would be to validate the present findings and determine the reasons for any differences found.

Another area for research opens up in the area of educational quality. In the school, increasing importance is being placed on qualitatively good extracurricular activities. But so far there has been only marginal examination of the quality characteristics that prove to be important in the all-day schools in Switzerland for the students' development. To be investigated are features of structural and process quality and quality of educational orientation[4]. Here, precisely in connection with the all-day school and its quality, it will be important to examine also the design of classroom instruction, the out-of-school education, and the interlocking of the two parts. Some initial results on this are available from the EduCare study (Schüpbach, 2010). But

[4] Process quality: quality of children's experiences and interaction with the social and physical environment.
Structural quality: quality of the situation-independent and temporally stable frame conditions in the institutional setting and the group in which educational processes take place. Structural quality, in turn, clearly influences process quality.
Quality of educational orientation: quality of the educational attitudes, values, and beliefs of the adults involved in the educational processes.

here again, differentiated analyses according to school form and the age of the students are needed.

In connection with out-of-school education, many people have hopes that there will be particularly positive effects for children at risk and/or children with a migration background. A common argument in favor of all-day schools is the demand for equal chances independent of family background. Out-of-school and extracurricular education is intended to have a compensatory effect with regard to transmitting cultural and social capital. This leads us to the question as to whether children at risk or children with a migration background benefit especially from all-day schools and extracurricular activities.

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# 5. 'Out-of-school time' in England: From chess club to extended services

*Alan Dyson and Kirstin Kerr*

## 5.1 The English experiment

The English school system has a long tradition of schools offering activities outside of normal school hours – a tradition which stretches back many decades. In recent years, however, a 'remarkable experiment' (Cummings, Dyson, & Todd, 2011) has taken place which has transformed historical patterns of provision. First, out of school hours activities have been brought together with other out-of-classroom services and activities, and have been aligned with the work of child and family services beyond the school, to create a network of so-called 'extended services'. Second, the patchwork provision in which each school made its own decision about what to offer its students outside the classroom has been transformed into a universal offer in which every state-funded school has been required to provide access to a substantial level of additional provision, within the context of local and national strategies for combating social and educational disadvantage.

This paper will set out the background to these developments and will present the evidence that is available as to their impacts. Since the extended services now available in English schools have strong similarities to those in the 'full service' and 'community' schools in other countries (notably the USA), it will refer also to the evidence available from elsewhere. We will argue that this evidence is encouraging, but that it raises a range of questions about what extended services are for – and indeed, what schools are for. Moreover, since this paper constitutes a contribution to an international debate on out of school time provision, we will conclude by considering the questions that are raised by the English experiment for systems elsewhere that are developing such provision, perhaps as a stand-alone solution to educational problems.

## 5.2 The English context

Schools in England operate on an 'all day' basis, opening typically from around 09.00 to around 15.30, with an hour (sometimes less) in the middle of the day for lunch. Although, therefore, students are occupied in lessons throughout the day, most schools have traditionally offered a more or less extensive programme of additional activities at lunchtime and/or after school. For the most part, these activities have focused on sport, arts and leisure pursuits, and on curriculum enrichment and extension opportunities. They have been staffed by teachers on a voluntary basis, and participation by students has also been voluntary. Since they have been seen as additional to the school's 'core business' of teaching and learning, no very definite outcomes have been expected of them, and few attempts in the past were made to evaluate them.

At the same time, there are two other traditions which have extended the work of English schools well beyond academically-oriented classroom provision. One is the tradition of 'pastoral' work, in which schools have taken an interest in the social and emotional development of their students, which in turn has often meant working with students' families and with other child and family services (Best, 2002; Best, Ribbins, Jarvis & Oddy, 1983). In primary schools, this welfare role has historically been the responsibility of class teachers and, in particular, of head teachers, whereas in secondary schools there has tended to be a dedicated 'pastoral system', staffed by teachers with a particular interest – and possibly special training – in this field. The second tradition is one of 'community' schooling, reaching back at least until the 1920s (see, for instance, Morris, 1925) in which schools have seen themselves as a resource not only for their students, but also for families and for the whole local community. Schools working in this way have typically offered adult learning and leisure activities to local people, and made their facilities available for community use. As a consequence of these traditions, schools in England have never been purely academic institutions and have surrounded their work in classrooms with a wide array of out of classroom activities and services. Although this has happened to varying extents in different schools, by the start of the last decade schools in England offered a rich – if not particularly well-focused – mix of adults, pasto-

ral support for students and their families, and community access to buildings and other facilities (Ball, 1998; Wilkin, Kinder, White, Atkinson & Doherty, 2003).

This historical pattern, however, has changed in recent decades, in response to a widespread perception amongst policy makers that the English education system was not fit for purpose. This concern was articulated most famously in the mid-1970s by the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, who argued that the schools were placing too much emphasis on promoting children's personal development and too little emphasis on producing the highly-skilled workers that the national economy was likely to need in future (Callaghan, 1976). The outcome of these concerns was a series of major education reforms, beginning in the following decade, which focused on raising standards of school performance and student achievement. In the first instance, these reforms were based on a combination of tighter central control of curriculum and assessment, an increase of school autonomy vis-à-vis local administrations, and the introduction of market disciplines by encouraging schools to compete against one another to recruit students (Bash & Coulby, 1989). When the centre-left New Labour party came to power in 1997, these developments were intensified in pursuit of what the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, called "an unprecedented crusade to raise standards" (Blair, 1999). In practice, this intensification meant, amongst other things, the specification of rising expectations of school performance, high stakes testing of students, and the ratcheting-up of accountability systems to ensure that schools performed as central government expected (see Gunter et al., 2010 for a critical analysis).

In this context, the nature and purposes of schools' non-academic services and activities began to change. In the quest to raise standards of achievement, for instance, out of hours activities began to be seen less as a means of enriching students' overall experience of school, and more as a means of increasing the learning opportunities available to them – particularly those who were performing poorly in the classroom. As a result, there were a series of initiatives to develop 'study support' (Andrews, 2001; DfES, 1998), in which the informal pattern of out-of-hours activities became more sharply focused on curriculum-related activities intended to enhance students' performance in tests and examinations. At the same time, pastoral support and community

engagement also began to be focused more sharply on improving student and school performance. Accordingly, pastoral work was increasingly reshaped as intensive support for the most troubled and troublesome students – for instance, through the establishment of school-based inter-disciplinary support teams (Halsey, Gulliver, Johnson, Martin, & Kinder, 2005). Community education likewise tended to become focused on securing parents' engagement in supporting their children's learning (see, for instance, DfES, 2007).

This sharper focus had two, not always entirely complementary, motivations. On the one hand, it was part of the 'crusade to raise standards', concerned with improving the overall performance of the school system and its students, and therefore seeking to make enhanced learning opportunities available to all. On the other hand, it was more narrowly targeted at those students who were doing badly in school and therefore seeking to develop interventions that would remove the 'barriers to achievement' (DfES, 2004) that such students encountered. This targeting was itself aligned with a much broader social agenda around what was referred to as 'social exclusion' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001). New Labour governments took the view that some individuals, groups and communities experienced a range of barriers in their lives which systematically excluded them from full participation in the kind of prosperous, dynamic and knowledge-rich society that policy makers believed they were creating. Social exclusion in this sense had many causes and consequences, but a particular issue was exclusion from educational achievement, because education was seen as the key to future life chances and hence future well-being (Blunkett, 1999a, 1999b; Kelly, 2005).

In this context, the intensification of out-of-hours activities, pastoral support and community engagement was part of a multi-strand attack on low achievement (Antoniou, Dyson & Raffo, 2008), aimed at 'narrowing the gaps' (DCSF IDeA & LGA, 2007) between low achievers and the rest. However, since social exclusion was regarded as multi-dimensional, and since low achievement was seen as a product as well as a cause of other forms of exclusion, New Labour governments also began to consider how schools could play in tackling social exclusion more widely in the families and the communities where low achieving students lived. As a result, governments launched a series of initiatives – known at various times as 'schools

plus' (DfEE, 1999), 'extended schools' (DfES, 2002), and latterly as 'extended services in and around schools' (DfES, 2005) – to explore how the role of schools could be reshaped so that an intensive focus on achievement could be combined with a much broader social function. Each of these initiatives differed in detail, but by the time they had reached their final form, the expectation was that schools would make available a 'core offer' of out of hours childcare, a varied menu of out of hours study support and leisure activities, support for parents, access to specialist support services for students, and access to learning and other school facilities for community members (DfES, 2005, p. 8).

In the first instance, these initiatives were developed in a piecemeal fashion, and tended to be focused particularly on schools serving the most disadvantaged areas. However, as New Labour policy evolved, the emphasis shifted much more towards 'progressive universalism' (Prescott, 2002) – that is, towards offering services but intensifying these services for those most at risk. In terms of the extended schools agenda, this meant two things. First, it meant that, in the final years of the New Labour period in office, all schools, rather than just those in disadvantaged areas, were expected to offer access to extended services (DfES, 2005). Second, it meant that, the development of extended services in and around schools was seen as contributing to an ambitious 'Every Child Matters' agenda (DfES, 2003a). This took the form of an attempt to develop a coherent and integrated set of child and family services in place of what was seen as the fragmentary provision that had previously been in place. The intention was that all professionals involved with children and their families would work together, regardless of their background and service affiliation, in pursuit of five child outcomes – being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, making a (social) contribution, and achieving economic well-being. To facilitate this, the social care and education functions of local authorities were combined, structures were set in place which enabled health and other service providers to plan jointly with these new 'children's services', multi-professional teams were established in most areas, and at national level the education ministry took over responsibility for wide range of child and family policy areas that had previously been distributed amongst other ministries.

As schools' offers of extended services developed, they became important delivery mechanisms for this broad children's agenda within the overarching context of efforts to combat social exclusion. Their core concern, of course, remained with their students' academic attainment – the 'enjoy and achieve' outcome in Every Child Matters terms. However, they also began to work more holistically with children on issues of health, well-being and social development, and to enhance their life chances by moving them into employment or the next phase of education. In addition, schools offered an ideal platform for accessing children's families and local communities, and therefore could act as a base from which educators and professionals from other services could work together. The consequence was that the role of schools and their position in relation to other services began to be reconceptualised in important ways. The traditional model of schools as relatively isolated, academically-focused institutions, with some more-or-less peripheral extracurricular activities and pastoral provision, gave way to a model that was at once more focused and more expansive. This new model, the government declared, was about 'Twenty First Century schools', characterised by their commitment to:

- maintaining high aspirations for all children and young people and providing *excellent personalised education and development* to ensure that all are able to progress and reach high standards;
- enabling schools to play a key role in *identifying and helping to address additional needs*, working at the centre of a system of early intervention and targeted support; and
- providing a *range of activities and opportunities to enrich the lives of children, families and the wider community*; and contributing to community objectives such as local cohesion, sustainability and regeneration. (DCSF, 2008, p. 6, *emphases in the original*).

This new model of schools was embodied most obviously in a wave of school building in which traditional 'classroom box' designs were swept away in favour of open learning spaces on the one hand, and built-in community facilities on the other. By the time New Labour lost office in the general election of 2010, the school system was well on the way to realising a radical form of schooling – one which built

on historical traditions but which developed and reoriented them in new and more intensive ways. This is important for understanding the differences between out of hours provision in the English school system and in systems which have not undergone similar transformations. In English schools, out of hours provision was no longer a stand-alone intervention with modest aims. Instead, it was part of what, in principle at least, was a wide-ranging by coherent set of extended services, which themselves were locked into local strategies for working with disadvantaged children, families and communities – strategies that in turn were part of a national policy effort to combat social exclusion. Although, therefore, there are important research questions about what out of hours provision might achieve, there are, in the English context, even more important questions about what the whole range of extended services, activities and strategies achieved.

## 5.3 Extended services in action

In the light of this wide-ranging approach, schools in England have, in recent years, tended to offer multiple services and activities to students, families and communities, including but by no means restricted to out of hours activities. This description of 'Beresford', a primary (age 5-11) school serving highly disadvantaged housing estates, gives an indication of a typical pattern of provision:

> Beresford created a family support team to offer rapid, proactive, integrated and nonthreatening support to children and families. The team included the head teacher and assistant head teacher, a school-based social worker, [extended services] and childcare coordinators, counsellors from a local voluntary organization, a community support nurse, a parental engagement worker, a clinical psychologist from the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS), tenancy support workers and a domestic violence worker. Some of these workers were funded by the school, but many (such as the counsellors, nurse and clinical psychologist) were not. However, the school offered all of them a base in an annex consisting of some prefabricated buildings. The intention was that a wide range of support should be on offer to children, families and the wider community, in a form that was readily accessible, holistic and capable of being tailored to the needs of particular users. … Joint strategy meetings were held, in which information was shared, assessments were made, decisions about appropriate involvement were reached, and inter-

vention took place in a more coordinated manner than was usual in the local authority area.
The school also put its energies into developing provision that was open to all rather than being targeted at children and families in difficulties. A programme of adult learning was introduced, aimed at parents and other local residents, and a crèche was made available so that parents of young children could access the provision. A family learning programme was introduced, and the school's study support and out of school hours activities for students were open to all (Cummings et al., 2011, pp. 43-44).

All of this, of course, is in addition to vigorous efforts – stimulated by government support and scrutiny – to develop the quality and effectiveness of what was routinely available in classrooms, and to a wide range of other area interventions led with greater or lesser levels of school involvement by other community agencies working, for instance, on health, social care, regeneration or employment issues.

In some cases, students, families and community members took advantage of just one or other strand of activity in schools such Beresford. However, it was equally common for children and adults – particularly those facing the greatest difficulties – to access a range of services in order to address the complex problems in their lives. As a result, the impacts of extended services tended to come from the cumulative and interactive effects of different forms of provision rather than from any one service or activity alone. Cummings et al. (2011), for instance, report the case of 'Jenny', the mother of a student at Beresford, who had left school without qualifications, spent her young adulthood bringing up her children, and now felt herself to have reached something of a dead end. With the encouragement of school staff, Jenny took advantage of the adult learning courses offered by the school, did extremely well, and gained the confidence to go on to take more advanced courses at a local college. She also began to involve her children in her learning, bringing her daughter Julie to a family literacy activity run by the school. In this way, the whole family is affected by the services on offer:

Julie came in and took it all in when I did family literacy with her and her teachers said it gave her a lot more confidence in class to try new things rather than saying, 'I can't do it'. It's also improved her speech.

Jenny is also doing a first aid course at school also which, she says, is a 'useful qualification and a useful thing to know', and she attends the positive parenting classes because she wanted to learn more about dealing with teenagers and helping her 13 year old son who has attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). She said:
'It was advertised and I wanted to go along to learn more. We went over problems parents face with teenagers and as I have a son with ADHD it helped a lot. I now think more about looking at things from their [teenagers'] points of view' (Cummings et al., 2011, p. 45).

## 5.4 Understanding outcomes: the evaluation evidence

Jenny's story illustrates the potential for extended services to make a difference to children and adults, but also indicates some of the challenges in evaluating those impacts. In Jenny's case, for instance, some of the impacts are relatively easy to identify and even to quantify – her participation in adult learning courses and any accreditation she might have gained from this being a case in point. Others, however, are more elusive. What, for instance, are the relative effects on Jenny of the courses she has taken and of the personal support she has received from school staff (who, we learn, did much to build her self-belief)? How can her daughter's reported increase in confidence and improved speech be assessed, and are they the result of her participation in family learning activities, or of Jenny's own enhanced confidence? What impacts might be identified on Jenny's son – and again, are these the result of what Jenny has learned on the parenting course, of her growing confidence in herself, of the improvements in Julie's confidence, or of some interaction between all of these?

The problem, of course, is that multi-strand interventions such as extended services necessarily produce multiple effects through complex causal pathways that are difficult, if not impossible to disentangle. Moreover, this is only one of the challenges of evaluating initiatives of this kind. Others include: the variability of the services and activities offered by different schools; the range of outcomes that different schools expect from their provision; the lack of readily-available measures for many of these outcomes; the lengthy time scale over which schools often anticipate their outcomes will emerge; the difficulty of comparing outcomes from extended and 'non-extended' schools, given that most schools have historically offered at least

some elements of extended provision, and that all schools were expected to offer a full range by 2010; and the difficulty of comparing outcomes before and after the development of extended services in the same school, given that most schools have had some elements of extended services in place for many years (Dyson & Todd, 2010).

Quite apart from these technical problems, there are also problems with the quality of the evaluations that have been attempted in this field, not just in England, but elsewhere in the world. Identifying complex, long-term outcomes from multi-strand initiatives demands evaluation designs that are high-powered, longitudinal, and therefore costly. In fact, most evaluations in this field are relatively low-powered and short-term, focusing principally on processes, or on a narrow range of outcomes (Cummings et al., 2011; Dyson & Todd, 2010). To make matters worse, they are often funded by the sponsor of the initiative and are exhortatory in tone, enthusiastically advocating the rightness of the approach rather than exploring its actual impacts and limitations. The consequence is, as one review of the international evidence on extended service equivalents points out, that there has been 'little systematic, rigorous evaluation of the concept and its implementation' (Wilkin, White & Kinder, 2003, p. 5).

Nonetheless, a series of evaluations of extended services have been attempted in England (often funded by government), and they give at least some indicative evidence as to the outcomes that such services might produce. These evaluations fall into two broad groups. The first of these comprises evaluations of individual activities and services that typically became components in the schools' extended services. So, for instance, there have been evaluations and evidence reviews of childcare provision (Churchill Associates, 2003; SQW Limited, 2005), of multi-agency teams based in schools (Halsey, Gulliver, Johnson, Martin & Kinder, 2005), and of parenting support programmes (Moran, Ghate & Merwe, 2004). Most of these evaluations point to promising outcomes, and of particular note are studies that have been undertaken of out of hours learning and study support (Keys, Mawson & Maychell, 1999; Kirkham & Evans, 2000; MacBeath, Kirwan & Myers, 2001; Mason et al., 1999). For the most part, these have focused on process issues rather than on outcomes. However, an evaluation of study support programmes in secondary (age 11-16 or 18) schools demonstrated a range of positive outcomes, in

terms of improved academic achievement, attitudes to school, and attendance at school. The evaluators characterise these impacts as:

- Cumulative – the more different forms of activity a student takes part in, the greater the effect on attainment, attitudes and attendance
- Incremental – participation in study support in one year influences attainment, attitudes and school attendance in later years.
- Widespread – both subject-focussed activities and non-subject-focussed ones such as sport and aesthetic activities influence attainment, attitudes and attendance (MacBeath et al., 2001, p. 8).

Moreover, they see impacts as coming not simply from the additional opportunity to learn offered by study support activities, but also from the changed relationships between students and teachers, and the different understandings students have of themselves as learners in the more informal out of hours context (MacBeath et al., 2001, pp. 61 ff).

The second group of evaluations shifts the focus from the individual activities to the overall impact of the full range of extended services offered by particular schools (see, for instance, Carpenter et al., 2010a; Carpenter et al., 2010b; Cummings et al., 2007; Cummings et al., 2006; Cummings et al., 2005; Cummings, Dyson, Todd, with the Education Policy and Evaluation Unit, 2004; Dyson, Millward & Todd, 2002; Ofsted, 2005, 2006, 2009). This is important because, as we have seen, multiple services may well be accessed simultaneously, and it is not impossible that there are school and population level effects from whole programmes of services that are different from the effects of services in isolation. Once again, much of the evaluation effort has focused on process issues – how extended services might be developed, managed, funded and so on. However, there have also been attempts to identify outcomes, most notably in the evaluation of the so-called full service extended schools (FSES) initiative which ran from 2003-2006 (Cummings et al., 2007).

The FSES initiative supported just under 150 schools – most serving disadvantaged areas – in developing a wide range of services for students, families and communities, including study support, access to health services, adult learning and community activities, and childcare provision (DfES, 2003b, 2003c). The evaluation attempted

to identify the impacts of these services and activities as a whole rather than separately. Given the problems of evaluation in this field, it adopted a multi-strand approach. This included:

- *An analysis of student attainment outcomes* using the National Pupil Database (NPD). The NPD contains individual-level data on the performance of all school-age children on national assessments and examinations, together with information on a range of demographic characteristics such as entitlement to free school meals (a crude measure of relative poverty), ethnicity, gender, and special educational needs. The analysis compared attainment outcomes between students attending FSESs and those attending other schools.
- *Detailed case studies of 17 FSESs*, using theory of change methodology to identify and attribute a range of potential outcomes. Theory of change is an established approach to evaluating multi-strand initiatives in complex environments, in which evaluators work with initiative leaders to identify the outcomes at which their initiatives aim, and to articulate the intermediate changes that they anticipate will lead to those outcomes. Evidence is then sought both for the outcomes themselves (insofar as they emerge in the time frame of the evaluation) and for the intermediate changes (Anderson, 2005; Connell & Kubisch, 1998; Dyson & Todd, 2010). In this way, evaluators avoid searching only for outcomes which have ready-made measures, or which are imposed externally on the initiative. Moreover, because they are able to track the intermediate changes, they are able to predict outcomes that are likely to appear in the long term, and to attribute outcomes that do appear more reliably than standard input-outcome designs.
- *Cost-benefit analysis (CBA)* of 10 FSESs. CBA works by taking outcomes identified from other parts of the evaluation, and calculating the financial value of the returns to the economy (for instance, in terms of increased productivity, reduced welfare dependency, or reduced crime levels) which these outcomes produce. It also calculates the financial value of any resources used to produce these outcomes, and is thus able to compare these with the value of outcomes. This gives a very different way of looking at outcomes from the more immediate concerns of much educa-

tional evaluation with short-term improvements in attainment, attendance and the like.

The evaluation identified a range of outcomes from FSESs (Cummings et al., 2007, pp. 46 ff.). Above all, there was strong evidence of significant positive impacts on the most disadvantaged students, their families and other community members. The story of Jenny and her children (above) were repeated many times. Schools tended to concentrate their efforts on individuals and families who were experiencing the greatest difficulties, and by providing them with personal support, practical advice, and new opportunities, were able to help them overcome immediate crises in their lives, and place them on different trajectories. As with Jenny, different aspects of the school's provision might be called upon in bringing about these changes. School staff (often non-teachers) who were employed specifically in a supportive role were particularly important since they were able to work with people individually, develop positive relationships with them, and find practical solutions to their problems. However, the capacity of 'key workers' of this kind for helping people tackle their problems was significantly increased because they could call on a range of services and activities in and around the school – linking parents to social work support, for instance, or encouraging children to take up extracurricular activities, or finding vocational opportunities for older students.

Since the clearest outcomes came from work with disadvantaged individuals, it is here that it was easiest to undertake a cost benefit analysis. This suggested that the benefits accruing from extended services were substantial, and that, although the investment of resource needed to produce those benefits was also high, the financial value of benefits was higher. It was particularly significant that outcomes which were largely invisible in terms of standard school performance measures – for instance, preventing one or two students from dropping out of school, or reducing the rate of teenage pregnancy – might have quite large benefits in terms of returns to the economy. Moreover, these benefits accrued disproportionately to the most disadvantaged students and adults, meaning that extended services tended to be significantly redistributive in their effects.

There was also evidence that extended services brought about a change in school ethos – specifically, in how students saw themselves

in school and how they related to the school staff. Where this occurred it was often attributable to the extracurricular activities available in school, and to this extent confirms the findings of the study support evaluation reported above. However, the change in ethos was also enhanced by the number of supportive adults in the schools, and by the emphasis which some schools placed on giving their students a place in decision making. There was also a change in some cases in the way people outside viewed the school. As schools became more engaged with their communities, offered services to them and opened up their facilities to public use, there were indications that communities responded by viewing the school more positively, and that families were more willing to send their children to the school. Finally, there was evidence some that, in time, FSESs were likely to have an impact on the cultures of and opportunities in those communities. Given the evidence that these schools were already impacting on families and individual community members, and that these individuals often 'spread the word' to their friends and neighbours, it seemed likely that more widespread impacts might materialise in the longer term if the school's provision could be sustained over time.

### 5.5 Some caveats

These findings paint a positive picture of what might be expected from extended services. However, there are some important caveats to enter. For instance, although long-term impacts on communities were a possibility, there was no evidence from neighbourhood statistics that such impacts materialised in the three-year lifetime of the national initiative. This is perhaps not entirely surprising, given the difficulty of changing area characteristics and the insensitivity of the available measures to what were probably small-scale and localised changes. More significant, however, is that evidence of impacts on overall levels of student attainment was decidedly ambiguous. Head teachers were convinced that their provision was raising attainment, and could point to students who were doing better than they might otherwise have done. However, efforts to identify an 'FSES effect' on overall levels of attainment proved fruitless (Cummings et al., 2007, pp. 121 ff.). There was indeed some evidence of a narrowing of the gap in attainments between the most disadvantaged students and their peers

in FSESs, and this would be consistent with the focus of many schools' efforts on this group. However, since the apparent effect was small and evident on some measures but not others, it is difficult to be sure how real it actually was.

Likewise, there was ample evidence that schools could improve their overall performance on measures of student attainment at the same time as developing extended services. It was tempting to conclude, therefore, that extended service provision promoted school improvement, and a government analysis of improvement rates relative to similar schools outside the initiative made available to the evaluators seemed to confirm this (Cummings et al., 2007, p. 64). However, by no means all FSESs improved, and the comparison with other schools was problematic, given that FSESs were selected precisely because they served more disadvantaged –and hence lowest-attaining – populations than most other schools.

In making sense of these findings, it is useful to compare them with findings from similar initiatives elsewhere. The development of extended schools is an international phenomenon (Dyson, 2010). In the USA in particular, these initiatives – under the guise of full service and community schools – have flourished and been widely evaluated. Typically, evaluators enthusiastically report a range of positive outcomes similar to those we have set out above, but also including sometimes dramatic impacts on students' attainments and on school performance (see, for instance, Blank, Melaville & Shah, 2003; Dryfoos, 2000; Richardson, 2009). For the most part, however, the evidence presented does not differentiate between the effects of full service or community school provision *per se*, and the effects of whatever else may be going on in and around the school at the same time as this provision is developed. It seems highly likely that at least some of these schools are acquiring new leaders, developing a sense of purpose, restructuring their internal organisation, and reforming their teaching practices at the same time as they are developing their out of hours and community provision. This was certainly the case in the English FSESs.

Some of the more searching studies of extended service equivalents in the US would seem to support this hypothesis. The evaluation of the Chicago Community School initiative, for instance, found that, whilst the performance of participating schools was indeed better than

that of non-participating schools, there was no comparable difference in the attainments of students accessing or not accessing the out of hours provision that was key to the initiative (Whalen, 2007). Similarly, evidence coming from the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) raises questions about how far impacts on attainment are produced by additional services, and how far they are produced by more standard school improvement measures. HCZ is a wide-ranging initiative combining school reform with a series of what in England would be called extended services, into a sustained attempt to tackle educational disadvantage across a whole community and across the childhood years (The Harlem Children's Zone, 2009). There seems little doubt that attainments have risen dramatically in the Zone, but the suggestion is that this may simply be because of improvements in schools' core teaching and learning provision. The Zone's charter schools, for instance, perform much better than many other New York schools, but no better than other charter schools in the city, whilst individual students seem to do equally well regardless of whether they access the Zone's non-educational services (Dobbie & Fryer, 2009; Whitehurst & Croft, 2010). Both the English and the US evidence, therefore, makes it difficult to conclude that extended services and their equivalents have a significant impact on overall student attainment, at least in the short term.

### 5.6 Extended services and the purposes of out of hours provision

This is, in many ways, no surprise. The most powerful effects on attainment tend to come from interventions that are proximal to the learning situation (Hattie, 2009; Higgins et al., 2011). Yet extended services, by definition, are concerned with what happens outside classrooms and beyond the core curriculum. It is reasonable to expect that the availability of extracurricular activities might make students feel a little better disposed to their schools and might, in time, increase their confidence as learners. It is also reasonable to expect that intensive support for a family in crisis might make the family a little more stable and reduce the risk of its children running into serious trouble in school. It is, however, quite *unreasonable* to expect that services and activities of this type will produce significant gains in attainment

across a whole school population in a matter of a few months or even years.

However, if extended services are not means of producing short-term hikes in school performance, what, precisely, are they for? This may seem a strange question given the very substantial investment that has taken place in England and elsewhere in the world in getting schools to broaden their role. Yet the reality is that the aims of extended services are rarely debated in any depth or articulated with any clarity. In England, successive governments have contented themselves with setting out a (lengthy) list of possible outcomes. The extended schools prospectus, published in 2005, for instance, lists no fewer than nine apparently disconnected 'benefits', ranging from improving attainment, to providing greater opportunities for school staff, to improving health outcomes (DfES, 2005). There is no indication of how these benefits relate to and interact with each other, nor of whether there is any hierarchy in terms of which ones might lay the foundations for which others.

Where purposes are more coherent, they tend to be articulated in terms of a 'dominant rationale' (Cummings et al., 2011, p. 35) which sees extended services as a means of tackling the problems experienced by disadvantaged children, families and communities. This focus is understandable given the concern, in England especially, that the most disadvantaged children and communities might be yet further excluded from the rapid social and educational improvements that governments expected to be experienced by the majority of people. Nonetheless, the disadvantage-focused rationale for extended services is hugely problematic, for at least three reasons:

- *First*, there is a powerful argument that efforts to tackle disadvantage at the individual or local level have repeatedly failed because they fail to acknowledge the massive socio-structural inequalities out of which local disadvantage arises (Rees, Power & Taylor, 2007; Smith, 1987).
- *Second*, the disadvantage-focused rationale tends to be informed by a pejorative, deficit-oriented perspective which sees the deficiencies of individuals as being largely responsible for the difficulties they face, and is therefore comfortable with the idea

that professionals have the right to decide what these people 'need' (Cummings et al., 2010).

- *Third*, this rationale overlooks the range of other ways of thinking about how schools might relate to the children, families and communities they serve. There are, for instance, schools in England and elsewhere which see themselves as offering resources to individuals and communities that are already doing well, or as building the capacity of disadvantaged people to shape their own circumstances, or as embarking on a joint venture in which professionals place their expertise at the disposal of local people rather than simply assuming control (see, for instance, Cummings et al., 2007; Dyson et al., 2002; M. Tymchak (chair) Task Force and Public Dialogue on the Role of the School, 2001; Warren & Hong, 2009; Warren, Hong, Rubin & Uy, 2009).

There is, therefore, a major debate still to be had in England, about what extended services are for and how, precisely, they are intended to achieve their purposes. In the absence of this debate, the English experiment with extended services, however remarkable in its scale and ambition, might best be viewed as a promising initial exploration rather than as a fully-worked-out approach to schooling whose outcomes can definitively be assessed. At the very least, if it is an experiment in tackling social and educational disadvantage, it needs more time and more support. Just as it is unreasonable to expect extended services to produce rapid hikes in attainment, it is unreasonable to expect that they will break down established patterns of disadvantage and the cultural attitudes and resources that are associated with those patterns. It will take time for the individual impacts currently in evidence to accumulate into larger-scale change, and it will almost certainly need the work of schools to be supported and enhanced by a range of other social and economic interventions.

Even in this still relatively immature form, however, the English experiment, we suggest, raises important questions for the development out of hours provision in other education systems. In particular, it raises questions about what is expected of this provision, and where it sits within broader strategies to tackle endemic educational and social problems. Whatever the limitations of the English experiment, it is clear that out of hours provision has been seen as part of a concerted

attack on problems of poor educational achievement and, more widely, of social exclusion. As such, it has ceased to be a stand-alone intervention, and has been brought together with a wide range of school services and activities, a range of local interventions, and a national policy agenda. The question of whether out of hours provision *per se* enhances students' attainments and attitudes, therefore, has been subsumed within much broader questions of whether the whole array of interventions and strategies.

For other systems, this raises the question of whether out of hours provision is seen as a modest intervention with modest aims, or whether, as in England, its aims are more wide-ranging. If the latter is the case, how realistic is it to expect it to achieve these aims alone, and with what other interventions and strategies, therefore, is it aligned in order to bring about sufficiently powerful impacts? If the former is the case, however, is this because the system is confident that it does not face the endemic issues of educational and social inequality that are acknowledged to beset the English system (see, for instance, Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010; Schools Analysis and Research Division, 2009)? Alternatively, is it because there is no real strategy for addressing these issues and out of hours provision is being applied as a sticking plaster to what is actually a deep wound in the system?

There is, however, no room for complacency about what has been achieved in England, since these questions are become increasingly pertinent to the English system itself. In 2010, the New Labour government was replaced by a more right wing Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition which shows little commitment to the extended services agenda, and is busily cutting the funding that made such services viable in the past. The conceptualisation of purpose is shifting from broadly-conceived, overarching outcomes to a narrower focus on attainment. At the same time, the centrally-driven, multi-agency strategies favoured by New Labour are giving way to a more devolved approach, driven by individual schools using their own, inevitably limited, resources. In this situation, there is, not surprisingly, a growing advocacy of free-standing, evidence-based programmes – including out of hours provision – to tackle specific issues for specific low-achieving groups (Allen, 2011; Higgins, Kokotsaki & Coe, 2011). It seems entirely probable that this movement will make some powerful

interventions available in schools. It may, indeed, result in time in more carefully-designed and targeted out of hours provision. However, inequalities are deeply anchored in the English education system, and are strongly related to equally ingrained inequalities in British society. Whether this new, more fragmented, and locally-driven approach will be adequate to tackling these inequalities is, to say the least, a moot point.

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# 6. The Swedish leisure-time centre. Past – present – future

*Björn Haglund and Anna Klerfelt*

## 6.1 Introduction

Sweden has many and various programmes and activities that are directed to children and adolescents when they are not supposed to be in school. The educational activity emphasized in this paper takes place in leisure-time centres. A leisure-time centre should be portrayed as an educational group activity for children when they are not in school and when schools are closed during school holidays. Leisure-time centres have been an integral part of social and family policies. During the last 20 years, however, the educational aspect has been emphasized. The transfer of childcare policy from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs to the Ministry of Education and Science in 1996 amongst all can reflect this. Accordingly the Education Act replaced the Social Services Act that previously regulated childcare in 1995. The purpose of this transferring action was to bridge the differences between pre-school, compulsory school and out-of-school childcare and to build on close educational links between these institutions (Gunnarsson, Korpi and Nordenstam, 1999). The task for leisure-time centre's nowadays are to be a complement to school, in terms of both time and content, and to offer children between 6 and up to 12 years meaningful leisure and support in their development. It is, however, adequate to briefly mention other educative opportunities outside the regular school before we more thoroughly describe the background and development of leisure-time centres.

Some of these other educational activities are supported by different political parties and unions who, through these particular education associations, strive for cultivation in different areas such as playing music instruments, learning dances, language studies, painting techniques, etc. This is done through semester courses during afternoons and evenings. These activities are available for a small fee. A

similar content, but solely directed to music and dance is also provided by the municipal School of Culture. These activities are, just like the education associations, not for free. They are, however, not to be considered as solely semester courses since you can participate as long as you want to. When your skill develops you could, for example, join another orchestra that are more in level with your own abilities. Both the different education associations and the School of Culture are well established institutions. During the last years, however, different private companies, directed to children's and adolescent's school work, has been established. These companies are offering pupils help with their homework in their homes or in a library nearby. The pupils and their parents decide how often and how long this help is needed and pay by the hour.

All Swedish municipals have responsibilities to offer a lot of activities for children and adolescents. One of these tasks is to provide different activities during vacations. This means that children and teenagers for example could take part in water sport camps and music camps during summer vacation. One day events do also occur during vacations, amongst other things at libraries and museums. Beside the School of Culture the municipalities, or sometimes bigger regions, have responsibility for managing museums. Municipalities are also arranging swimming schools, not just during summer but all year round. Children at the age of eleven are supposed to be able to swim and this is also one of the goals in the Swedish school curriculum, in all the Nordic countries this means, that you can swim 200 meters. The municipals also provide recreational centres for teenagers where they can meet and talk, buy refreshments, play board games, floor ball, and many other things.

A lot of children and adolescents are also members of different associations that are not managed by the municipality and, which in some respects, should be seen as Out-Of-School educational activities. These associations could be everything from chess associations to football clubs, ornithologist associations and riding schools.

### 6.2 The development of the Swedish leisure-time centre

As mentioned before, the leisure-time centre has been transferred from the Health and Social Affairs department to the Ministry of Education

and Science. The leisure-time centre has been involved in many changes concerning both their design and content during the past years. It is therefore appropriate to give a description of how the leisure-time centre has changed and developed to understand the leisure-time centre of today.

In her Ph. D. thesis Rohlin (2001) describes how conceptions concerning the leisure-time centre and its predecessors have changed during different periods of time. She asserts that these conceptions have been accompanied by different power conditions that act and control in the name of children's free time. When she describes these leading conceptions she illustrates them as (1.) a conception of work (2.) a conception of recreation and (3.) a conception of education.

Rohlin claims that the conception of work was the dominating idea from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s and was performed in institutions that were called work cottages. The work cottages were institutions that only directed their activities to the poorest children (cf. Johansson, 1984; Karlsson, 1998; Olsson, 1999; Rohlin, 1996). The founders of the work cottages were philanthropic associations that strived for a moral improvement of the poor and the work cottage was seen as a tool in this ambition. From a philanthropic point of view the poor were not in need of charity, if anything they were in need of education and a proper upbringing. It was only by education and a proper upbringing the children could be adjusted to the norms of society; quit begging, stealing and stop performing all kind of mischief in the streets. Karlsson (1998) describes the activities in the early 20th century work cottages as "activity education". The activities of the work cottages were, among other things, based on different kinds of handicraft, woodwork and textile craft. The staff consisted of different craftsmen who taught their craft, teachers who wished to get some extra money and young and rich women who wanted to give support to the poor. A female manager, who was the one running the activities, directed all these persons.

Work was one of the cornerstones in the activities and the children were taught that work was profitable. The children were rewarded with food and received a meal for the work they had performed. By the executed work the children also got the chance to learn a craft they could support themselves with in the future. Another point of departure for emphasizing handicraft in work cottages was a criticism of the

stress of theory in school. The philanthropic philosophy was, in that way, not entirely based on work as a moral value. There was also an educational idea that meant that work of the hand should be more appreciated (Johansson, 1986; Rohlin, 2001).

The work cottage became, however, obsolete over time since the Swedish society developed and the poverty decreased. These institutions also became questioned for political reasons and a new concept appeared that indicated that children should not work with the exception of their school related work. The conception of work was in that way followed by the conception of recreation. This conception was guiding the idea of younger schoolchildren's leisure at the leisure-time centre[1] between the 1930s to the 1960s. This meant that the society modelled a new and changed social practice that offered younger schoolchildren to take part in the afternoon centre activity instead. Activities in the afternoon centre (see footnote below) were very different compared to the activities in the work cottage (Rohlin, 2001; Vallberg Roth, 2002). The activities in the afternoon centre were often seen as a continuation of the activities in the day care and were mostly based on child minding (Calander, 1999; Hansen, 1999). The notion of complementing theory in school with different kind of manual work, as in the work cottage, was not present in the afternoon centre. Children's leisure should, from the view of the afternoon centre, be spent by doing homework, play or to recuperate. This new organisation could be seen as a pre-schoolisation since the afternoon centres mainly was staffed by pre-school teachers (Rohlin, 1996). This could also be seen as a stagnation since the education of pre-school teachers was not directed to schoolchildren and there also existed an uncertainty about the purpose of the afternoon centre (Rohlin, 1996).

The notion that succeeded the conception of recreation started in the early 1960s and was a conception of education (Rohlin, 2001). Rohlin asserts that the conception of recreation took place on a social arena while the conception of education initially took place at a socio-educational arena. Time, within the frames of the leisure-time centre, was now constructed in relation to school. Leisure-time centres were,

[1] Leisure-time centres were labelled afternoon centres during this period since the opening hours were circumscribed to afternoons. The name leisure-time centre was not common until the beginning of the 1960s when the opening hours also increased and included early mornings before school.

from the 1960s, not principally meant to deal with child minding. Instead leisure-time centres were supposed to arrange the activities as a support for social development. This should be done by mainly supporting the families but also by supporting the school. A shorter education directed towards work at leisure-time centres started in the middle of the 1960s and it was also during this period the name of the occupation "leisure-time pedagogue" was established. This education was later extended and became a university education in 1977. The leisure-time pedagogue education had many similarities with the education of pre-school teachers since these occupations historically have had many connections. Leisure-time centres were in most cases situated in the same buildings as day-care centres until the 1980s but they are nowadays normally housed in schools.

## 6.3 The leisure-time centre of today

During the 1990s the leisure-time centres were commissioned by the Government to change their assignment to take part in an educational arena instead of being part of a social arena. This means that the leisure-time centre ceased to, first and foremost, be institutions that complemented the family to mainly, as today, be a complement to school. During the second part of the 1990s the children aged six years were transferred from pre-school to the so called pre-school class in school. The reason for this arrangement was that the government wanted the pedagogy from pre-school to influence the work with the youngest pupils in school. One of the consequences was that the six year old children went to the leisure-time centre when the pre-school class finished for the day and that the leisure-time centre came to serve even younger children than before.

The leisure-time centre of today is regulated by the Education Act and the curriculum (LPO 94). The curriculum was originally developed solely for the activities in school but was adjusted 1998 to be possible to apply in the leisure-time centre as well[2]. Another important steering document, considering the leisure-time centre, is the *General Recommendations with Comments. Quality in Leisure-Time Centres* (2007). This document is explicitly directed towards the leisure-time

[2] From 1th July there is a new curriculum called Lgr 11.

centre and is supposed to be a guideline for municipalities and leisure-time pedagogues and function as a support for discussions concerning how to perform and develop the activity.

## 6.4 An ordinary day in a leisure-time centre

An ordinary leisure-time centre opens about 6.30 in the morning. Sometimes the children arrive alone and sometimes their parents escort them. Breakfast is served about 7.30 and in most cases school starts at 8 am. Nowadays leisure-time centres are mostly located in the same building as the school so the children do not have to walk long distances to get to their classrooms. Many leisure-time pedagogues combine their work at the leisure-time centre by working in school. This could mean that they assist the teacher in the classroom or that they act as teachers in classrooms or at the leisure-time centre. The teaching they perform is often directed towards painting, physical exercises and to develop children's social skills. The children return to the leisure-time centre, between 1 and 3 pm, when the school day has ended. During the afternoon they get a snack, potter about, communicate, and play games together depending on what they want to do. Sometimes the leisure-time pedagogues have prepared activities the children can take part in. The children go home alone or are fetched by their parents or older siblings. This depends on what their parents have decided and also informed the staff about. Most leisure-time centres close at 6 pm. The leisure-time centre is now serving more than 350 000 children between 6-12 years old. This mean that 81% of all Swedish children between 6-9 years and 14% of all children between 10-12 years are served by leisure-time centres (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2010).

## 6.5 Education of leisure-time pedagogues

The current education of leisure-time pedagogues is university based and 3.5 years long. The education forms a part of the Swedish teacher education though this condition has been discussed and questioned. The teacher training consists of three parts; one general educational area where all different categories of teachers are attending, a second part directed towards subjects and then a third part directed towards

specialization. Within the general educational area the students study in mixed groups, regardless of subject and stage, in order to increase the diversity and stimulate discussion during seminars focused towards general educational and ethical questions. The second part assembles groups of students directed to the same subject area and the same stage in school. In the third part, the specialization, students are free to make their own choice to deepen or broaden their knowledge in various fields, such as aesthetic areas, literacy, maths or issues within the special education field. The program ends with an extended essay. After graduation all students are eligible to apply to research studies.

In Sweden, however, the teacher education is regarded as a political issue, and as such, vulnerable. The current right-winged government has pushed through that the existing education must be reformed. In spring 2010 the Swedish government decided to implement a new teacher education. In this political decision issues about education management and assessment and subject knowledge in core subjects and in particular the Swedish language and mathematics is emphasized. The training will now be split into different parts: preschool, three branches directed to primary/secondary school and then one branch directed towards subjects in the higher levels. The three teaching orientations toward primary/secondary school aim at preschool till third grade, years 4-6, and the work in leisure-time centres. The leisure-time pedagogues will now be labelled "Teacher directed towards work in Leisure-time centres". The education towards work in leisure-time centres will be the shortest of the three branches directed towards primary/secondary school. The leisure-time pedagogue will now also study a subject in school that will lead to a dual role as leisure-time pedagogue in leisure-time centres and teacher in school in practical/aesthetical subjects. The following courses will be included in the upcoming training:

- General educational courses 60 points ECTS
- Practice 40 points ECTS
- Leisure 60 points ECTS
- Subjects 30 points ECTS
- (including examination paper 15 points ECTS)

In the proposal concerning the new leisure-time pedagogue education, handed in by the University of Gothenburg, the following courses are planned:

- Leisure as science
- The field of leisure activities
- Outdoor education
- Aesthetics and creativity
- Social media
- Communication (language, maths, symbolic thinking)

The student may also choose among six subjects to become teacher for children in grade 4-6 (10-12 years old) in one of the following subjects:

- Art
- Music
- Home economic
- Sports
- Handicraft
- Technology

After finishing this education the student can continue into advanced courses and master educations, and then continue with postgraduate research studies.

There will be both disadvantages and advantages to the profession in the upcoming training. It is a disadvantage that the training will not keep together the different categories of teachers and that students do not meet in a natural way as in the current teacher education. Areas such as ethnicity, gender, intersubjectivity, children's perspectives, diversity, and communication are neglected. But the education to leisure-time pedagogue can now be more articulated since it takes form as an independent training. The future education will not bridge to research studies, but the student must add the master's program to become eligible to apply for postgraduate studies.

## 6.6 Research on leisure-time centres

Research concerning leisure-time centres are, compared to research concerning school or pre-school, very limited. The reason for the lack of research depends on the comparatively short period the leisure-time centre have existed and that just during the last 30 years leisure-time centres have expanded to serve a lot of children. The work cottage was only directed to the poorest children and only comprised some thousand children in the bigger cities and neither the afternoon centre comprised a large number of children. The great quantitative expansion of the leisure-time centre did not start until the 1980s as a consequence of the increasing demand of women entering the labour market.

### *6.6.1 Thesis*

The research concerning the leisure-time centre could roughly be divided into three categories: doctoral thesis, journal articles and, finally, surveys and evaluations concerning this area of interest. The following presentation of these categories will not cover all work that has been written in this area but tries to show the overall picture of the content and knowledge. One of the first doctoral theses that were directed towards the leisure-time centre was written 1984 by Johansson and was called *Fritidspedagog på fritidshem. En yrkesgrupps syn på sitt arbete (The recreational Pedagogue in the Children's Leisure Centre. An Occupational Group's View of Its Work.).* This and following theses (Evaldsson, 1998; Ursberg, 1996) were directed towards various parts of the social practice in the leisure-time centre. Johansson (1984) tried to "…elucidate the characteristics of the leisure centre and its work" (p. 227). Evaldsson emphasized children's interaction in the ordinary life of two leisure-time centres and Ursberg studied the interplay between the leisure-time pedagogue and the children. Subsequent theses took interest in the deepened cooperation and integration between the leisure-time centre and school. The content in these theses were therefore mainly directed to the meeting and collaboration between leisure-time pedagogues and teachers and the social practice that occurred in that meeting (Calander, 1999; Gustavsson, 2003; Haglund, 2004; Hansen, 1999). Rohlin (2001), that was referred to

earlier in this paper, focused on the development of the leisure-time centre and the different conceptions that have been accompanying its activity. Another example of recent research concerning the leisure-time centre is Ihrskog (2006) who focused on children's and young peoples peer relations concerning the creation of identity and socialisation. She also emphasized the formation of meaning and informal learning processes in these relations. Klerfelt (2007) explored the encounter between institution and media culture and how this encounter is shaped in the interaction between children and pedagogues at a leisure-time centre. Her thesis focused on the interactive processes that arise when children and pedagogues meet in the educational practice to create stories in words and pictures with digital technology. Siljehag (2007) deal with special education in her dissertation but she underlined that special education in some respects depended on leisure pedagogy. Her point of departure was to describe, explain and understand the importance of preschool and leisure pedagogy for special education. In summary, we find that most of the research about leisure-time centres is undertaken in thesis. It gives the research towards the leisure-time centre a special character and shows how research concerning issues directed towards this practice is neglected by the Swedish Research Council and other authorities granting funds. The theses are written by people who have a particular interest in their field, here the pedagogy of leisure is financed within a doctoral post and not by funding. But there are also studies reported in articles, and we will continue by presenting some of these.

### *6.6.2 Articles*

Some studies published in articles emphasize leisure-time centres and leisure-time pedagogues. Calander (1996, 1997, 2000) discusses the meeting between leisure-time pedagogues and teachers. These articles, and the doctoral theses mentioned above that were focusing the meeting between leisure-time pedagogues and teachers, emphasizes in different ways that the leisure-time pedagogue often are losing in the collaboration with teachers. The leisure-time pedagogue and the leisure-time centre contributes with time and efforts to improve the work in school but, as Calander (2000) puts it, "…teachers doing the same only occasionally during *leisure time* at the leisure time centre in the

afternoons" (Calander, 2000, p. 216). Evaldsson and Corsaro (1998) discuss children's interaction during play. They emphasize the importance of children's peer culture and how children, through their interaction, observations, and play, learn rules for turn taking, communication, and negotiation skills. Klerfelt (2004, 2006) discusses computer produced multimedia stories created by children and the interaction between children and staff at pre-schools and leisure-time centres during these meaning making processes. Haglund (2009) as well as Haglund and Anderson (2009) emphasize the content in Swedish leisure-time centres and afterschool programs in the US. These articles relate the content in these institutions to definitions and discourses regarding meaningful leisure and learning. It is argued that "…the content of the activities and the way they are organized can be experienced as joyful and even fun, although many of these activities are developing, enriching and are conducted with a purpose over and above being fun" (Haglund & Anderson, 2009, p. 127). Finally Birgit Andersson (2010) presents a study that focuses on leisure-time pedagogues' experiences of assessment in school and leisure-time centers. She asserts that leisure-time pedagogues often assess the development of children's social competencies, activities in their centre and the leisure-time pedagogues' own contributions. These assessments are, however, mainly based on informal observations without any other documentation. She claims that the leisure-time pedagogues are not entirely positive to assessments and that one explanation for this is that assessments are closely associated with "…the type of assessments that were previously common in schools /…/ This is far from the sphere that leisure-time pedagogues are used to" (Andersson, 2010, p. 205).

### *6.6.3 Evaluations of the leisure-time centre*

The Swedish National Agency for Education has published several reports and evaluations concerning the leisure-time centre since the responsibility for the leisure-time centres were transferred to the Ministry of Education and Science in 1996. One of the first reports was called *Finns fritids? En utvärdering av kvalitet i fritidshem*. (2000) The provoking title, translated to English is *Do leisure-time centre exist? An evaluation of quality within leisure-time centres*, aimed to

critically discuss the content of the leisure-time centre activities since the Swedish National Agency for Education was not satisfied with the standard of the activities in many leisure-time centres. The Swedish National Agency for Education asserted that:

> The general recommendations for Sweden's recreation centres[3] presuppose much more than elementary care. Children are meant to learn something at the centres, not simply last through the day. Under the proper conditions, recreation centres can provide children with the prerequisites for a good life. There, children learn a lot about human relations and the common values on which our society rests, and they are provided with a base on which to build a life of substance.
> At most of the recreation centres we visited, conditions are not favourable in the above sense. The centres are only partially able to fulfill their task as defined in the general recommendations, and some are completely unable to do so. They are also finding it difficult to live up to the goals of equivalence in care provision. The main reason for this is the size of children's groups. (2000, p. 5)

The Swedish National Agency for Education has repeatedly criticized certain aspects of the leisure-time centre (for example 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010). Criticized aspects have, just like shown above, been the increasing child to staff ratio but also that the staff haven't got time to take part in the children's activities and that the activities often only consisted of free play. The Swedish National Agency for Education also asserted that free play is good but asked for a variation of activities and the agency also criticized the municipalities for their lack of objectives and evaluations concerning leisure-time centres.

The scarcity of reports and information concerning knowledge directed to leisure-time centres and the pedagogy developed in this practice has also resulted in a shortage of teaching media, a shortage that lecturer interested in this pedagogy have taken seriously and intend to do something about.

[3] During this period of time leisure-time centres were named recreation centres in Swedish reports written in English. Nowadays the official term is leisure-time centres.

## 6.7 Networking and anthology

Lecturers and instructors interested in leisure employed at the Swedish Universities have operated for decades in a national network. This network is a committed and vibrant organisation that meets annually and works closely and discusses actual issues in the education of leisure-time pedagogues. One issue discussed in recent years is the lack of publications of research-based findings on leisure-time centres and leisure. To cover this gap an anthology is being compiled and scheduled for completion in 2011 (Klerfelt & Haglund, 2011).

## 6.8 Support for research about leisure-time centres and activities

Funding for research directed towards leisure from various research institutions in Sweden is neglected. However, a positive initiative can be mentioned in relation to this question. The Swedish Research Portal, *forskning.se,* devoted their monthly theme to leisure-time activities during the month of November 2010. It consisted of a research review in which the recent research about leisure-time centres and activities were reviewed. By giving answers to ten questions about leisure-time pedagogues the reader got a proper understanding of the leisure-time centres pedagogical approaches and practical activities. Parallel with these informative texts a blog was assigned, which addressed current and future research issues.

## 6.9 Support from the Swedish National Agency for Education

The Swedish National Agency for Education is the central administrative authority for the Swedish public school system for children, young people and adults, as well as for preschool activities and childcare for school children. In recent years the National Agency has, as mentioned before, evaluated the Swedish municipalities in a number of reports. These evaluations have shown that public subventions intended for leisure have been assigned for activities in preschool and school and not towards leisure-time centres. Leisure-time centres have suffered significant cuts which in some places have resulted in large groups of children at many leisure-time centres, decreases in activity quality, not seldom operating in substandard facilities which have

resulted in poor working environment for the staff and the children. Different parts of the activity have been subjected to careful scrutiny and political leaders have been criticized. The criticism led to some municipalities designating leisure-time centres as a strategic area and promptly alloting means to improve the situation, such as reducing the number of children in groups and ensure that staff receives training.

The above mentioned evaluations have been conducted from the perspectives of different groups; children, parents and staff. In conclusion, the National Agency has in a commendable way, highlighted the importance of children's rights of high quality activity, parents rights of good care for their children, and the right for staff to carry out their intentions to build a high quality activity for the children. This raises questions about quality, effectiveness and problems.

### 6.10 Researchers' knowledge of Quality – Efficiency – Problems

Based on the Agency's evaluation of the leisure-time centres, scientists, policy makers and parents have a detailed picture of the activity and its quality and problems. At the municipal level surveys are carried out yearly with users, the parents, and by these surveys, headmasters and staff get direct feedback on how parents perceive the activities of their particular school and leisure-time centre. The National Agency for Education, however, has criticized the municipalities as it is common that the leisure-time centres often seem to be invisible in these surveys. The surveys are first and foremost directed towards school. One possible explanation for this situation is that many municipalities above all regard leisure-time centres as school children care and not as an activity that could support children's development and learning.

The concepts of quality, efficiency and problems concerning the leisure-time centre are not entirely unproblematic – depending on the perspective regarding the activity. From a financial point of view an activity for 46 children (which is a number mentioned and highly criticized by the National Agency) might be considered to be efficient, at least if you are a policy maker, but not necessarily out of the childrens' or the parents' perspective. The Swedish educational system has not previously has not had a tradition of evaluating the educational activities from a cost perspective, but in recent years, this perspective

has made its entrance in the way you talk about education today. Children and parents often seem to be satisfied according to surveys made by The National Agency for Education (2000). This somewhat surprising result could depend, according to the Agency, on the unawareness of parents of what they may expect or demand of the activity. With the intention of rising parents consciousness in this matter the National Agency for Education made a booklet *Your child's leisure time is important. Information about leisure-time centres* (2010a). In summary, scientists have good knowledge of the quality of the activity in the leisure-time centre, educational efficiency is an unexplored issue and regarding the problems of the activities, inter alia, they are described in the evaluations made by the Agency. The problems are well known by scientists and disseminated in the community. The municipalities seem, according to The Swedish National Agency for Education (2010b), to accentuate parents' opportunities to let their children take part in the activity rather than accentuating the activities per se. In other words, the municipalities have above all emphasized access to the leisure-time centre while planning, follow-up and evaluation of the activities have not been given priority.

## 6.11 Example of our own research

We carried out a minor study at two leisure-time centres during spring 2010. The study had a twofolded aim, to try out methodological tools and to describe children's social and discursive practice in Swedish leisure-time centres. Our theoretical point of departure origins from a social constructionist perspective, which emphasizes that reality is constructed by people who interact (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003). Within this perspective we investigated methods that make children's perspectives visible (Haudrup Christensen, 2004) and reflect the pedagogues' intentions with their work. The data production consisted of narrative interviews so called "walk-and-talk" conversations and photographs.

In our study we use Mischler's (1986) argument for using narrative interviews when he says that opportunities for reflection and clarification are more evident in a narrative interview compared to more conventional interviews. Due to recent year's recognition of children's social agency, researchers have been more sensitive to children's right

of making their own voice heard and this has led to an increased rate of children's participation in the research process (Haudrup Christensen, 2006). This has significantly changed children's position within the human and social sciences and led to a weakening of the taken-for-granted assumptions found in more conventional approaches to childhood research. Haudrup Christensen emphasizes the importance of employing a reflexive and dialogical perspective in order to make children's voices heard and she means that this enables the researcher to enter into children's 'culture of communication'. In the narrative interviews, researchers will seek to establish commonly constructed objects of conversations (Linell, 1998) inspired of the so called 'walk-and-talk' method (Haudrup Christensen, 2006). A "walk-and-talk"-conversation means that, for instance, a child leads the researcher to different places and tells about the specific place. This is a way to transfer power to the child and let the child steer the content of the conversation based on the original question. In our study we have taken this a step further. We have abandoned conventional and not emotionally charged questions and taken the consequences of theoretical perspectives that argue that agreement pertaining interpreted objects of discussion is created in the interaction between the persons taking part in the conversation. This means that both, children and researchers, could use emotionally charged adjectives and expressions. The intention is to use emotion-based questions to provoke children's and adults' perspectives by creating space for them to define the situation. In our study the described way of performing interviews has been complemented with the use of a digital camera that the interviewed child was supposed to handle.

The children were asked questions such as "What is the funniest/most boring/most dangerous/most beautiful place at the leisure-time centre?". The questions served as a basis to provoke vigorous discussions and thereby illustrate the children's meaning of the activity. They received a digital camera and were encouraged to show and take pictures of a place, or places they related to, on the basis of the questions. The children and the researchers were conversing during the walk and after the children's photographing. These conversations gave the researchers opportunities to acquaint themselves with parts of the children's existence in the narratives that emerged. The conversations and the use of the digital camera were carried out in the same

way with the leisure-time pedagogues. The questions directed to them were, however, somewhat different since the questions were intended to direct them to their position as pedagogues and having the main responsibility for the design of the leisure-time centre activities. Asked questions were "Where are you the best/the most boring/the strictest/ the most creative pedagogue?".

We got several interesting results and themes that emerged as important for the children and the pedagogues. The themes the children emphasized were: Waiting and the boredom of waiting, beauty in nature, avoidance of places where you feel unsafe and, finally, being together with other children. The latter theme seems to be the overall meaning of the leisure-time centre for the children.

The themes important for the pedagogues were: Conflict solving, introducing creative content concerning visual arts, athletics and play and, at last, to create a spirit of togetherness within the group.

The methodology worked out well and the construction of data gave us a rich material for describing the activity in leisure-time centres. The material and the methodology have partly been described in a paper by Haglund and Klerfelt (2010) and will be more thoroughly discussed in Klerfelt and Haglund (2011).

## 6.12 Research gaps

Since only a small amount of research exists concerning leisure-time centres, despite their importance, research gaps exist. The following items point out some issues that more thoroughly should be researched in the near future. Most research directed towards the leisure-time centre has neglected the childrens view concerning the time they spend there. This means that the view from a vital group, the children, to a great extent has not been taken into consideration when it comes to content, activities, and opportunities to develop social skills and new interests in the leisure-time centre. To find out how children reason concerning the time they spend at the leisure-time centre is therefore also important in future research.

One vital item will be to discuss the content of the activities in leisure-time centres. The task for the leisure-time centre is to be a complement to school, in terms of both time and content, and to offer children between 6 and up to 12 years meaningful leisure and support

in their development. For that reason research should be directed towards describing the social practice and the activities in leisure-time centers and how and in what way this content can support children's development and contribute to a meaningful leisure.

Another issue is research directed towards leisure-time pedagogues and responsible civil servants at a municipality level regarding their understandings of official policy documents considering the leisure-time centre. In other words, try to find out their comprehensions of the meaning of the content and activities in the leisure-time centre.

### 6.13 Important points of international collaboration

From a Swedish point of view an international collaboration is of great interest. Collaboration can be performed in several ways and areas: research, conferences, networks and as a community who could inform politicians of the benefits of out-of-school learning.

Research collaboration could be accomplished through comparative studies concerning for example: education of out-of-school staff, policy documents and quality issues. Research collaboration should in other words be an opportunity to create knowledge.Conferences could be a mutual meeting point for distributing knowledge in the area of out-of-school education and, finally, the establishment of a network should be a great opportunity to exchange knowledge.

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# 7. Building resiliency for American at-risk youth during afterschool hours: The importance of dosage and implementation quality on youth outcomes

*Denise Huang*

## 7.1 Introduction

The number of afterschool programs in the United States has grown tremendously in the past few decades. Between 1994 and 2000, for example, the number of public schools that offered afterschool programs doubled (De Kanter, 2001). During the 2006-2007 school year, it was estimated that about 8.4 million students (or 15%) participated in afterschool programs (Afterschool Alliance, 2009). Table 1 illustrates the national percentages of participation according to the report, *America After 3PM* (Afterschool Alliance, 2009), and Table 2 presents participation by grade levels.

*Table 1: National Percentages of Afterschool Participation*

| *America After 3PM* 2004 Compared to 2009 | National Percentages | |
|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2009 |
| Percentage of Students in Afterschool Programs | 11% | 15% |
| Percentage of Students in Self Care | 25% | 26% |
| Percentage of Students in Sibling Care | 11% | 14% |
| Percentage of Parents Satisfied with Afterschool Program | 91% | 89% |
| Percentage of Students Who Would Participate if a Program were Available | 30% | 38% |

Adapted from *America After 3PM*. Copyright 2009 by the Afterschool alliance

*Table 2: Afterschool Participation by Grade Levels*

| Grade Level Look at Afterschool Participation | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grade level | % students in afterschool program by grade level | Number of students in afterschool program |
| Grades K to 5 | 17% | 4,505,912 |
| Grades 6 to 8 | 12% | 1,391,495 |
| Grades 9 to 12 | 7% | 1,095,297 |
| All Grades | 15% | 8.4 million[a] |

[a] This number also includes students whose grade levels were not reported. Adapted from *America After 3PM*. Copyright 2009 by the Afterschool Alliance.

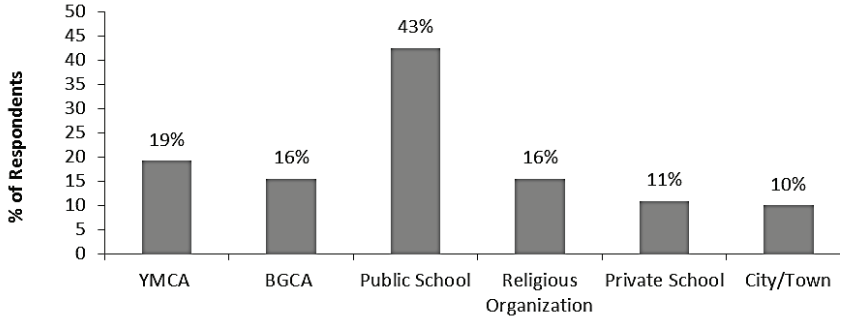


*Figure 1: Breakdown of afterschool providers by percentage. YMCA=Young Men's Christian Association, BGCA= Boys and Girls Clubs of America. Adapted from America After 3PM. Copyright 2009 by the Afterschool Alliance*

On average, students in afterschool programs participate three days per week for an average of eight hours per week. Forty-one percent of

the 8.4 million children in afterschool programs are from free or reduced lunch households (an indicator of low family income).

As shown in Figure 1, a majority of afterschool services are provided by U.S. public schools, representing a substantial federal, state, and private foundation investment. The 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC) initiative, the only federal funding source dedicated exclusively to afterschool programs, has grown from 40 million dollars in 1998 to 1.16 billion dollars in 2010 (see Table 3) (Afterschool Alliance, 2008).

*Table 3: History of Funding and Appropriations for Afterschool Programs*

| Fiscal year | Amount Appropriated | Amount authorized in No Child Left Behind Act |
|---|---|---|
| 1998 | $40 million | n/a |
| 1999 | $200 million | n/a |
| 2000 | $453 million | n/a |
| 2001 | $846 million | $1.00 billion |
| 2002 | $1 billion | $1.25 billion |
| 2003 | $993.5 million | $1.50 billion |
| 2004 | $991 million | $1.75 billion |
| 2005 | $991 million | $2.00 billion |
| 2006 | $981 million | $2.25 billion |
| 2007 | $981 million | $2.50 billion |
| 2008 | $1.08 billion | $2.50 billion |
| 2009 | $1.13 billion | $2.50 billion |
| 2010 | $1.16 billion | $2.50 billion |

Adapted from *21st CCLC initiative.* Copyright 2008 by the afterschool Alliance

This rapid growth in programs and funding is partly due to growing parent needs and public support for afterschool programs. Further, studies show that afterschool hours between 3 and 6 pm are the peak

hours for juvenile crime and experimentation with cigarettes, alcohol, drugs, and sex (Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, 2002). Research has also linked unsupervised time with increased risk-taking behaviors, victimization, and poor academic outcomes (U.S. Department of Education & U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). Accordingly, a recent study reported that over three quarters (76%) of Americans support expanded government funding for afterschool programs (Afterschool Alliance & Lake, Snell, Perry & Associates, Inc., 2008).

Afterschool programs are also widely supported because they usually offer supplemental educational time (Beckett et al., 2009; Fashola, 2002). Federal, state, and local educational authorities increasingly see afterschool programs as opportunities to improve attitudes toward school achievement and academic performance (Vandell, Reisner & Pierce, 2007), particularly for low-performing, underserved, or academically at-risk youth who can benefit greatly from additional academic help (Reisner et al., 2007). According to an issue brief by the Afterschool Alliance (2009), some of the positive impacts include academic, social, safety, and family outcomes.

### *Academic outcomes*

*Improved Test Scores and Grades.* The Promising Afterschool Programs Study, an analysis of about 3,000 low-income, ethnically-diverse elementary and middle school students, found that children who regularly attended high-quality programs during a two-year period demonstrated gains of up to 20 percentile points (for elementary students) and 12 percentile points (for middle school students) in standardized math achievement test scores when compared to peers who were routinely unsupervised during the afterschool hours (Vandell et al., 2007).

*Improved School Attendance and Engagement in Learning.* A five-site evaluation of the Boys and Girls Clubs' national Project Learn afterschool program found a reduction in absences among participants, from 6.4 days per school year at baseline to 2.19 days per school year at follow-up. This was especially notable when compared to non-participants, whose absences increased over that same 30-month period (Schinke, Cole & Poulin, 2000).

*Higher Graduation Rates.* Chapin Hall's study of Chicago's After School Matters program found that, over their high school careers, students who participated at the highest levels had higher graduation rates and lower dropout rates than similar students not in the program (Goerge, Cusick, Wasserman & Gladden, 2007).

*Social, safety, and family outcomes*

*Promotion of Self-Concept and Healthy Choices.* The Promising Programs evaluation found that regular participation in quality afterschool programs was linked to "reductions in behavior problems among disadvantaged students," including "significant reductions in aggressive behaviors with peers," "reductions in misconduct," and "reduced use of drugs and alcohol" (Vandell et al., 2007).

*Keeping Children Safe and Healthy.* A 2007 evaluation found that children attending the LA's BEST afterschool program were 30% less likely to engage in criminal activities compared to peers not attending the program. Researchers estimated that for every dollar invested, the program saved the city $2.50 in crime-related costs (Goldschimdt, Huang & Chinen, 2007).

*Helping Families and Encouraging Parental Participation.* Parents in The After-School Corporation[1] (TASC) study said that the program helped them balance work and family life. Ninety-four percent said the program was convenient, 60% said they missed less work than before because of the program, 59% said it supported them in keeping their job, and 54% said it allowed them to work more hours. In addition, 31% of principals reported that TASC afterschool programs greatly increased parents' attendance at school events, and 15% reported that it increased parents' attendance at parent-teacher conferences (Reisner, White, Russell & Birmingham, 2004).

[1] The After-School Corporation is a nonprofit organization based in New York City. They work in New York and the nation to change public policy and expand public funding so that kids from all backgrounds can have high-quality experiences beyond regular school hours to support their intellectual, creative, and healthy development.

## 7.2 Funding history of afterschool programs: The California example

For nearly a decade, afterschool programs in elementary, middle, and high schools have been federally funded by the 21st Century Community Learning Centers (CCLC). These programs provide opportunities to participate in afterschool programs for youth living in high poverty communities across the nation. In 2002, the administration of the CCLC grants was transferred from federal to state education agencies. Currently, each state receives funds based on its share of Title I funding[2] for low-income students. These grants are geared towards supporting afterschool programs that provide services to students attending high-poverty and low-performing schools.

As an example, California is a state that provides substantial support to afterschool programs. It currently receives 21st CCLC funding and, in addition, California itself also provides financial support. In 2007, the federal government and California together funded $680 million to support afterschool programs across the state (California Afterschool Network, 2007)[3]. Currently, there are over 800 grantees and more than 4,000 schools supported by government funding in California.

The California Department of Education currently oversees the state-funded After School Education and Safety (ASES) program. ASES is a program designed to be a local collaborative effort where schools, cities, counties, community-based organizations, and business partners come together to provide academic support and a safe environment before and after school for students in kindergarten through ninth grade.

The high school component of the 21st CCLC program is called the After School Safety and Enrichment for Teens (ASSETs) program. As with the ASES program, the ASSETs program creates incentives for establishing locally driven afterschool enrichment programs that

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2 Title I reads as, "Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged." The purpose of this title is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging state academic achievement standards and state academic assessments.

3 As mandated by Proposition 49, funding for afterschool programs was increased once the California state budget reached a level making the release of funds feasible (California Afterschool Network, 2007).

partner with schools and communities to provide academic support and safe, constructive alternatives for high school students outside of the regular school day. The program also helps students pass the California High School Exit Examination.

## 7.3 The demand for accountability

As public demand and funding for afterschool programs has grown, so has the need for accountability. Educators, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers are all interested in the impacts of public dollars on the communities in which they are invested. Evaluation has become a necessary tool for the documentation of afterschool programs' impacts.

Since a majority of the funding comes from the U.S. Department of Education, considerable emphases have been placed on the academic benefits of the afterschool programs. Research on the academic impact of afterschool participation has shown mixed outcomes. Although afterschool programs suggest substantial benefits, such as improvements in classroom grades, math and reading scores, day school attendance, dropout rates, homework completion, and graduation (Goerge et al., 2007; Grossman et al., 2002; Riggs, 2006; Riggs & Greenberg, 2004; Vandell et al., 2007), many studies have found insignificant or even negative outcomes on academic performance[4], school retention, feelings of safety, and behavior (Cooper, Charlton, Valentine & Muhlenbruck, 2000; Dynarski et al., 2004; Vanderhaar & Muñoz, 2006). In particular, two large-scale national evaluations of 21st CCLC afterschool programs have generated controversies. Evaluations of elementary students (James-Burdumy, Dynarski, Moore, Deke & Mansfield, 2005) and middle school students (Dynarski et al., 2004) did not find any significant gains on achievement test scores. These findings have led some to suggest drastic reductions in levels of federal support for afterschool programs, while others suggest that there were methodological shortcomings in the studies (Kane, 2004; Mahoney & Zigler, 2006).

[4] Some studies looking at both math and reading outcomes have found effects for math only while others have found effects for reading only.

It is commonly acknowledged that many challenges are associated with conducting evaluations of afterschool programs. Some of the obstacles for researchers include the wide variation of program goals, difficulty in obtaining valid control groups, the inherent potential of selection bias in the afterschool population, difficulty in obtaining clean data, the high transience rates of staff and students, and, in particular, the failure to differentiate among the dosage[5] students receive (Lauer et al., 2006).

As a result, researchers have emphasized the need to examine factors that are associated with positive outcomes and realistic expectations of achievement impacts (Bodilly & Beckett, 2005; Granger & Kane, 2004). A few more meta-analyses have recently examined a broader range of programs and outcomes. For example, a meta-analysis on 35 outcome studies led by Lauer et al. (2006) indicates that programs can have positive academic benefits on at-risk students. In 2009, Beets, Beighle, Erwin, and Huberty reviewed 13 articles describing findings from 11 afterschool interventions. Their meta-analysis findings suggest that afterschool programs can improve physical activity levels and other health-related abilities. In 2010, Durlak, Weissberg, and Pachan also conducted a meta-analysis of afterschool programs that seek to improve students' personal and social skills (e.g., problem solving, conflict resolution, self-control, leadership, responsible decision-making, and enhancement of self-efficacy and self-esteem) of students. Their findings indicate that in comparison to the control group, youth who participated in afterschool programs improved significantly in their academic performance (i.e., school bonding, grades, and achievement test scores), exhibited significant declines compared to control group youth in their problem behaviors and drug use, and improved significantly in self-confidence and self-esteem. However, positive impacts were only present for programs that used all four evidence-based training approaches. These four effective approaches to skill development are Sequential, Active, Focused, and Explicit (SAFE).

[5] Feister, Simpkins and Bouffard (2005) define dosage as a measure of attendance intensity that focuses on the amount of time a participant attends a program within a specified period (e.g., hours per week, days per month, days in a year, etc.).

These recent meta-analyses illustrate that social and personal afterschool benefits should not be overlooked. They also stress the importance of taking the environment and supportive structure of afterschool programs into context when examining program outcomes. The Durlak et al. study applied two criteria to the training process and two criteria to the program content as indicators for effective programs. The two criteria related to process were the presence of a sequenced set of activities to achieve skill objectives (sequential), and the use of dynamic forms of learning (active). The two criteria related to content were the presence of at least one program component centered on developing personal or social skills (focused), and the targeting of specific personal or social skills (explicit).

## 7.4 Dosage importance

As important as the environment and supportive structures, afterschool programs cannot be effective in building student resiliency unless the students participate regularly. In previous studies one issue that is important but has often been overlooked is the relationship between participation rate (dosage) and outcomes. Yet, when studies evaluated dosage level, most have found positive effects for students who attended afterschool programs more consistently (McComb & Scott-Little, 2003).

Dosage (defined as regularity of participation) is a critical factor to examine when assessing the effect of an intervention. More specifically, examining dosage helps to determine whether participants are receiving sufficient treatment in order to demonstrate effect. Even though dosage is very important in determining program success, literature on afterschool programs has only begun to investigate this issue. This is due, in part, to the fact that the growth of afterschool programs has been so rapid that efficient data management and recordkeeping have only recently become productive.

In general, studies that examine dosage have found a positive relationship between intensity of participation and positive student outcomes. For instance, Frankel and Daley (2007) found that higher afterschool attendance is associated with higher academic achievement, while Goldschmidt et al. (2007) found that medium (10-14 days per month) and high (15 or more days per month) attendance in an after-

school program was associated with lower juvenile crime rates. In recent years, multiple studies have also found a relationship between afterschool and day school attendance (Frankel & Daley, 2007; Huang, Gribbons, Kim, Lee & Baker, 2000; Munoz, 2002; Welsh, Russell, Williams, Reisner & White, 2002).

Specifically, Jenner and Jenner (2007) examined the impact of program participation intensity on academic outcomes. They found a linear and positive relationship between participation level and academic outcomes such as math, reading, language arts, and science scores. Their analyses placed the minimum attendance level necessary for measuring impact at 30 days annually.

Also in 2007, Frankel and Daley released a report that found an association between high dosage of afterschool participation and higher math assessment scores, English language arts assessment scores, and day school attendance. They created four attendance level categories: 1-20 days, 21-50 days, 51-100 days, and more than 100 days per year. They found that, in order to benefit academically, the elementary school students needed to attend the afterschool program for at least 100 days per year and middle school students needed to attend at least 50 days annually.

Afterschool attendance can also predict social outcomes; for instance, Goldschmidt et al. (2007) examined the long-term effectiveness of afterschool programs in lowering juvenile crime rates. They found that students who consistently attended the LA's BEST afterschool program demonstrated a significant reduction in juvenile crime as compared to students with inconsistent attendance or no attendance.

Additionally, the Lauer et al. meta-analysis study identified the duration of out-of-school-time (OST)[6] as a moderator for student outcomes. They found that for both reading and math, effect sizes were larger for OST programs that were attended more than 45 hours annually. Unlike the four studies previously mentioned, Lauer and colleagues looked at program duration instead of students' program attendance. This study defined program duration as the total number of

[6] Out-of-school time refers to activities that students participate in when they are not in school and that are not mandated by school attendance. This may include before school, afterschool, and summer programs (Lauer, et al., 2006).

hours that the program was offered to participants rather than the number of days students attended.

These studies support findings by McComb and Scott-Little (2003). In reviewing research on participation and outcomes in afterschool programs, they found that students who attended afterschool programs more frequently and for longer periods of time benefited the most. They suggest that afterschool programs should be an integral part of school's academic and developmental programs.

In other words, even as the literature suggests that afterschool programs can provide students with the academic and social skills that they need to avoid anti-school behaviors and to contribute to academic resiliency, sufficient exposure to effective afterschool environments is critical for students to reap the benefits. Thus, it is important for afterschool programs to provide engaging activities and quality programming so that students will opt to enroll and attend the programs regularly (Granger & Kane, 2004).

## 7.5 Key features of effective programs

A recent report on the California statewide afterschool evaluation (Huang et al., 2011) found that parents and students were more satisfied, and more likely to refer the afterschool programs to the students' friends, when they were highly engaged in the programs' activities. What were some of the features that were linked to program quality and student engagement?

Literature indicates that effective afterschool programs provide students with safety, opportunities for positive social development, and academic enrichment (Miller, 2003; U.S. Department of Education & U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). For example, the Positive Youth Development approach suggests that helping students achieve their full potential is the best way to prevent them from engaging in risky behaviors (Riggs & Greenberg, 2004). Afterschool programs that promote positive youth development give students the opportunity to exercise leadership, build skills, and get involved (Pittman, 2003; Larson & Wood, 2006). In its 2002 review of rigorously evaluated, community-based programs, the National Research Council and Institute of Medicine provided an evidence base for effective youth development programs. The following eight key features are well accepted

as quality standards for youth and afterschool programs. These features are:

- Physical and psychological safety
- Appropriate structure
- Supportive relationships
- Opportunities to belong
- Positive social norms
- Support of efficacy and mattering
- Opportunity for skill building
- Integration of family, school, and community efforts

At the same time, there is also general recognition that a solid infrastructure is fundamental to successful implementation of quality afterschool programs. Three program features are consistently mentioned to determine effectiveness. These features include (a) program organization, (b) program environment, and (c) instructional features. The rest of this paper discusses a conceptual model on quality afterschool features that incorporate the positive youth development approach into these program components. Figure 2 presents the model for this concept.

### *7.5.1 Program organization*

Research on quality afterschool programs cites strong organization as a crucial element for effectiveness (Beckett, Hawken & Jacknowitz, 2001; C. S. Mott Foundation Committee on After-School Research and Practice, 2005; McElvain & Caplan, 2001; Philadelphia Youth Network, 2003). Strategic program organization combined with a goal-oriented program, continuous improvement, and strong management to successfully connect with students, families, and communities.

*Goal-oriented programs.* In 2005, the C. S. Mott Foundation Committee on After-School Research and Practice suggested a "theory of change" framework for afterschool programs that explicitly links program organization and participant outcomes to program effectiveness and quality. Through a meta-analysis of the literature, Bodilly &

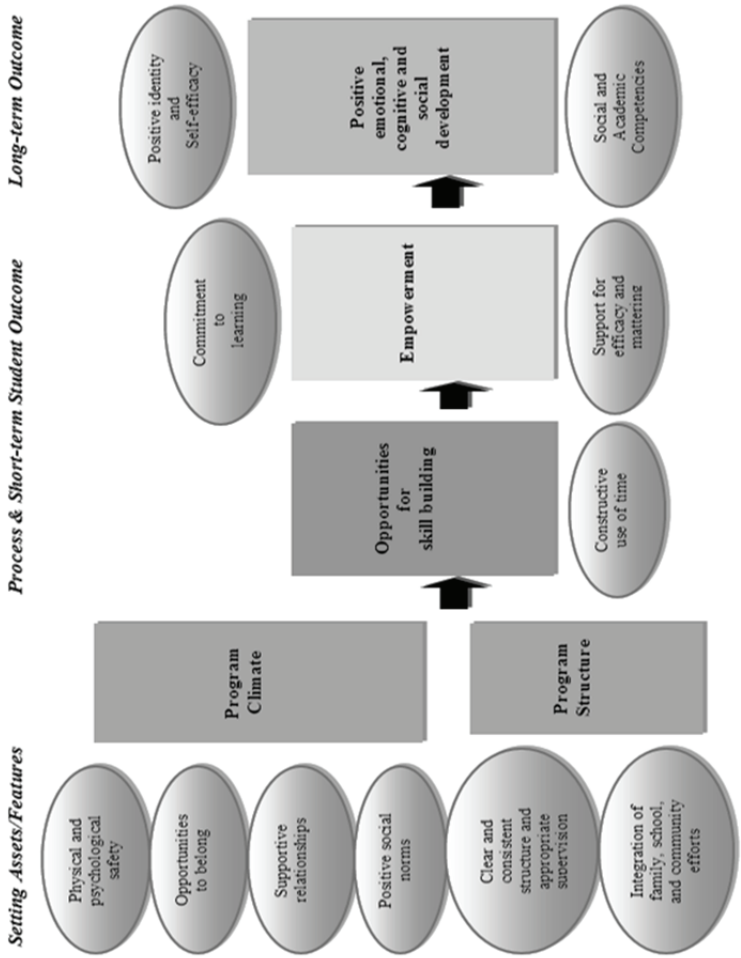


*Figure 2: Logic model*

Beckett (2005) found that setting clear goals and specific outcomes was essential for program success. In a paper commissioned by Boston's After School for All Partnership, Noam, Biancarosa, and Dechausay (2002) recommend that goal setting should occur on dif-

ferent levels, including the setting of broader programmatic goals as well as goals for individual learners. More specifically, these researchers believe that program quality can be bolstered by the following strategies: developing replicable tools and methods, aligning schools and afterschool programs, providing afterschool academic and social learning opportunities to enrich student work in regular school, involving communities and parents, educating staff, and implementing research-based practices.

*Data-based continuous improvement.* The U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice (2000) noted that effective afterschool programs use continuous evaluations to determine whether they are meeting their program goals. Such evaluations help programs discover their strengths and weaknesses and determine areas where changes are needed. With careful refinement and constant monitoring of an afterschool plan, managers of afterschool programs can judge the efficacy of their efforts based on established, accepted goals for the program and improve their effectiveness in promoting resilience of at-risk students. The evaluations generally involve gathering data from students, teachers, school administrators, staff, and volunteers; measuring instructional adherence to and effectiveness of program goals; providing feedback to all stakeholders for program improvement; and identifying the need for additional resources such as increased collaboration, staff, or materials. Figure 3 illustrates the continuous process of these procedures.

*Innovative management.* At the same time, afterschool programs need leaders who articulate a shared mission and program vision that motivates staff; provides a positive organizational climate that validates staff commitment to program goals; and fosters open communication channels between afterschool, day school, parent, and community stakeholders (American Youth Policy Forum, 2006; Wright, Deich & Szekely, 2006). To ensure high-quality instruction, opportunities for staff professional development should be provided consistently (Wright, 2005). To demonstrate academic effects, students in the program should have sufficient access to staff – ensuring that each student receives sufficient attention meeting his or her individual needs. Thus, having adequate staff-to-student ratios is an important afterschool quality indicator (Yohalem, Pittman & Wilson-Ahlstrom, 2004).

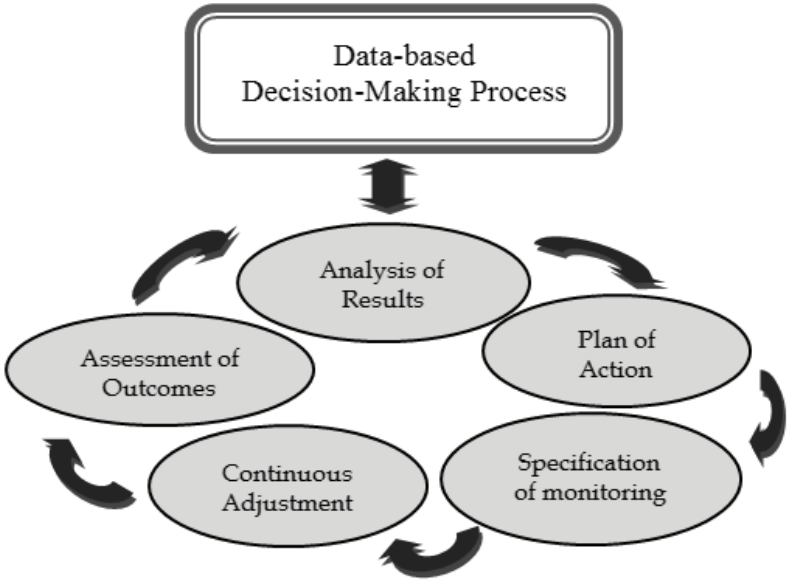


*Figure 3: Model of the data-based decision-making process*

*Partnerships*. Moreover, research on afterschool programs consistently associates family and community involvement with program quality (Owens & Vallercamp, 2003; Tolman, Pittman, Yohalem, Thomases & Trammel, 2002). Afterschool programs can promote family involvement by creating well-defined plans that involve parents and family members, while staff regularly take the initiative to provide a clear channel of communication that keeps parents informed of their children's progress (American Youth Policy Forum, 2006; Wright et al., 2006). Beyond students' families, the local community is another valuable resource for afterschool programs. Research shows that high-quality programs are consistently engaged with local community members, leaders, and organizations, that can form important partnerships in program planning and funding (Birmingham, Pechman, Russell & Mielke, 2005; Harvard Family Research Project, 2005; Owens & Vallercamp, 2003; Wright, 2005). Through these partnerships, students can further develop knowledge of community

resources, services, and histories. In turn, students may be encouraged to participate in community service projects that can reflect a sense of empowerment and pride in their respective communities.

### *7.5.2 Program environment*

*Safe and secure.* The program environment feature focuses on how the structure of the afterschool program creates an atmosphere conducive to positive academic achievement and self-esteem (Kahne et al., 2001). First and foremost, the most important feature of program environment is safety and security within the indoor and outdoor space (National Institute on Out-of-School Time, 2002; New Jersey School-Age Care Coalition, 2002; Philadelphia Youth Network, 2003; St. Clair, 2004; Wright et al., 2006). No potential harm should be placed upon the health and physical/emotional well-being of students (Chung, 2000). The main aim is to make sure that students are in a safe, supervised environment that provides ample resources for mental and physical growth. The establishment of this physically and emotionally safe environment thus helps the development of positive relationships within the program environment.

*Collaborative and supportive.* The emotional climate of an effective program environment is characterized by warm, supportive relationships (1) between staff members and students, (2) among students themselves, and (3) among staff members. These three types of relationships signify positive, influential connections for the students (Beckett et al., 2001; Birmingham et al., 2005; Huang, 2001).

First, the interaction between staff members and students is vital for demonstrating affirmative adult-student relationships, aside from primary-based interactions within the home (Beckett et al., 2001; Birmingham et al., 2005; Bodilly & Beckett, 2005; Harvard Family Research Project, 2004; New Jersey School-Age Care Coalition, 2002).

Second, staff members should be emotionally invested in the lives of their students. Quality-based programs foster this relationship by enforcing a small staff-student ratio that provides a “family-like” atmosphere and contributes to positive student social development (Beckett et al., 2001; Bodilly & Beckett, 2005). Staff members form more personable, one-on-one relationships with students through daily

conversations and engagement (St. Clair, 2004). Consequently, this initiates a student sense of community and belonging as they personally bond to staff members (Wright et al., 2006).

Third, positive peer relationships and friendships are a key ingredient in shaping students' social-emotional development (Halpern, 2004; Harvard Family Research Project, 2004; Huang, 2001; Pechman & Marzke, 2003; Yohalem et al., 2004; Yohalem, Wilson-Ahlstrom & Yu, 2005). Students need to interact with each other, building strong "partnerships" based on trust and respect with their peers (Yohalem et al., 2004). Healthy interaction with other students of various ages, and being involved in age-appropriate activities, helps students learn and demonstrate appropriate problem-solving strategies, especially during times of conflict (Wright et al., 2006).

Finally, the adult relationships between staff members are also important in constructing an emotional climate within the program environment. Students observe positive adult interactions through effective communication and cooperation of the staff working together to meet student and program needs (Yohalem et al., 2005). This relationship is an appropriate opportunity for the staff to model positive behavior for students. Staff members, for that reason, need to embrace assessment-based improvement plans as "relevant, contextual, and potentially helpful" (Weisburd & McLaughin, 2004). Staff members must see the relevance of quality-based standards in shaping positive developmental outcomes for students.

*Expectation for student achievement and success.* High teacher, staff, and parent expectations for student achievement and success are important motivation and engagement factors for students. In schools, these expectations are generally transformed into behaviors that impact students' perception of their learning environment and expectations (Lee & Harber, 2005). Studies by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1992) on teacher expectations and self-fulfilling prophecies indicated that quality teachers provided differential socio-emotional climate, verbal input, verbal output, and feedback to their students depending on the teachers' expectations. In other words, teachers' expectations influence the ways that they interact with their students, which then influences achievement by student aspirations (Stronge, 2002; Marzano, 2003). Moreover, the more opportunities teachers have to interact

with their students, the more the students adjust their performance in line with teachers' expectations (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

In 2001, Schmoker demonstrated that classrooms with high expectations and challenging curriculum foster student achievement. Thus, it is important for afterschool staff to assume that all students can learn and then to convey that expectation to them; they should provide positive and constructive feedback to students, provide students with the tools they need to achieve the expectation, and not accept weak excuses for poor performances (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996; Zimmerman & Schunk, 2007).

### *7.5.3 Instructional features*

*Strategies and curriculum targeted for student success.* According to Yohalem et al. (2005), settings and opportunities provided to students vary greatly across programs. However, despite the variety that exists, programs can take specific steps during the design of their curriculum and implementation of activities to help ensure quality. This is particularly important because the tailoring of teaching strategies and curricular content to the program goals and specific needs of the students is associated with positive student outcomes (Bodilly & Beckett, 2005). Secondly, employing a variety of research-proven teaching and learning strategies can also help staff members increase engagement in students with different learning styles (Birmingham et al., 2005). Contrarily, a failure to design activities that meet the needs and interests of students may result in reduced program attendance.

*Fostering positive youth development.* Recently, researchers and policymakers have placed increasing emphasis on the inclusion of youth development principles within afterschool settings (Birmingham et al., 2005; Kahne et al., 2001). As schools have increasingly emphasized cognitive outcomes on core academics, afterschool programs have the opportunity to fill an important gap. These programs can provide students with additional opportunities to develop the skills, knowledge, resiliency, and self-esteem that will help them succeed in life (Beckett et al., 2001; Huang, 2001; Wright et al., 2006). Therefore, the instructional features of afterschool programs should emphasize the quality and variety of activities, as well as principles of youth

development. This includes giving students opportunities to develop personal responsibility, as well as a sense of self-direction and leadership skills (American Youth Policy Forum, 2006; C. S. Mott Foundation, 2005; Harvard Family Research Project, 2004, 2005, 2006).

*Promoting student autonomy.* Engagement is fostered when students are partners in the afterschool program. That is, they are likely to be engaged when they are included in program planning and encouraged to take ownership of their program experience. This could mean taking part in the design and management of their learning activities as well as setting and applying assessment criteria (High Scope, 2005).

Positive social climate should be established so that students feel empowered to question the staff's curriculum decisions and express concerns about impediments to their learning (Hamilton, Hamilton & Pittman, 2004). Staff should encourage students to believe that knowledge is ever evolving and should promote students' desires to continue investigating new ideas and concepts (Hall, Yohalem, Tolman & Wilson, 2003).

Finally, the program should provide a range and variety of opportunities that are connected to students' experiences so that students' everyday life experiences are seen as a meaningful context for the development of their knowledge and skills (Miller, 2003).

In summary, efficient organization, environment, and instructional features are crucial for maintaining high-quality afterschool programs. Having a strong team of program staff who are qualified, experienced, committed, and open to professional development opportunities is also critical for a successful organization and an overall high-quality program. Beyond program staff, involvement of students' families and communities can enhance the afterschool program experience, foster program growth, and increase program sustainability. In order to gauge program success, consistent and systematic methods of evaluation are important because they ensure that students, families, and communities involved in the program are effectively served and allow the program to continuously self-improve. Figure 4 presents the conceptual model for evaluation design.

## 7.6 Practice and policy implications

Federal and state policymakers can greatly enhance the operation and effectiveness of afterschool programs through the following recommendations:

*Ensure continuous access for students in need.* The demand for quality afterschool program is still increasing. Federal and state agencies need to prioritize and direct funding to provide continual access to afterschool programs, especially for at-risk youth. In particular, state governments should take the lead in coordinating resources by blending multiple public and private sources to ensure that families and students who need the programs have access to them.

*Establish quality standards.* As discussed earlier, high-quality afterschool programs set well-defined goals and recruit skilled, experienced staff. Government education agencies should encourage the use of research to inform policy and practice. Many studies, such as the SAFE elements described by Durlak et al., or the development settings described by the positive youth developmental approach, can provide specific program elements and staff skill sets that can lead to positive program outcomes. In other words, high-quality programs should be promoted through a common system that builds on established quality standards.

*Provide support for continuous self-evaluation and improvement.* Policymakers should also encourage the use of assessment tools to monitor program quality for continuous program improvement. There are an increasing number of publicly available research-based assessment tools for this purpose such as the Afterschool Program Assessment System (APAS) offered by the National Institute of Out-of-School-Time, the Program Quality Self-Assessment Tool offered by the New York State Afterschool Network, and the Program Quality Assessment tool (PQA) offered by High Scope. The article *Measuring Youth Program Quality* by Yohalem and Wilson-Ahlstrom (2009) provides an overview of available tools, including their purposes.

*Provide infrastructure for linkage and support.* To ensure afterschool programs meet local needs, federal and state policymakers should provide opportunities, such as local conferences and workshops, for schools, local businesses, and families to plan, build, and improve afterschool programs in collaboration. This could also bring

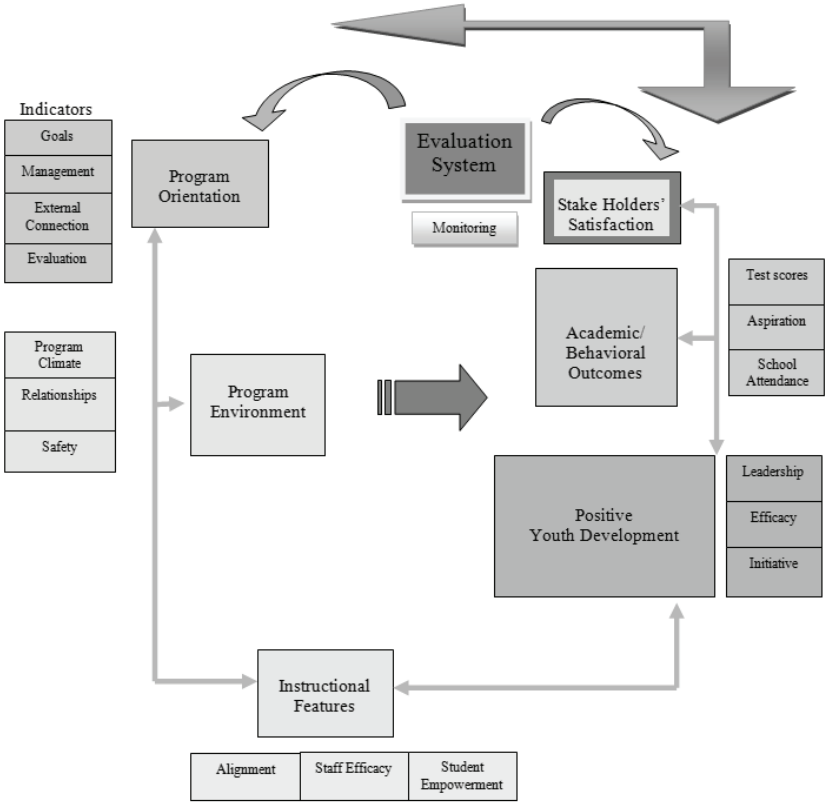


*Figure 4: Evaluation model*

in a wide range of local resources, perspectives, and talents that can provide afterschool opportunities and a broader range of human and social resources to participating families.

*Building bridges between school and afterschool programs.* Many school districts are implementing afterschool programs at their school sites. Educators should rethink how schools can consider connecting school day learning to afterschool experiences so that students can have a broader range of developmentally appropriate activities and expanded learning opportunities. At the same time, shared professional development between day school staff and afterschool staff may

offer opportunities for collaborations. Day and afterschool staff can create joint strategies to enhance student engagement, reach common standards for student discipline, align day and afterschool curriculum and content, and use school data to support curricular decision-making.

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# 8. Out-of-school time and obesity

*Joseph L. Mahoney, Adam C. Sheppard and Tracy Bennett*

## 8.1 The (not so) skinny on out-of-school time and childhood obesity in the United States of America

Recognized by the World Health Organization as "one of today's most blatantly visible – yet most neglected – public health problems" (World Health Organization, 2011), obesity has been the focus of many investigations in recent years. In particular, the incidence of childhood obesity has been the target of many healthcare and policy making organizations (e.g., Anderson & Butcher, 2006). Nonetheless, much more work is needed to better understand how to address this international epidemic. In this chapter, we begin by outlining several of the known risks associated with childhood obesity and then overview research on physical and psychosocial benefits of a healthy, active lifestyle. Next, we discuss findings and challenges related to various strategies to intervene on the childhood obesity problem by altering energy input/output levels in contexts such as the family or school. Finally, we describe the role of out-of-school time as an important (often neglected) contributor to childhood obesity and how the developmental contexts represented by organized out-of-school activities can play a role in the overall effort to reduce childhood obesity.

A person-in-context, bioecological perspective to development provides the conceptual framework for this chapter (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This perspective offers both an organizational structure from which to conceptualize the multiple factors that have contributed to the rise in childhood obesity as well as helping to situate the role of out-of-school time in the developing child's ecology. A main assumption of this perspective is that development occurs as part of a complex process involving a system of interactions within the individual and between the individual and the multiple environmental contexts in which he/she is part, over time. It follows from this viewpoint that a complete understanding of any developmental phenome-

non – including childhood obesity – requires that characteristics of the child and the ecologies in which the child develops must be studied in an integrated and temporal manner. This general framework has been helpful to conceptualize developmental consequences of children's involvement in a variety contexts (e.g., family, school, neighborhood), including out-of-school ecologies (e.g., Durlak, Mahoney, Bohnert & Parente, 2010; Riggs & Greenberg 2004; Vandell & Posner 1999).

## 8.2 Prevalence of, and risks for, childhood obesity in the United States of America

Since the 1960s, when the prevalence of obesity in children and adolescents in the United States was around 5%, there has been a steady increase to a current prevalence of 17% (approximately 12.5 million children and adolescents) (Ogden, Carroll, Curtin, Lamb & Flegal, 2010). The primary cause of obesity is an imbalance between energy in and energy out (i.e., calorie intake regularly exceeds energy expenditure), but a variety of factors affect the extent to which this occurs. Increased access to food that has high fat and sugar content coupled with an increasingly sedentary lifestyle driven by changes in technology, work, and leisure are common explanations for the historic rise in obesity (e.g., Krishnamoorthy, Hart & Jelalian, 2006; Wang & Brownell, 2005).

Even though there has been a plateau in the rise of childhood obesity in recent years (Ogden et al., 2008), rates of obesity do continue to vary according to individual and demographic characteristics. For example, obesity has been found to differ by gender in adolescence, with recent studies showing boys ages 12-19 are somewhat more likely to be overweight or obese than girls (Ogden et al., 2008). Latino boys and African American girls are disproportionately affected by obesity, and older children and adolescents are more likely to be obese than younger children (Ogden et al., 2010). Additionally, at the individual level, prior obesity status matters. Youth who are obese during childhood are significantly more likely to be obese adolescents (e.g., Campbell, Katzmarzyk, Malina, Rao-Louise Pérusse & Bouchard, 2001) and adults (e.g., Freedman, Khan, Dietz, Srinivasan & Berenson, 2001).

One indicator of obesity is family socioeconomic status, with higher rates of obesity being observed among low-income Americans (Wang & Brownell, 2005). The observed association may reflect the fact that less nutritious food is often cheaper and more accessible (Wang & Brownell, 2005). Moreover, parental education positively predicts both healthy dietary behaviors (e.g., Lowry, Kann, Collins & Kolbe, 1996; Videon & Manning, 2003) and physical activity levels (Kimm & Obarzanek, 2002). Variations in neighborhood safety can also contribute to obesity by encouraging or discouraging physical activity (e.g., Lopez, 2007; Molnar, Gortmaker, Bull, & Buka, 2004; Mota, Rebeiro, & Santos, 2009) and influencing the availability of supervised recreational activities (e.g., Lord & Mahoney, 2007; Nelson, Gordon-Larsen, Song & Popkin, 2006).

Even though obesity is an international concern (e.g., Wang & Lobstein, 2006), the United States has the highest incidence of childhood obesity (National Obesity Observatory, 2009; Wang & Beydoun, 2007). In 2003-2004, more than one third (~35%) of children and adolescents aged 6-19 years were overweight or obese (Wang & Beydoun, 2007). The overall national average prevalence was similar among boys (35.1%) and girls (36.0%) (National Obesity Observatory, 2009). From a population health perspective, the increase in childhood obesity levels is particularly concerning due to the outcomes associated with the disease.

## 8.3 Health and psychosocial concerns related to childhood obesity

In recent years, several weight-related conditions previously observed in adults have been increasingly diagnosed in children and adolescents (Fagot-Campagna, 2000; Rosenbloom, Joe, Young, & Winter, 1999). For example, type 2 diabetes was almost unheard 20 years ago in young people, but in some areas it accounts for nearly 50% of new cases of diabetes among children and adolescents. Additionally, an estimated 61% of overweight children (5 to 10-years-olds) and 58% of adolescents (11to 17-years-olds) had at least one risk factor for cardiovascular disease, such as high cholesterol or high blood pressure (Freedman, Dietz, Srinivasan, & Berenson, 1999). The concerns related to decreased health are particularly concerning considering 77% of

overweight and obese youth are likely to remain overweight or obese as adults (Freedman et al., 2001). As in children, obesity in adults is related to a number of health-related outcomes including: increased risks of pre-mature death, heart disease, type 2 diabetes, asthma, stroke, several types of cancer, osteoarthritis, and other health-related problems (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

Beyond the physical health concerns, there are a number of psychosocial concerns associated with childhood obesity, as well. For example, children with obesity may be more likely to express signs of anxiety or depression (Vila et al., 2004). Additional concerns include increased rejection by peers (Goldfield & Chrisler, 1995; Latner & Stunkard, 2003), increased bullying (Janssen, Craig, Boyce & Pickett, 2004; Pearce, Boergers, & Prinstein, 2002), or decreased educational attainment (Ludwig, 2007). Furthermore, overweight youth indicate lower quality of life (Janicke et al., 2007), sometimes indicating health-related quality of life similar to youth with cancer (Schwimmer, Burwinkle & Varni, 2003).

## 8.4 Benefits of healthy behaviors

arious authors have touted the benefits of physical activity and fitness as markers of health in school-aged youth (Janssen & LeBlanc, 2010; Ortega, Ruiz, Castillo & Sjostrom, 2008; Sallis, Prochaska & Taylor, 2000; Strong et al., 2005). Children and adolescents who participate in higher levels of physical activity are less likely to display risk factors for cardiovascular disease (Strong et al., 2005) and more likely to have positive outcomes in weight regulation (Kimm et al., 2005). Physical activity also has a positive effect on type 2 diabetes (Tudor-Locke, Bell & Myers, 2000), can help restore overall health to obese children (Hunter, Gamman & Hester, 2000), and can contribute to increased life span and lowered rates of heart disease (Froelicher & Froelicher, 1991; Paffenbarger, Hyde & Dow, 1991).

To maximize the physical health benefits associated with physical activity, duration and intensity of activity need to be considered (Hunter et al., 2000; Janssen & LeBlanc, 2010; Strong et al., 2005). In a review of the health benefits associated with youth physical activity, Janssen and LeBlanc (2010) found that certain health benefits could be achieved through 30 minutes of physical activity per day, but 60

minutes or more of physical activity per day was associated with more indicators of physical health. Many policy making institutions utilize the 60-minute duration when informing physical activity-related policies (Strong et al., 2005; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2008). The recommended 60 minutes do not have to come in one continuous session – it can be divided amongst various recreation opportunities throughout the day. Perhaps, time spent in physical activity could be divided amongst in- and out-of-school activities. The extent to which this level of physical activity is observed in youth will be addressed later in the chapter.

Beyond the physical health benefits, physical activity can provide opportunities for psychosocial development, as well. Associated benefits include: positive emotional well-being (Biddle, Fox & Boutcher, 2000); decreased effects of depression, anxiety and stress (Salmon, 2000); improved physical self-concept (Strong et al., 2005); and decreased suicide risk (Taliaferro, Rienzo, Miller, Pigg & Dodd, 2008). Further, physical activity and sports programs may offer opportunities for the development of leadership skills, teamwork, character, and sense of fair play (e.g., Byl, 2002; Danish, Forneris & Wallace, 2005). Physical activity has also been associated with academic achievement (Tremblay, Inman & Williams, 2000; Trudeau & Shephard, 2008) and creating a positive school culture and decreasing vandalism (Norrie & Mustard, 1999). Even short activity breaks have been shown to improve classroom behavior (Raviv & Low, 1990).

## 8.5 Intervention strategies

As a consequence of the current childhood obesity trends, there has been an increased focus on the prevention of obesity through various intervention strategies utilizing an ecological perspective. A recent report by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2011) stated that interventions should focus on strategies that alter the food and physical activity opportunities within everyday environments. In particular, the person-context determinants of childhood obesity (e.g., shifts in food consumption, changes in physical activity levels, and increased levels of television viewing) should be targeted. Many intervention programs have either targeted parents within the family ecology (Epstein, Valoski, Wing & McCurley, 1990) or schools (Gort-

maker et al., 1999; Lee, Burgeson, Fulton & Spain, 2007; NASPE, 2008; Wechsler, McKenna, Lee & Dietz, 2004) with various effects.

### *8.5.1 Family ecology and parents*

One particular concern related to focusing on parents is the mismatch between perceived and actual body type of their children (e.g., Crawford, Timperio, Telford, & Salmon, 2006; Etelson, Brand, Patrick, & Shirali, 2003). For example, Etelson and colleagues (2003) found that only 10.5% of parents of overweight children were able to classify their child's weight accurately compared with 59.4% of other parents. Most parents of the overweight children underestimated their child's weight. In a more recent study (Huang et al., 2007), parents of normal or underweight children were more likely to identify the weight status of both their own and other children than parents of overweight children. The failure to recognize the problem makes it unlikely that parents will respond to their child's overweight condition.

Moreover, even parents who are able to accurately classify their child's weight status may not be engaging in health promoting behaviors themselves. In a study by Neumark-Sztainer, Wall, Story, and van den Berg (2008), a parent's ability to accurately classify children's weight status was not associated with engagement in healthful behaviors (e.g., having more fruits/vegetables and fewer unhealthy snacks at home, having more family meals together, watching less television, and encouraging more physical activity). The ability to identify a child as overweight did not influence the likelihood that the parent engaged in health promoting behaviors. However, parents who did recognize that their children were overweight were more likely to encourage them to diet – especially girls. Five years later, the authors observed that the parent-encouraged dieting actually increased the risk of being overweight. Instead of concentrating on a child's weight, the authors suggest directing efforts toward providing a home environment that supports healthy eating and regular physical activity.

Reasons for the lack of recognition of child overweight status are unclear, but qualitative research suggests mothers may evaluate weight status not in terms of height and weight, but in terms of whether their child is being teased or has developed limitations in ability to participate in physical activity (Jain et al., 2002). Another reason par-

ents may not recognize when their child is overweight or obese is their own weight status. In a review of various predictors of childhood obesity, parental weight status was found to be a consistent predictor of childhood (and subsequent adult) obesity development (Parsons, Power, Logan & Summerbell, 1999). In the United States, approximately two thirds (66.3%) of adults were overweight or obese. Given this large prevalence amongst adults, most children will be reared by parents who may model unhealthy behaviors concerning diet and/or exercise.

In addition to parents not being able to recognize their child's weight status, the home environment may be related to childhood obesity in other ways. For example, the home environment may permit extended passive leisure (e.g., television viewing, video games) and opportunities for unhealthy snacking (Campbell et al., 2007). In a recent study of summertime care arrangements, Mahoney (2010) found evidence that youth who regularly experienced parent care without organized activity participation showed greater risk for obesity the following school year, compared to youth participating in organized activities outside of the home. As there is evidence to suggest time with peers and friends may increase activity levels for young people more than time with parents (e.g., Salvy et al., 2008, 2009), increased time spent with parents may diminish the opportunities for peer-related avenues for energy expenditure. The home environment, like broader contexts, may favor the development of childhood obesity. In contrast, organized activity arrangements are unlikely to be characterized by these conditions and should be negatively associated with the risk for obesity.

### *8.5.2 Schools*

Schools are another environment that has received considerable attention related to combating childhood obesity. According to guidelines published by the CDC (1997), schools can help students adopt and maintain healthy eating and physical activity behaviors through a Coordinated School Health Plan (CSHP). A CSHP integrates eight components of the school environment that can strongly influence student health: (1) health education; (2) physical education; (3) health services; (4) nutrition services; (5) counseling, psychological, and social

services; (6) healthy school environment; (7) health promotion for staff; and (8) family and community involvement. While not specifically named, school-based after-school programs (ASPs) and other organized out-of-school time (OST) contexts can be integrated within this model through the family and community involvement.

For several reasons, OST contexts should be integrated alongside the other components in the CSHP model. To begin, American schools typically do not provide opportunities to participate in physical education that would improve their health and reduce the risk of obesity. For example, although physical education programs can contribute to students' participation in regular physical activity (Fairclough & Stratton, 2005; NASPE, 2004) many youth do not have the opportunity to participate in regular physical education classes (CDC, 2004). From 1991 to 2003, the percentage of high school students participating in daily physical education dropped from 41.6% to 28.4% (CDC, 2004). In an article summarizing the results from the School Health Policies and Programs Study (Lee et al., 2007), the authors state that most (70.5%) states had adopted a policy stating that districts or schools will follow national or state physical education standards or guidelines. However, 30.7% of elementary schools, 16.1% of middle schools, and 4.8% of high schools (21.7% of all schools) did not have a physical education requirement. Furthermore, only 3.8% of elementary schools (excluding kindergarten), 7.9% of middle schools, and 2.1% of high schools provided daily physical education for all grades in the school for the entire school year.

In the United States, students typically do not spend out-of-school time being physically active. In fact, television viewing is the dominant leisure activity of choice for students (Mahoney, Harris, Eccles, 2006). Additionally, students in the United States have more discretionary time out-of-school when compared to students in other countries (Larson & Verna, 1999). As research has already shown, television viewing is linked to higher rates of unhealthy eating and increased BMI (Dietz & Gortmaker, 1985). A natural response from the educational system in the United States has been to establish programs that promote healthy environments at schools, yet in regards to reducing inactivity through such efforts, various effects are observed within the literature. In a 10-school randomized control study of a health education curriculum for students in grades 6 to 8 (Gortmaker

et al., 1999), the intervention group reported reduced television viewing more than controls (one of the objectives of the curriculum). No significant effects were observed for increased physical activity among the youth (another objective of the curriculum). In another randomized control study of another curriculum targeting children's television viewing time in third and fourth graders (Robinson, 1999), the intervention group reported decreased television viewing when compared to the control group. Again, there was no significant relation between decreased television viewing and physical activity among the two groups. Decreasing television watching time may be an important intervention strategy for health-related curriculum, but there are still additional activities that need to be implemented to promote physical activity amongst the targeted students.

The current accountability climate within the American educational system has placed student academic performance as the focus of available resources; increasing allotted time toward the teaching of mathematics and reading literacy. Physical education (along with other enrichment courses) has seemingly been replaced in many schools by additional blocks of academic instruction in an effort to raise standardized test scores. Interestingly, however, a review by Trudeau and Shephard (2008) found physical activity can be added to the school curriculum by taking time from other subjects without the risk of hindering student academic achievement. One possible explanation is physical activity may offer a way to reduce disruptive behavior at school and dropout from educational programs.

Finally, there is currently much debate over the length of the school year in the United States. Most young people in the United States do not attend school during summertime (nearly 25% of the calendar year). Although evidence for the academic benefits of an extended school calendar that includes summertime schooling is mixed (e.g., Cooper, Valentine, Charlton, & Melson, 2003), there is less doubt that summertime represents a season of risk for the development of childhood obesity. In spite of popular perceptions of summer being an active time for youth, the risk for childhood obesity is about twice as high during the summer months than during the school year (von Hippel, Powell, Downey, & Rowland, 2007). This suggests that summertime – the longest consecutive period of out-of-school

time for American youth – would need to be included in a comprehensive effort to prevent childhood obesity.

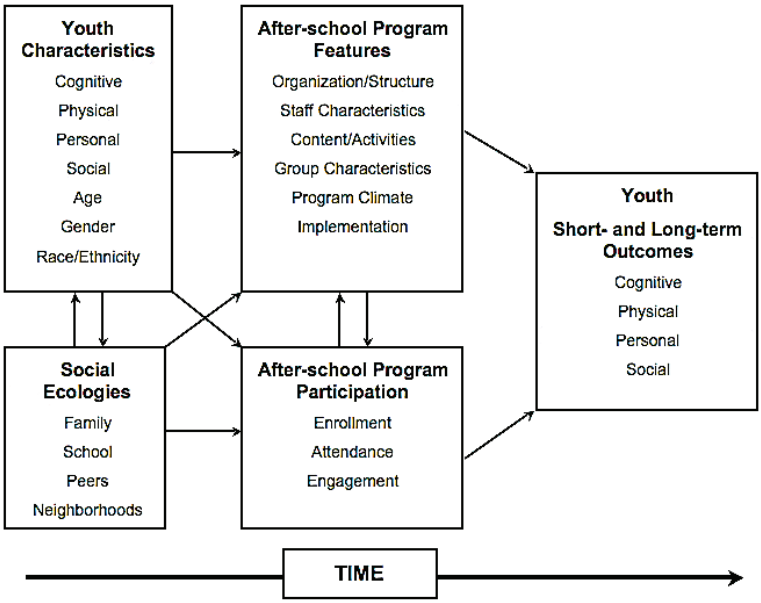


*Figure 1: Ecological model illustrating ways in which after-school programs affect, and are affected by, multiple individual characteristics and contextual features that, in turn, influence children's development over time (taken from Durlak et al., 2010)*

## 8.6 The role of out-of-school time (OST) in the development of childhood obesity

With increased focus on academic performance and decreased time allotted to physical activity in schools, organized OST activities (e.g., after-school programs, sports leagues, extracurricular activities, etc.) can play an important role in promoting children's physical health and fitness. A growing body of research suggests that organized activities

– defined by the presence of an adult leader, structured engagement, and regular participation schedules (Larson, 2006; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000) – are integral contexts for the development and education of many young people (Mahoney, Larson & Eccles, 2005). As depicted in Figure 1, these programs offer links to multiple ecologies known to influence the development of childhood obesity. When the quality of programming is high, organized activities represent developmental contexts that support a variety of positive outcomes in youth, including physical health and wellbeing (e.g., Durlak et al., 2010; Mahoney et al., 2009). Indeed, programs that offer a healthy diet and reduce sedentary behavior should be particularly helpful in reducing childhood obesity. Perhaps for this reason, youth participation in organized out-of-school activities such as sports, after-school programs, and extracurricular activities have received attention from researchers interested in obesity. These activities tend to limit eating, offer opportunities for physical recreation, and may encourage healthy lifestyles (e.g., Coleman, Geller, Roseknranz & Dzewaltowski, 2008; Mahoney, Lord & Carryl, 2005; Trost, Rosenkranz, & Dzewaltowski, 2008; Vandell, Pierce & Dadisman, 2005).

Participation in organized activities has been linked to lower rates of obesity. For example, in a longitudinal study tracking disadvantaged school-aged children over several years (Mahoney et al., 2005), children participating in ASPs showed lower rates of obesity than similar children who did not participate in ASPs, net of demographic controls and previous weight status. The differences in obesity were particularly evident for children with regular and consistent participation over time. Similarly, findings from a cross-sectional study of low-income adolescents (Elkins, Cohen, Koralewicz & Taylor, 2004) suggest that the number of athletic activities youth participate in is associated with a significant reduction in the likelihood of being overweight or obese, net of demographic controls and previous athletic participation. An exception was male football players who tended to have relatively high BMI as muscle is denser than adipose/fat tissue.

In a review of ASP participation and associated impact on physical activity and physical fitness, Beets and colleagues (2009) summarized studies with outcomes in six domains: physical activity, physical fitness, body composition, blood lipid profiles, psychosocial constructs, and sedentary activities. Within these domains, positive effects

were demonstrated for physical activity, physical fitness, body composition, and blood lipid profiles. Although physical activity was described as being a component to many of the ASP activities, inadequate detail regarding the interventions make it difficult to determine what elements of the programs were effective. One element that the authors highlight is attendance rate, referencing a dose-response effect for high-attendance levels. Those students attending 40% or more of activity sessions showed greater improvement in physical fitness compared to control students (Gutin, Yin, Johnson, & Barbeau, 2008; Melnyk et al., 2007). Another area that the authors address in their review is measurement of physical activity in the after-school programs. Of the 13 studies reviewed, none of them collected data related to physical activity outside of the program, which limited the assessment of program attendance contributes to overall activity levels. One of the studies reviewed (Trost et al., 2008) did address varying intensity levels of physical activity of program participants.

In a sample of ASPs in the midwestern United States, students averaged 42.6 minutes of sedentary behavior, 40.8 minutes of light physical activity, 13.4 minutes of moderate physical activity, and 5.3 minutes of vigorous physical activity (Trost et al., 2008). While those 20 minutes of MVPA contribute toward CDC's recommendation that youth (5- to 12-years-old) participate in 60 minutes of MVPA per day (Strong et al., 2005), there is room for improvement. Over eighty minutes of time was spent in sedentary to light activity behavior. Furthermore, MVPA levels were higher during free-play activity sessions than during organized activity sessions. Following these observations, the authors suggest that ASPs represent a potentially critical environment for promoting physical activity, but to experience the benefits of the opportunities youth need to participate. Low attendance rates in ASPs (e.g., Kane, 2004; Mahoney, Parente & Zigler, 2010b) suggest many youth may not be able to take full advantage of the benefits associated with participating.

Once youth are participating, however, ASP directors often have to balance between academic and physical activity programming, so the increase in MVPA may have to come from an increase in the percentage of time spent in MVPA during allocated physical activity times. From physical education research, this can be accomplished through: (a) improving program leader awareness of adequate physical

activity, (b) improving instructional skills related to physical activity programming, and (c) choosing developmentally appropriate physical activity activities that emphasize maximum participation (CDC, 1997). The training needs of ASP and other OST staff is discussed in the next section.

Another area where ASPs may need to be improved is in the type of snacks made available. In a recent evaluation by Coleman and colleagues (2008), students participating in ASPs did have elevated levels of physical activity but were also exposed to snacks containing sugars and high-fructose corn syrup. Staff members did encourage physical activity during allotted times, but there were no instances of staff members encouraging healthy eating behaviors. The authors suggest providing healthy nutrition information and healthier snacks during ASP activities should be a focus of public health interventions. Again, ensuring ASP personnel have the necessary training need to be able to provide this information to their students is an area for future intervention programs.

## 8.7 The need for OST staff development

OST programs are simply one piece in the child's ecology of experiences and resources that can positively affect physical fitness of students. Within these experiences, however, it is important to identify the types of program elements that can lead to successful youth outcomes.

In the United States, OST programs typically offer programming in broad content areas (e.g., academic/homework assistance, recreation time, arts, music, etc.) requiring OST program staff within these settings to have a much broader knowledge base for their work. However, recent discussions of the current state of ASPs in America (Mahoney, Levine & Hinga, 2010; Smith, Lo, Frank, Sugar & Pearson, 2009) have highlighted a particular lack of formal education and training available for their staff (National Afterschool Association [NAA], 2006). In fact, offering training opportunities to staff is one indicator used in assessing program quality (e.g., Mahoney et al., 2010a; Smith et al., 2009).

In the United States, opportunities for training are typically only made available after the OST program staff member is hired (NAA,

2006). Unlike traditional in-school teachers, OST staff members are not required to have any credentials for their work. Instead, the only job requirement (if only by certain OST program providers) is either a high school diploma with previous experience working with youth or college course credit in child development or a related field. Recently, ASPs (in collaboration with nearby universities) have begun to organize professional development programming and send their staff to workshops and conferences to gain training (The After-School Corporation, 2009). Just as in-school teachers receive professional training through higher education, OST staff may benefit from similar formalized educational programs.

Partnering with higher education institutions is a necessary next step in training the OST workforce for a variety of reasons. Extending the limited work regarding the development of after-school staff through higher education, Mahoney and colleagues (2010) suggest university-community (U-C) partnerships, or explicit agreements between a community entity (e.g., ASP) and a university academic unit, can be developed to provide needed preparation and ongoing training of after-school educators. Through a blend of coursework taught by university faculty and fieldwork opportunities in local ASPs in the community, the partnership serves the needs of both the university and the community entity. Together, the partnership provides local ASPs with trained volunteers in the form of college students who earn course credit for their service and/or offers existing program staff opportunities for university-based education and training based on current after-school programming research. Furthermore, the partnership provides university-based researchers opportunities to produce and provide knowledge directed at the needs of the communities in which they are embedded (McHale & Lerner, 1996). As previous authors have outlined, the need for educated staff to provide quality physical activity and nutrition information (Beets et al., 2009; Coleman et al., 2008), the U-C partnership may be one way to provide the necessary knowledge and training experiences.

## 8.8 Concluding comments

Consistent with a bioecological perspective to development, OST programs have the potential to build a connection between schools,

parents and community partners. Although OST programs may not become the primary resource for development in a child's life, they can be a crucial bridge between an array of support services that strive to support the most influential factors in a child's development. While not fully detailed within the eight components to the Coordinated School Health Plan (CDC, 1997), integrating organized OST activities within this model may be a necessary next step in developing a systems wide approach to combating the incidence of obesity observed in American youth.

No longer can OST programs exist in isolation from the rest of the educational reform and it is imperative that physical fitness be incorporated into these efforts. It is now more about joining forces within a greater ecosystem of support and contributing to the alignment of services provided that can strive to positively affect student physical fitness and health. This is no small undertaking, and there are many schools, organizations and communities prepared for the challenge. The most daunting task ahead lies in training the adults who work in these settings to be able to provide the kind of environment conducive to health related behaviors. It will require an innovative approach to physical fitness in a non-traditional OST setting. Organizations should be ready for the challenge.

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# 9. School-based afterschool programs: The key to quality & equality in education – Korea's experience

*Sang Hoon Bae and Sue Bin Jeon*

## 9.1 Background

Korea has often been considered an exemplary case of how education successfully and effectively contributes to the development of the nation. An increasing number of national leaders from developing countries have visited Korea in order to learn educational development strategies and study its contribution in the economic and social development of the nation during the past few decades. In recent years, developing countries are full of praise for Korea's educational accomplishments, and seek opportunities to share knowledge on education policies and increase mutual exchange programs for both the institutional and individual levels.

The alleged reasons that Korea's education draws such worldwide attention include: (a) Korean students' remarkable achievement in international student assessments such as PISA and TIMMS, (b) considerably high and sustained educational investments and support not only from the government but also from the families; and (c) most importantly, the long-lasting, strong public faith in education as a driving force of both individual success and national competitiveness. Among the three, the last factor, sometimes described as the 'education fever' in Korean society (Seth, 2002), has been considered to stimulate and maintain the parents' devotion to their children's education at the family level and education reform efforts at the national level. Furthermore, the education zeal across the nation has kept Korea's educational landscape constantly evolving, while creating diverse educational phenomena that look unfamiliar but interesting to other countries.

In recent years, those observed with the keenest interest by the international education research community seems to be the chronic

'shadow education' (Stevenson & Baker, 1992) – i.e., supplementary private tutoring – and the emerging 'afterschool programs' in Korea. Although traditional public schooling still holds the dominant position, the two are thriving and are seemingly being institutionalized as part of the entire education system in Korea. Nowadays, they seem to constitute the three pillars of Korea's education, and have been the topics of education research.

Among the three, this paper discusses afterschool programs that are currently widespread and gaining a greater popularity among the public and policymakers. As will be explained later, they are part of the public education system but also function as a means to reform public schools. They were originally introduced and now greatly support as a countermeasure to replace and/or decrease prevailing private tutoring which is often viewed as the evil of public education. As shown in 2010 education statistics of Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology(MEST, 2010), almost all Korean schools implemented at least one afterschool program, while 63.3% of students took at least one program. The government budget to support schools' afterschool program implementation has kept increasing every year and reaches to about 341 billion won (3.1 billion USD) in 2010. From the sociological perspective on education afterschool programs are now being institutionalized in Korea.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, this paper reviews the developmental trajectory and the current state of afterschool programs in Korea. From the public policy point of view, particular attention is given to the role fof afterschool programs as an education reform initiative. A systematic review is conducted by three development states. Second, the current research seeks to examine the influence of afterschool participation on individual students as well as the impact of afterschool implementation on the entire education system in Korea. Analyses of previous studies are done to reveal who participated in the programs and what afterschool program participation brings to students. This study examines the prospect of afterschool programs as a new form of educational institution in the future, focusing on its potential function in the entire education system in which the other two institutions – public schooling and private tutoring – compete.

## 9.2 Overview of afterschool programs in Korea

### *9.2.1 Definition*

Afterschool programs in Korea are officially defined as a set of 'student-centered' learning and development activities which are 'school-based' operations but are not a part of the regular curriculum (Bae et al., 2009). This helps to define the 'comparative advantage' of after school programs versus traditional public schooling and increasing private tutoring as it adopts the good features of both educational systems. As seen in Figure 1 Korean education system is divided into three sections: regular schools, private education institutions, and school-based afterschool programs. During school hours, students attend regular classrooms. After school students choose to take private tutoring or afterschool programs, or even both. This has become a part of everyday routine of Korean students recently.

From this definition, one may comprehend the underlying principles that Korean government intend to instill not only in after school programs but also eventually the entire public schooling system.

First, 'student-centered' learning and development is the current policy focus of the Korean education authority. It emphasizes that public education should respond to students' needs and interests and thereby contribute to promoting their academic performance as well as individual development. This idea ties in with the policy efforts to correct the traditional practices of public schooling that has mainly aimed to deliver prescribed knowledge and skills with little attention to differences in students' interests and needs. However, due to the practical limitations of traditional Korean public school system − e.g. class size − it was difficult to meet every student's interests and needs.

Secondly, as the programs are run at schools or possibly public educational facilities such as libraries and lifelong learning centers in the community, 'school-based' operations relate to programs implemented at schools and public educational facilities. This concept differentiates after school programs from private tutoring provided by profit-seeking educational institutions which benefit students in gaining them better access to higher education. It also represents the public aspect of the programs, and leads to government supports as well as

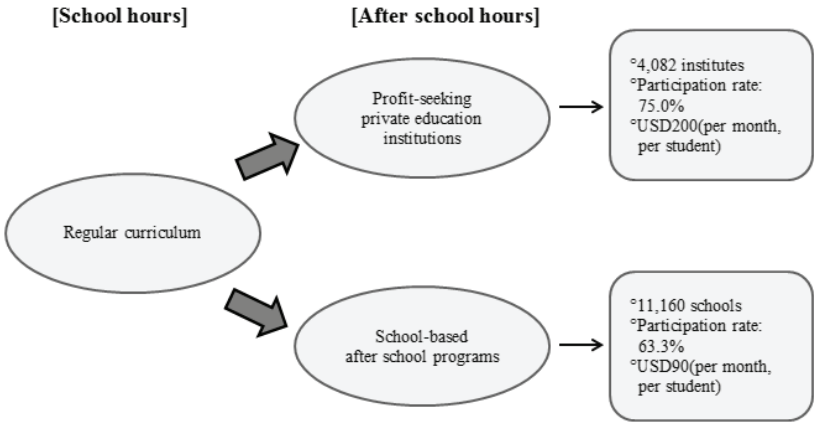


*Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Korean Students' Learning Activities*

regulations in terms of the program content and the qualification of lecturers.

Finally, given the inflexible and teacher-driven aspect of the regular curriculum under the strictly-mandated national curriculum framework, placing these programs 'out of the regular curriculum' helps them to be more competitive and responsive to students' diverse needs. Namely, implementing afterschool programs contributes to enhancing learner autonomy and broadening program choice by educating clientel in the domain of public education in Korea. These programs normally occur after school hours, but some schools offer daytime classes, weekend classes and special camps during vacation periods. In summary, this definition classifies the framework of government policy and the approach in creating quality programs, and outlines what the government wants to achieve by implementing afterschool programs as an education reform initiative.

For policy convenience, school programs are classified into three categories: afterschool child care, enrichment programs and academic programs. Child care is offered to 1st through 3rd grade students. It has been particularly implemented to support working parents who are

not able to take care of their children during the day. Enrichment programs like arts and crafts, music, sports, English, and cultural programs provide outlets for students' creativity, interests and needs. They are generally more popular among the elementary students, who have fewer burdens on entrance examinations compared to middle and high students. Academic programs are typically subject-based with supplementary lectures to fill the needs that private tutoring would satisfy. They have been implemented to help high school students prepare for college admission tests and narrow achievement gaps between different social groups and regions, especially rural versus urban areas.

### *9.2.2 Policy goals*

In 2007, the Korean Education Ministry (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development [MOEHRD], 2007) officially presented four goals and tasks for afterschool programs as indicated in Table 1, and are still effective today. These goals show the government's policy intention to make afterschool programs dedicated to not only meeting individual needs and interests but also increasing quality and equality in education. That is, on one hand, afterschool programs may be viewed as supplementary learning and development programs to effectively improve quality of public education. Traditional schools did not offer suitable programs or courses to meet every student's need. Only private tutoring used to perform the role of meeting each student's need and interest. However, private tutoring is expensive and become a huge burden on households. Afterschool programs, on the contrary, are relatively affordable and versatile in its content. Therefore, policymakers supposed the programs would make up for the limitations and weakness of regular curriculum.

On the other hand, they may be considered as an education reform program to ensure equity and equality of public education and to better respond to the Koreans' demands for educational welfare. In many societies, education is often regarded as the primary tool for upward mobility or reducing social disparities. Studies proved students who took private tutoring got better grades and test scores than those who did not (Kim & Kim, 2009; Sang, 2006). Since the expense of households for private tutoring is great, students from lower-

income family could not but have little access to private education and be marginalized in the end. Therefore, by including private sector within the school domain, school-based afterschool programs are expected to provide "seemingly-equal" quality education as private tutoring to the students from lower-income families.

One may also notice that afterschool programs are the successors of the tradition of 'community education' that emphasizes collaborative efforts between schools and local communities to promote student learning and development. Namely, afterschool programs in Korea play as a channel through which students can utilize education resources outside school (Kim, 2007).

School-based afterschool programs are also expected to solve another social problem of unemployment. To be an afterschool program teacher, one should have a teacher certificate which is licensed by the local government or another form of certificate, called "afterschool teacher certificate", licensed by private organizations. More and more people, housewives or senior particularly, try to get certified so that they can teach afterschool classes within their communities. Although the status of afterschool program teachers is usually part-time, many people still want to get the job under the era of high unemployment.

### *9.2.3 The current state of the Korean education system*

As of 2010, 99.9 % of all Korean schools run at least one school-based afterschool program and 63.3% of all students are taking more than one prosgram (see Table 2). National statistics (MEST, 2009) showed that on average, about 3.4 afterschool classes were taken per student per month in 2009. A student normally spent an average of USD 26.3 per month to take afterschool programs. Given the average cost of USD 200 per month spent for private tutoring, after-school programs have become very effective alternatives to combat private tutoring at considerably low cost. However, recently quality concerns have arisen for after-school programs.

*Table 1: Goals and tasks of afterschool programs in Korea*

| Goals | Tasks |
|---|---|
| Strengthening public schools | Providing diverse and creative enrichment activities and academic programs that may not be offered by regular curriculum |
| Reducing private tutoring expenses | Implementing high quality child care, enrichment, and academic programs across the day responding to students' interests and needs |
| Supporting education welfare | Increasing financial supports for disadvantaged children and youth to participate in afterschool programs |
| Building partnership between schools and local community | Implementing programs for local residents and employing local resources for students' learning |

Source: Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development (2007)

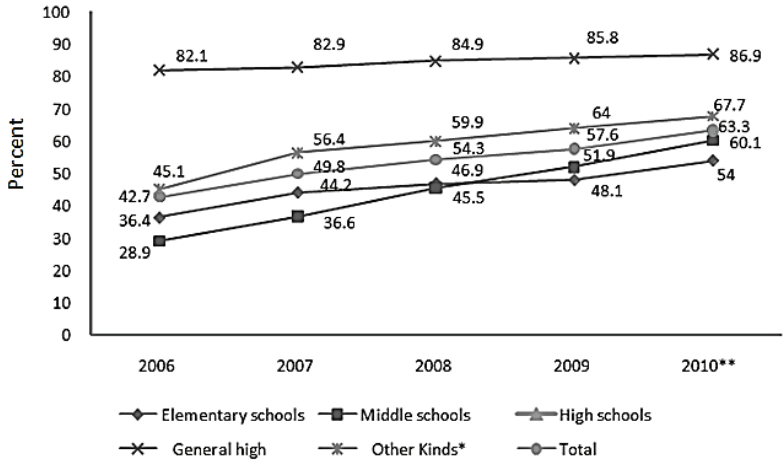


*Figure 2: Student participation rate by year*

Student participation rates have steadily increased each year across all school levels (see Figure 2). As shown in Tables 2 and 3, high school students participated in more programs and the programs taken were found to be academic programs as students prepared for college admission.

*Table 2: Program Implementation and Student Participation (%)*

| | Elementary | Middle | High | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Implementation | 100 | 99.9 | 99.7 | 99.9 |
| Participation | 54 | 60.1 | 82.4 | 63.3 |

*Table 3: Programs Taken and Expense per Class (per student, per ..... month)*

| | Elementary | Middle | High | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Programs Taken | 1.6 | 2.9 | 5.8 | 3.4 |
| Expense (USD) | 31.4 | 18.1 | 25.8 | 26.3 |

Public funding for after-school program implementation comes from both central and local governments. However, the main sources are provincial offices of education and local municipalities. These public funds are normally used to help schools implement after-school programs, paying for program development and lecturer recruitment. The funds also assist disadvantaged students in taking the programs by providing vouchers.

### 9.3 Development of afterschool programs in Korea

After-school programs in Korea have a long history. However, as part a national education policy they have garnered much more attention since the 1993 announcement of the landmark education reform policy "May 31 Education Reforms". Since then their after-school policies

*Table 4: Government Budget for Afterschool Programs (Million, USD)*

| | Central government | Local government | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Office of Education | Local municipality | |
| 2008 | 0.75 | 230.55 | 68.25 | 299.55 |
| 2009 | 0.75 | 250.79 | 58.55 | 310.09 |

have evolved, interacting with the ideological orientation of each administration as well as social environments. Despite the pendulum swings between quality and equality emphases across changing administrations, after-school programs have surprisingly stayed popular with the public and gained vast financial support from both the central and local governments. From the institutional theory perspective school-based after-school programs have kept evolving and are securing their position as third party institutions that are on par with both the regular curriculum in public schools as well as the private tutoring provided in profit-seeking education institutions. In this section, we will review historical development of afterschool policy focusing on the emphasis of each period. In addition, we will also examine how afterschool programs have evolved and become institutionalized.

### *9.3.1 Historical development*

#### *Stage 1 (1993-1998): The Kim, Young Sam administration*

The origin of school-based afterschool programs in Korea may be found from the presidentially sponsored 'May 31 Education Reform Initiatives' of 1995 (Jeong, 2007). With the awareness of the problems of inflexible regular curriculum, the report introduced afterschool programs as a solution to foster holistic education and nurture student creativity that is hardly cultivated within the subject-oriented national curriculum. Therefore, during this period, emphasis was placed on enrichment programs and cultural activities such as arts, music, and sports.

It is well known that the May 31 Education Reforms were based on the neo-liberalist approaches that triggered the customer-oriented, or in other words, 'student-centered' education reforms and revamped the supplier-driven education system. The advent of afterschool programs may be understood as part of the learner-centered education reform movement. With the high tide of neo-liberalism in education, implementing afterschool programs were considered as a way to promote learners' autonomy and program choice which used to be very rare in the domain of public schooling. Unlike in the regular curriculum arrangement, the choice-and-competition mechanism – market-oriented ideas – hold the central place in the afterschool programs. That is, the ideology of 'educational consumerism' permeated the afterschool policy.

*Stage 2 (1998-2008): The Kim, Dae Joong and the Roh, Moo Hyun administrations*

The Kim, Dae Joong (1998-2003) and the Roh, Moo Hyun (2003-2008) administrations were left-wing governments which favored educational welfare and equality over efficiency and excellence in education. Afterschool programs were viewed as an effective tool to solve social disparities such as growing achievement gaps among different regions and social classes and increased the private tutoring burden of many households. In particular, President Roh represented and supported the public revolt against the neo-liberal trend, focusing more on equity and equality in education. Low income or rural students – adsf those with limited access to quality education—could be provided with more variety and opportunity in education through afterschool programs. Ever since the implementation of the policy, student participation rates have steadily increased each year across all school levels. In contrast to the first stage, in which most afterschool programs were provided at elementary level, participation rates of high school students have steadily increased during this period due to high enrollment in newly added academic programs for college entrance preparation. Since 2006, government investment in afterschool programs has sharply increased; first, to help schools develop and implement more diversified programs, and second, to encourage disadvantaged students to take the courses. Particular attention was paid

to narrow achievement gaps among different socioeconomic groups. Afterschool vouchers were provided to disadvantaged students who could not afford expensive private tutoring.

In an effort to reduce the student achievement gap among different social classes and regions, academic programs, previously prohibited in contrast to enrichment programs, were extensively provided in response to students' needs. This was particularly focused on high schools, where students are preparing for college admission. However, criticism continued against public schools implementing private tutoring-like academic programs within the border of public schools. Opponents, particularly the Korean Teachers and Education Workers' Union, argued that academic programs are nothing but supplementary private tutoring done inside schools and would sacrifice teachers who were the majority of lecturers in these programs. Nonetheless, during this period, afterschool programs were found to be the newly emerging educational institutions with strong government support and greater popularity among the public.

*Stage 3 (2008-current): The Lee, MyungBak administration*

The current Korean administration continues the tradition of sponsoring and developing afterschool programs. With President Lee, MyungBak, the pendulum swings into the more conservative right wing of politics which in general emphasizes choice and competition in public education. While the previous administrations form the foundation of afterschool policy, the current policy makers aim to improve the quality of these programs. This movement was sparked by the widespread public notion of afterschool programs as inexpensive but low quality. In this context, favored solutions to get high quality and varied programs include the increased involvement of the community and the private sector.

This movement helps education service industries become actively involved in the public education domain. In particular, local colleges and universities began to play an important role in providing quality after school programs and sending instuctors to neighbor schools. The influx of quality programs and instructors helps schools provide inexpensive but quality programs to students. The government maintains that the involvement of the private sector creates another ad-

vantage of reducing the burden placed on teachers and staff within the school. Furthermore, the employment of local resources contributes to the establishment of a real partnership between the school and the community. Nevertheless, there still exists a reluctance to open the school to the private sector and this seems to slow down the full implementation of afterschool programs run by private vendors.

### *9.3.2 Development as a social institution*

The understanding of public schools as a social institution may be one of the epoch-making notions that provide new perspectives to researchers and practitioners in the area of education. This institutional perspective points out that public schooling has historically developed and established its own norms, rules and routines taken for granted, which in turn become normative and authoritative guidelines (Scott, 2004). In addition, these institutional features are known to have high degrees of resilience. Public schools, therefore, have changed little despite the social behavior of stakeholders and education reformers and their ambitious and continuous attempts to change the system. David Tyack and Larry Cuban, in their seminal 1995 study "Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century Public School Reform", depicted this persistent nature of public schooling with the idea of continuity in "Grammar of Schooling". Furthermore, this perspective appears to apply worldwide and is a useful background to explain certain educational phenomenon.

Researchers (Lee et al., 2010; Bray, 1999), in the meantime, suggest that understanding private tutoring is also critical in comprehending and explaining the recent development of the educational landscape in Korea. It is particularly valid in Korea where many parents spend a great deal of resources on their children's private tutoring after school. These private supplementary tutoring services have grown into a huge business. A detailed analysis of the social phenomena surrounding private tutoring across societies led Mark Bray (1999) to conceptualize the idea of "The Shadow Education System". Bray (1999) employed the metaphor of a shadow, pointing out that "private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education exists" and that "the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the main stream system" (p. 17). This

shadow system creates and perpetuates many problems including weakening mainstream education and increasing social inequality by disproportionate distribution of educational opportunities among different social classes. It has mushroomed and now prevails and competes against mainstream public education in Korea. Taking into account the prevalence and robustness of the system, it appears to be in the process of becoming institutionalized in Korean society. Bray's contribution is to be acknowledged in that he successfully and systematically portrayed this experience.

Shadow education has been highlighted as an interesting social and education phenomenon among education researchers in "School-Based After school Programs", which flourish across regions and schools in Korea and are now gaining greater attention. They fall into neither the traditional public education system nor the shadow education system. Instead, they may be found at the crossroads between the two competing education systems. Although afterschool programs are usually somewhat implemented intentionally at school buildings, they greatly differ from regular school programs in terms of variety and flexibility of contents. While they employ business-minded approaches – 'choice and competition' (Chubb & Moe, 1990) among programs, they are not genuinely profit organizations but are government-sponsored public enterprises that provide additional learning opportunities to disadvantaged students who may not be able to afford expensive private tutoring. They also strengthen public schooling by allowing students to pursue diverse educational activities that the regular curriculum may not offer. That is, school-based afterschool programs in Korea are now becoming the third alternative institutional arrangement, triggering significant changes in the landscape of Korean education in which the only two systems – public schools and shadow education – have been competing for students. On the one hand, school-based afterschool programs driven by quasi-market forces coexist within the public education system and play an important role in reforming traditional public schools. On the other hand, they help public schools stand against private tutoring outside schools. Therefore, for a better understanding of the Korean education system, it is crucial to investigate the dynamics among those big three – public schools, shadow education and school-based afterschool programs.

Institutional development of afterschool programs in Korea were spawned from the synthesis of three factors: a) it has been closely related to social contexts where the education authority have always been asked to respond to public concerns over the quality and equality of education, b) it is the product of the educational environment of which the core is on the whole influenced by the strictly mandated national curriculum system, and c) it may be considered to be an effective public policy initiative to reform public schools. In regard to social contexts, it should be noted that Koreans have kept remarkable faith in education as a ladder for upward mobility. Researchers (Lee et al., 2010; Seth, 2002) suggest that such belief, along with the enthusiasm for higher academic achievement in Korean society, leads to a highly competitive education system. Within this context, competition among students has not been considered as strange, and parents have been the driving force behind their children's education. They forfeit much of their time and resources to give high quality education, such as supplementary private tutoring, to their children.

It is also notable that a growing notion exists that college is the only means of success and advancement. As a result, about 80% of high school graduates attend college as of 2010. The desire and need to gain admission into a prestigious university creates a universal belief in cram schools, known as Hagwon in Korean, and private tutoring as the main methods for academic achievement (Lee et al., 2010). Private education from Hagwon is seen as superior and essential for high academic achievement, but is also a heavy financial burden for many families. In addition, disadvantaged students eventually struggle to compete with their wealthier peers, who can afford expensive private tutoring. This creates an achievement gap and limits disadvantaged students' chances of successfully achieving a qualifying score on Korea's high stakes college admission tests. The necessity for extra tutoring and the subsequent lack of alternatives for low income and rural students raised policy concerns and awakened the general public's interest in afterschool programs. This educational stratification caused Korean policymakers to search for ways to reduce academic gaps among regions and classes and thus restore equality through quality learning programs that are based in public education institutions (Kim, 2007). One of the solutions proposed is the development of afterschool programs.

In recent years, Korea's educational policy makers drew greater attention to problems of the mandated subject-based national curriculum and addressed concerns that its inflexibility may lead to individual students' needs and interests lacking outlet or satisfaction (Heo, 2007). The national curriculum's lack of diverse activities eventually contributed to students' greater dependence on out-of-school activities offered by private education institutions. In addition, the ever-increasing competition in college admissions necessitates students engaging in supplementary private tutoring that only wealthy students may be able to afford. Disadvantaged students from rural regions and low-income families lack access to quality education opportunities. Public concerns for disadvantaged students prompted the afterschool policy initiative to combat private education burdens and try to level the playing field for those who are educationally disadvantaged. For Korea's education leaders, afterschool programs are understood as a means to bring balance to the education field and improve quality and equality of public education.

Finally, while most countries implemented afterschool programs to meet individual needs and interests, Korea differs in that they extend these programs to strengthen the public school system and provide solutions to a variety of social problems (Bae at al., 2010a). Particularly, some researchers (Han, 2006; Kim, 2006) began to highlight the contribution of afterschool programs in enhancing educational capability of public schools by tapping community resources into schools. Namely, afterschool programs may function as a vehicle to connect local schools and community. Researchers also point to the potential role of afterschool programs in triggering public education reforms (Bae et al 2009; Heo, 2007). Afterschool programs as 'a school within a school' overtly and covertly provide public schools and their constituents with pressure to further actively respond to the needs of customers – i.e., students.

In a nutshell, school-based afterschool programs as an education policy focus on offering diverse learning opportunities to meet growing individual needs and promote educational equality for low income and rural-targeted students by providing them with extra time and opportunities for learning and growth. The afterschool programs have shown the potential to strengthen public schools and prepare them for

the emerging "Learning Society," where they should compete with other educational institutions.

## 9.4 Research findings

A variety of researches have been conducted to investigate the demographic, socioeconomic, and even socio-psychological characteristics of afterschool participants in Korea (Bae et al., 2009, 2010a; Kim, 2009; Kim et al., 2008, 2009; Byun et al., 2009). The findings of these researches are nearly identical to each other. In part, they are similar to what has been found in other countries as well. However, as the purposes and operating systems of Korean school-based afterschool programs are different from those of other countries, it is necessary to examine its unique features.

### *9.4.1 Who participates?*

Researchers have tried to figure out the characteristics of afterschool program participants. At the student level, researchers found that child gender was related to afterschool participation. Girls in general were more likely to engage in all types of programs than boys (Kim, 2009; Bae et al., 2009). According to Bae et al. (2009) and his colleagues' study on high school students' tendency toward afterschool program participation, boys were more interested in sporting activities while girls were more inclined to acquiesce to their parents' wishes – participating in study programs after school. In addition, the parents' education level was positively related to their children's enrollment in afterschool programs (Bae et al., 2009). Students with parents who were highly educated showed higher attendance rate on the programs than those with less educated parents (Kim, 2008). This result was also consistent with that of U.S. studies (Little, Wimer & Weiss, 2008; Posner & Vandell, 1994). However, one unique finding of Bae and his colleagues (2009) was that the mother's education level was negatively related to the participation rate in high school academic programs. It may be speculated that these mothers, unlike fathers who still seem to trust the value of public schooling, tend to prefer private tutoring for their children.

Moreover, Bae and his colleagues (2009) also found that family structure was another factor in determining who would participate in afterschool programs. Students from two-parent homes were more apt to take part in afterschool programs than those from single-parent families. This finding coincided with the results of researches by American scholars (Posner & Vandell, 1999; Buchanan, Maccoby & Dornbush, 1996; Hetherington, 1993). As expected, low-income students generally participated more in the programs than their higher income counterparts (Bae et al., 2009, 2010a; Byun et al., 2009; Kim, 2009; Kim et al., 2008, 2009). The only exception was found for students who were involved in academic programs in high school. At the high school level, participation in academic programs, which were mostly taken in preparation for college admission, appeared universal across all income levels.

More high school students are likely to participate in school-based afterschool programs than students at the lower level schools. This may be the result of the burden from impending college admission and the growing emphasis on academic achievement gaps among different students groups at high school level. As the Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test (KSAT) score is one of the most critical factors in the college admission process, most high school students are taking subject-based academic programs after school hours. However, school-based afterschool programs provide high school students with quality education which is believed to be important for better test scores, at a lower cost than private tutoring institutions. Consequently, students and parents began to take more and more subject-based afterschool courses with less economic burden on households.

At the group level, community factors were a good indicator of afterschool attendance (Bae et al., 2009; Byun et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2008, 2009). Students in low-income schools were more likely to attend the programs than students in wealthier schools. Also, students in rural areas had higher participation in the programs than their urban peers. This is because students in rural areas used to have much more limited access to private tutoring than their urban counterparts and seems to indicate that, in rural areas, afterschool programs have begun substituting for the private tutoring that is still popular in urban areas.

Overall, studies revealed two student groups at high risk in the matter of afterschool program participation in Korea (Bae et al., 2009;

Kim et al., 2008). These groups were students from single-parent households, and those in the lowest income group. Further incentives and awareness will be needed to increase the participation of those in these newly found target populations.

### *9.4.2 Public perception*

Excessive spending on private tutoring has become an everyday scene of Korean students' life. In the same vein, phenomenal participation in school-based afterschool programs has grown into a daily routine for Korean students over the last decade. This increased participation is largely due to the change in public perception of afterschool programs.

Studies in the United States show various positive effects of afterschool programs on students' psychological and physical development as well as the attainment of social justice (Person, 2009; Rogers et al, 2009; White, 2005; Piha & Miller, 2003). However, despite a favorable attitude toward afterschool programs, only 15% of K–12 students throughout the United States participate in any type of afterschool program (Afterschool Alliances, 2009). On the contrary, more than 60 % of Korean students at all school levels are involved in school-based afterschool programs, in accordance with the change in social perception.

According to the 2007 survey of 6,132 nationally representative samples, 48.3% of respondents were satisfied with the overall quality of afterschool programs in their children's schools, with only 14.7% unsatisfied and 36.6% neutral (Kim et al., 2008). Despite the relatively high positive perception, however, some parents view these programs as inexpensive and low quality. According to the report by the Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010), although afterschool programs have grown in number, the quality of the programs may not be comparable to that of private tutoring services. In addition, due to the greater dependence on school teachers there is a lack of diversity in the programs. For these reasons, the recent administration's policies are striving to increase the quality and diversity of the programs through the greater involvement of private vendors and contractors in the community.

Kim and his fellow researchers' study above also notes that 51% of respondents agreed these programs contributed to education equity and equality, with higher approval from low-income families as opposed to skepticism from high-income families. With the improvement in quality of afterschool programs, it is expected that the participation rate of students in afterschool programs will continuously increase while household expenditure on private tutoring will decrease. This seemingly positive outlook is encouraging and one might say that this educational system will contribute to the attainment of social equality and justice in Korea by narrowing the educational opportunity gaps among different social groups.

### *9.4.3 Student development and performance*

Not all afterschool programs are directly and significantly related to academic achievement. However, some subject-related (e.g. reading groups) or subject-oriented afterschool programs show statistically significant effect on positive academic outcomes (Granger, 2008; Durlak & Weissberg, 2007; Lauer et al, 2006; Huang et al., 2000). Even the non-subject-based programs have influenced students' academic attitudes such as academic aspiration and competency (Granger, 2008; Huang et al., 2000). Likewise, afterschool programs are quite positively relevant to students' academic performance in several aspects.

Korean studies suggested similar findings as shown in American cases. Bae and his colleagues (2010b) found that afterschool programs had a positive impact on student academic performance. The effects were stronger in high school. This is possibly due to the more academic-centered afterschool programs. It is noteworthy that the relationship between afterschool participation and academic achievement was greater for low-income students. Given the higher participation rate of low-income students in the programs, the finding implies that implementing afterschool programs may contribute to reducing achievement gaps between different socio-economic student groups.

In regard to the effects on psychological development, studies found afterschool program participants showed higher self-efficacy and academic performance than non-participants (Heo, 2009; Park et al., 2009; Yoo et al., 2007). In addition, according to Park et al (2009), afterschool participants showed better teacher-student relationships,

motivation, attendance and reduction in juvenile malfeasance compared with non-participants. This may be the result of need-based subjects and reduced stress alternatives to the normally stressful national curriculum courses. Some studies on enrichment programs also suggested that involvement in sport or art-related afterschool activities could enhance students' creativity at elementary level (Lee, 2010; Kim, 2010). As complementary to a rigid regular curriculum, which often prevents students from cultivating their creativity, afterschool programs could be helpful in encouraging participants to develop their creativity.

Kim (2010) discovered that participating in non-subject area programs was highly related to better school adjustment. However, her study also proved that the number of subject-related afterschool courses that students took was closely correlated to their academic competency – the more programs students took, the lower academic competency they were likely to have. This may be partially due to the affordability of afterschool programs. Students from low-income families tend to show low academic competency and performance due to the lack of resources (Lacour & Tissington, 2011). Since school-based afterschool programs, academic programs in particular, are often provided at affordable costs, students from low-income households tend to take them in lieu of private tutoring. However, the quality of afterschool programs has improved.

### *9.4.4 Reduction in private tutoring expenses*

Unlike other countries where afterschool policy was introduced from the pedagogical perspective, afterschool programs in Korea, particularly academic programs, are now greatly expected to function as a tool to decrease prevailing private tutoring and thus reduce the burden of private tutoring expenses on parents. Studies (Bae et al., 2009, 2010b; MEST, 2009) found that afterschool participation was negatively associated with private tutoring expenses of households. As shown in Figure 2 above, the participation rate at high school levels has steadily increased excluding those students with more educated mothers. These mothers were more reluctant to give up private tutoring for their children, still believing that private tutoring offers better quality education than afterschool programs. This higher participation

rate indicates that students spend less time in private tutoring than before, and instead spend more time in afterschool programs. In fact, as private sectors become more involved in school-based afterschool programs, more students, including those with highly educated mothers, are expected to trust the quality of afterschool programs and choose them over private tutoring. This can be made possible because students can take the same courses from the same private tutors or teachers at private educational institutions (or so-called "Hakwon" in Korean) in their classrooms after school hours.

As stated above, rural students were likely to have higher participation rates than their urban peers. Unlike students in urban areas, students in rural areas don't have enough access to private education. Therefore, they had to choose between spending more money on scarce private tutoring or giving it up. For this reason, afterschool academic programs can be considered as a great source of private, or test-oriented, education at affordably low prices which many rural students didn't have before.

Students who consistently participated in afterschool academic programs could have decreased their private tutoring expenses over time. It may be concluded that this program fills the time slots and expenses that private tutoring normally would hold and therefore reduce the students' attendance and dependence on private tutoring. This seems to be supported by some students in urban areas who began participating only in afterschool programs. These findings (Bae et al., 2009) seem to suggest that afterschool programs play a significant role in decreasing private tutoring expenses and lessening the subsequent financial burden of households.

## 9.5 Summary and implications

Researchers insist that with the emerging 'Learning Society' there will be a variety of educational activities and that a growing number of educational providers will compete with one another for educational clientele. Researchers have found unequal distribution of educational opportunities related to unequal educational outcomes of students (Little, 2009; Roekel, 2008; Norfleet & Kritsonis, 2006; Gamoran, 1987). Thus, it may be worth asking what kinds of education providers are working and how they are interrelated. Among the wide range

of educational institutions, some are considered historically institutionalized while the others look just like 'the flavor of the month'. Nonetheless, it seems true that the education system of a society evolves with dynamic interrelationships among various players in the education sector. At the end of this evolution, a new educational system or organization can be institutionalized, such as the Korean school-based afterschool programs.

For Korean students, as stated above, three main categories of educational providers exist – public schools, profit private tutoring services and newly-emerging school-based afterschool programs. Although public schools remain a primary system where learning and development for children and youth occurs, there are a great number of students who participate in private tutoring outside of school. With the ever-increasing competition to gain college admission, many students require private tutoring, and thus the majority of parents struggle with skyrocketing private tutoring expenses. Consequently, a reduction in private tutoring expenses has been among the top priorities in education policies. The implementation of school-based afterschool programs is a countermeasure to reduce private tutoring participation.

Being mainly considered as substitutes for private tutoring outside schools, afterschool programs have the potential to change Korea's existing education system (Bae et al., 2009). Students and parents have begun to compare the three providers in many aspects, for example, in quality, price and accessibility. Competition has increased between school-based afterschool programs and profit-seeking private tutoring institutions. Although private tutoring still seems to be prevailing over afterschool programs – particularly in urban areas – researchers (Bae et al., 2009) are quite positive that with better quality and lower price, it will only be a matter of time before afterschool programs dominate over private tutoring. Moreover, with the recent aggressive invasion of afterschool programs, a natural tension seems to be growing between regular curricular activities and afterschool programs. Afterschool lecturers are considered strong competitors by classroom teachers. The growing body of research (Kim, 2010; Bae et al., 2009) showing positive effects of afterschool participation on educational outcomes fuels this uncomfortable relationship between the two groups.

Previous research has shown findings pointing to pedagogical, social, and policy success of afterschool implementation in Korea (Bae et al., 2010a). Afterschool programs in Korea have generated social awareness of quality and equality within the education system, pushing policymakers and educators to provide students with need-meeting education. Under the umbrella of the Korean government, school-based afterschool programs are expected to fulfill their duty of ensuring equal education opportunities and satisfying the needs of every student. In addition, the positive perception expressed by many students and parents adds to the confidence of educators in further educating non-participating students and parents on the benefits of afterschool programs.

Nonetheless, others (Ryu, 2007) argue that afterschool programs may not contribute as much to relieving inequality and providing adequate quality education. They insist that in order to improve the quality of education, further efforts should be made to support the regular curriculum and school teachers instead of afterschool programs and afterschool instructors. They argued that government support to solve national curriculum problems would yield better results in terms of equality and quality in education than encouraging afterschool programs. In reality, schools have difficulty meeting the various demands of all players: students, teachers, parents and the government. With the extra burden of running afterschool programs while still emphasizing the national curriculum, schools are struggling more than ever to survive. Similarly, some parents view these afterschool programs as having lower costs, thus lower in quality, than private tutoring alternatives (Son, 2009). Although many parents believe in the quality and effectiveness of afterschool programs, there still are some parents, particularly the educated mothers who are suspicious of afterschool programs.

These school-based afterschool programs serve as the foundation for helping schools prepare the “learning society” and open up relations and community involvement through the provision of quality programs with competitive private contractors. These programs, once weakening competitors, can become partners in the education process and provide schools with a way to survive in the future "learning society" where they should make an impact in the lives of the students, the parents and the community. As these programs mature and improve in

quality, similar gains in equality may follow and help balance the education system. This will provide students with the future competencies necessary for the larger global education community that continues to emerge.

Finally, it may be necessary to provide greater incentive to after-school participation by increasing its value in the next stage of academic life. Although out-of-school experience has no value for work or academic admission, the next step will try to evaluate and certify a student's learning experiences outside of school. Eventually, this may morph into a learning certificate for labor market involvement and promotions such as the lifelong learning accounts system that the Korean government recently launched for adult learners. One option is a student-generated portfolio that demonstrates their educational experience. These portfolios could be evaluated and used for advancement, not only on a national level, but an international level as well. International comparative research on the state of out-of-school activities evaluating type, goals and functions, the role of government and local community, and the effects of implementation in terms of quality and equality would provide guidance for the advancement of these programs and broaden the possibilities for global interaction.

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# 10. Characteristics and roles of extracurricular and out-of-school education in Japan

*Yoshiaki Yanagisawa*

## 10.1 The purpose of this paper

The purpose of this paper is to explain the characteristics and roles of extracurricular and out-of-school education in Japan through an examination of the structure of school education and the structure of out-of-school education. Partly, I will explain this theme by comparing the systems of Japan and Germany.

In countries that have highly-developed school education, the characteristics and roles of extracurricular and out-of-school education are decided by the characteristics and roles of school education. From this perspective, extracurricular and out-of-school education are functions of school education. Therefore, we must begin the discussion with the place where children spend most of their time every day. Especially in the case of Japan, school education has a strong influence on extracurricular and out-of-school education.

With the above-stated purpose in mind, I will discuss the following four research sub-themes. Firstly, I will discuss the structure of school education in Japan. This structure influences what children do in out-of-school education. Secondly, I will discuss the typical daily school life of children in Japan. Japanese children spend much time in schools, and I will describe what children do in schools. Thirdly, I will discuss the structure of out-of-school education in Japan. There are various activities after school both inside of schools and outside of schools that constitute out-of-school education. I will describe the choices available to children. Fourthly, I will describe four roles of out-of school education in Japan.

Here I should point out three arguments against this theme. The first argument is that there is an obscure area between school education and out-of-school education. I call this obscure area a “gray zone.” For example, after school club activities (“bukatsudou”) are

within this gray zone. In chapter 2, I will describe how club activities can be perceived as being within a "gray zone."

The second argument concerns the effectiveness of extracurricular and out-of-school education. How effective are they? In Japan, some parents think that the effectiveness of these systems can be determined by whether or not their children get high scores on achievement tests or entrance examinations. For these parents, the indicator of effectiveness is only "to get a high score." However, other parents are looking for a place where their children can spend time safely after school until these parents' work ends. In brief, the perceived effectiveness depends on the needs of parents for extracurricular and out-of-school education. Therefore, the effectiveness of these systems is diverse and complex.

The third argument concerns the relationship between school education and out-of-school education. In Japan, elementary schools send parents information about how children should study homework. It means that schools influence the education occurring within families, concerning homework. This invisible relationship between school education and family education has grown over time. Family education has become private out-of-school education, and the cooperating area between school education and family education has widened. Cooperation between school education and out-of-school education thus advances gradually, and the gray zone has recently widened. On the other hand, as I will write in chapter 3, some private out-of-school education has changed to official out-of-school education. Children do their homework not at home in the form of private out-of-school education, but in after-school classes as official out-of-school education.

## 10.2 The structure of school education in Japan

### *10.2.1 The school system in Japan*

Before describing the structure of out-of-school education in Japan, I will show the structure of school education in Japan, because it defines out-of-school education. Figure 1 shows the organization of the

school system in Japan as presented by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Technology (MEXT).

Kindergartens accept children from ages three to five. The percentage of children finishing kindergarten is 56.2% according to statistics provided by MEXT in 2010. Outside of kindergartens associated with MEXT, there are nursery schools, under the supervision of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW).

Elementary schools begin from grade one (age six) to grade six (age 11), for a total of six years. In elementary school there are after-school clubs ("gakudou-hoiku"), which constitute out-of-school education. When parents hope for their children to join after-school clubs, they can do so by paying a cost.

Lower secondary schools begin from grade seven (age 12) to grade nine (age 14), for a total of three years. There are club activities after school in lower secondary schools. There are many kinds of club activities, for example: sports clubs, music clubs and culture clubs. Some children go to preparatory schools, which constitute out-of-school education, each day after their club activities finish.

Upper secondary schools begin from grade 10 (age 15) to grade 12 (age 17), for a total of three years. There are many kinds of club activities after school in upper secondary schools as well. Also, some children go to preparatory schools as out-of-school education after their club activities finish.

Secondary schools are schools in which upper secondary schools connect to lower secondary schools and begin from grade seven (age 12) to grade 12 (age 17), for a total of six years. There are relatively few secondary schools. Most secondary schools are privately owned schools.

Fundamentally, it has been decided that the maximum number of children per class is 40 students. But some local autonomous bodies set their own standards, for example 25 children, 30 children or 35 children, and so on. Elementary schools and lower secondary schools comprise nine years of compulsory education. Children must enter these schools. However, private elementary schools, private lower secondary schools, and private secondary schools are popular in large cities like Tokyo.

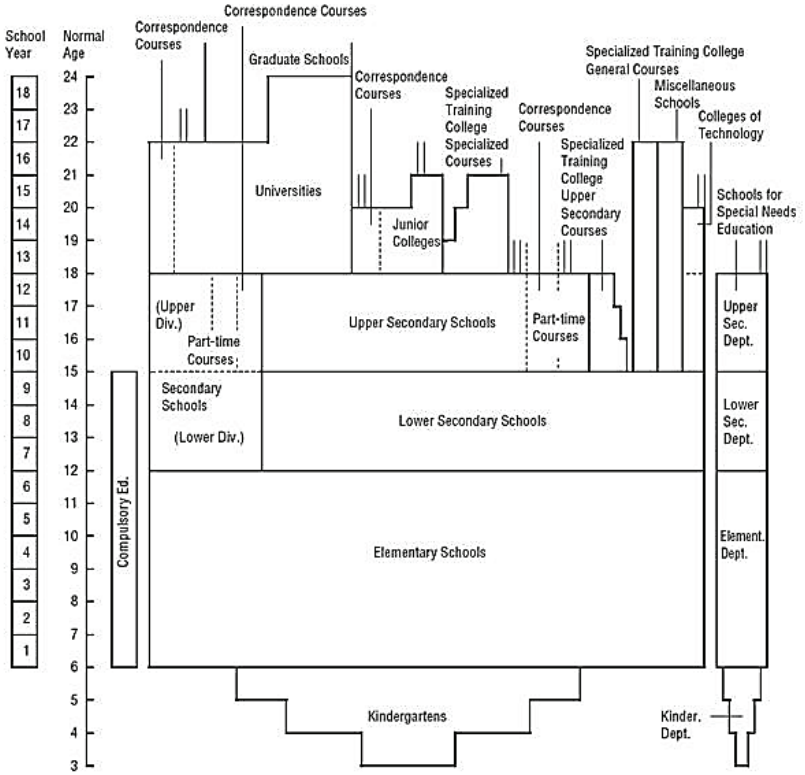


*Figure 1: Organization of the School System in Japan*

Source: MEXT Homepage (http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/struct/010.htm)

The school system in Japan is a single-track system. On the other hand, the school system in Germany has been described as a branched track (forked track). Most Japanese children have common education until age 17. Therefore, Japanese children are relatively more prone to have common needs for out-of-school education.

### *10.2.2 System of entering higher schools and entrance examinations*

The topic concerning the system of entering higher schools is a typical topic. One of the common needs is to prepare children for entrance examinations. There are exactly five entrance examination steps in the education system of Japan.

The first step is the examination into kindergartens. When parents hope for their children to go to kindergartens, children usually can enter a kindergarten. But as local autonomous bodies establish kindergartens, children cannot enter a kindergarten on certain occasions, because the number of kindergartens runs short in comparison with the number of applicants. In large cities there are many elite private kindergartens. They have entrance examinations. As these examinations are fairly challenging, some children prepare for this entrance examination in special preparatory schools ("juku").

The second step is the examination into private elementary schools. As elementary schools are a form of compulsory education, there usually is not an entrance examination. However, there are entrance examinations for private elementary schools. Especially in large cities there are many elite private elementary schools. As this examination is also challenging, some children prepare for this entrance examination in special preparatory schools ("juku").

The third step is the examination into private lower secondary schools. As lower secondary schools are also part of compulsory education, there usually is not an entrance examination. However, there are entrance examinations in private lower secondary schools. As in the cases of kindergartens and elementary schools, some children prepare for these examinations in special preparatory schools ("juku").

The fourth step is the examination into upper secondary schools. As upper secondary schools are not part of compulsory education in Japan, most children entering these schools will take entrance examinations. According to MEXT in 2010, 98.0% of graduates from lower secondary schools enter upper secondary schools. This is the highest percentage until now. This number reveals that upper secondary schools can essentially be considered part of compulsory education. Almost all children prepare for this entrance examination in special preparatory schools ("juku"). On the other hand, as secondary schools

are a six-year system, children do not have examinations halfway through their time at secondary schools.

The fifth step is the examination into universities. According to MEXT in 2010, 54.4% of graduates from upper secondary schools and secondary schools can enter university. As about half of all children have entrance examinations into university, children prepare for entrance examinations in special preparatory schools ("yobikou").

### *10.2.3 Club activities as gray zone*

There are club activities after school in lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools. Table 1 shows the participants of club activities in these schools according to MEXT in 1996. The target of this research was 54,000 pupils in 100 lower secondary schools and 100 upper secondary schools.

*Table 1: Participants of Club Activities (%) (Plural Answer)*

| | Lower Secondary Schools | | | Upper Secondary Schools | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Boys | Girls | Total | Boys | Girls |
| Sports club | 73.9 | 83.0 | 64.1 | 49.0 | 56.3 | 41.1 |
| Sports club separate from school | 7.7 | 10.2 | 5.0 | 4.2 | 5.7 | 2.6 |
| Clubs other than sports clubs, for example, culture club | 17.1 | 7.9 | 27.1 | 22.0 | 13.8 | 30.9 |
| Culture club outside of schools | 7.0 | 3.9 | 10.4 | 3.1 | 1.4 | 5.0 |
| No participation | 7.8 | 7.6 | 8.2 | 27.3 | 28.1 | 26.6 |

Source: MEXT Homepage (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/sports/001/toushin/971201.htm#0), in Japanese

From these results, we can see that over 90% of children in lower secondary schools and over 70% of children in upper secondary schools participate in club activities in Japan. Most of these participants take part in club activities that are held in schools.

Club activities in schools can be called a gray zone. From what point of view do club activities belong to a gray zone? I will describe the following four perspectives which enable us to judge whether club activities are part of school education or belong to out-of-school education.

The first perspective is the place where club activities are held. Normally they are held within schools: in classrooms, the gymnasium and schoolyard. In some exceptional cases they are held outside of schools. For example, they are held in nearby gymnasiums or other facilities for citizens. From this point of view, they basically are part of school education.

The second perspective is the coach of these club activities. Who coaches children in these clubs? Table 2 shows the coaching system in data presented in 1996 by MEXT.

*Table 2: Coaching System in Secondary Schools (%)*

| | Lower Secondary Schools | Upper Secondary Schools |
|---|---|---|
| Schools in which teachers coach club activities | 57.0 | 44.0 |
| Schools in which applicant teachers coach club activities | 35.0 | 41.0 |
| Other | 8.0 | 15.0 |

Source: MEXT Homepage (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/ sports/001/toushin/971201.htm#0), in Japanese

In 57% of lower secondary schools and 44% of upper secondary schools, teachers coach club activities. When teachers do not coach, other persons act as coaches. For example, specialists or other experienced persons come to schools and coach children. From this second point of view, coaches can be both teachers and other persons from outside the school. From this perspective, club activities are part of both school education and out-of-school education.

The content of club activities is the third point of view. Is the content part of the curriculum or outside of the school curriculum? Club activities fall outside of the school curriculum and therefore from this third point of view are distingiushed as out-of-school.

But there is a new trend in school policy. The course descriptions of both lower secondary schools in March 2008 and upper secondary schools in March 2009, produced by MEXT, have sentences about club activities for the first time. In the following sentences, taken from these course descriptions for lower secondary schools, will be stated.

Club activities that children take part in voluntarily contribute to children's enjoyment of sports, culture and science and raise the children's will to study, responsibility and a sense of solidarity. In school education, teachers must develop connections between the curriculum and club activities. And teachers must have cooperation among schools, citizens, community, facilities and groups for lifelong education (MEXT (2008a), Chapter 1, No. 4, 2 (13)).

The same sentences can also be found in the course descriptions for upper secondary schools (MEXT (2009), Chapter 1, No. 5, 5(13)).

Thus, it is stated that schools should develop connections between the curriculum and club activities. MEXT changes the courses of study once in approximately every ten years. Lower secondary schools will practice this new course of study from April 2012 and upper secondary schools will practice this new one from April 2013.

The fourth point of view is cost. Who pays for club activities? In reality, parents pay almost all costs. However, schools collect from the PTA part of the cost for activities. From this point of view, the system is complex, and club activities are part of both school education and out-of-school education.

### 10.3 Time spent by Japanese children in school

Figure 2 shows the time spent in school by children from age six to 17 on weekdays. In Japan, elementary schools, lower secondary schools, and upper secondary schools usually begin at about eight am. and end at about four pm. on weekdays. Children thus spend eight hours in schools in a day. In lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools, club activities are held after school. Including these two or three hours, children spend ten or 11 hours in schools each day. In Japan, school life occupies the largest part of daily life for children. The amount of time spent in out-of-school education is relatively low.

Out-of-school education occurs at night, on weekends and in summer, winter and spring vacations. In other words, in Japan school education has several diverse functions and plays a very important role in forming a child's character.

In a comparison with time spent in school of children in Germany, we find several different points. In Germany, almost all schools are half-day-schools and end at about one p.m. All-day-schools comprise under 20% of the total. Even in all-day-schools, the school day ends at about three or four p.m. The school time in Japan is relatively longer and schools have many functions in Japan.

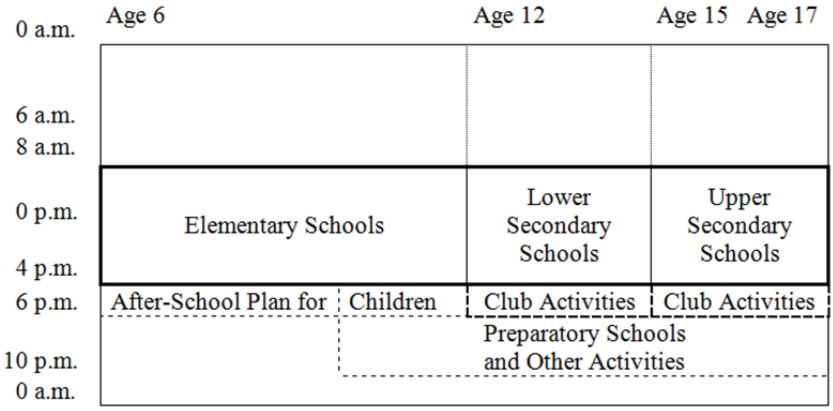


*Figure 2: Model of Children's Time Spent at School on Weekdays in Japan*

I will explain the framework of out-of-school education in Japan by referring to the following four points.

Firstly, out-of-school education in Japan also takes place on Saturday and on Sunday. In Japan, a five-day school week has existed since April 2002. Since the beginning of this five-day school week system, children have had free time in the morning on Saturday, as well. There were some exceptions, however, with some schools having lessons or activities on Saturday morning. In private schools, there are usually lessons on Saturday. As children usually have free time on Saturday and on Sunday, the weekend can be used for out-of-school education.

Secondly, out-of-school education in Japan takes place in summer, winter and spring vacations. Elementary schools, lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools have about 40 days of summer vacation and two weeks of winter and spring vacations. Children have homework during these vacations, but have relatively more free time during these vacations. However, there are also special lessons held during these vacations which comprise in-school education.

Thirdly, out-of-school education in Japan occurs in after-school classes in elementary schools. Each local autonomous body traditionally has after-school clubs in elementary schools. Since 2007, MEXT and MHLW began a common project involving after-school clubs. The "After-School Plan for Children" was intended to support all elementary schools that have after-school classes and after-school clubs.

Fourthly, out-of-school education in Japan occurs in preparatory schools and other activities for children in lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools. Preparatory schools begin at about four p.m. or six p.m. after club activities finish. They normally last two or three hours. Children who have entrance examinations within a year spend more time in them.

However, a new type of preparatory school, different from traditional preparatory schools, has recently increased. This new type of preparatory school is the correspondence course or courses that can be accessed through the internet. In this case, children need not go to preparatory schools. Children can study in their homes after school or after club activities, in their free time.

## 10.4 The structure of out-of-school education in Japan

### *10.4.1 "After-School Plan for Children" by MEXT and MHLW*

*Background and purpose*

Since 2007 MEXT and MHLW have worked on a common project called the "After-School Plan for Children". On the homepage of MEXT there is a message about the background of this project (Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/about/index.html), in Japanese).

Because serious social problems, such as children perpetrating crimes, occur often, and educational circumstances of families and communities around children also face difficulties, the Minister of the Provision for Declining Birth has suggested integrating the project of MEXT and the project of MHLW concerning after-school-support. The two ministries agreed to this suggestion.

From this background, the purpose of this common project was revealed in March, 2007 in the following announcement from MEXT for superintendents of schools (Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/document /img/plan.pdf), in Japanese).

One of this project's aims is to secure children in a safe and good place in communities after school, and so on. In each community boards of education, in cooperation with the division of welfare, have taken the initiative. As a rule, in all elementary school areas, boards of education will promote provisions of the entire after-school project ("After-School Plan for Children") which is comprised of the project of MEXT ("After-School Classes for Children") and the project of MHLW ("After-School Clubs for Children") concerning after-school support.

As stated above, the purpose of this project is "to secure children in a safe and good places in communities after school, and so on." The expression "after school, and so on" indicates that this project targets not only time spent after school on weekdays, but also on weekends and vacations.

*System of the plan*

In the After-School Plan for Children, two projects, After-School Classes for Children by MEXT, and After-School Clubs for Children by MHLW, have been integrated as one common project. The project of After-School Classes for Children is funded by a grant of 6.82 billion yen (in 2007) to give children chances to study, play and experience different cultures. The project After-School Clubs for Children is funded by a grant of 15.85 billion yen (in 2007) to give children whose parents work chances to study, play, and so on. For example, prefectures have a promotional committee, and communities have a steering committee, coordinators of the project, study advisers for children, guard persons for children, and so on. When communities ask for this grant, communities apply with plans for original activities.

*Cases of activities*

Here I will introduce three cases of After-School Classes for Children. There are actually various types of activities. In the case book produced by MEXT, these activities are classified according to the following four points. The first point (point A) is the place where children can participate in activities, in school or out of school. The second point (point B) is the method of activities, either in a free style or prescribed program style. The third point (point C) is the type of study, voluntarily or in cooperation with schools. The fourth point (point D) is whether there is cooperation with other projects, no cooperation, or cooperation with After-School Clubs for Children by MHLW or another project, Community Center of Supporting Schools ("gakkou-shienn-chiiki-honnbu"), also by MEXT.

Case 1 is the case of "After-School Classes for Children in Kouchi Elementary School" in Touhoku-cho, Aomori prefecture. Table 3 shows the outline of this case.

This class aims for children to study, play sports, and have cultural experiences and interchange with citizens in Kouchi Elementary School after school and on weekends, and is supported by citizens and local organizations.

Activities for children between grades one to three are in the drawing and manual arts room and multipurpose room in the elemen-

tary school, from one p.m. to six p.m. on Monday through Friday, and from 7:45 a.m. to six p.m. on Saturday. When parents come to pick up their children the activities end. It costs 3,000 yen per year. The main activities are study and play. The program has a traditional folk dance four times each month and exercise with rhythm one or two times per month. A coordinator, study adviser and two supporters work here.

*Table 3: After-School Classes for Children in Kouchi Elementary School*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Point A | Place | In school | Out of school |
| | | ○ | × |
| | Days | 278 days per year | |
| | Participants | 24 children per day on average | |
| Point B | Method of activities | Free style | Program style |
| | | × | ○ |
| Point C | Type of study | Voluntarily | Cooperation with school |
| | | × | ○ |
| Point D | Cooperation with other projects | With club | With center |
| | | × | × |

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkagoplan.go.jp/houkago/img/jirei2_NO2.pdf), in Japanese, slightly revised by author

Case 2 is the case of "Volunteer House Chidori-enn in the Yasuda Elementary School Area" in Masuda City, Shimane prefecture. Table 4 shows the outline of this case.

This class aims for children to grow up well and have "zest for living". The expression "zest for living" is in the course of study description for elementary schools. This class has the following five functions: to be a place of study, play, getting along with citizens, for life, and to experience traditional culture.

Activities for children in Yasuda Elementary School are in two school-houses and a playground from 2:30 p.m. to five p.m. on Monday through Friday, and from 9:30 a.m. to five p.m. on Saturday, once

a month. It costs 2,000 yen per year. The main activities are play and study. There is a playground, some ponds, a waterwheel, and toys in this square. Three or four supporters work here. Citizens can come here and play with children. A community center and supporters plan original programs every month, for example rice planting, carpentry, a harvest festival, and cooking.

*Table 4: Volunteer House Chidori-enn in the Yasuda Elementary School Area*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Point A | Place | In school | Out of school |
| | | × | ○ |
| | Days | 207 days in a year | |
| | Participants | 35 children per day on average | |
| Point B | Method of activities | Free style | Program style |
| | | ○ | × |
| Point C | Type of study | Voluntarily | Cooperation with school |
| | | ○ | × |
| Point D | Cooperation with other projects | With club | With center |
| | | ○ | × |

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkagoplan.go.jp/houkago/img/jirei2_NO3.pdf), in Japanese, slightly revised by author.

Case 3 is a case of "Community Classes for Children in Tamano City" in Okayama prefecture. Table 5 shows the outline of this case.

These classes aim for children to become acquainted with citizens in original programs through cooperation with various community groups, and to have the chance to experience things that children normally do not experience in school or at home.

Activities for children going to 14 elementary schools in this city are held in each community center, lifelong education facilities and schools from three p.m. to five p.m. on Monday through Friday, and from nine a.m. to 12 p.m. on Saturday. Occasionally there is a charge to participate. The main activities are traditional cultural activities,

carpentry, activities in nature and between people of different generations. These activities are conducted in cooperation with the After-School Clubs for Children project and the Community Center for Supporting Schools project.

*Table 5: Community Classes for Children in Tamano City*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Point A | Place | In school | Out of school |
| | | ○ | ○ |
| | Days | 180 days in a year | |
| | Participants | 21 children per day on average | |
| Point B | Method of activities | Free style | Program style |
| | | × | ○ |
| Point C | Type of study | Voluntarily | Cooperation with school |
| | | ○ | × |
| Point D | Cooperation with other projects | With club | With center |
| | | ○ | ○ |

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkagoplan.go.jp/houkago/img/jirei2_NO3.pdf), in Japanese, slightly revised by author.

*Result of activities*

Table 6 shows the status of the implementation of the program to promote after-school classes for children.

In 2010, MEXT spent over 14 billion yen on this program. As a result of increasing the expense, the number of operation sites increased from 6,201 in 2007 to 9,289 in 2010, and the number of classes executed in elementary school increased from 4,299 in 2007 to 6,688 in 2010. Moreover, the number of municipalities implementing this program increased from 851 in 2007 to 1,065 in 2010. After-school classes for children have gradually expanded with this major project.

*Table 6: The Status of Implementation of Program to Promote After-School Classes for Children*

| | April 2007-March 2008 | April 2008-March 2009 | April 2009-March 2010 | April 2010- |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Operating Expenses | 7,077 Million Yen (By National Government 2,359 Million Yen) | 10,812 Million Yen (By National Government 3,604 Million Yen) | 13,311 Million Yen (By National Government 4,437 Million Yen)) | 14,043 Million Yen (By National Government 4,681 Million Yen) |
| Operation Sites | 6,201 Sites (+ Supported by Prefecture 7,429 Sites) | 7,736 Sites (+ Supported by Prefecture 8,745 Sites) | 8,761 Sites (+ Supported by Prefecture 9,758 Sites) | 9,280 Sites (+ Supported by Prefecture 10,136 Sites) |
| Executing Cases in Elementary School | 4,299 Sites (69.3%) | 5,592 Sites (72.3%) | 6,364 Sites (72.6%) | 6,688 Sites (72.1%) |
| Holding Days of Yearly average per 1 class | 117.7 Days/1 Year | 117.2 Days/1 Year | 119.5 Days /1 Year | 119.8 Days/1 Year |
| Number of Implementing Municipality | 851 Municipality (+ Supported by Prefecture 979 Municipality) | 1,011Municipality (+ Supported by Prefecture 1,112 Municipality) | 1,061 Municipality (+ Supported by Prefecture 1,154 Municipality) | 1,065 Municipality (+ Supported by Prefecture 1,190 Miunicipality) |
| Number of Classes Implementing learning Activities | – | 3,500 Sites (44.2%) | 4,685 Sites (53.7%) | 4,938 Sites (53.2%) |

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkagoplan.go.jp/houkago/img/houkoku_2010.pdf), in Japanese, MEXT in English, slightly revised by author

In addition, research focused on results of after-school classes for children by MEXT in December 2007 shows the effectiveness of these classes.

Figure 3 shows the effectiveness of after-school classes from children's point of view in terms of children making new friends. When asked the question "Do you now have more chances to play with children from other grades?", 45% of children answered "I agree". About half of the surveyed children had new chances to play with children from other grades. These classes thus function as places for children to meet new friends.

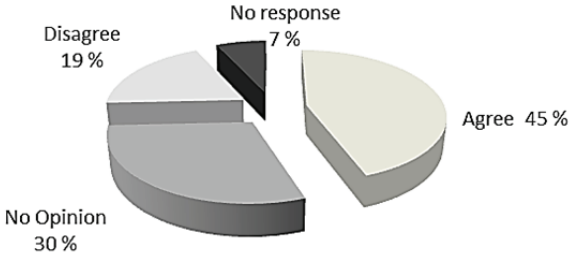


*Figure 3: Perceived effectiveness of after-school classes: Question for children: "Do you now have more chances to play with children from other grades?"*

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkagoplan.go.jp/document/img/check.pdf) in Japanese

Figure 4 shows how after-school classes have affected children's enjoyment of school. When asked the question "Do you enjoy going to school more now?". 48% of children answered "I agree". About half of the surveyed children said that they enjoyed school more. These classes thus function as places for increasing children's enjoyment of school.

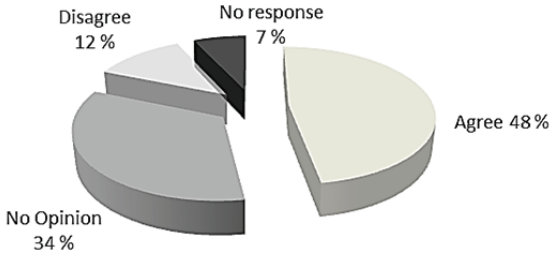


*Figure 4: Perceived effectiveness of after-school classes: Question for children: "Do you enjoy going to school more now?"*

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/document/img/check.pdf), in Japanese

Figure 5 shows the effect that after-school classes have had on children meeting people from the community. When asked the question. "Have your chances to meet people from the community increased?". 47% of children answered "I agree". About half of the surveyed children felt that they had more chances to meet people from the community. These classes thus function as places where children can increase acquaintanceship with their neighbors.

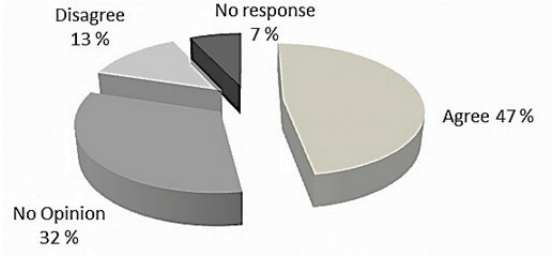


*Figure 5: Perceived effectiveness of after-school classes: Question for children: "Have your chances to meet people from the community increased?"*

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/document/img/check.pdf ), in Japanese)

Figure 6 shows the interest that parents have in increasing their effort to promote these classes for children. When asked the question "Do you have more interest in increasing your effort to promote these classes for children?" 12% of the surveyed parents, whose children take part in the after-school classes, answered "I agree", and 43% answered "I somewhat agree". More than half of the parents have become more interested in taking efforts to promote these classes for children. The classes thus increased their interest.

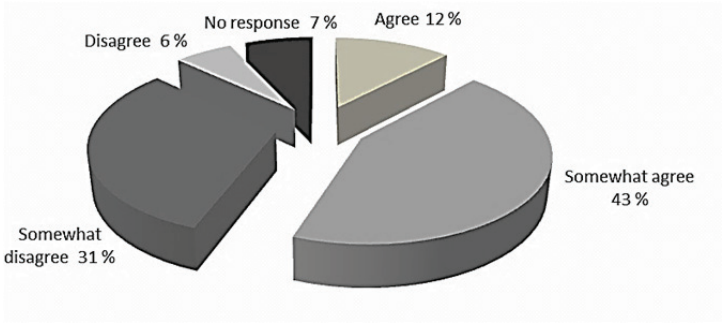


*Figure 6: Perceived effectiveness of after-school classes: Question for parents whose children take part in after-school classes: "Do you have more interest in increasing your effort to promote these classes for children?"*

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/document/img / check.pdf), in Japanese

Figure 7 shows the increase in children's enjoyment of going to school from parents' viewpoint. When asked the question. "Does your child enjoy going to school more now?". 23% of the surveyed parents, whose children take part in after-school classes, answered "I agree", and 33% answered "I somewhat agree". More than half of the surveyed parents have noticed that their children's enjoyment of school has increased. From parents' point of view, these classes thus function as places where children's enjoyment of school can increase.

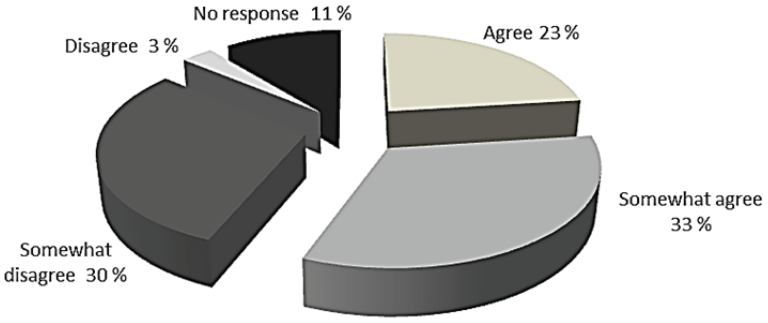

*Figure 7: Perceived effectiveness of after-school classes: Question for parents whose children take part in after-school classes: "Does your child enjoy going to school more now?"*

Source: MEXT HP (http://www.houkago-plan.go.jp/document/img/check.pdf), in Japanese

### *10.4.2 Preparatory schools as private studying places*

In 2007, MEXT entrusted the System Research & Development Institute of Japan (SR&DI) to research the status of the implementation of outside-of-school study methods. This institute surveyed 30,222 children from grades three to six in elementary schools and 23,236 children in upper secondary schools, for a total of 53,458 children, as well as 44,276 parents whose children go to elementary schools and 23,236 parents whose children go to upper secondary schools, for a total of 67,512 parents. The main results are described bellow.

Figure 8 shows the percentage of children from grade one to nine who study in out-of-school education.

This result reveals that more than 70% of the children in these grades take part in out-of-school education. Many children already take part in out-of-school education from grade one, according to these figures.

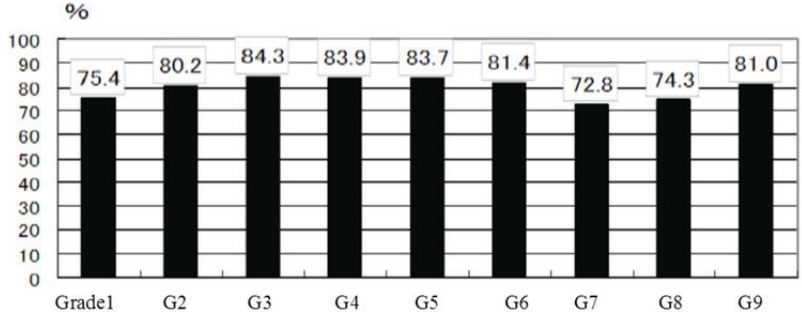


*Figure 8: Percentage of Children Studying in Out-of-School Education*

Source: MEXT (2008b). p. 6, in Japanese

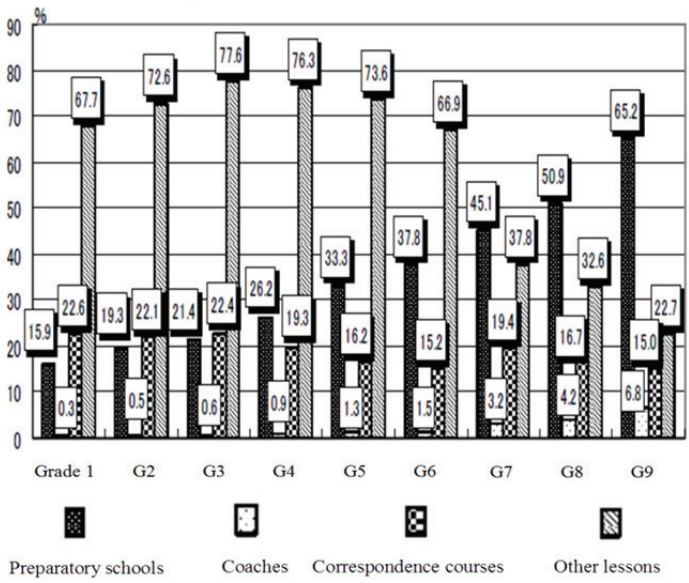


*Figure 9: Type of Out-of-School Education*

Source: MEXT (2008b). p. 7, in Japanese

What do children study in their out-of-school education? Figure 9 provides an answer by showing the number of preparatory schools, coaches, correspondence courses, and other lessons from grades one to nine.

The number of students studying in preparatory schools gradually increased from grade one to nine. Between grade one and six, the number of other kinds of lessons is highest. At grade seven, however, the number of other lessons overtakes lessons in preparatory schools. After grade seven, the number of other lessons decreases sharply, and the number of students in preparatory schools increases sharply.

*10.4.3 Other lessons*

Figure 10 shows the percentage of boys, girls and the total number of students taking other kinds of lessons. In this research, "other kinds of lessons" include 12 categories.

Overall, the most popular kinds of lessons are piano (29.0%), swimming (27.0%) and calligraphy (22.8%). On the other hand, the most popular kinds of lessons among boys are swimming (31.9%), soccer (21.7%) and martial arts (16.9%), while more girls take lessons in piano (45.7%), calligraphy (28.6%) and swimming (22.7%). This shows a tendency for many boys to take part in sports lessons and many girls to take part in culture-related lessons. Surely there are popular lessons both among boys and girls, but interests of children are wide. Children have the chance to choose from among many options according to their interests.

## 10.5 Conclusion: Four roles of out-of-school education

Based on the above discussion, I can point out the following four roles of out-of-school education in Japan:

Firstly, out-of-school education has the role of complementary education. In other words, this is the role as a "complement to school education for children". For example, many children go to preparatory schools in order to supplement their school education. In this case, the complement of school education has two different aspects. The first aspect is the complement for children when it is difficult for them to understand the content of subjects in school education. The second aspect is the complement for children who prepare for high-level entrance examinations. Because school education cannot deal with both of these issues sufficiently, children and parents depend on out-of-school education to complement the school curriculum. Therefore, there is a close relationship between the role of school education and the role of out-of-school education in Japan.

Secondly, out-of-school education has the role of a career development system. In other words, this is the role that "realizes the hopes of children in the course of their lives". For example, children can take part in club activities after school or other lessons like piano, soccer, foreign languages, and so on. Some children take part in these active-

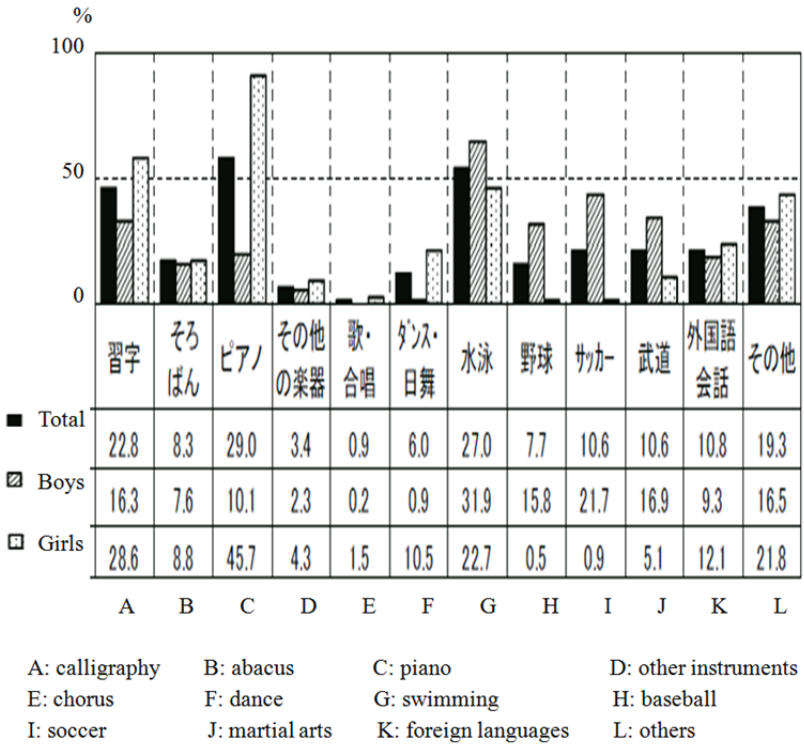


*Figure 10: Percentage of Students Taking Other Lessons*

Source: MEXT (2008b). p. 15, in Japanese

ties and lessons in consideration of their life goals. While doing them, children have the chance to develop their capabilities. Certainly school education gives children the chance to develop their capabilities, but it does not provide sufficient help in this aspect. Children have various hopes in the course of their lives and it is necessary for this realization to prepare children for individual choices. In regards to this point, school education as public education has limits.

Thirdly, out-of-school education has the role of establishing human relations. On the other hand, this is the role of "establishing relationships among various people". For example, children take part in after-school classes for children and are able to interact with people in

the community. In these classes, children can establish various relationships with people of various generations. Children take part in club activities and other lessons and develop relationships with other children. Children are especially able to establish close human relationships among children in club activities of lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools. Activities in out-of-school education give children the possibility to meet with various people, and the ablitiy to develop their own character and social skills.

Fourthly, out-of-school education has the role of a daycare nursery. This is the role of "welfare facilities for parents". Especially children in elementary schools, go to out-of-school classes which function as daycare services. For example, children go to after-school classes and clubs after school, on holidays and over vacations. This is because their parents work until late, on holidays and during vacations. Children study, play and live there almost every day, and therefore these out-of-school "welfare facilities" become a part of their lives. Because support workers or volunteers in after-school classes are friendly with children, they occasionally function as parents. From this perspective and because an growing number of mothers work outside of the home, the role of out-of-school education has increasingly become important.

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