
Organized Out-of-School Activities and Peer Relationships: Theoretical Perspectives and Previous Research

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Abstract

The goal of this volume is to show how organized activities provide an ideal setting for developing a deeper understanding of peer relations, as well as offering a context for a more positive study of peers. The chapters in this volume focus on youth 10 to 18 years of age. In this introductory chapter we first describe the reasons why organized activities, like sports, arts, and school clubs, are ideal settings to examine peer processes. Next, we describe the theoretical and empirical research related to two questions: (1) how do peers influence organized activity participation and (2) how does organized activity participation influence peer relations. We organize this review around three themes outlined in the broader peer relations literature: (1) peer groups, (2) peer relationships, and (3) peer interactions. © 2013 Wiley Periodicals, Inc.

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There is growing evidence that participation in school- and community-based organized activities, such as sports, school clubs, and youth development programs, is related to indicators of positive development, including greater academic achievement, educational attainment, occupational status, self-esteem, socio-emotional adjustment, resilience, and involvement in political and volunteer activities (Bohnert, Fredricks, & Randall, 2010; Mahoney, Vandell, Simpkins, & Zarrett, 2009). Other research suggests that participating in organized activities is a protective factor that reduces youths’ involvement in problem behaviors, such as delinquency and substance use (Mahoney & Cairns, 1997; Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997), though sports participation has been shown to be related to higher drug and alcohol use (Eccles & Barber, 1999). Although most research has focused on Caucasians and youth in the United States, the benefits of organized activity participation are evident for African Americans and Latino youth as well as youth in Canada and Australia (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012). The majority of the research reviewed in this chapter focuses on youth in the United States.

The potential benefits of organized activities have sparked two pressing questions: (1) how do these activities influence adolescents’ development, and (2) how can we promote and sustain adolescents’ participation in organized activities? A common response to both of these questions is peers. Organized activities offer a wide range of social development opportunities and are structured in a way that helps adolescents meet their needs for social relatedness. There is evidence that participation in these settings facilitates adolescents’ maintenance and development of friendships (Schaefer, Simpkins, Vest, & Price, 2011). Involvement in organized activities can have broader implications for shaping peers’ perceptions of an adolescents’ popularity or likeability (Eder & Kinney, 1995).

Although only a few researchers have examined the links between organized activities and peer relationships, there are many parallels in the two distinct literatures. First, spending time in organized activities and hanging out with peers are two ways many Western adolescents pass their time outside of school. In recent national studies, over 70% of youth report participating in at least one organized activity context over the past year (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005). Second, high quality organized activities and supportive relationships with peers are settings that support adolescents’ positive development, such as higher academic achievement, social competence, and self-esteem (Mahoney et al., 2009; Vitaro, Boivin, & Bukowski, 2009; Wentzel, 2009). Conversely, youth who are disconnected from activities and from friendships are at greater risk for delinquency, depression, and substance use (Mahoney et al., 2009; Vitaro et al., 2009).

In Western contexts, peer relationships become increasingly salient during adolescence. Youth spend more time with their peers, place greater emphasis on the opinions and expectations of their peers, and are more
strongly attuned to and motivated by belongingness and positive peer regard (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Brown & Larson, 2009). Peers are also a primary source of emotional and social support and play a key role in self-evaluation and identity development. Although participation in organized activities offers a range of social opportunities that can support the development of peer relations, the research on peers in these settings is limited (Stattin & Kerr, 2009). Instead, most of our understanding of peer processes comes from research in classrooms or laboratory-based settings. Furthermore, the peer relations literature has historically focused on peer influence in terms of delinquent, deviant, and health-compromising behaviors (Brown, Bakken, Ameringer, & Mahon, 2008). The emphasis on the negative aspects of peer relations neglects the reality that much of peer influence is positive (Brown et al., 2008).

The goal of this volume is to show how organized activities provide an ideal setting for developing a deeper understanding of peer relations, as well as offering a context for a more positive study of peers. We hope this issue will encourage scholars in both the out-of-school time and peer relations fields to examine this question. Rodkin and Ryan (2011) echo this sentiment in a recent handbook chapter on peers, arguing that “peer relations researchers would be well served by leaving the classroom from time to time to venture into some of the settings where children and adolescents form relationships such as neighborhoods and after-school and community-based activities” (p. 373).

In this introductory chapter, we review the literature on organized activities and adolescents’ peer relations. First, we provide an overview of why school and community-based organized activities are ideal settings to study peers. Second, we review the literature on two overarching questions in the literature on peers and organized activities: (1) how do peer relations shape organized activity participation, and (2) how does organized activity participation shape adolescents’ peer relations. For the second question, we review the research on the positive and negative implications for adolescents’ peer relations separately. Finally, we provide a critical review of this literature and a summary of the remaining chapters in this volume.

**Why Are Organized Activities an Ideal Setting to Study Peers?**

There are several reasons why organized activities offer an ideal setting to study peers. Many youth-based community organizations explicitly include improving social skills, such as team work, leadership, and social competencies, as a central goal of their organization (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 1999). In a review of 48 effective youth programs, 81% of programs include enhancing social skills as an important program goal (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Another important goal of
many community-based organizations is to give youth greater decision-making and leadership opportunities. These organizations have been characterized as “youth-driven” programs because they emphasize active involvement, youth empowerment, and leadership (Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005).

Organized activities, such as sports and school clubs, are structured in a way that affords greater opportunities for peer interactions and developing friendships than traditional classroom contexts. In fact, some elements, such as size, school transitions, and teacher-directed pedagogies, can actually impede the development of peer relations in classroom- and school-based settings. Organized activities tend to be smaller and less structured than classroom-based settings, which give youth more opportunities to interact socially. In both school and community-based organized activity settings, peers of different ages and races can mix together in settings of relative equality around a common activity. These structural factors can help to foster friendships across diverse groups (Moody, 2001). In contrast, age-grading and tracking constrains the development of diverse and cross-age friendships in school. Furthermore, in some types of organized activity contexts, children's social relations are often directed toward solving a challenging problem. This is very different than most school contexts where youth have few opportunities to interact with their peers outside of lunch and recess. A large scale study of over 2,500 classrooms showed that over 90% of fifth graders' time was spent listening to a teacher or working alone and only 7% of their time was spent in small group activities (Pianta, Belsky, Houts, & Morrison, 2007).

A few studies have compared peer processes in organized out-of-school activity settings and in schools. For example, Larson, Hansen, and Moneta (2006) compared the developmental experiences afforded to youth in extracurricular and community-based organizations and in schools. They found that youth reported higher rates of peer processes related to teamwork and social skills as well as more positive relationships in organized activity settings as compared to schools. Other research has explored youths’ perceptions of the opportunities for peer interaction in schools and in community-based organizations (Fredricks, Hackett, & Bregman, 2010; Loder & Hirsch, 2003). Youth who attended Boys and Girls Clubs reported that these settings provided them with a safe place where they could interact with their peers and express themselves. In contrast, they felt that opportunities for interaction in school contexts were more limited. They also reported being restricted from expressing themselves freely in school contexts.

In order to fully understand the connections between organized activities and adolescents’ peer relations, it is important to take a comprehensive look at adolescents’ peer relations. Although there is some variability in frameworks, many peer relation scholars have posited that youths’ peer relations encompass three related, but unique themes: peer groups,
peer relationships, and peer interactions (Brown & Larson, 2009; Hartup, 2009; Ladd, 2005; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Youths’ standing within larger peer groups, such as schools or teams, includes such things as popularity (also known as social status) and peer crowd affiliation. Peer relationships focus on relationships shared by two individuals that can be friendly, romantic, or antagonistic in nature. Finally, peer interactions address the exchanges between peers, such as conversations, aggressive behavior, or how friends help each other. Scholars have strived to understand each of the three aspects of peers as well as the determinants and outcomes of each aspect. Our goal is not to provide an exhaustive review of the peer relations literature, but rather to describe a framework drawn from this literature in order to understand what is known and not known about organized activities and adolescents’ peer groups, friendships, and peer interactions.

**How Do Peer Relations Shape Adolescents’ Participation in Organized Activities?**

Scholars have begun to examine how peers shape whether adolescents join, attend, and quit an organized activity. According to self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2011), individuals have a basic need for relatedness or feeling that they are connected to others. Deci and Ryan (2011) noted that “the basic needs provide the energy and direction for people to engage in activities that satisfy those needs” (p. 19). In other words, adolescents are likely to go to places where they feel they are connected to others. The literature on peers and organized activities generally supports this premise. Of the three aspects of peer relations, much of this work has focused on peer relationships and not on peer interactions or peer groups. Among the various types of peer relationships, friendships have been examined most often.

Being with friends and making new friends are primary motives for joining and staying in organized activities, even among highly skilled youth (Denault & Poulin, 2009; Fredricks, Alfeld-Liro, et al., 2002; Fredricks, Hackett, et al., 2010; Hirsch, 2005; Loder & Hirsch, 2003; Patrick et al., 1999; Persson, Kerr, & Stattin, 2007; Simpkins, Vest, & Price, 2012). For example, Hirsch (2005) found that parents, peers, and activities were the most common reasons why youth initially joined Boys and Girls Clubs, and friendships were the biggest reason they continued to attend. In a recent study, Simpkins and colleagues found that having friends participate in the same activity increased the odds an adolescent would participate by 25% to 173% depending on the specific activity (Simpkins, Vest, Delgado, & Price, 2012). This relation emerged for all adolescents but was stronger for Whites compared to Hispanic and Black youth and for older adolescents compared to younger adolescents in the United
States. Studies in sport psychology also demonstrate the importance of peers for how involved youth are in athletic activities. These studies show that affiliation motives, or a sense of connection with a group and opportunities to develop and maintain friendships, are associated with higher sport commitment and enjoyment (Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989; Weiss & Smith, 2002). In fact, there is evidence that some community-based programs use peers to both initially recruit other youth and to encourage them to keep coming to these programs (Lauver & Little, 2005; Loder & Hirsch, 2003).

Peers are also one of the reasons why adolescents also quit an activity. Because most activities are voluntary settings, negative peer interactions can prompt youth to quit. Latino middle school students said that some Latino youth leave activities because they are ridiculed by peers, such as hearing peers say “border hopping” jokes or other racist comments (Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach, & Starbuck, 2013, p. 714). In addition, for some youth, there are social costs to their involvement in organized activities. One reason highly involved youth in the sports and arts reported reducing their involvement is that participation took away from time to spend with their friends who did not participate in the activity (Fredricks et al., 2002; Patrick et al., 1999). Overall, this collection of studies suggests that spending time with existing friends and making new friends are two primary motives to join and attend activities, but negative peer interactions and the desire to spend time with friends outside of the activity can also be motives to quit an activity.

How Do Organized Activities Shape Peer Relations in Positive Ways?

Not only are peer relations determinants of adolescents’ participation in organized activities, but organized activities appear to also influence adolescents’ peer relations. In this case, adolescents’ peer relations are the outcome or the result of adolescents’ participation in organized activities. Scholars have looked at this question from two angles. First, many scholars have examined how participation in organized activities is related to adolescents’ subsequent peer relations. Second, scholars have also tested if changes in adolescents’ peer relations are the mechanism by which participation in organized activities is related to the beneficial adjustment of participants. Empirical findings suggest that participation in organized activities influence all three aspects of youths’ peer relations, including peer groups, friendships, and peer interactions.

**Peer Groups.** One area of research has focused on the effects of participation in different types of organized activities on popularity and peer acceptance. Popularity is an important marker of an individuals’ standing within the peer group and plays a multifaceted role in adolescence. In
addition, popular adolescents have higher social and psychological adjustment than their less popular counterparts (Allen, Porter, McFarland, Marsh, & McElhaney, 2005). Early work suggests that being good at sports might enhance one’s popularity (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992; Bigelow, Lewko, & Salhani, 1989; Chase & Dummer, 1992; Evans & Roberts, 1987). This research suggests that sports participation, especially for boys, is an effective means of achieving social acceptance at school.

Other research has explored the relation between participation in different types of organized activities and crowd affiliation. Crowds are reputation-based groups of peers who may or may not spend a large amount of time together (Brown & Larson, 2009). Peer crowds often develop an activity-based identity. For example, “jocks” tend to participate in team sports, “brains” are more likely to participate in academically oriented extracurricular activities, and “populars” are more likely to be involved in school-based activities. Eccles and Barber (1999) theorized youths’ organized activities, identities, and peer groups are part of synergistic systems that influence one another over time. In a series of studies, Eccles and her colleagues found that adolescents’ identities, such as “brain,” “jocks,” and “populars” mapped onto the activities they participated in (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003). Adolescents with the “brain” identity were most likely to be involved in academic clubs, whereas “jocks” were most likely to participate in sports.

**Friendships.** Organized activities have several characteristics that support three critical aspects of adolescents’ friendships: the number of friends, who their friends are, and the quality of those friendships (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). Each of these aspects of adolescents’ friendship is important for youths’ well-being. For example, having friends and the quality of those friendships is important for adolescents’ psychosocial adjustment (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). In addition, friends’ characteristics and behaviors are strong predictors of adolescents’ characteristics and behaviors (e.g., Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011).

Qualitative research suggests that participation in organized activities can increase the number and variety of friends (Loder & Hirsch, 2003; Patrick et al., 1999). Indeed, Schaefer and his colleagues (2011) showed that adolescents were more likely to maintain friendships and develop new friendships with peers who participated in the same school-based extracurricular activities than if they did not co-participate. The regular participation schedules of organized activities offer youth extensive opportunities to deepen existing friendships and develop friendships. According to focus theory, organized activities are poised to promote friendships because these activities bring together youth with similar interests in regular and consistent contact (Feld, 1981).

Participation in organized activities is also related to the characteristics of the friendship group. Participation in school-based extracurricular
activities is related to having a prosocial and academically oriented friendship group (Fredricks & Eccles, 2006, 2008; Rose-Krasnor, Busseri, Willoughby, & Chalmers, 2006). Youth in extracurricular activities also report having a lower proportion of risky friends than youth who do not participate in these activities (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Eccles et al., 2003; Simpkins, Eccles, & Becnel, 2008). Not only is participation related to whom an adolescent is friends with, but friends' characteristics partly explain why organized activity participation is associated with adolescents' later adjustment (Eccles et al., 2003; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Simpkins et al., 2008). Youth who attend organized activities are often better adjusted than youth who do not attend organized activities (e.g., Mahoney et al., 2009).

If activities support the development and maintenance of friendships among co-participants (Feld, 1981), it is likely that activities will promote the selection and maintenance of friendships with peers who are also well adjusted. Furthermore, socialization theories, like social learning, suggest that friends' socialization over time strengthens the initial similarities that prompted selecting particular friends in the first place (for a review of peer influence, see Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011).

Organized activities help to develop friendships among diverse peers that are unlikely to develop under normal circumstances. Prior research shows that participants in organized activities helps to develop cross-race and age friendships (Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003; Moody, 2001). Schools tend to have had limited success in facilitating positive intergroup and cross-age relationships. In contrast, organized activities have several structural features that may help to facilitate intergroup relations, including small size, an emphasis on group goals, equal status, and higher psychological engagement among youth (Moody, 2001; Watkins, Larson, & Sullivan, 2007).

Organized activities may also shape the quality of friendships among co-participants, though only a handful of studies have examined this question. Qualitative research on youth in sports revealed that friendships among co-participants could be described in terms of 12 different positive friendship quality features (e.g., companionship, help and guidance, self-esteem enhancements; Weiss, Smith, & Theeboom, 1996), many of which echo the features assessed in standard quantitative measures of friendship quality (e.g., Parker & Asher, 1993). Additionally, Patrick and her colleagues (1999) found that adolescents perceived developing more intimate friendships as a result of co-participating in sports and the arts together. The benefits of activities for friendship quality may be stronger for particular youth. For example, Bohnert, Aikins, and Edidin (2007) found that time spent in organized activity settings predicted higher friendship quality among adolescents with a history of poorer social adaptation. These initial studies suggest that adolescents can develop high quality friendships as a result of their participation in organized activity settings.
**Peer Interactions.** Peer interactions can provide the conditions for the development of social skills and knowledge, such as working together as a team, delegating responsibility, learning to give and take feedback, and broader communication skills (Dworkin et al., 2003). According to cognitive theories of development, working with others exposes individuals to differing views, which, in turn, forces them to coordinate or restructure their own views (Piaget, 1932; Rogoff, 1998). Reciprocity is an important dimension of friendship that also supports cooperation. In adolescence, friends have more equal power, which makes it more likely that cooperation and joint decision making can occur (Larson, 2007; Youniss, 1980).

Organized activities are structured in a way to support positive peer interactions and the development of social skills and values. Many organized activities target group goals rather than individual achievement, which make it necessary for youth to figure out how to work together. Some of these programs require youth to work together to solve difficult problems which will inevitably results in socio-emotional challenges (Larson, 2011). In these settings, adult leaders play a critical role in supporting and modeling positive social relations and helping youth to address the inherent challenges that arise.

Prior research shows that participation in high-quality organized activities can facilitate the development of social skills. In a recent meta-analysis, Durlak, Weissberg, and Pachan (2010) found that after-school programs that were designed to enhance personal and social skills demonstrated increases in positive social behaviors. Additional evidence of the social benefits of participation comes from qualitative research with youth in organized youth programs (Dworkin et al., 2003; Larson, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005). Youth in these activities reported learning interpersonal and social skills, such as learning to work with others and compromise, developing leadership and responsibility skills, and learning the value of recognizing others’ viewpoints.

In a series of studies, Larson and his colleagues (Larson, 2007; Larson, Jensen, Kang, Griffith, & Rompala, 2012; Watkins, Larson, & Sullivan, 2007; Wood, Larson, & Brown, 2009) used qualitative techniques to open the black box of organized activity settings and explore the peer processes by which participation fosters social skills and prosocial value development. This qualitative research offers detailed information on differences in developmental experiences across different types of organized contexts, how social and emotional development unfolds in these settings, and how adult leaders support peer relations in these settings. For example, Wood and his colleagues (2009) described how the opportunity to work together with peers to accomplish a common goal, as well as concerns about the consequences of their individual behaviors on others, taught youth in organized activities teamwork and responsibility. In another study, Watkins and her colleagues (2007) described the process...
by which youth in a community-based organization formed cross-group relationships, developed an understanding of diverse groups, and learned to act with awareness in relation to these groups.

**How Do Organized Activities Shape Peer Relations in Negative Ways?**

The research reviewed above highlights the positive aspects of peer processes. Other research illustrates negative experiences related to peers in organized activities. In qualitative studies, youth in organized activities reported several negative experiences related to peers including reports of aversive peer behavior, exclusive friendship groups, poor cooperation, conflict, betrayal, and being ridiculed for their behavior (Dworkin & Larson, 2006; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005; Weiss et al., 1996). These negative behaviors may stem from characteristics of the activity, such as the level of competition; obstacles in coordinating ones’ work with peers; and the fact that youth come into contact with a diverse group of peers whom they may not have otherwise chosen to affiliate with (Dworkin & Larson, 2006).

Although most organized activities facilitate membership in a prosocial peer group, some activities facilitate membership in more problematic peer networks. Adolescents in sports and school involvement activities are more likely to be members of peer groups with high alcohol consumption (Eccles & Barber, 1999). Furthermore, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) found that youth who attend unstructured youth centers have more antisocial friends than those who do not attend. Because youth in these settings have little supervision or structure, peer interactions reinforce negative norms of behavior (Stattin & Kerr, 2009).

**Summary and Overview of This Volume**

In sum, there is a growing interest in research on peers and organized activities. This research suggests that involvement in organized activities offers opportunities for youth to make new friends and strengthen existing friendships, affiliate with a prosocial peer network, and learn social skills. However, because participation in these activities tends to be voluntary, it is not clear how much these social benefits are the result of the personal characteristics of youth who choose to participate in organized activity settings and how much they are a function of the affordances for peer interactions in these contexts. One of the major challenges for future research in this area is how to account for self-selection effects (Eccles et al., 2003; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Stattin & Kerr, 2009). For example, adolescents who choose to participate in organized activities tend to be
of higher socioeconomic status, are more likely to European American, have higher grades, and have greater parental support than non-participants (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005). Another important question is how different types of organized activities offer different affordances for peer interactions. The level of competition, location (i.e., school or community), opportunities for teamwork, and the degree of structure in an organized setting will impact on both the opportunities for and the quality of peer interactions.

The current research has only begun to scratch the surface. In contrast to the larger peer literature, the positive side of peers has been the focal point in the literature on organized activities and peers. Negative aspects have been studied in terms of alcohol use, negative peer interactions, and less-structured activities. Of all aspects of peer relations, the most widely studied in the organized activity literature are friendships. Most of this research has examined whether activity involvement facilitates the development of friendship, who these friends are, and whether the characteristics of the peer group can help to explain adjustment differences. There has been much less research into the quality and features of these friendships. In addition, other types of peer relationships, such as romantic relationships and antagonistic relationships, have received little attention.

To move beyond this descriptive research, it will be critical to test theoretically derived hypotheses that can explain the relation between the characteristics of an activity setting, such as the level of competition, the peer values and norms within the setting, the features of activity participation such as the duration, breadth, and quality of involvement; and developmental outcomes. Finally, another area of research has begun to explore the interpersonal processes related to social skills and value development. This work is beginning to outline the mechanisms by which youth are influenced by taking part in organized activities and more specifically the role that peer interaction play in these effects. This research is helping to open up the black box of organized activity settings in order to better understand both how and why peers matter.

This volume largely explores the question of how peers in organized out-of-school activities might shape adolescent development. The three empirical chapters draw on the key distinctions in the out-of-school time and peer literatures. In particular, all chapters integrate critical dimensions of organized activity participation, such as attention to the variations in developmental outcomes across different types of activities (Bohnert et al., 2010). The chapters also address core dimensions of peer relationships and groups. The three empirical studies use a variety of methodological techniques to assess peer relationships, including self-report of friendship quality, social network data, and sociometric data (Rubin et al., 2006). Finally, these three studies cut across different ages and sample characteristics in the United States and Canada.
The second chapter is written by François Poulin and Anne-Sophie Denault and takes an in-depth look at friendships and adolescents’ participation across individual sports, team sports, arts, and prosocial activities. The authors take a comprehensive view of friends who co-participate in activities to see if co-participation is common, how co-participation relates to friendship quality, and whether co-participating with friends has implications for adolescent adjustment. Although work in sport psychology addresses friendship quality, this topic has been under-researched in other types of activities. Poulin and Denault examine these topics for team, individual sports, artistic activities, and prosocial activities/clubs.

The third chapter written by Andrea E. Vest and Sandra D. Simpkins addresses the question of whether adolescents with certain types of peer relationships are more prone to risky behavior. Specifically, they take a closer look at the finding that sport participation is associated with alcohol use by examining multiple peer relations that could help explain this outcome. They test whether friends’ alcohol use, teammates’ alcohol use, and popularity might shape the link between sport participation and alcohol use in high school. By integrating aspects of peer relationships and peer groups, the authors can examine the multi-determined nature of peer influence on adolescents’ alcohol use (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Brown et al., 2008). Their work also highlights an aspect of peer groups that has been relatively unexplored, namely the behavior of teammates.

The final empirical chapter is written by Amy M. Bohnert, Julie Wargo Aikins, and Nicole T. Arola and considers aspects of peer groups. One of the critical contributions of this chapter is their consideration of whether continuity of participation in five different types of organized activities (i.e., religious, academic, performance/arts, sports, and community/service) facilitates social adjustment over the transition to high school. Transitions can be stressful periods for adolescents. Organized activities are settings within schools that may help adolescents navigate this new, larger school setting. They present empirical findings related to the interplay of organized activity participation and peer groups on five indicators of social adjustment.

In the conclusion, B. Bradford Brown evaluates the contributions of the chapters in this volume around three features of organized activity settings that may shape peer relations: (1) caricatures, (2) channels, and (3) contexts for peer interactions. He also presents a conceptual model that can be used in future research to explore how organized activity characteristics influence peer processes and how these processes influence developmental outcomes.

References


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