“So What I Got a Mouth!;” Reclaiming Attachment and Active Citizenship Through Adult-Youth Partnerships.

by

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Approval

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Abstract

"So What I Got a Mouth!;" Reclaiming Attachment and Active Citizenship Through Adult-Youth Partnerships.

by

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This dissertation uses life history methodology with adults and young people in two youth activism organizations in New York City to study how to engage in productive youth-adult partnerships in a larger context that is repressive for young people. The findings reveal a dialectic of attachment writ large (beyond individuals) that is pushed towards one pole by the presence of "participation" and "alignment" and towards the other pole when young people and adults are in "contradiction" and barred from active participation. The findings also reveal two paradoxes involved in adult-youth partnerships: 1) desire and disappointment and 2) persistent public exclusion. The first paradox, desire and disappointment, implies that although young people want to participate in changing communities, programs, and/or institutions, they are generally barred from participation and placed in contradiction, not alignment with adults. The second paradox, persistent public exclusion, implies that even once young people are working in programs that enable them to partner with adults to create change, when out of the safe space of the youth programs, they are once again barred from participation. Even with all these barriers to participation and alignment, findings reveal an impact of adult-youth partnerships on multiple levels beyond the attachment of individual adults

and young people. Results indicate impact for programs, communities, and institutions. Lastly, findings reveal the qualities and conditions that support adult-youth partnerships. A theory of change model constructed from the findings challenges one to consider using adult-youth partnerships to change the larger repressive context instead of working within it.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation process has coincided with a very hard time in my life. Producing this dissertation, like moving through this raw and challenging era, took the support of many. I am blessed with family and friends who continually push me, prop me up, relax me, inspire me, and love me.

First, I want to thank my mother, Barbara Zeller, who is always who I need her to be. Her support is close, comforting, hands on, loving, never harsh, and practical. She models balance, grace, determination, and commitment. My mom is my constant. Without my mom's foundations and regular commitment to me, I could not do half the things that I do. I am so thankful for you mama.

I want to acknowledge my sister, Harriet Clark, who has supported me at various points along the dissertation journey. Thank you Harriet, for that night of transcribing after which you said: "wow, I wish **I** had gone to Brotherhood Sister Sol." Thank you for making action plans with me for my writing and providing spaces in your sun soaked home in San Francisco to actualize them. Thank you being non-judgmental; someone with whom I could play with ideas and air my frustrations. Thank you for pushing me as only a sister can to continue to do better and for moving me as only a writer can to find my voice at times when I felt like I was only able to whisper.

I have always been supported by a fierce crew of women. I would like to thank two generations of women who have sustained me by making dinners, making me laugh, listening to me, comforting me, and caring for my child. In this crew, I include my current executive director, Sandra Escamilla. The encouragement you give your employees to cultivate all sides of themselves is invaluable. I have to give special thanks

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I am also fortunate to have some amazing men in my life. I am so thankful for my son, Gabriel Esquivel-Berkman, who brings incredible joy and lightness to my world. He institutes a forced balance and discipline to this journey as time is limited and my priority is…him. Mothering you is such a pleasure, Gabriel. Thank you.

I am incredibly grateful to my father, Alan Berkman. Even with your passing papa, I still feel your guidance. You were so committed to me finishing this journey, I only wish you could have been here to see it. As I learn more about you through old prison letters, well-wisher's cards, honors and articles, I continued to feel inspired by your humanity and integrity. You challenge me to both think deeply and take action. I feel your loss immensely, but I live grateful for all I have gained from having you in my life for 32 years.

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I am fortunate to be part of a community of scholars whom I respect and love. I would like to thank the core members of the Public Science Project, Maria Torre in particular, who offered tremendous support and encouragement throughout this process. I look forward to working with you all for many years to come.

I would like to thank my committee members Dr. Michelle Fine, Dr. Suzanne Ouellette, and Dr. Roger Hart. Michelle, you have given me so much support in all

aspects of my life. From the fastest turnaround times, to appearances at memorials and baby showers, to letters of recommendation, and many forwarded job opportunities. Whenever I hear you speak at conferences, read a piece of your writing or talk with you about your children or mother, I am grateful to be in your lineage. You are an inspiration to me.

Suzanne, I thank you for pushing me to go deeper. Although, it was not always easy to hear, I think the lives in this dissertation have greater integrity because you supported me to delve into them with more intentionality. Your psychological insight, attention to detail, and commitment to your students' work is invaluable. Thank you.

Roger, you witnessed my rawest moment contending with the confluence of dissertation and loss. Thank you for encouraging me while also pushing me to be clearer about my analysis. Your work in youth participation inspires me to finish this step on my path so that I can work in partnership with colleagues (youth and adults) from all over the world on these issues in the future.

I thank my outside readers Dr. Jen Ayala and Dr. Kim Sabo for being wonderful exemplars of scholars who are fully committed to adult-youth partnerships and a more just world.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

"The children, the young, must ask the questions that we would never think to ask, but enough trust must be established so that the elders will be permitted to work with them on the answers" (Mead, 1970, p. 74).

Within the burgeoning positive youth development movement, in the busy offices of youth activist organizations, and in the halls of academia hosting youth participatory action research (PAR) projects, adults and youth are working together towards effecting change. In a society that has a historically contentious relationship towards its youth in the 20th and 21st centuries (Males, 2006), how may adults and youth in these fields navigate these relationships in order to support youth participation in the issues that impact young people's lives?

My concern with how young people are demonized and framed in need of constant revision by adults shaped my desire to explore how adults and young people address and rework power imbalances in adult-youth partnerships. It became a lens for a critical analysis of the representations of adult-youth relationships[1][2] in the literature of four fields: positive youth development, youth activism, youth civic engagement, and youth participatory action research. It serves as the focal point for this dissertation: a life history project with four adults and four young people working in partnership at youth activism programs in New York City.

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[1] At different points in this dissertation adult-youth relationship is used interchangeably with adult-youth interactions.

[2] For this dissertation I am conceptualizing adult-youth "relationships" as non-familial, ranging from superficial to more sustained, and occurring in structured settings such as programs, institutions or on projects in which adults and youth are working together

As is often true with the study of lives, in the end I learned about psychological processes at play in the lives and relationships of people whose lives sat at the center of this study. In them, I heard a story about attachment, alignment, and opportunities for deep participation as well as what occurs when these connections are denied or disrupted. A number of scholars suggest that, through the study of lives, one can gain a deeper understanding of the psychological, cultural, political, and historical context in which that life was lived (Carlson, 1984; Gates, 1997; Nicholson, 2003). This was definitely true in my work.

Through this life study, I have both reclaimed and stretched attachment theory. I explore a notion of attachment that moves beyond the level of individuals to relations between self and other writ large (i.e. community, society, etc). I explore attachment, not as a trait, but as a context specific, organizing principal for viewing the relationship between "self" and "other". Before attachment theory morphed in the hands of psychologists around the world, Bowlby was a systems thinker (Metcalf, 2010). I am using attachment theory in this dissertation to help me think not only about individuals or relationships that encourage attachment, but systematic configurations that promote attachment while striving to unsettle the status quo between low power and high power groups, in this case adults and young people.

For this social-psychological dissertation, I focus mainly on findings related to the interplay between attachment, alignment and participation for those involved in adult-youth partnerships. However, the data also illuminates supportive conditions within the partnership and programmatic supports. Although summarized in the body of the dissertation, I have placed the bulk of these findings in Appendix II. There were also

findings related to the various levels that are impacted when the work between youth and adults is properly supported. As the literature review for this thesis made me cognizant of the power of articulating and studying not only the changes that take place in individuals, but the impact on communities and institutions, I offer those findings in the body of this dissertation and elaborate on them in Appendix III. Lastly, Appendix IV is home to a tangent that may be of interest to those exploring new directions in the field of youth development that is informed by the work of adult-youth partnerships for social justice.

As I learned from my participants, engaged in the process of analysis, wrote and revised, I saw the need to reframe my initial interest. Although I began interested in how we try to work around repressive conditions in order to do productive work in partnership with youth, I ended up being pushed to think about how we utilize youth-adult partnerships to **change** the repressive conditions that exist for young people in this country. In my conclusion, I scratch the surface of visioning possible next steps for action that draws upon the theory of change model derived from this data as well as the work from other countries who are much further ahead in their thinking about large scale youth rights and social justice movements.

PERSONAL NOTE

I'd like to share a reflection I wrote after doing ethnographic data collection at one of the youth programs I studied on a windy, Saturday afternoon...

I left with a soaring heart. Deeply moved, not because I didn't expect young people to articulate what they did, but because I was so

thankful to have been there to bear witness. I purposefully did not engage. I held my tongue and pen tight. I came in thinking that I may not be able to take notes in the space. When I took off my shoes and sat in the circle, I fully intended to be a participant observer with a post-meeting note taking strategy.

…When the groups started to reflect on their experience performing their pieces and facilitating discussions at various schools, I just listened intently. It was when the second young person spoke, a self-composed young Latino male, and we all "ooohed" and "aaahed" as he dropped knowledge that I saw Tammy[3] reach for her pen and pad. I felt freed to go for my notebook. I ran to my bag so I wouldn't miss a word. Then it was on. I tried to catch everything they said. I nodded my head and mouthed the word "wow" a few times, but kept writing for the hour and a half long discussion. They broke for lunch and I broke out with a huge smile on my face. I could hardly contain myself. I felt so thankful for being there and so inspired by youth, adults, people that strive to change the status quo.

This gives only the slightest sense of how much I enjoyed gathering data for this dissertation. I felt deeply moved and interested by the life stories people shared with me. I left observations of program time or staff meetings intrigued by the depth of conversation as well as infected by the laughter and collegiality between people in the groups. I felt a deep respect for the people involved in this work, profoundly inspired by what I witnessed, and privileged to be allowed entrée as a researcher. I share my process

[3] All names have been obfuscated in this dissertation.

and findings in this dissertation in the hopes of conveying a sense the knowledge, passion and commitment of the participants in this study.

ARC OF THIS DISSERTATION

Chapter II explores adult-youth partnerships via the literature in the field of youth development, youth civic engagement, youth activism, and youth participatory action research (youth PAR)/ youth participatory evaluation (YPE). Chapter III outlines the methods and analysis used in a life history project with four youth and four adults in two youth activism programs. Chapter IV uses a holistic content analysis to reveal two paradoxes of participation and introduce theoretical constructs such as contradiction, alignment, participation and attachment. Chapter V presents two lives in their entirety to further illuminate findings regarding the relationship between attachment, participation, contradiction, and alignment. Chapter VI discusses the findings across analysis and presents the resulting theory of change model, implications, and reflections. The conclusion of this dissertation calls for a youth rights/social justice movement in the United States perhaps greatly informed by both the theory of change model that emanated from these findings and from countries around the world which use a youth rights framework in order to alter the conditions which currently make adult-youth partnership so difficult.

CHAPTER II: ADULT-YOUTH RELATIONSHIPS IN THE LITERATURE

THEORETICAL LENSES ON ADULTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

There are many theoretical lenses that authors have used to describe the relationships between adults and youth in society over the course of the 20th century. For some a widening gap evolved between adults and youth due to compulsory education and child labor laws (Kett, J.F., 1971; Nightgale & Wolverton, 1993; Zeldin, S., Camino, L., & Calvert, M. 2003). Other theorists claim the generation gap is increasingly due to rapid societal transformation (Males, 2006; Mead, 1970). Some theorists illuminate the differences in the ways youth talk to and learn from peers as opposed to adults (Daiute et. al., 1993). Arnette (2000) posits that there is a new stage of development, that has come into being post-industrialization, called "emerging adulthood" that further extends the gap between youth and adults.

Another academic camp claims that there is not a differentiation, but a disappearance of childhood. Those hypothesizing young people's rapid evolution into adult roles have cited race and class as possible factors (Kotlowitz, 1991; Males 2006). For others, social policies, such as juvenile justice policies, transform youth into adults prematurely (Schaffner, 2002). Still others argue that the modes of communication, such as print or television, socially construct childhood and have recently led us into an era where childhood is fading into obscurity (Postman, N. 1994).

My own perspective about contemporary constructions of young people incorporates many of the views promoted by these theorists and relates to the ways youth

are invited into or barred from active participation in communities and polities. Specifically, the interaction among media, policies, race, and class inform the ways in which youth are supported in or deterred from active participation on issues. Below, I will outline some of the research that frames this study.

A review of the literature related to young people in the United States reveals a grim and somewhat surprising picture. The U.S. affords its young people fewer rights in relationship to adults than any other country (Males, 2006). There are 14.1 million persons under the age of 18 in poverty (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2008), and youth are two to three times more likely to live in poverty than middle-aged adults (Males, 2006). Amnesty International (2004) reports that the United States has conducted half the world's executions of persons for crimes committed as youth since 1990. The United States is the only self-governed nation in the world that has failed to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child that would guarantee benefits such as adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

In addition to these tangible inequities experienced by young people, they are also viewed negatively by the adult public in general. For example, 57% of adults survey in 2006 believed that today's children and teens would make America a worse place or would make little difference in the future (Camino & Zeldin, 2006). Similarly, 66% of these adults believed that the percentage of teens who committed violent crimes had increased in recent years, when in reality it had declined (Camino & Zeldin 2006). Public Agenda polling done in 1997 (Farkas et al., 1997) found that adults of all backgrounds agreed that youth were "undisciplined, disrespectful, and unfriendly." Two-thirds of Americans (67%) immediately reached for negative adjectives, such as "rude,"

"irresponsible," and "wild" while only 12% used positive terms such as "smart" or "helpful." (Farkas et al., 1997)

Negative representations, coupled with youth isolation from day-to-day supportive contact with adults and intergenerational community life outside of school, made it easy to convince adults that young people were unable to contribute to community in positive ways (Kirshner, 2006; Males, 2006; Zeldin et al., 2005). Zeldin and Topitzes (2002) found that less than 25% of urban adults had a great deal of confidence that adolescents could represent their community in front of a city council or serve as a voting member of a community organization.

The media, child-related institutions/policies, and our age-segregated society provided little room to alter these very proscribed and limited roles (Zeldin et al., 2003). This reality was further constricted by adult disinterest in creating the conditions for youth empowerment. A national study conducted by Benson et al. (2001), found that when adults were asked to rate the relative importance of 19 actions that communities could take on behalf of young people, the two actions reflective of youth engagement received the lowest ratings. These actions were to "seek young people's opinions when making decisions that affect them" and to "give young people lots of opportunities to make their communities better places." In a study conducted by Benson (1998) of 460 communities, only 35% of youth reported that their community valued youth and that youth were given useful roles. It is no wonder then that Males (1996) asserts that young people remain one of the few groups that society is systematically permitted to exclude.

While adults are generally unwilling to create the conditions under which youth can take action on their own behalf, youth are simultaneously framed as in need of

protection by adults. Many youth are brought into child protection agencies that have failed children egregiously, for "their own good" (Lowry, 2004). The desire to create policy to "protect" young people resonates for both conservatives and progressives alike (Lakoff, 2004).

The statistics are disturbingly clear. Youth on the whole have little power and are surrounded by a plethora of negative social representations. It is important to point out that oppression plays out differently for privileged, white, straight and/or male youth (Ginwright & James, 2002). However, for this dissertation I have chosen to address the power status of young people in general in the U.S.

REFRAMING YOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES

With its roots in movements for youth participation in the 1970's, a new movement was formed in the United States in the 1990's to combat prevailing conceptions of youth, alter detrimental youth policies, and shift the way adults work with young people. The positive youth development philosophy promotes the view that individuals, communities, programs, and institutions must become focused on creating the optimal conditions for positive youth development. Many who embrace this paradigm shift are found in community-based organizations, academia, afterschool settings, and, less often, in traditional schools-based models. Adults and organizations, who subscribe to a positive youth development approach, are purported to view young people as assets to their communities, organizations, and society as a whole (King, et al., 2005; Pittman, K. et al., 2000).

Within academia, many in the positive youth development field have argued for the use of a strength-based approach to adolescence (Benson, 1997; Damon, 2002). In 1998, Roth, Brooks-Gunn, and colleagues challenged the academic community to consider whether youth were problems to be managed or resources to be developed. The burgeoning positive youth development movement in academia emphasizes the need to identify, study, and promote positive outcomes in the lives of youth as well as to understand the contextual factors that promote this development (Damon, W., 2002).

For the past decade more researchers in the academic community have begun to publish research on ways to promote thriving instead of using deficit models. Positive youth development scholars view youth, even in the most challenging of environments, as possessing of assets (Taylor, C.S., et al., 2005). Scholars have implied that using youth development models may produce thriving in all youth and would necessitate rethinking current U.S. youth policy (King et al., 2005).

Community-based organizations and afterschool programs have been major players in the positive youth development movement (Camino, L. & Zeldin, S., 2002; Roth et al., 1998). Community-based organizations that ascribe to a positive youth development philosophy often attempt to provide youth with significant leadership roles and responsibilities. In this way, organizations using a strength-based perspective on development offer skills and opportunities for youth to become contributing members of civil society (Lerner, R., 2002). In these instances, the youth civic engagement and positive youth development fields have become integrally linked in the past decade (Mohammed & Wheeler, 2001).

Civic engagement has been put forward as a critical task of adolescence involving elements of moral and cognitive development (Strobel, Osber, & McLaughlin, 2006). The cognitive gains cited in the literature have focused on critical thinking and reasoning skills required to understand complex social issues and potential solutions (Larson & Hansen, 2004). Ideals of democratic citizenship and tenets of tolerance of and responsibility to others are examples of moral outcomes (Strobel, Osber, & McLaughlin, 2006).

After a scathing article by Putnam (2000) about the lack of youth civic engagement in the U.S., there has been a push in the past five years to increase youth involvement and broaden the definitions of what constitutes civic mindedness (Flanagan and Faison, 2001; Youniss et al., 2002). Currently, placed under the broadened definitions of youth civic engagement and positive youth development, is youth activism. Although, youth activism has been a part of the fabric of American society throughout history, youth programs that are funded to do activist work are relatively new. In answer to the call by civic scholars that youth be given "not just knowledge but also opportunities for participation and practice" (Sherrod, et al., 2002, p. 269), the youth activism field responds by engaging youth in taking action around the issues that impact their lives. Youth become players in their communities, take part in reform initiatives, and try to engage other youth and adults in collective action.

While assets and youth engagement projects have been heralded since the 1980s, youth activism has recently emerged as the missing link in current positive youth development theory and programming. In this view, socio-political development is viewed as necessary to healthy development, specifically for youth of color (Lewis-

Charp, Cao Yu, & Soukamneuth, 2006; Ginwright and Cammarota, 2002; Sherrod, L., 2006; Watts & Guessous, 2006). These scholars contend that sociopolitical development has been largely neglected by the youth development movement (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Watts & Guessous, 2006). Instead of the common belief in positive youth development circles that youth need adults to change policy based on youth development research and practice, a youth activism view argues that youth have the capacity and right to participate in shaping the policies that impact their lives via activist networks (Ginwright, et al., unpublished manuscript as mentioned in Watts & Guessous, 2006). The onus of creating structural change is seen as the shared goal of youth and adults.

Within the context of positive youth development programs, activism groups, civic engagement initiatives, and academia youth PAR (youth engaging in participatory action research) has emerged. PAR is an approach to doing research, a philosophy (Cammarota & Fine, 2008) that has been used to create research and social action since the 1940's. PAR projects do not confine themselves to the dichotomous qualitative-quantitative separation and can utilize both methods of data collection in a project depending on the question being asked (Rahman & Fals-Borda, 1991; Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 1997). A common thread among people using a PAR approach is a commitment to "produce important, complex, socially useful, politically powerful, and potentially disruptive knowledge about human psyches, processes, behavior and relationships." (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, p.598, 1997). Although, participatory action research has been around since the 1940's (Lewin, 1951) and has been used by people all over the world to create change (Fals-Borda, 1979; Hall, 1981; Lykes, 1997; Rahman & Fals-

Borda, 1991; McGuire, P. 1993); PAR with youth, along with youth participatory evaluation or YPE, has more recently gained popularity in the United States.

Youth PAR/participatory evaluation has been shown to serve many valuable functions for youth (Calvert & Zeldin, 2002; Camino, L., 2001 & 2005; Golombek, 2002; Horsch, K. et al., 2002; Larson, et al., 2003), adults, (Camino, L., 2001 & 2005; Calvert & Zeldin, 2002 & 2004; London, J., 2002), organizations (Calvert & Zeldin, 2002; Kirshner, O' Donoghue, & Mclaughlin, 2002; London, 2002; Wheeler, 2000; Zeldin, 2004), and community change efforts (Calvert & Zeldin, 2002; Camino, 2001; Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2001; Garthwaite & Tucker, 2003; Kirshner, O' Donoghue, Mclaughlin, 2002). It has been argued that youth PAR/participatory evaluation can be a means of creating more valid and reliable research on or about youth issues (Youth Participation in Community Research and Evaluation, 2002) which complicates notions of who can produce knowledge and take on the role of scientific "expert" (Torre, M. and Fine, M., 2006).

Youth PAR and YPE have been shown to impact youth in ways that are in line with positive youth development goals (Calvert, Zeldin, & Weisenbach, 2002; Golombek, 2002; Horsch, K. et al., 2002; Larson, et al., 2003; Lewis, 2005; Lewis-Chap, H. et al., 2003; London 2000 & 2002; London, Zimmerman, & Erbstein, 2003; Zeldin et al., 2005). They have been utilized by youth activist organizations as a starting point for creating action plans that avoid already articulated adult agendas (Morrell, E. 2006; Duncan-Andrade, J. 2006). Lastly, the action component of a participatory action research project, when youth use their knowledge to create change, maps well onto

current models of youth civic engagement (Camino & Zeldin, 2006; Flanagan & Faison, 2001).

We find ourselves in a place in time when youth are still being over-tested, over-incarcerated, denied basic rights, hypervillianized in the media and simultaneously finding more organizations soliciting their participation, opinions and talents. Arjun Appadurai (2001) and Stoneman (2002) remind us that participation in democratic practices is not automatic when many institutions are set up to suppress involvement; it has particular conditions of possibility and conditions under which it grows weak. (Appadurai, 2001). I begin to explore questions related to the conditions that support adult-youth partnerships, the barriers to adult-youth partnerships and the changes that result from engaging in productive intergenerational partnership with an exploration of the literature in the fields of positive youth development, youth activism, youth civic engagement and youth participatory action research.

AN ANALYSIS OF ADULT-YOUTH PARTNERSHIPS IN FOUR BODIES OF LITERATURE

In order to examine extant knowledge about adult-youth partnerships I conducted an analysis of the literature on adult-youth relationships in the United States in the 20th and 21st centuries. For the purposes of this research project, I define adult-youth "relationships" as non-familial, ranging from superficial to more sustained, and occurring in structured settings such as programs, institutions or on projects in which adults and

youth are working together.[4] I narrowed my search for references to adult-youth relationships to literature in fields of positive youth development, youth activism, youth civic engagement and youth participatory action research as they encompass the structured settings of interest in out-of-school time. For the purposes of this dissertation, I decided to focused on the research question, "What mention is made in the literature of adult-youth interactions?"

Based on research reviewed in the last section pertaining to the status of young people in the U.S. and the current socio-political climate encompassing the interactions between adults and youth, I argue that there is, of necessity, a negotiation of power. I examined language and theoretical frameworks in the literature for mention of adult-youth relationships while analyzing for negotiations of power between adults and youth. In order to find reference to adult-youth relationships, I analyzed 106 articles, dissertations or book chapters. Ultimately, I identified 31 articles that made mention of the relationship between adults and youth. From those articles, I constructed a table that explains similarities and differences across the four fields (see Table 1). The obvious overlap between the fields, as referenced previously, made it difficult to tease out where to place each article or book chapter. However, I categorized the literature according to how the authors/journals identified them and not by my own assessment.

Table 1 highlights the theoretical frameworks that were mentioned in the articles/book chapters, key words related to the interaction of adults and youth, and from where the article is anticipating transformation as a result of the intergenerational relationship. Lastly, the table gives a sense of how many or how few articles of the total

[4] At different points in the paper adult-youth relationship is used interchangeably with adult-youth interactions.

reviewed for that field mention the relationship between adults and youth (refer to Table 1).

Table 1 Summary Analysis *(*Table based on 106 articles, dissertations and/or book chapters)

FIELD	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS MENTIONED	KEY WORDS RELATED TO ADULTS INTERACTING WITH YOUTH	FOCUS OF CHANGE DUE TO RELATIONSHIP	#ARTICLES MENTION/TOTAL NUMBER REVIEWED IN FIELD
PYD **(positive youth development)**	1) Vygotsky, 2) Csikzentminalyi 3) Apprenticeship relationships 4) Socio-cultural learning theory	Leading, coaching, modeling, monitoring, providing norms, supporting leadership	Youth	5/25
YCE **(youth civic engagement)**	None in the literature reviewed	Coaching, modeling, teaching, setting norms, facilitating, liberating.	Youth, adults, institutions	5/26
YA **(youth activism)**	1) Mutual mentorship, 2) Youth-centered apprenticeship 3) Dewey (1944) group learning and community building.	Coaching, partners, co-creators, active learners, co-learners, advisers, allies, supporter, facilitator/coordinator, working partner, educators.	Youth, adults, institutions norms, community perception	8/25
YPAR/YPE **(youth participatory action research/ youth participatory evaluation)**	1) Vygotsky 2) Communities of Practice 3) Ladders of Opportunity 4) Permeability	Technical assistance providers, training, support, partners, coaches, co-learner, mentors, role-models, logistical supporters, co-contributors.	Youth, adults, institutions, community perception	13/30

A more in-depth look into the language used in each field to refer to the interaction between adults and youth will be offered in the following section. I have included as much of the exact wording from each of the articles that address my question of interest as it may offer a window into the ways in which the relationship between adults and youth is constructed in the field. I have also included scenarios loosely based on my own experience with youth PAR or from projects I have come across in my work as an evaluator that illuminate some of the tensions found in each of the fields regarding adult-youth partnerships. Finally, I conclude by summarizing insights gained from this inquiry across and within these four bodies of literature and its relevance to the subsequent life history study.

Analysis of Positive Youth Development Articles

> *Scenario: There are strange evaluation findings at a CBO that is part of a large youth development initiative in New York City. At this site, youth are given homework help, youth development classes, and are supported to know and learn more about their culture. A small leadership group has even been able to decide if they should have a Halloween party this year and weigh in on which youth should receive different colored bracelets that have positive adjectives written on them. Yet youth at this site speak in focus groups about not feeling like their opinions are taken into consideration by adults. Youth survey data over the past few years shows that youth feel neither safe in their neighborhoods nor supported at school. There have been no significant increases over time on the constructs measured by this instrument and, in fact, there have been decreases in constructs*

related to schools and empowerment. Qualitative and quantitative data collected from staff about the impact of the initiative on youth are found to be higher than youth reported data. The adults at the site are baffled by the results…

Generally, the positive youth development literature posits that youth are developing humans who need opportunities and support from adults. From this perspective adults must provide individual youth with structured and challenging experiences. In this literature, "process" seems to take precedence over "product." It describes adult support of goals and directions to help youth engage in development processes like learning initiative, internalizing respect, and other growth experiences. Larson, R. et al., (2003) claim that the adult role is to continuously support youth input and leadership while providing norms for how it is exercised.

The literature reviewed that refers to the relationships between adults and youth makes mention of Vygotsky's (1978) concept of scaffolding with the emphasis on providing young people with progressively more complex roles in schools, communities, and adult society (Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, 2003). Articles mention that adults are to help youth learn in their zone of proximal development, defined by Vygotsky (1978) as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). It is advised that adults structure or reconfigure complex tasks to make them more manageable for youth. For example, Larson (2000) mentions adult tasks such as preparing a calendar that organizes the group's preparation for an event or writing out the shell of a script for conducting the meetings. For more hands-off work he talks about the

adult role as "monitoring" or as an "ongoing attentiveness to how the work of the group was proceeding, and intervening as needed." He talks about adults keeping things on track in youth development programs by checking up on their work and sometimes picking up the slack.

Another theory mentioned in Larson (2000) centers around Csikszentmihalyi's model (1990). The flow model is mentioned as a technique used to define challenges that are matched to youth skills and hence create conditions for sustained intrinsic motivation. Larson (2000) describes youth workers' creating the conditions of flow by pushing youth to try out new roles and ideas in ways that are encouraging, but not overwhelming. Larson, R. (2000) talks about adults as leaders or coaches who allow "participants' actions to be self-directed, voluntary, and intrinsically motivated, yet also structured and challenging enough that participants are stretched to new domains of complexity."

The last theoretical framework I came across in the literature used to describe adult-youth interactions are "apprenticeship relationships." Apprenticeship relationships are mentioned in conjunction with socio-cultural learning theory and afterschool programs (Honig, M.I. & McDonald, M.A, 2005). Honig, M.I. & McDonald, M.A (2005) describe adults as mentors:

> "Mentors are able to demonstrate the activities or knowledge to be mastered. The mentors are also accessible and available to those learning the activities, so that apprentices have multiple and varied opportunities to observe and otherwise interact with the mentors. Mentors provide close supervision and support that help the learner participate in the practice to be mastered, as opposed to simply receiving information about it or

observing others engaging in it. Mutual trust and respect undergird the relationship: apprentices trust they can make mistakes with little or no penalty, and mentors respect that, with adequate support and time, apprentices are capable of demonstrating mastery" (p.8).

Larson, R. et. al, 2003, described the relationship between adults and youth as a delicate dance, an improvisational balancing act. Adults in effective youth programs do not stand back, but share expertise and provide strategic support. The "adult leaders play a role in defining the situation and modeling the language of agency. They laid out the problems in the form of "what if" and "if then" contingencies. They prompt participants to "think through alternative scenarios and hypothetical situations, posing open-ended dilemmas that required reflection, analysis, and drawing on past experience" (Larson, R. 2000, p. 179).

Larson, R. (2000), describes adults' balancing youth agency with adult direction and the need for adults to be comfortable with loose ends and teenage impulsiveness. He describes youth-workers using techniques such as youth determining the next actions of decisions of the group, and then adults providing support activities to help youth prepare for these events such as typing up handouts, providing transportation, and coaching several members on how to give a presentation. The ownership and creative work for executing these events remains in the hand of youth with adult support.

Across the youth development literature there is no mention of adult development occurring along side the youth development goals. There is no reference to the group as a whole (adults and youth alike) becoming more complex; there is only discussion of

youth. Although adults are seen as a support for youth development, they are portrayed as the ones that define what shape and form the developmental norms should take.

Analysis of Youth Civic Engagement Articles

> *Scenario: In accordance with United Nation millennium goals and article 12 of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, this small country has included youth councils in all municipalities. UNICEF is conducting an evaluation of the impact of the government initiative on the civic engagement of young people and a descriptive study of how various municipalities are implementing the mandate for youth engagement in governance. Implementation findings indicate that in municipalities that have in fact set up their youth councils, youth representatives are sent to sit in on the larger municipal meetings once a month. They are given 15 minutes to half an hour to weigh in on youth issues. The impact on youth is thus far inconclusive.*

Theoretical frameworks that conceptualize the relationship between adults and youth did not appear in the youth civic engagement literature reviewed. However, relationships are mentioned as being one of the most critical qualities needed to create pathways for youth civic engagement (Camino & Zeldin, 2002).

The words "coaching" and "modeling" are used to describe the ways in which adults interact with youth. In Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, (2003), adults are described as "serving as coaches by offering administrative support and guidance." In Flanagan and Faison, (2001), adults are deemed "necessary for conveying the principles of tolerance that bind members of the polity together. They do this both by modeling those principles

in their own behavior and by expecting the same norms of tolerance in youth interactions." (Flanagan & Faison, 2001, p. 4).

Two of the articles reviewed in this section focus mainly on the relationships among adults, youth, and civic engagement (Stoneman, 2002; Zeldin, 2004). Zeldin (2004) maps the bi-directionality of influence between youth, adult, and organization. This empirical study includes quotes from interviews with youth and adults in governance structures. Youth in this article explained that adult board members had to see youth in action before they shed their adultism. Youth also stressed the importance of having relationships with at least one adult board member that went deeper than periodic meetings. Youth spoke about wanting to participate when they felt respected, listened to, not tokenized, and part of an organization that wanted to make structural improvements for youth. They felt most comfortable and effective with adults who had high expectations for youth performance while giving them the support they need to succeed (Zeldin, 2004).

Adult organizational leaders in Zeldin's (2004) study perceived that working with youth helps them overcome negative stereotypes while strengthening their ability to identify youth assets. The experience also enhances adults' sense of their own efficacy and organizational commitment. Both youth and adults consistently spoke of pride in taking on hard tasks and working through them in partnership with each other.

Stoneman's (2002) article referred to the adult role in supporting youth civic engagement as "facilitative," "respectful," and "liberating." According to Stoneman, in order for this type of environment to be created for youth, "adults need concentration, practice and often training" (p. 223). In this way Stoneman insisted that organizations

must support in moving beyond their comfort zone in relating to young people. For example, she recommended including youth in hiring staff, setting budgets, raising funds, and setting policies staff and youth must follow.

In some of the literature, the underlying assumption is that there are unquestionable, immutable principles of civic engagement that adults need to model for youth (Camino & Zeldin, 2002; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, 2003). Zeldin (2004) and Stoneman (2002), however, made reference to the different ways in which adults and youth must **both** be supported and trained to be able to effectively govern together. This was one of the few bodies of literature which included young people's direct quotes about their relationships to adults in organizations.

Analysis of Youth Activism Articles

> *Scenario: "I mean I teach the kids about Assata, Fileberto, Che, Malcolm and sometimes I don't think they are learning anything. Sometimes they just want to trip about sneakers and gear. Sometimes we will be coming up on a deadline to get out a PSA and I don't know whether I should do it for them to make sure it happens or what." He looks at the executive director for guidance. She wants to seem as if she is sharing space and not really in charge, so she shoots him back a blank look and doesn't respond. The program director pursues. "No really, how much of the project should we take on if they are not doing it and you know it's got to get done?"*

Attention was paid to the relationships between adults and youth in the youth activism literature reviewed for this study. In addition to finding three theoretical

frameworks guiding activist adult-youth partnerships, there was a multitude of ways of referencing this relationship. For example, adults are referred to as "coaches," "partners," "co-creators," "active learners," "co-learners," "advisers," "allies," "supporters," "facilitator/coordinators," and "working partners." They are also described as "nurturing," "educating," "encouraging," "counseling," and "inspiring."

One of the frameworks offered to conceptualize the relationship between youth and adults engaged in activism is "mutual mentorship" (Davis, D., 2006). Mutual mentorship is described as "two different and equal people contributing to social change guided by compassion and honesty" (Davis, D., 2006, p. 16). Mutual mentorship creates a positive avenue for youth allies to leverage institutional power and to support youth access to resources and legitimate leadership opportunities. Mutual mentorship seeks to be an intentional process that challenges dominant cultural values. Moreover, its goal is to "forge intergenerational and organizational relationships principled in nonviolence that ensures personal, interpersonal, and global long-term sustainability" (Davis, D., 2006, p 18). This model is committed to challenging issues of adultism and examining how and why it arises in the structure and methods of an organization. It is dedicated to evaluating how accessible and supportive the organization is to youth. Both adults and youth have the responsibility to co-create structural change by having an action plan for changing the organization and continually assessing if the intergenerational collective is meeting its goals (Davis, D., 2006). Activism, with youth and adults as partners, ensues once all parties are assured that there is a supportive organizational foundation from which to build.

Titzmann and Schmitt-Rodermund (2006) mention Dewey's (1944) framework of group learning and community building. Adults are referred to as "partners" and "allies" with youth as well as "co-learners" who genuinely care about similar issues. Early in the piece the authors address the problem that exists when adults are looking to help youth development by involving youth in activism, while youth want to be involved because they are inspired by issues of social justice or community building. The authors argue that discrepancies in purpose hinder the adult-youth partnership. Their premise is that multiple purposes are fine as long as they are acknowledged by all parties from the beginning.

Titzmann & Schmitt-Rodermund (2006), refer to adults as having access to resources, networks of people, funds, and/or institutional power. Adults are assets to a project in that they can gain access to places that youth cannot (governing on school boards, etc.). In addition, adults can commit to full time activism, while youth are still in school and have obligations to friends and family. When discussing youth in the relationship they mention that "youth bring networks to community activism that could never be efficiently accessed by adults" (p. 37) and "youth can define problems and teach adults about community issues in ways that propel successful community action" (p. 36). The authors recommend that roles for youth and adults be chosen as a function of their talents and interests, not their age.

Although Titzmann and Schmitt-Rodermund (2006) mention the strengths that both adults and youth bring to adult-youth partnerships in activism, they acknowledge that they are not equal in terms of power at the beginning. They advise that adults concede some of their power in order to form a collaborative relationship in which new

roles for adults and youth can be created. The authors indicate that the key challenge for adults and youth partnership in activism is who gets to define the problem that will be addressed by youth activism. They recommend that adult and youth voices be equally valued and that adults relinquish sole definition of issue and problems. There is no explicit discussion about processes that create conditions where youth and adult voices are equally valued.

The last theoretical framework mentioned in the activism literature was Kirshner's (2006) article which uses the concept of apprenticeship learning to theorize a youth-centered apprenticeship relationship. In the youth-centered model, adults are responsible for modeling, coaching, and, at key moments, fading in order for youth to advance their goals and participate fully on the public stage (p. 53).

Kirshner's apprenticeship learning in youth activism is conceptualized as "people learning through participation in meaningful, goal oriented activity in which novices receive just enough guidance from experts to pursue a shared goal. Apprenticeship signals entry into a community of people who are linked by a shared set of goals and norms." (Kirnshner, 2006, p. 40). Once again in this theoretical framework, it is important that adults and youth have a shared set of goals that are clearly articulated from the beginning.

In a piece by Larson, R. and Wood, D. (2006), the authors refer to adult scaffolding, without specifically referencing Vygotsky. They discussed staff's playing the role of educator while employing student-centered learning techniques. They talk about adults' needing to provide the conditions for youth to be active learners; i.e. building new skills and confidence. Learning in this case involved hands-on experience

where youth hold leadership positions. It includes discussions in which youth are supported in developing their own ideas. The authors describe significant decisions made by the youth where adults contribute their expertise to help youth navigate obstacles and keep campaigns on track. The adults make sure that youth always debrief after the culmination of a campaign or action in order to purposefully include cycles of action and learning.

A few of the articles frame the youth activism work as youth driven, but adults were still included (Camino & Zeldin, 2006; Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez Matthew, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006). Flores-Gonzalez, et al. (2006) refer to adults as providers of support, experience, and guidance. The authors include comments by youth and adults that explain the ways in which adults give a push, but they step back to let youth in particular program make their own decisions (Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez Matthew, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006).

Camino & Zeldin (2006) also refer to adults as "supporting and contributing to young people's work" (p. 39). They state that "while it is true that young people have a great capacity for creating change, when adults take responsibility for guiding that process, the possibilities are endless" (p. 39). The authors create a highly developed way of thinking about the ideal relationship between adults and youth in partnership for activism. The authors recommend that adults foster motivation, build capacity, and create opportunities. Camino and Zeldin (2006) state the "key role of adult allies is to help young people to visualize their roles as activists in their communities and beyond" (p. 42). They also posit four assumptions, based on the evaluation of adult allies who effectively support youth activism in communities: 1) adult allies have higher

expectations for young people 2) adult allies create an environment for action 3) adult allies help youth link experiences into visible action pathways 4) adult allies encourage positive peer culture and connections. Depending on the organizational framework, adult roles range from supporter to facilitator/coordinator to working partner.

The youth activism literature both incorporates theoretical constructs to frame adult-youth relationships and references to the myriad roles of adults (refer to Table 1). The desired change that adult-youth relationships intend to foster extends beyond individual youth development to adults, organizational structures and institutions. This body of literature addresses the need to combat adultism and change institutions/organizations in order for youth and adults to enter into productive partnership. They also mention changing community perception of youth as youth are supported to become more active in tackling community issues.

Analysis of Youth PAR/Youth Participatory Evaluation (YPE) Articles

> *Scenario: One of the most exciting things that became clear on our first retreat weekend was that our group would have to come up with a research question different from the one proposed in the grant. In response to a request for proposals, I, the adult facilitator proposed the question: "How do out of school time programs for youth impacted by incarceration engage youth in "democracy in action?" It was evident on the retreat weekend that the least engaging discussions related to the group's experiences of democratic spaces.*
>
> *The need to change our research question became even clearer when we returned home and attempted to create the protocol. "So what questions do you think we*

should ask?" There was silence. "Ok, so think about what we defined as "democracy in action". What questions do you think we should ask the youth in our focus group that might get at if they are doing some of those things in their programs?" Silence again. I felt like I was pulling teeth. Finally, Trisha said: "Why don't we ask them about the things that stress them out? I mean we all have stress. Shoot, I just came in here earlier talking about mine!" Others chimed in "yeah" and "I've been crazy stressed." Eventually the collective decided to examine the stressors and supports for young people impacted by incarceration. The protocol questions flowed much easier after that.

The youth PAR/YPE literature mention the relationships between adults and youth in participatory projects more than any other literature. Adults were described as "technical assistance providers," "trainers," "supports," "partners," "coaches," "co-learners," "co-contributors," "mentors," "role-models," and "logistical supporters." The more technical component of engaging youth in research surfaces in the words used to describe adults, but the theoretical frameworks used are similar to those employed in the other bodies of literature explored herein.

Sabo (2003) **t**akes a Vygotskian approach to describing the adult role with youth on participatory evaluation projects. In the evaluation process, adults and youth seem to co-create the various phases of the evaluation such as designing, gathering and analyzing data, and writing final reports. In describing the role of adults, the author mentions "supportive adult facilitators who relate to youth as who they are becoming, that is, as a head taller" (Sabo, K. 2003, p. 19). Sabo (2003) also describes that one way in which adults support youth to perform in new roles is by teaching them evaluation terms. They

learn a new script appropriate to whom they are becoming. Youth are helped to create and perform multiple roles and zones of proximal development, always stretching and growing into new roles.

Sabo's study (2003) is one of the few in which youth are asked about the way they feel about adults in the evaluation project. Young people report feeling as if they were in a supportive environment in which they could grow: "You certainly develop more mature relationships with adult people. I wasn't getting that before I got involved with the Juvenile Justice Evaluation Project because where would you get it? From your parents? Nah." (p. 22) Youth also talk about how they come to see adults in the community in a different light as a result of their involvement in the evaluation. Sabo (2003) finds that youth feel the most exciting part of participating in the evaluation is "their new relationships with one another, with adults, and with the broader community. They know adults are treating them differently. They also know that they are relating to others in new ways." (Sabo, K. 2003, p. 22).

There were three other theoretical frameworks mentioned in this literature: "communities of practice" (Morrell, 2006), "ladder of opportunities" (Strobel, Osberg, & McLaughlin, 2006), and "permeability" (Lelutiu-Weinberger, 2006). A "community of practice" is described as a site of learning and action where participants coalesce around a joint enterprise. In Morrell's article, the joint enterprise is youth and adults engaged in research. The author describes the research team as "developing a whole repertoire of activities, common stories, and ways of speaking and acting" (Morrell, 2006, p114). This article does not mention exactly what the interactions between adult and youth look and feel like, but continually refers to the shared, egalitarian community.

Strobel, Osberg, & McLaughlin, (2006) talk about providing "a ladder of opportunity" so that the major interactions in the group are peer to peer. Moving up the ladder refers to youth who become staff or mentors if they are returning members of the program. In this context, "adults…provide support to their youth staff through preparatory meetings and post-session debriefings; however, during the actual sessions, the youth are in charge" (p. 202).

Lelutiu-Weinberger (2006) expands upon the concept of educational "permeability" as she describes the participatory development of a violence prevention curriculum with a group of urban youth. "Permeability" is described as "a complex succession of events and conditions that invite student perspectives around a subject matter to enter formal educational spaces and complement curricula to increase their pertinence to young people" (p. 2). She illustrates that "permeability makes possible the existence of third spaces where social relational wisdom is valued, thus allowing students to move to the center of knowledge formation as important critics and co-contributors" (p. 3). Lelutiu-Weinberger (2006) clearly outlines the adult-youth processes characteristic of a permeable practice. She transparently describes specific roles which she, as the adult, took on and ongoing tasks such as introducing and negotiating proposed tasks for the group, and reinstating the goals of the project.

Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert (2003), describe the adult's role in research with youth as partners as technical assistance providers on issues of methodology. They state that adults are supposed to provide training and support youth. In addition, the authors believe adults should break down the process of evaluation and research into concrete, but manageable steps while staying away from technical jargon. Lastly, the adult's role

is to offer guidance to youth as they disseminate their conclusions and recommendations to the appropriate community forums.

Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, (2003) also describe the process of power sharing in developmental terms. They claim that youth roles must match youth skills and that the level of youth development will predict their expertise. First, youth are given initial, well-defined tasks and gradually take on more, depending on their motivation, time and ability. They then offer another model of process in which youth participate in all tasks, but adults provide more intense involvement earlier on and then pull back to make room for youth to take the lead.

The same authors believe that adults need to be trained about adultism and structural barriers to youth participation. Some change in adult perception will come about simply by working with youth and taking part in joint actions. However, they recommend that programs provide educational opportunities for adults to improve their perceptions of youth credibility. A few of the articles (London, 2002; Reflect and Improve Tool Kit, 2005) mention the need to do training and education with adults about the institutional and attitudinal barriers to adult-youth partnerships. London, J., (2002) mentions that adults need capacity in order to help youth conduct research. He recommends dealing not only with adultism, but helping adults develop active listening, recognizing skills, cultural competence and community knowledge.

Two of the articles in this literature mention youth involvement in research/evaluation as a continuum (Hart, 1997; Reflect and Improve Tool Kit, 2005). The Reflect and Improve Tool Kit compiled by the Innovation Center (2005) describes the continuum in this way: youth as objects, youth as recipients, youth as resources, and

lastly, youth as partners. "Youth as partners" is the optimal adult-youth relationship in evaluation. The "youth as partners" ideal encompasses seven areas: 1) Youth and adults share responsibility for the evaluation. 2) Evaluation questions are jointly developed by adult and youth. 3) Youth and adults jointly decide on evaluation activities. 4) Activities are performed by youth and adults. 5) Youth and adults jointly analyze data. 6) Youth and adults use findings for their mutual benefit. 7) Lastly, youth receive significant benefit from involvement in the process and youth benefit from the findings. Other articles mention a similar strategy for youth involvement in all aspects of the research project without being specific about the continuum of participation (Cahill, 2004; Lelutiu-Weinberger, 2006; Sabo, 2003)

Some articles use relational terms to describe the interaction between adults and youth (Horsch, K., et. al., 2002; Sabo, 2001; Zeldin, McDaniel, Topitzes, and Calvert, 2000). Horsch, K et. al (2000) mention that if one wants to use research for change, one must develop lasting relationships with youth above and beyond the stated project. Sabo's (2001) research implies that YPE fundamentally changes relationships (youth to youth and youth to adult) and supports all participants in performing and advancing their current level of development.

The youth PAR/PE literature seems to most deeply interrogate the nature of the interaction between adults and youth in partnership when compared to the literature reviewed in the three other fields. Theoretical frameworks are invoked and the relationship is described many different ways. Development that occurs from engaging in collective research is generally referred to as a phenomena located in both adults and

young people. Various articles also make mention of the need to change institutions and community perceptions.

Reading across These Four Bodies of Literature

Although some of the fields researched for this dissertation delve more deeply than others into the interactions between adults and youth, this negotiation of power at a group level is something that is addressed in all four bodies of literature. To better structure an examination across the fields, I use the following questions as a guide: 1) Are there similarities or differences between the language used to talk about the relationships between adults and youth across fields? 2) Are there similarities or differences as to whom or what is the focus of change due to the relationship between adults and youth? 3) Are there shared theoretical frameworks that move across fields? 4) Is there mention of who (adults/youth/both) gets to decide questions, process, and/or products?

There is some similar language used to describe the relationship between adults and youth evident across fields. A word such as 'coaching' appears in all four fields and, interestingly, indicates a unidirectional trajectory of learning that flows from adult to young person. In two bodies of literature, youth PAR/PE and youth activism, words such as "co-learners" and "partners" appear which imply a very different power dynamic between adults and youth. These words indicate a bidirectional, developmental trajectory in which both adults and youth in the group are responsible for growing together and completing a joint endeavor.

Co-development in the fields of youth PAR/PE and youth activism is echoed in the category in Table 1 entitled "Focus of Change due to Relationship." The fields of youth PAR/PE and youth activism place the onus for change/development of the interactions between adults and youth on youth, adults, institutional norms and community perceptions. In contrast, the youth development literature maintains a focus on adults as supporters of youth development, but does not often mention change or development occurring within adults as a result of this interaction. The civic engagement literature appears split. One camp maintains that change needs to happen in adults, youth, and institutions for adult-youth partnerships to lead to truly civic minded youth. The other camp maintains that youth needs to have more interaction with adults so that adults can model the principles of civic duty and so that youth may emulate them.

There are some theoretical frameworks that move across one or more fields. Vygotsky's concept of scaffolding appears in the positive youth development literature as well as the youth PAR/PE treatment of adult youth relationships. The concept of apprenticeship relationships also appears across two fields: positive youth development and youth activism. However, there is a shift in conceptualizing the apprenticeship framework in the youth activism literature that is more "youth-centered." In the youth-centered apprenticeship model (Kirshner, 2006), adults are responsible for modeling, coaching, and, at key moments, fading in order for youth to advance their goals and participate fully on the public stage. There is a distinction made in the public/private arenas of who in the adult-youth partnership is forefront. There were no frameworks that spanned three or more fields. In addition, there is a striking lack of theoretical underpinning in the civic engagement literature's treatment of adult-youth relationships.

The ways in which adults and youth decide the questions, process, and/or products of their joint endeavors appear only in the fields of youth activism and youth PAR/PE. In the youth activism literature, Titzmann and Schmitt-Rodermund (2006) advise adults to concede some of their power to control process and outcomes in order to form a collaborative relationship in which new roles for adults and youth can be created. They recommend that adult and youth voices be equally valued and that adults relinquish power as the sole definers of issues and problems.

In the PAR/PE literature, Sabo (2003), Lelutiu-Weinberger (2006) and Cahill (2004) all mention adults and youth co-creating the various phases of the evaluation/PAR projects such as developing research questions, designing, gathering and analyzing data, and writing final reports. These authors give concrete examples of how this strategy is employed in their projects. In addition, two more theoretical pieces mention youth involvement in research/evaluation as a continuum (Hart, 1997; Reflect and Improve Tool Kit, 2005). At the most "participatory" end of the continuums, youth and adults jointly decide on all evaluation/research activities.

Reading across fields makes it clear that, although many studies mention the interaction between adults and youth, twice as much attention is paid to this type of negotiation of power in the youth activism and youth PAR/PE as compared to it in positive youth development and youth civic engagement. The fields of youth activism and youth PAR/PE acknowledge the reciprocal development that may be occurring due to the relationship as well as the development of other things outside of the individuals.

For this dissertation, I am interested in adult-youth relationships as they are traditionally enacted, however, I am more interested in exploring sites where these

dynamics are actively contested. The analysis of the literature points to youth activism and youth PAR/YPE as fields that attend to power dynamics between adults and youth as well as explore development on multiple levels[5]. In order to further explore the adult-youth relationship of interest, traditional and non-traditional power dynamics, and conditions that support the partnership, I conducted life history interviews with adults and young people in two youth activism programs in New York City. The following chapters outline my methods, findings and conclusions from this empirical research.

[5] "Multiple levels" is defined as development on levels beyond the individual such as program and community level.

CHAPTER III: METHODS AND ANALYSIS

> ***I would like to suggest another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations, a way that is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and one that implies more relations between theory and practice. It consists in taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point (Foucault, M, 1982 quoted in Faubion, 2000, p. 329).***

INTRODUCTION

The starting point for this dissertation study is a theoretical and grounded interest in adult-youth partnership, driven by the decision to examine spaces in which youth and adult relations are differently configured than in the dominant societal narrative. A life history research project was conducted with four adults and four young people working in partnership at youth activism programs in New York City. Life history interviews were collected in conjunction with ethnographic observations in order to answer four research questions: 1) What is the psychological impact on youth and adults when unequal power dynamics are present? 2) What is the psychological impact on adult and youth when unequal power dynamics are challenged? 3) What are the conditions that facilitate adult-youth partnerships? 4) What changes or develops as a result of adult-youth partnerships? I applied two modes of reading to this data set: categorical content analysis and holistic content analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998).

OVERVIEW OF METHODS

Life history interviews (McAdams, 1995) were conducted with four youth and four adults who have worked in intergenerational partnerships in the past two years in youth activism programs. The McAdams (1995) life history protocol was modified to include an open beginning as well as augmented with specific questions about the adult-youth partnerships in the program. In addition, a series of ethnographic glimpses into spaces in which youth and adults were working together on social justice projects were collected. Ethnographic research methods have been used to capture the "culture" surrounding a particular phenomena, group of people, belief or behavior (Genzuk, M.,1999). Although not heavily relied upon in this dissertation, ethnographic data collection was used to study the context in which these lives and partnership played within the organizations involved in this study.

Below is a table summarizing my four research questions and the methods used to answer them:

Table 2: Research questions and methods

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	METHOD
1) What is the psychological impact on youth and adults when unequal power dynamics are present?	Modified life history interviews (McAdams, 1995) Discourse captured during observations of adults and young people during program time
2) What is the psychological impact on adult and youth when unequal power dynamics are challenged?	Modified life history interviews (McAdams, 1995) Ethnographic observations of adults and young people during program time
3) What are the conditions that facilitate adult-youth partnerships?	Modified life history interviews (McAdams, 1995) Ethnographic observations of adults and young people during program time Ethnographic observations of a staff meeting at the organization
4) What changes/develops as a result of adult-youth partnerships?	Modified life history interviews (McAdams, 1995) Discourse from ethnographic observations of adults and young people during program time

WHY LIVES?—RATIONALE FOR LIFE HISTORY METHODOLOGY

A life history method was chosen because it can reveal power relations while also attempting to ameliorate typical power dynamics between researchers and participants in the process. Although still mired in power differentials (Nelson & Gould, 2005), life histories are co-constructed stories between researchers and participants (Wicks & Whiteford, 2006). They share an ethos with other qualitative methods that "recognize that research is a social act and a relationally embedded enterprise: relationships are part of the process of generating sound research" (Sanders & Munford, 2005 p. 199). The research process employed in a life history approach strives towards a model of power-sharing in the researcher-participant relationship which mirrors the relational power dynamics between adults and youth in which I am interested.

Life histories are an appropriate method to deeply explore relationships (Josselson, Lieblich, McAdams, 2007). In fact, lives have been used to explore relatedness in urban youth organizations (Deutsch, 2007, and Deutsch, 2009) as well as attachment (Mitchell, 2007), which are some of the emergent theoretical interests of this research project. Narrative methodologies allow one to explore mental constructs of social relationships because language is viewed not as an individual, psychological capacity, but rather as the shared understandings and activities of persons engaged in social interactions with one another (Day and Tappan, 1996; Bakhtin, 1986; Gergen, 1985; Hermans, 1997). The fact that the life history method is relational as well as used frequently as a vehicle to study relationships makes it appropriate for a study such as this that explores adult-youth partnerships, attachment and relationship-driven development.

Many life history theorists illuminate how through the study of lives, one can gain a deeper understanding of the psychological, cultural, political, and historical context in which that life was lived (Carlson, 1984; Gates, 1997; Nicholson, 2003). Life history methodology has been used to interrogate important psycho-social phenomena such as identity formation (McAdams, Josselson and Lieblich, 2006; McLaughlin & Tierney, 1993; Olesen, 2007), power relations (Lee & Lee, 2007; Windsor, 2007; Wicks &Whiteford, 2006), and agency (Leinaweaver, 2007; Bryant & Schotfield, 2007). Using a life history methodology may be uniquely appropriate for a research study investigating questions of agency in that it "presupposes that individuals are competent agents who actively give meaning to their life and to their social environment and who have the ability to act accordingly" (V, Stroobants, 2005, p. 48).

As life history methods are often used for understanding intersections of human experience and social context (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Stroobants, 2005), it proves an appropriate method to explore my interest in the psychological impact on young people and adults when placed in “contradiction” at this moment in U.S. history. Narratives are "the basic medium through which humans speak and think and, as such, narratives are uniquely suited for comprehending human lives in culture and in time" (p. 96 Wicks & Whiteford, 2006). By using a young person’s life as one unit of analysis we can get a sense of how both repression and possibility are embodied in a specific period of time.

My participants included both adults and young people ages 14-21. The notion that young people are viable participants in a life history project and have a cohesive story to tell is contested by lives theorists as revealed in Torstenson, (2007). However, data from developmental studies (McKeough, 2000), memory research (Torstenson,

2007), and life history research (Haglund, 2004; Rasmussen and Smidt, 2001; Thomson et. al. 2002; Sanderson &McKeough, 2005;) all confirm that youth are viable and interesting participants in life history studies. Torstenson, a researcher who has conducted life history interviews with 15-16 year olds states that: "the life history approach with young people can provide a meaningful story about the individual, about context and time and how they interact" (Torstenson, 2007, p. 47). All these reasons make a strong case for the value of using a life history method to explore the research questions put forth in this dissertation[6].

Protocol for Life History Interviews

I used McAdams' life story interview (revised 1995) to collect stories from youth (ages 16-18) and adults (21-38) who were working in adult-youth partnerships youth activism organizations. I modified the McAdams' protocol for youth/adolescents by working with youth advisors. I paid three young people (17-19 years old) to pilot the full McAdams protocol and talk about which sections they liked and which components of the protocol they would change. Based on pilot interview feedback, I decided to use a more open framework at the beginning of the protocol, which I am calling a "open lives process." It is a broad invitation to the participant in the study to open my mind to things that I had not considered when formulating my research questions. Pilot testers recommended that I structure the open lives process by offering participants various tools

[6] A case does not have to be made for the appropriateness of this method for adults as I have not run across any questioning that an adult would not be able to tell a life story in the same way that I found research questioning if a young person would have a cohesive story to tell.

to organize the telling of their lives in addition to McAdam's chapters such as a map, a life grid (Haglund, 2004), or one's year in school.

The flexibility at the beginning of the interview was designed to reflect a respect for the participant's ability to shape his/her own narrative as well as redirect my process. I began by saying:

> *People have different ways that they like telling their life stories in this part of the interview. Some people like to break it up into chapters like a book, some people are visual and like to map it out and then talk about it based off their maps (I show them an example of a map and a timeline). Some people like to just kind of talk through it starting from their earliest memory and taking me through the memories they had for that grade in school. You can choose however you want to organize it. How do you think you would like to tell your story? Great, lets begin…*

This open call for participants to narrate their lives was followed by specific questions outlined in McAdams Part II (1995) and lastly by a series of specific questions about their experience in adult-youth partnerships. The interviews ranged from two and a half hours to seven hours over three different sessions. All interviews were tape-recorded and conducted at the youth program offices. The full protocol can be found in Appendix I.

Participant Selection

Contact people at the sites recommended young people to join the study. The young people selected for the study met the following criteria:

1) Between the ages of 14-21.

2) Had been involved in an intergenerational activism for at least a year.

3) The project in which they participated took place in the past two years.

I interviewed the young person first and then asked him/her to suggest two to three adults with whom he/she had worked. I then approached that adult for an interview. The criteria for the adult participants were:

1) Between the ages of 21-70.
2) Been involved in an intergenerational activism for at least a year.
3) The project in which they participated took place in the past two years.

The participants in this study were Latina, White, and African American and ranged in age from 16-38. There were three males and five females interviewed and an equal number of young people and adults. Two lives (Selina and Rick) are presented in their entirety in chapter VI but in this section, I offer a brief glimpse of the other six participants whose data is represented in the aggregate. In this section, I focus more on the biographical events or relationships mentioned more than what was said about adult-youth partnerships or the programs as this will be interrogated in greater depth in later chapters. Although a scratch at the surface of a wealth of interview data, these "lives teasers" give the reader a sense of the uniqueness and power of the participants in this study (please note that the names below have all been changed). The programs from which they were selected are described in detail in the site selection section on page 56.

Chandra

Chandra, a lead staff at Brotherhood Sister Sol, walked into our interview with a huge platter of Mexican food in hand. She began our meeting apologetic for missing our first appointment, while I was just grateful for some of her precious time. It became

evident in the fifteen minutes that I spent waiting to talk to her that she was in high demand. She had just finished sewing one of her participant's prom dresses, was finalizing a flyer with a group of youth for the upcoming Liberation Summer, and was finishing off an email. I must have heard her name called 15 times before she closed the door, sat down and removed the lid from the piping hot quesadilla platter to offer us nourishment for the long talk ahead. Chandra and I would sit sharing food and talking across three full and intricate interviews lasting seven hours in total.

It was when she settled in the chair that I actually got to look at her. She was a beautiful, petite powerhouse. In this interview, she has long, meticulous locks that covered her back and shoulders (in a few months from this interview she shed these heavy locks and rocked a short, light afro). She had a smile that released her laughter freely and often. Her laughter peppered the transcripts of our interviews and imbued even our harder conversations with an air of comfort and lightness. She took a bite of quesadilla, made sure to chew a few times before she began to tell her story.

Chandra began her story describing how her family flowed freely between islands in the Caribbean hailing from Puerto Rico, St. Thomas and St. Croix. She moved to Bushwick from Puerto Rico when she was four. The daughter of a teacher/musician and a social worker/painter, she recalled her childhood apartment in NY constantly full of musicians, friends and family members. Chandra attributed her open spirit, communal nature and enjoyment of others to being raised dancing on tables at parties in her home feeling the joy associated with a house full of good people. She described in detail her siblings (one older sister and a younger brother) as well as her obsession with hair that was apparent even as a young child.

Chandra had mainly good experiences in elementary and junior high school. In her junior high, the language program included a trip to Paris that she remembers in vivid detail. She discusses candidly her experiences in junior high school dealing with having scoliosis and having to wear a brace from 3rd grade to 9th grade for 23 hours a day. Her health challenge was a major component of her childhood narrative, but she did not define herself as debilitated. Her brace appears in narratives about dance classes and other active endeavors.

Her first experience with activism happened when she was in middle school. She got involved in a boycott campaign against apartheid in South Africa via her parents and her church. South Africa would later become the first place she visited with Brotherhood Sister Sol. Chandra continued her activism throughout high school pushing her school to begin recycling and organizing to keep remedial classes available at CUNY.

Chandra was a very bright student, popular person, good big sister and excelled in many areas. By the time she was in high school she was in the choir, president of the Black Alliance, coordinator of junior and senior sing, writer of plays, and employee at a non-profit that her brother attended. On top of all that she took sewing classes at FIT. With no help from her college advisor, she got accepted to a college in Virginia. She gladly left Bushwick as she described being overwhelmed by the violence she was seeing around her, the systematic burning of buildings by landlords and the hard paths taken by some friends and family members.

It was the summer before Chandra went to college that she encountered Brotherhood Sister Sol by way of another program called the New Youth Collective. At New Youth Collective she met folks from Malcolm X Grassroots and got involved in

Slave Theater, voter rights campaigns, giving food to those who needed it and a group called Sister to Sister. She met two of the founders of Brotherhood Sister Sol as they talked about the work they were doing and decided to apply to go on a trip to South Africa with the group. She did the trip and left for college two weeks later but remained attached to Brotherhood Sister Sol from that point on.

Chandra skipped over much of her college life as she felt it would take too long to get into. She did however mention in detail the friendships with people from that period of time and how they continued into the present. The rest of her narrative was related to her time at Brotherhood Sister Sol which seemed in many ways all consuming. Chandra told her life story with openness and stunning detail. For a woman who had so many people relying on her, she gave me three different interviews and tremendous insight into the craft and passion that fueled her work with young people in Brotherhood Sister Sol.

Isani

Isani perched on the arm of the couch eager to begin the interview. She had a lively, infectious energy. Short in stature with dramatic flair that made her seem bigger than she was. Isani's story started with a bang. Literally, her earliest memory was of being hit by a car and having prayer issued over her little body; her mother's attempt to will her to be alright as they rode in the ambulance. She described a childhood home in Washington Heights that was occupied by her mother, twin siblings (a brother and a sister), grandparents, aunts and cousins. She moved from this home at age seven to a large apartment with just her mother and siblings which she described as lonely and empty.

Boys enter Isani's narrative at age five and accompany her as major components of her narrative throughout, losing importance only near the end of her narration. Whether on the block, at school, or in church she tells frequent and detailed stories about boys in her life. At times her focus on boys and their focus on her made for negative interactions with females in these spaces, but for the most part Isani had many friends as well as love interests. She struggled openly with insecurities about her looks in her narrative but it was also coupled with the knowledge that boys had always been interested in her.

She recalled being put in and pulled from many different schools as a result of interactions with teachers or students. Her mom was very attentive to her education as well as that of her siblings who were in boarding school at different points. When Isani was 10 or 11, her mother began to struggle with depression after having a debilitating accident. At this point Isani was left a bit more to her own devices. Her narrative at this juncture involves countless stories of friends, boyfriends and family members in vivid detail.

It was around this time that Isani joined Brotherhood Sister Sol. She was one of the first participants, but didn't get very engaged for a few years. She found it hard to reconcile what she was being told in the program with what she was experiencing outside the program. For example, she was being teased mercilessly in her church group being called a slut and yet she was asked to think of herself as precious and refrain from using the word bitch. It all seemed too unrealistic for her. Although Brotherhood Sister Sol was a part of her narrative at this point, she focused more on violence on her block, an encounter with the cops, friends, and boys. It was after a particularly intense breakup that

she went on a Sister Sol retreat. Away from all the drama of her church group and boys, she remembers a transformative moment where she threw a paper with the word "insecurity" written on it into the fire. She was more committed to the group of women in her chapter, her facilitator and the organization after that experience.

The remaining part of her narrative was constructed as a story of her maturation from a boy-obsessed girl to a self-composed young woman heading off to college. It was not that boys disappeared, but their presence was less dramatic and frantic. She talked in detail about her experiences with Brotherhood Sister Sol; going to conferences, planning a conference, researching police brutality, traveling around the country and then finally travelling to Ghana. Isani was very generous with her time even though she had multiple tests and college applications due as well as many other pulls on her time.

Tammy

Tammy's demeanor commanded respect in an understated way. It was not just because she was the director of Dreamyard, it was the way she held her neck high and shoulders back after years of training as a dancer. Don't get me wrong, Tammy was neither rigid nor uptight. On the contrary, Tammy was easy going and laughed often in our interview. She sported curly, blondish/red hair, greenish-blue eyes, freckles over pink skin and a skirt that demonstrated her dancer physique. Tammy emitted positive energy and an openness that made for a smooth interview process from the beginning.

Tammy's narrative began with a description of being the only child amongst seven or eight adults in a communal household in NYC. She remembers everyone eating together and being thrilled by the attention that came with holding the position of prized

child to many. The communal household offered much needed support for her mother who had left her father when she was six months old. Although it is unclear from the narrative when the communal living situation ended, it must have ended early on in her life. Tammy talks about her time being spilt between her mother and father and being raised mainly by her single mother.

Tammy detailed growing up in the West Village in the 1970's. She described going to an elementary school that was very diverse both racially and economically. Learning in such a diverse environment as a child led her to both seek out and create those environments wherever she landed throughout her life. She also mentions starting dance at age five or six. Being a dancer was a very big part of her childhood.

In third grade, Tammy recounts a huge shift in her life. Her father remarried and moved to Ohio. She made the decision to go for a year and regretted it almost the moment she got there. She was in total culture shock. She missed her mom and friends and any semblance of racial diversity. She decided to move back to NYC which was mentioned in her narrative as one of the high points in her life (please see McAdams interview protocol for more information on "high points"). Tammy goes on to describe in tremendous detail the rest of her experience in elementary school in the village.

When she moved back to NYC she stepped up her training as a dancer and also began to do theater more seriously. For many years her non-school hours were filled with her artistic endeavors. It shifted in 6th or 7th grade when she began to smoke pot. Tammy recalls that the combination of MTV, pot and boys meant that dance fizzled out by the time she entered high school. She did keep up her acting classes in high school

and it actually became a real centerpiece in her life. She went to school at Bronx Science and took acting classes at HB studios and the Academy of Dramatic arts.

Going to Bronx Science brought her in contact with kids from all over the five boroughs. A recurring theme in Tammy's narrative is about the diverse communities of people with whom she surrounds herself. Although not mentioned a lot, Tammy raises that academics were a big deal in her family and Tammy excelled in school. She mentioned being involved in an intense program in high school led by Lawrence Kohlberg to increase student's moral development. She wondered in our interview what impact that intervention may have had on her future life choices.

Tammy described a whole generation of her friends raising themselves in the aftermath of many divorced parents. She saw her father only three times a year at this point in her life. Though her mother was in the same city, she started law school in addition to working full-time and in the process became very absent as a parent. Her relationship with her mother became very strained. She took the opportunity in our interview to recount in detail the relationship between her mom and step dad; it's beginning, its demise, the four-year hiatus, then the lasting love they achieved.

Tammy described her liberal arts college as a place where she got to explore the combination of working with kids combining arts and activism. She began to dance again and did both African and Caribbean dance forms. After leaving college she moved to San Francisco and made good money in the dot.com industry. She describes a relationship that brought her to LA and then her joy at leaving that relationship and returning to NYC. In NYC she did acting work, BAM arts council, CASES and many other jobs before doing the job about which I was interviewing her. In 2003, she had the

idea to start Dreamyard Action Project and made it happen. Starting Dreamyard has been described as another "Peak experience" in her life along with moving back to New York City from both Ohio and LA.

Talking with Tammy about Dreamyard was fascinating. We explored her complex analysis of how young people and adults partner to make art and change as well as her deep understanding of the structures that support the work. She offered a stark portrayal of the difficulties and rewards of engaging in this work. She shared her sophisticated program design, core learning goals, structural supports and participatory evaluation plan. She discussed working hard to create a diverse community of staff members and wanted to eventually engage in targeted recruitment so she could bring in a more diverse racial and economic demographic of young people. She shared her thoughts on how gender and race impacted the work at Dreamyard and how important it was to be transparent about power in all its forms as a part of the work. She made connections from her childhood in NYC in the 70's to her desire for diversity in her role as project director. We discussed racism, sexism, and capitalisms insidious reach. We explored the intersections between arts and politics. We ended our interview with a discussion of her transition out of her role as director and into a new phase of exploration of herself and the world by traveling internationally.

Throughout this interview I heard echoes of my own life in her communal household, her experience as a white woman growing up in NYC in the 70's and 80's, her way of approaching work with young people and her desire to leave all of it and travel the world. I left my interviews with Tammy thoroughly invigorated, inspired, and thankful.

Jasmine

Jasmine is short and powerful just like she described her mother who appears often in her narrative. She began her story in the Dominican Republic. She remembers rising early and walking for hours to get water. She described feelings of unity in DR, which she contrasted to her earliest memories of moving to the US where things felt rushed and lonely. Her narrative moved between these two countries as she lived in both places periodically until age 11.

She talked a lot of about her strong family unit, stressing the good choices she made in terms of friends and schools and attributing it to the way she was raised. She made sure although she lived down the block from the projects, I knew that she was not from the "ghetto." A recurring theme in her narrative was that she did not want to be stereotyped by anyone. She also stressed that she was not "exposed" to certain things because she had a protective family. This protectiveness kept her away from guys as well as the perils that she described happening in the two block radius from her home.

Jasmine was raised mainly by her grandparents because her mom worked full time and went to school at night. She was involved in many activities after school such as music, dance and swimming. She had an older brother who accompanied her to and from many of her daily activities. It was this brother that introduced her to Dreamyard Action Project because he and a cousin had joined and liked it.

Jasmine talked in-depth about her experience at Dreamyard and how it influenced her activism in her school realm. However, she doesn't attribute her passion for justice and people's rights to the program. That attribution she reserved for her mother. She described being inspired by her mother who would stand up to anyone, even her mother's

own father who was abusive to her mother. She was a tiny woman, but fierce. Her mother, an immigrant to this country, set the bar for her ability to achieve as her mother wasted no opportunity. Her mother was the director of an after-school program after years of night school, full-time work and parenting. After describing some drama that threatened to divide her tight-knit family unit, she reiterated strongly how important her mother, brother, grandmother, aunt, uncle and godfather were to her.

Jasmine mentioned briefly that she had a boyfriend, but that a hectic life didn't leave much time for that stuff. She described a harrowing routine: waking at 5:30 am, going to school at 7:25 am, getting out at 2:00 pm, helping her mom until 6:00pm, then going home to clean, cook, do homework, and go to sleep. On Saturdays, she did DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project then tutored, and then baby-sat. On Sundays, she had church.

The school she went to in Manhattan was described as a space she enjoyed academically, but a place where she continually had to fight off stereotypes about being Latina and being from the Bronx. She describes almost fighting a black girl and given props by her peers for being so "gangster" that she would take on a "black girl" in the school.

The rest of her narrative consists of her relaying story after story of friends who have either chosen a much harder path or were dealt one. She is an advisor and mentor to many, but also had a tough love attitude. She seemed jaded after giving advice not to have that baby or not to date an abusive guy that went unheeded. At first working hard in our interview to separate herself from the type of people and lives she later describes, we

ended our interview with stories of how she loved and supported friends going through very rough times.

Kahlil

Tall and lean, Kahlil towered over me. He had a kind and reserved demeanor. Well-manicured facial hair over brown skin, set off deep brown eyes that I initially read as giving off a sense sadness or complexity. I navigated tricky territory in this interview because Kahlil was a really good friend of a friend and I came to find out later, the brother of a good friend from college. Being connected in other ways sometimes made it feel a bit uncomfortable to ask him to share his life story as it felt premature for the stage of the relationship we were at outside of the encounter as researcher and participant.

Although physically strong, (he stated in the narrative that he was in the best shape of his life), emotionally, Kahlil was visibly worn down in the interview. He detailed the wonderful triumphs of working so intensely in partnership with youth but also candidly discussed the hardships of being a group leader to eighth grade boys with something to prove. He organized the tracing of his life using location, as he moved often growing up. We began in Boston, MA, in an artist building, son of parents who were both educators and artists themselves.

He described hard experiences within a racist school system in Boston. He mentioned being called a nigger, being shut down, bussed and feeling as if he was poked and prodded. His family moved him to multiple schools looking for a better educational environment and then when he entered fourth grade they decided to move to Amherst,

Massachusetts. He does not spend much time on this part of his narrative, simply describing being bored and getting into a bit of trouble.

In 7th grade he moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, and went into complete culture shock. Although he could hardly understand people's accents he made a lot of friends and became a locally famous rapper. He went to a performing arts high school, regularly won talent shows and was offered a record deal that he turned down. He mentioned his parents being hands-off translated into him doing fine in school, but not excelling. He enjoyed drinking, etc. and seemed to be popular with his peers. He did mentioned being in an ultra Christian environment and being proselytized to regularly. He described in detail his up and down relationships with teachers in his high school and then his acceptance to Hampshire College.

He described Hampshire as a place of privilege where he was exposed to "activism." He associated the activism at Hampshire with white guilt. He contrasted this activism from how he grew up being raised by socially and politically active parents who would never use the term "activism." He made very clear to me that his real education came from his family and personal reading. He got into DJing in college and although he stayed away from most of the college scene, he spun at various parties on campus. It was in his last year at college that he wrote a thesis on hip-hop and youth in the classroom and began working directly with young people to fulfill his community service requirement. Both experiences fueled his desire to move to New York.

Although, Khalil moved to NYC with dreams of freelance writing, the uncle with whom he lived had other ideas. Described as a "special character" and a "certifiable genius" his uncle tried to get Khalil to become a millionaire. Justifying his decisions to

write and work with youth despite his uncle's challenges made Khalil even more committed.

In between narratives of becoming a youthworker, he relays stories of love and travel: Trinidad, Nigeria, India, Barbados and almost China. It was when he was contemplating teaching English in China that he did the three-part interview process to become staff at Brotherhood Sister Sol. Although I will not go into detail in this section, he gave in-depth descriptions of the interview process at Brotherhood Sister Sol, the chapters, working specifically with boys, and his relationship to co-workers. He was visibly torn in this part of the interview as his own ideas about change were beginning to be different from that of the organizations. He was dividing his time between full-time work, a long-distance fiancé and school. It became clear in his narrative that he was demoralized, overextended and his heart was not into making change happen in more than individuals. Khalil was worn down by 8th grade boy silliness, farting, laughing, and hitting, as well as more serious issues such as stealing. Khalil was/is a deep person who was grappling with tough decisions in his work world and in his world outside work. Although, a very private individual and initially a bit reluctant to commit much time to the interview process, he ended up meeting with me two times for many hours and teaching me a lot about the less rosy side of adult-youth partnerships.

Jason

Jason greeted me with a professional handshake and made sure I felt comfortable in the computer room in which we did our interview (in future visits to his program to do ethnographic observations, he had a similar way of checking in and making sure I was

ok). He was a tall, broad, 18-year-old with kind eyes and a gentle demeanor. Once we were settled, we both realized that we were somewhat nervous. Jason was my first life history interview. It may have been because he sensed my nervousness, but he got somewhat reticent after we settled from the showmanship of the first few minutes. As I laid out the various options he had to aid him in telling his story, he decided to create a map from which to speak. In order to ease the weirdness in the situation I too began to map and explained that I was trying to create a model for future interviews. We passed a few minutes in silence engrossed in getting our lives on paper. After those few minutes to gather our thoughts and clarify what we were going to do, we both relaxed as he began to narrate from his map.

Jason is a twin. His mature character and caretaking skills are attributed in the interview to the fact that he is a full two minutes older than his sibling. He said that the age difference made him take on somewhat more responsibility in the house with his brother and mother after his father left. Being a twin was mentioned as playing a big role in his life.

Jason talked about his interest in music and theater beginning in elementary school, but did not give many details about his elementary school years. He quickly skipped over elementary and part of middle school to tell me about 8th grade when he joined Dreamyard Action Project. He talked about doing a TV appearance with Dreamyard and then creating their own TV show. He went into depth about a transformative trip with the group to New Orleans where he was able to work with younger children. This experience ended up influencing his desire to work with young people as did his later work through Dreamyard with inmates at Rikers Island.

He described entering his huge high school where he quickly found a core group of friends and his love for guitar. He mentions his first serious relationship and a hard break up but does not go into tremendous detail. He talked about enjoying arts and science in school and then goes back to describing Dreamyard Action Project. He explicates work they had done at Rikers Island and took the opportunity to educate me about conditions at the youth facility.

Intermittent stories of neighborhood violence appear in his narrative as well as a traumatizing experience with the cops on a trip to Florida. He talked about the hardship of having his father leave his mother and mentioned an important uncle that stepped in as a key figure in his life. DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project was mentioned as a second home with people in it imbued with family qualities.

He talked repeatedly about his current desire to help people. He gave me insight into his role as a junior staff member at DreamYard and what had changed in the program since he was a participant. Some of these changes, he was very clear, came from his own strong recommendations. A member of the first cohort of the program, he talks transparently about what was great and what they could have done better. After a rocky beginning on my part, Jason ended up being a wonderful start to my lives data collection process.

ETHNOGRAPHIC GLIMPSES—RATIONALE FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

In order to investigate the conditions that facilitate productive adult-youth partnerships, I conducted a series of ethnographic glimpses into spaces in which youth and adults work together to take action. I also conducted ethnographic observations at

staff meetings to discover some of the organizational supports that contribute to the conditions that facilitate productive adult-youth partnerships. These ethnographic glimpses were used to triangulate data from the narratives related to adult-youth partnerships.

My ethnographic glimpses included:

- Two days of programming at which there were both youth and adults present.
- Staff meeting at each organization to get a sense of how staff members are supported by their organization to work with young people.
- Visits to the organization

Protocol for Ethnographic Observations

My notes were structured to capture four things:

- As much dialogue as possible without a tape recorder.
- The interactions of youth and adults, with a specific eye to how adults are scaffolding youth participation and how young people and adults control the direction of the group.
- My own thoughts and feelings.
- Descriptions of the physical space and the physical characteristics of people in the room.

Site Selection

For this dissertation, I conducted life history interviews with four youth and four adults who work at youth activism organizations in NYC. These sites were chosen by

talking to seven experts in the field. I defined "experts" in the field as people who have been doing work with youth programs either as funders, evaluators, researchers, trainers or executive directors for at least 10 years. These experts were asked to offer suggestions and contacts for sites that meet the following criteria: 1) have programs in which adults and youth are working together to take action on issues that impact young people's lives and 2) have an explicit commitment to power sharing between adults and youth in their programs.

Once I had recommendations from all experts, I used sites that were mentioned by at least four of the seven people. Those sites were DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project, Brotherhood/Sister Sol, Global Kids HRAP, DRUM, and FIERCE. I met with a contact person at each of these sites to talk about the project and assess interest. Two of the five repeatedly recommended sites were enthusiastic about the project and met the criteria for participation: DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project and Brotherhood/Sister Sol. I offer two "organizational sketches" in order to give a better sense of the organizations which were finally selected for this research project.

The Brotherhood/Sister Sol

The Brotherhood/Sister Sol (Bro/Sis) brownstone is situated on 143 between Broadway and Amsterdam between an empty lot and the Frank White Neighborhood garden in New York City. It is obvious the garden has been "touched" by Bro/Sis as it is vibrant with murals on the back walls and flowers and plants that compliment the brick. The brownstone itself is a three-story building with red and brown hues. The front door is a surprise, covered in blue, tan, orange, yellow and green geometric shapes. Once

through the door visitors are greeted by a huge beveled mirror that reflects the Brotherhood/Sister Sol mission statement situated on the wall across from it. The mission of the organization, "to empower Black and Latino young women and men to develop into critical thinkers and community leaders" appearing like a conscious anytime someone looks in the mirror, inevitably keeping adults and youth continuously aware of their purpose.

In addition to the mission statement, the walls are covered with pictures of youth from the program with an occasional image of Desmond Tutu or other inspirational figures. The brownstone can be a quiet place, a calm space with only images and words to absorb as you enter the building. Generally, however, it is a busy place filled with the sounds of youth work. As one faces the long staircase to get to the second floor a slight detour to the left places you in a room filled with noisy 10-11-year olds doing art projects. One can hear teens laughing and calling to each other on the top floor as you approach the second floor office space. Adolescents and adults work on the computers that line the walls or talk in animated bunches. The mood is cheerful as light enters from big windows at the front and back of the brownstone.

One of the rooms at the back of the second floor that doubles as a staff lounge and multipurpose space, is filled with a comfortable couch with two chairs. There is carpet on the floor and a tapestry on the wall behind the couch. The rest of the wall space is painted a bright yellow that sets off the old, dark moldings and French doors. Placed on the walls are pieces of African art and at least twelve different awards. These accolades come from various organizations such as the Union Square Award, Advocacy Award, Angel, Black Sisters, Latino Fraternity, Department of Education, Harlem Association,

and Oprah Winfrey. The commitment that Brotherhood Sister Sol has demonstrated to organizing, activism and community change over the past 15 years is obviously recognized and valued by many.

The Brotherhood/Sister Sol was created in 1994 by Jason Warwin and Khary Lazarre-White to address "the dire need for supportive programs for Black and Latino youth who are surrounded by the poverty, drugs, violence, racism and mis-education which plague America's cities. The Brotherhood/Sister Sol provides these youth with the knowledge, resources, opportunities, and love necessary in order to understand and overcome these negative pressures, as well as the skills to combat them." (www.brotherhood-sistersol.org). The Brotherhood/Sister Sol promotes itself as "a way of life" that provides "youth with an opportunity to explore their ideas, identity and future among peers, with the support and guidance of their immediate elders". They describe these supports as "designed to help youth realize and achieve their individual potential as well as increase their ability to empower others within their community."

The Brotherhood/Sister Sol programs and activities address ten curriculum focus areas: Pan-African and Latino History, Sexism and Misogyny, Sexual Education and Responsibility, Leadership Development, Mind, Body and Spirit, Drugs and Substance Abuse, Conflict Resolution & Bias Reduction, Political Education and Social Justice, Educational Achievement, and Community Service and Responsibility.

My lives research focused on the relationships between adults and youth primarily in two Brotherhood/Sister Sol programs: Rights of Passage and the Liberation School. The Brotherhood/Sister Sol Rites of Passage is the core program on which the organization was founded. The stated goal is "to empower youth through discovery and

discussion of history, culture, social problems, and political forces surrounding them." The organization establishes partnerships with public secondary schools to develop gender-specific (Brotherhood or Sister Sol) chapters, each consisting of 10 to 18 youth members and two adult Chapter Leaders. During an intensive four- to six-year Rites of Passage process, members learn critical thinking and global awareness skills through leadership development, drug awareness, conflict resolution, political education, community service, and other activities. Each chapter develops a Mission Statement and collectively defines what it means to be a sister/brother, woman/man and leader. Members also create individual Oaths of Dedication, personal testimonies to how they will live their lives. The program is structured around their ten curriculum focus issues, incorporating topics such as Pan African and Latino History, Sexism and Misogyny, and Political Education and Social Justice.

The Brotherhood Sister Sol website describes the program as a "safe space where youth can learn life skills, discuss topics important to them that are not covered in school, explore ideas of community, equality, and diversity, and build friendships in an environment that promotes their positive development as women/men, sisters/brothers, and leaders." The organization encourages youth to "embrace the power, passion, and possibility inherent within them, and to use their talent to benefit themselves and their communities." The Development Program is split into three components as described by the Brotherhood/Sister Sol literature: **Stage One:** Brotherhood/Sisterhood Building; **Stage Two:** Critical Thinking/Knowledge of Self/Global Awareness; and **Stage Three:** Rites of Passage.

The Liberation Program is designed for members of Bro/Sis who have demonstrated an interest in activism. Members are selected through an intensive application and interview process designed to ensure serious commitment to community development. The program consists of two main components: The Liberation School and the Liberation Collective. The Liberation School is a four week training that takes place each summer for youth 14-19 years of age. Throughout the training, members develop skills to identify problems within their community, analyze solutions, and act to create positive social change. Members define what it means to be a leader and explore the legacy of youth activism in this country and throughout the world. They share their ideas, beliefs and experiences toward broadening their understanding of the interconnections between self, community, power, oppression, and liberation. The organization describes itself as a program in which young people "learn what it takes to be an activist and organizer and develop their skills and interest among nurturing staff who are also organizers".

Members who satisfactorily complete the Liberation School training receive an honorarium and become part of **The Liberation Collective**, the leadership and organizing body of the Liberation Program. The Collective is self-governing; members are the decision makers. Together, members identify issues affecting their communities, establish goals for creating change and develop action plans. Throughout the school year, the Collective develops and organizes campaigns around these issues and maintains campaigns already underway. With guidance from staff, Collective members are responsible for recruiting and training future members. It was staff and youth who were involved in these components of Bro/Sis' work who became the participants in my study.

DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N. Project

> *All participants, young people & teaching artists, collaborate in rigorous art-making practices. In this work, we hone our artistic craft and work towards greater social consciousness & imagination. The aim is liberation & freedom that takes root in our communities, the hearts & minds of people who witness & participate in our work, & informs the choices of our future leaders. (Dreamyard website, retrieved on June 2nd 2010, http://www.dreamyard.com/osp/action)*

Slightly off of the main drag of 161st street in the Bronx are the understated offices of DreamYard Action Project. Walking up the battered steps to the office space on the second, third and fourth floors, one enters a respite from the vibrant intersection of Gerard and 161st street. Silenced are the sounds of people rushing to and from cuchifrito restaurants, bodegas, banks, clothing stores and not one, but two, Yankee Stadiums. As one enters the actual office space, young people's artwork splashes the walls in color and images. There are people situated at computers, with few doors or walls separating one workspace from another. The space is relatively quiet with lots of light streaming in from at least five windows. There are not many young people in the space because Dreamyard programming happens primarily at partner sites owned by community-based organizations or schools in the area (they have acquired a new space since I stopped my data collection).

DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N. Project is a four year arts activism and youth development program for Bronx teenagers. Its mission is "to develop young people as

effective social leaders and active civic participants through challenging artistic projects. Through the A.C.T.I.O.N. project, young people develop powerful strategies to respond to the issues that are most important to them in their communities." (www.dreamyardactionproject.com). The A.C.T.I.O.N. Project holds a unique position in New York City as one of the only long-term artistic programs designed to support the critical social, developmental, and intellectual needs of youth in NYC. Projects challenge participants to work together in a positive, supportive environment that promotes respect and empathy for one's peers, mentors, and external community, in addition to problem solving through a diversity of ideas.

A.C.T.I.O.N. is held over four weeks in an intensive summer experience and 25 Saturdays, during October-May. Participants are guided by a strong team of teaching artists and staff. The relationships between participants and teaching artists are key to A.C.T.I.O.N.'s success. Participants begin the program as graduating 8th graders. A.C.T.I.O.N.'s core values and skill building activities prepare them for the middle school transition and the high school experience; the program enables them to be open and become social leaders, take on greater academic challenges, and have the confidence to participate in school activities and pursue leadership opportunities. Participants learn skills in theater, visual arts, film/video, and poetry in concert with state and national education standards. They perform/display their work throughout the city at sites which include Sotheby's, Scholastic Theater, Lehman College, The Bronx Museum, and at Bronx street festivals. DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project has had four cohorts of young people participate in their program and two of those cohorts have graduated.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY FOR LIFE HISTORY DATA

In order to answer the stated research interests, a process of reading and analyzing a narrative introduced by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) was applied to the data. These authors offer a model for the classification and organization of types of narrative analysis that form a matrix of four cells: holistic-content, categorical-content, holistic-form, and categorical-form. I applied two modes of reading to this data set: categorical content analysis and holistic content analysis. These different modes of analysis revealed different findings and evoked different types of analytical experiences.

The procedure recommended by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) was applied for each mode of analysis: a) the material was reviewed several times until a pattern emerged b) initial thoughts and feelings were put in writing and c) possible themes in the storyline that emerged were noted. I then coded the data based on the themes that emerged. The categorical content analysis of data related to adult-youth partnerships gave insight into the conditions that sustained adult-youth partnerships within both the adult-youth partnerships and the organization. Codes related to the conditions that support adult-youth partnerships on the level of individual youth and adults were power-sharing, transparency, explicit/common goals, caring relationships, and reflective practices. On the organizational level, the codes that emerged were interview/orientation, supportive learning communities, program structure, supervision, skills, and attributes of staff. This analysis was also useful for identifying the impact of these partnerships on multiple levels. Themes such as multilevel development emerged and included development for youth, adults, organizations, communities, institutions, and society. Themes such as agency, reciprocal learning (not only that it existed but that it

was also attributed to the relationship), and critical engagement (including codes for both critical thinking and critical analysis) were also found.

Conducting a second analysis, holistic content analysis, where the relationships between adults and young people were viewed in the context of a whole life, allowed for a better examination of the non-familial adult-youth relationships both within the program space and outside of the program space. A third space also emerged where young people were doing work for and with the program but outside of the program context (i.e. at a community board meeting or conducting a workshop at a police precinct).

Contradiction and Alignment as Emergent Theoretical Variables

Reading through a section of data in which a young person referenced feeling like things were being "installed" in them by teachers while simultaneously using critical theory for a critique that I was conducting on the field of youth development, I was reminded of Freire's (1970) banking concept of education: "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor…the teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence" (Freire, 1970, p. 53). Freire (1970) refers to this dynamic as the teacher-student contradiction. Where as at first I had coded this data as "context" for the partnership, I recoded the data related to the notion of contradiction (Freire, 1970), however, I broadened the notion of a contradiction existing in the relationship to move beyond ignoring reciprocal development to include codes for being silenced, ignored, disempowered, shut down, disrespected and even harassed by adults. I also coded the opposite of being place in

contradiction as alignment between youth and adults, which included identification with youth, supportive relationships, reciprocal learning, respect, empathy, caring, and connection. Alignment between adults and young people emerged as an important element driving attachment in this dissertation.

Attachment as an Emergent Theoretical Variable

As the relationship between adults and young people inside the program space was examined alongside narratives of youth relationships with adults outside the program space, two other themes emerged: attachment and participation. The coupling of these two themes was reminiscent of criminologists writings in the 60's and 70's who explored the attachment of young people to society as mediated by various factors, including attachment to others and active engagement (Hirschi, 1969). I found myself using attachment theory to help me understand questions related to the psychological impact of unequal power dynamics in the partnership as well as related to psychological shifts for youth and adults when there is a more egalitarian power dynamic in adult-youth partnership. In using attachment theory as a lens to examine the relationship between self and other in previous research, I drew upon a definition of attachment as an organizational construct (Sroufe, 1977; 1979; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Roisman et al., 2001; Carlson et. al, 2004), which can exist in non-caretaker relationships (Bartholomew, K. & Horowitz, L.H., 1991; Bartholomew, K., & Shaver, K., 1998; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Roisman, et al., 2001; Rice, 1990; Waters, Wippman & Sroufe, 1979) and which can be reconfigured based on past, current and even future conceptions of relationship experiences (Carlson et. al., 2004). The data were re-coded using this

definition of attachment along with Hirschi's (1969) notion of attachment to society to capture attachment writ large (i.e. to people, programs, institutions and society).

Participation as an Emergent Theoretical Variable

Codes were assigned for narratives of participation as well. I used a notion of deep participation which, like "deep democracy" (Appadurai, 2002; Apple, 2004), needs to be understood as a set of principles and a set of context specific practices that are impacted by micro and macro barriers and supports. I used a broad notion of participation including being invited to think critically and problem-solve in a conversation and actively engaging in action. I examined participation in various contexts such as within the program, outside the program space, and in the third space, which was where young people were doing work for and with the program but outside of the program context. These produced the paradoxes of participation explored in chapter V.

The table below is offered to give a sense of the original codes of interest, the first read for themes and the theoretical constructs

Table 3: Codes, themes, and constructs

Original codes	Emergent themes	Emergent theoretical constructs
Agency	power-sharing, transparency, explicit/common goals, caring relationships, and reflective practices	Contradiction
Reciprocal learning	interview/orientation, supportive learning communities, program structure, supervision, skills and attributes of staff	Alignment
Critical thinking	Impact on youth, adults, programs, communities, institutions, society	Attachment
Power-sharing		Participation

ANALYTIC STRATEGY FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

The ethnographic data were analyzed in two ways. I analyzed the discourse that was captured for codes related to organizational supports. I used my own observations of the structures and supports provided by the organization to triangulate my data in relation to the conditions that facilitate adult-youth partnerships on the organizational level. This produced the emergence of themes related to interview/orientation procedures, staff meetings, program structure, supervision, skills, and attributes of staff (please see Appendix II for findings related to these themes).

I also found that the discourse captured in my observations during program time and staff meetings provided insight into emergent themes related to contradiction, alignment, attachment and participation. I therefore conducted a second analysis of the data using themes derived from the analysis of life history data using the same definitions as those outlined above. Special attention was paid to power dynamics in the group including who shifted conversations, and notes on how facilitators were using themselves in the group setting. The findings from the ethnographic data collection are relied upon most heavily in Appendix II that illuminates the organizational supports for the partnership. The ethnographic data generally serves to paint a vivid image of findings that emerged from the lives data such as paradoxes of participation.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In order to offer the reader a sense of both the depth that comes from doing lives research as well as the way in which one can read across lives, I present the findings from this analysis in two ways in two different findings chapters. First, I present findings from

the holistic content analysis across the eight lives to explore emergent theoretical constructs such as contradiction, participation, attachment and alignment. Second, I present two lives in their entirety to offer a sense of how these theoretical constructs play out in the context of a life. Findings related to the programmatic and structural supports as well as multilevel impact are embedded in these chapters and expanded upon in Appendix II and Appendix III. Appendix II goes into greater depth related to the programmatic conditions that support youth-adult partnerships using data from a categorical content analysis across the lives of youth and adults. The findings related to the impact of these partnerships at multiple are illustrated in greater depth in Appendix III. Ethnographic glimpses are used to illustrate the conversation and dynamics during program time.

CHAPTER IV PARADOXES OF PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

In order to answer my research questions related to the psychological impact when adults and young people are intertwined in unequal power dynamics and what emerges when those dynamics are challenged, a holistic content analysis was applied to this data. Over the course of the chapter, a relationship between attachment, alignment and participation as well as the detachment that occurs when people are placed in contradiction and barred from participation was explored. The life history data presented in this section moves across lives (both youth and adults) to paint a picture of young people and adults being placed in contradiction mainly outside of the safe space of the program with people such as teachers, parents and police. As it is important to contextualize how and in response to what questions a discourse occurs (Bakhtin, 1986), these narratives did not emanate from any questions in the research protocol that related to how youth are treated or mis-treated by adults. These narratives were told in the context of relaying experiences of the work young people and adults were doing in their programs or events that happened as they moved through the narration of their lives.

Although I was interested in exploring the psychological impact of being in unequal power dynamics for both youth **and adults**, this chapter deals primarily with the context of contradiction and barriers to active participation surrounding young people and the resulting psychological impact on attachment. The reason for this is two-fold: 1) Due to power imbalances and repression, young people had different challenges with attachment and barriers to participation with which they must contend. 2) The adults in this data set sometimes referred to traditional power dynamics between adults and young

people but it was mainly outside of their own relationships to young people. The adults interviewed for this study were better suited to help give insight into the psychological impact when the traditional power dynamics are contested. I recommend that future research should examine the possible losses for adults if unequal power dynamics persist.

ACROSS LIVES: FIGURES OF ATTACHMENT AND DISENGAGEMENT

There were three, key, adult figures that emerged in the life history narratives outside of the relationships with adults in their youth activism program; police, teachers and family members. In this chapter I will not include the findings that related to adult family members as the interest of this dissertation is in relationships between youth and non-familial adults. Six of eight participants, both adults and young people, mentioned negative interactions with the police as a major issue for young people in NYC[7]. Many of the young people had stories to tell about particular interactions with police:

> *"I just think it's wrong and crazy. Police nowadays take they power and they use it to try to treat us like we animals…And it's mostly the cops who start. I remember one day, me and my friend were walking down the street eating ices and there was a group of cops and one of the cops was like "I like the ways you sucking that icy come to the park and suck on us." And I was ready to spaz out and my friend calmed me down." (Rick, participant, The Brotherhood/Sister Sol)*

The young man quoted above spoke about his sense of police abusing their power and "treating young people like animals", and then of his own horror at being harassed sexually by a police officer. A young women in the study told her own harried tale of

[7] All the young people in this study are Black and Latino which must be noted when exploring police harassment.

being chased by police officers and detained along with her boyfriend for trespassing in his own projects. She went on to speak about research she had done mapping interactions with police in her neighborhood as a part of her work with The Brotherhood/Sister Sol. This young woman painted a picture of frequent, negative interactions between young people and the police in her neighborhood*:*

> *"We had to write a proposal and we just had to do a mapping project about police brutality, or police activity, around this community… And we just basically mapped.. "tell us where you hang out and when you had a good experience with a cop and when you had a negative experience". And it was like so disturbing, boys from the age of twelve to seventeen, which was the chapter my boyfriend was in, which was the age of seventeen, we could see from this age range, they all had a bad experience in their past. There was only a few of them who was like, "Yeah I had a good experience." And even those who had a good experience also had a bad experience" (Isani, participant, Brotherhood Sister Sol).*

The data in these life history narratives confirm findings by other researchers on urban youth's experiences with adults in positions of public authority, including the police (Fine et al., 2003). National data confirms that young people are more likely than adults to be arrested and sent to court for perceived antagonism to the police (Thurau, 2009 , p. 17). Nationally almost 21 % of all juvenile court referrals in 2005 were for disorderly conduct or obstruction of justice. For adults, that number was about 5 %. Psychologists have theorized that these types of interactions between youth and adults

lead to a sense of betrayal by adults and impact youth's feelings of trust in adult society, civic institutions, and democratic engagement (Thurau, 2009).

Police were not the only relationships with adults in which young people felt they were shut down. Although most young people had positive things to say about some of their teachers, there were some alarming narratives of anonymity and authoritarianism in their school realm. One young woman had this to say about her teachers:

> *Some teachers they didn't really get to know you so they wouldn't really know your strengths and weaknesses which means they went strictly by 50% home work, 50% this and if you didn't do that then you would get a low grade. They didn't get to know you, who you are. They just went by the percentages... (Jasmine, participant,* DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project*)*

This young woman's words reveal the detachment between teachers who knew students only by their grades and the students who sat in their classrooms. Another young man talked about the absolute power held by teachers in the classroom and contrasted that with his experience in his youth activism program as illustrated below:

> *In school its like 'my classroom, my rules' in here [Bro Sis] its 'we have rules that we have to follow, its more like to better our selves and the future.'" (Rick, The Brotherhood/Sister Sol)*

One of the adults who had worked in a school before her time at A.C.T.I.O.N confirmed the perceptions of youth related to certain educational settings:

> *Because they're not asked at all in school. In school, read this, come back, write this up. They're not necessarily asked to take it to the next level and to make a phone call and for them to call up the ACLU and get*

> *packets and schedule the entire event…And I understand the frustrations with a lot of the teachers and students. You're not questioning me as a person. Who am I as a person and what can I provide to this society? The question is only does one plus one equal two. (Selina, facilitator,* DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project*)*

The quote above reveals dynamics that young people in this study sometimes confront in their schools, such as lack of personal connection between teachers and students and being discouraged from engaging in action. They are viewed as vessels to be filled and not as people who can help to create or fill vessels for others. What is clear from these narratives is that young people are not regularly asked to give their opinions, critical views, or to engage in active citizenship (Flanagan and Faison, 2001) or even allowed to enjoy the benefits of citizenship such as being able to walk in a group without being harassed by police. This forms the first paradox of participation, "desire and disappointment": young people want to take on active roles in issues that effect their lives and the lives of others and yet they have been discouraged, shut down, silenced and treated with contempt in many parts of their life space.

DESIRE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

This first paradox, "desire and disappointment," forms the social-psychological context that surrounds and precedes any attempts to engage youth in participatory processes. Practitioners must contend with this context as they attempt to engage youth in partnerships where they are expected, invited and encouraged to think critically as co-constructors on a project. Although it is not always true that participation will be strained or more gradual because of the various barriers that are placed on young peoples'

participation in our society, this analysis confirms Appadurai's (2001) notion that participation is most often not automatic when there are larger systemic conditions of repression.

Chandra, a facilitator at The Brotherhood/Sister Sol, talking about the process of overcoming silences with new cohorts of young people in their Summer Liberation Program, reveals the first paradox of participation and some of the strategies that staff engaged to let young people know that participation is, in fact, invited:

> *And I think that is something that we see every single summer. Because the first few days of summer liberation school are usually the quietest days of the whole training. Even when we're playing fun activities and name games and all kinds of crazy stuff, you always notice that hesitation. Or when we stop and there's a question, people kinda looking around at each other like, right. Just encouraging them to speak and share their voices, but to also create the space for that to happen. Cause I think that sometimes people say oh I want to hear from you and you finally start talking and they cut you off. Or they tell you that's stupid, you don't know, you better go read this that and the other. You need to get this on and that on. So they go alright so I guess I can't say anything. So just being consistent in what you say and what you do as far as wanting to hear their voice and their opinion and always encouraging them to do that. So whether its always asking them to speak or asking them to write or using the arts as a way to reflect. Always asking them to put their thoughts down and then for them to share it with each other.*

This quote illuminates the challenges that the first paradox of participation creates for adults and youth engaging in partnership as well as confirms the fact that participation is not automatic when it does not exist in other spaces in young people's lives. It also illuminates that young people walk into a room carrying their experiences with other adults. What becomes clear is that adults who want to work in partnership must be intentional about creating the context where it is safe to participate as well as realizing that it will be a developmental process.

PERSISTENT PUBLIC EXCLUSION

A second paradox, "persistent public exclusion", emerged from the data analysis. Even once engaged in a productive adult youth partnership in which youth are taking active roles in their communities, when out in the public sphere away from the safe space of programming, young people are still discounted, underestimated and once again barred from participation. In this situation, young people have overcome any initial hesitancy about participation of engaging in a reciprocal relationship with adults, they are engaged in community-building work through their youth programs. In effect, young people have changed. However, nothing else has changed in the public sphere in relation to young people so they continued to be shut down. Adults and young people talked at length about experiences in the course of their activism campaigns that exemplify this second paradox. Khalil a facilitator from BroSis had this to say about the interactions with adults outside of the relative safety of the Brownstone:

> *I think that they've had up and down experiences in dealing with adults. And sometimes they've been great, sometimes so so, and then like the people dissing you behind your back mad loud wondering why the hell*

you're there, like you don't deserve to be sitting in the space, like you don't have anything to say.

Chandra relayed an example of assumptions that youth had nothing to contribute, much less run a meeting, played out in the course of a campaign at BroSis:

Early on in the campaign around PS 186 the young people decided that they wanted to build a coalition with LP youth members and folks in the community to sit down and really talk about how PS 186 could be transformed as like the voice of the community at large going to the community forums and having the conversations with folks on the development end with the project. And, the first meeting that we had, Jason and I were in the kitchen cutting cheese and getting food platters ready. An adult walked straight to the kitchen and we're thinking "what the hell?" And the person was like," Oh, I'm here for the meeting." And we were like," Ok the meeting is out there, the room that you just passed." And she passed because she saw a table with young people sitting around it and was thinking, "It must be some other program that is happening, so I need to find an adult and I see y'all in the kitchen so that's why I came over here." And we're like, "Oh no, the meeting is starting in about 5 minutes. You see the two right there, they're facilitating it." (Facilitator of a youth activism program)

The adult community members had a hard time believing that the meeting was called and was being facilitated by young people, they turned to the adults to help make sense of the situation. Another adult facilitator talked about using the

assumptions of adults about the young people with whom she worked as a part of raising young people's consciousness about adult misperceptions of young people and the barriers to active engagement that consequentially exist. She did not attempt to gloss over or hide adult ignorance from young people, but discusses it transparently.

> *I wanted them to go through the hurdles of the adults at the public library of Fordham telling them "Oh well, I don't think we can have this event." Cause then they come back to the group and are like "Miss Selina, can you believe it? Oh my god, at the Fordham library that we can't do youth events or register young people to vote, but it's the public library. Well why can't we do it?" I said, "I wanted you to hear that...Do you understand that is the challenges and the obstacles you will have to face when you want to put a show together? The people that are challenging you? The systems/institutions that you're going to have to take on?...That the library might not let us do our film festival, that these people might not want you to do a youth event in the street because you're young people and they think you're gang bangers.*
>
> *Those things are real, and I want them to experience that and for them to be intelligent and poised throughout it all...And they ended up inviting Bronx News 12 to the event we did on May 10th. They were just so eloquent, Karim and Julissa. They were like this is why we wanted to do this event. Because at the end of the day adults think that young people are stupid. (Selina, facilitator,* DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project*)*

It is important to note that this adult did not hide the fact that their status as young people barred them from using public institutions for their work educating young people about voting and civic engagement. She wanted them to be fully aware of all the institutional and systemic barriers to their active citizenship and took the opportunity to ask them to think critically about adult perceptions of them. She even pointed out that public spaces outside of public institutions, like streets, were off limits to them as they were perceived as "gang bangers." This quote reveals much about the ways that young people are placed in contradiction with adults outside of the programs as well as the transparency with which adults in the programs deal with ageism as a way to develop consciousness in the group.

Although the third space (when youth were doing work for the program but outside of the program context) was a time when the second paradox of participation was often revealed there was an exception to this finding. In both programs, trips were mentioned as conducive to deepening attachment and were spaces where young people and adults were involved in active participation. These trips were both national and international. For example, groups went to do post-Katrina work in New Orleans or participate in the World Social Forum in Atlanta as well as to Ghana and Brazil. These trips seemed to augment attachments within the group as well as narratives of attachment writ large to "people" in general. They deepened a sense of connection to others while being in spaces where young people mentioned intensely reflecting on themselves. Young people mentioned coming back with a new appreciation for "everything we have" and a connection to others outside of their immediate communities. Unlike narratives of some of the young people's experiences with adults in community meetings, trainings at

police precincts, or workshops in schools, they were not filled with barriers to participation or a sense of disconnection. Obviously, negative interactions with adults did not always occur when outside of the program space and these trips were times when participation was encouraged as the group was always involved in some type of social justice work.

ETHNOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION

I was able to witness firsthand the transparency with which youth and adults dealt with the issue of adults continuing to place youth in "contradiction" and barring them from active participation even as they attempted to do the work of their youth program. On a cold morning in January, 2009, I walked into a Bronx charter school where the DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project was holding their programming that day as there was a problem with the boiler at their regular location. It was this day that I heard a group of young people confirm what I had been hearing in the life history interviews. As they were moving into the action phase of their work, the greatest barriers were coming not from involving other young people, but from staunch resistance by adults. I offer an ethnographic glimpse of the conversation that occurred between approximately 18 young people and four adults in a dance studio in a small school in the Bronx[8]:

> Julio: *Everything shifted when the administrators came in the room. Adults dominated the conversation. They made it all about them.*
>
> *Trisha: We felt confronted on our opinions. Adults made it feel not important anymore.*

[8] The young people's names in this ethnographic observations have been made up as I only indicated "youth #1" etc. in my field notes.

Imani*: Did you associate the authoritative power of the police brutality with what happened to you in the room?*

Julio: *Yes. I wrote down some thoughts and I was really seeing that connection.*

Trisha: *Manny (adult facilitator) had to jump in to keep the flow going*

Manny*: Did that feel weird? Did it help or hinder?*

Imani*: It felt like you had our back. It gave us time to think and get back on track.*

Trisha: *Was it like when _____ and I work together? We always help each other out. What we do in action is what you will do in your presentations with other youth. You need to trust each other to step forward and back*

Field notes: Very self conscious modeling for youth by adults to mirror how they work with each other to facilitate. More discussion on facilitation. Youth relay the story of what happened on Wednesdays to the executive director when he comes into the room.

Julio: *Wednesdays after school we did a fine presentation, but then the administration came in. It seemed like an aura came in with them. The children shut down. It was like 10 HUT! The conversation shifted from the kids to the principal and his clique. The kids were silenced. We were trying to concentrate on the kids. They (the adults) said we didn't know our facts. That we needed both sides of the story. We were too racial.*

You could see it on these kids faces that they had liked what we were saying and then the principal came in and it was all different. They would not tell us how they felt.

The principal responded to our questions about race. The white principal made it seem like he, as a white man, had to deal with what we do with the cops. Talking about "the cops stop me all the time thinking I am buying drugs." Just being our age, I feel like we have been dealing with more from cops as he has as a white old man.

This administrator with red curly hair said "I don't know both sides of the case so I can't say if they were just doing their jobs. This about the Sean Bell case, what?! The administration took on the perspective of the cop. The oldest administrator said 'who is Sean Bell?' It felt gross and demeaning. Polite to the point of being impolite.

We asked a young lady in the class who didn't like the cops something and the administration attacked the girl and said police brutality was due to that type of mentality! It just felt disrespectful…like I was stupid. We were trying to be respectful. If it were the other way around they wouldn't have like it. There was a very controversial attitude by adults.

Jessica: *It's crazy but it's like adults don't expect answers from youth anymore. It's a reflection of police brutality in a school setting.*

Mike: *I think the problem is with the school system. If they (the administration) have this mindset about these youth and these communities, that's where these low test scores come from.*

Francesca*: They think it's us, but it's what they are teaching/installing in these kids. Just by the way they treat them.*

Julio*: I think what happened in the classroom had to do with institutional racism. It's about 331. It's about doing what they are doing in a polite way, its understated. I think kids in that school have been fed questions and answers so much they don't know how to think on their own.*

Flor: *My teachers that were not like that and all got fired!*

Aisha: *Bains [principal] is so racist. He swears he is here for us but he is just trying to run a little factory.*

Flor: *They are scared of him. No creativity can come from the kids when he is in the space.*

Aisha*: I was in the best class. He put us on lock down one time for saying what I felt. He went in on him, he got all red, he was out of control. He attacks anyone who thinks on their own.*

Field notes: lots of reaction and one mic interjections

Mike: *Some kids feel like outcasts. They don't even have their own tongues anymore.*

Julio: *Kids feel outcast because they don't want to be drawn into the institutional racism.*

Aisha*: The principal went ballistic when I asked "why?" I got suspended because I spoke up. He called my mom and I got suspended by the assistant principal for three days.*

Flor: *He be calling cops on kids everyday.*

Field notes: it is clear that young people went to the school and both facilitators taught there.

Jessica: *When he comes into the room it gets very quiet.*

Rece: *I was not there, but I am mad just hearing about it.*

Mike*: The authority of police and the authority of the school administration is real…*

This conversation animates the oppressive context in which young people learn in this school. In essence, the first paradox, desire and disappointment, is evident in that all the young people in the class described above were actively engaged in a discussion about police brutality with young people and adults from Action which was completely shut down when administrators walked in the room. This exemplifies the first paradox in that the students in the room wanted to take on active roles on issues that impact their lives and the lives of others and yet they were discouraged, shut down, silenced and treated with contempt. The second paradox, persistent public exclusion was also evident: even once engaged in a productive adult-youth partnership in which the youth facilitators were taking on active roles in their communities (in this case a classroom giving a police brutality workshop to younger students), when out in the public sphere, away from the safe space of programming, they were still discounted, underestimated and once again barred from participation by adults (in this case administrators).

Listening to phrases like: *"*Kids feel like outcasts. They don't even have their own tongues anymore", one can hear a sense of isolation and detachment. One young person attributed this sentiment to the fact that young people "don't want to be drawn into the institutional racism." The actions that they attributed to institutional racism (e.g. being attacked, shut down, and silenced) are codes for the notion of being placed in contradiction for this dissertation and are barriers to active participation. The fact that the young person previously quoted felt that the interaction was related to racism rather than ageism is something that needs to be explored further. Although at the other points in the narrative this young person did attribute their experiences of being placed in contradiction with adults as being related to both race and age. For example, when one of the young people said: "Just being our age, I feel like we have been dealing with more from cops as he has as a white old man."

This detachment from institutions or relationships that are hostile was relayed in the context of a relationship with adults such as the adult staff and executive director of Action with whom alignment is noted as there are repeated invitations to participate and think critically. Examining power dynamics related to who is speaking, who jumps in, and who is guiding the conversation reveals a fluid movement between adults and youth to critically analyze a situation and come up with a plan of action for their work. The adults were checking in with the young people, not only about what they felt the group should do in relation to their work at the school, but also about whether the adult's decision to intervene in the workshop helped or hindered. The young person responded, *"*It felt like you had our back. It gave us time to think and get back on track." The adult went further to illustrate that he does that with fellow adults with whom he is working

and he did not just do it because they were young people. He brought it back to the trust between co-facilitators of any age by saying: "You need to trust each other to step forward and back." In addition, paradoxes of participation, this ethnographic glimpse illustrates the complex interplay of strategic attachment that is pushed by both participation and alignment in the relationship between adults and young people.

DIALECTIC OF ATTACHMENT

Across the data a "dialectic of attachment" emerges. Young people selectively attach or detach based on the context of the relationship. Young people seem to develop a set of navigational skills that let them know when it is all right to attach to specific adults and when it is dangerous to do so. Active participation and alignment as opposed to contradiction with adults and blocked participation seem to be enabling conditions that move this dialectic between attaching and detaching. The presence in the narrated lives of the contextual duo of alignment and participation produce narratives of "attachment writ large" that can encompass individuals as well as programs, institutions and society. It may be that solely having alignment may produce attachment to individuals. Yet the data illustrates that the presence of attachment writ large seems to depend not only on alignment but on active participation. This will be further illuminated in the second finding chapter in which this dynamic can be observed in the context of the life history narrative as well as ethnographic glimpses.

Young people import their attachment histories when entering into a new relationship with an adult as attachment in this dissertation is defined as an organizational construct through which one can view a new situation or relationship based on past or present experiences. As mentioned above, detachment is impermanent as demonstrated

when the same young person experiences alignment and active engagement over time, and there is demonstrable attachment to adults as well as peers, and narratives of attachment to others writ large. Current attachment theorists acknowledge that attachment is not a static process but an organizational construct (Carlson et. al, 2004; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Roisman et al., 2001; Sroufe, 1977; 1979), which can be reconfigured based on past, current, and even future conceptions of relationship experiences (Carlson et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2000; Roisman et al., 2005; Waters et al., 2000). This finding confirms that attachment to adults in young people's lives is not a static process, is context dependent, and shifts over time.

It is evident in the data that a young person who has had negative experiences with adults can reconfigure their mental model based on later experience with adults in which there is more alignment and participation. However, there is also a scaffolded process in which the adult transfers power and engages youth in genuine participation as well as certain conditions that foster this relationship. Some of the conditions that support the partnership that were mentioned in this data and illuminated in greater depth in Appendix II are: power-sharing, transparency, explicit common goals, caring relationships, and reflective practices. For example, groups of adults and young people share power related to decisions for the direction of the work as well as decisions related to who gets to take on different roles and responsibilities. There is transparency in the group especially about issues related to power such as ageism, racism, homophobia as well as group dynamics. The group comes up with a project with explicit goals decided upon by the group. These groups are relational in nature and foster caring among the group members. Lastly, the groups use ongoing reflective practices to deepen their

understanding of their work and issues related to power/social justice. These conditions of engagement in youth-adult partnerships support both alignment and participation and foster attachment writ large.

CHAPTER V- CRITICAL ATTACHMENTS

When people lack attachments, when there is no possibility of coming together in a plurality or a community, when they have not tapped their imaginations, they may think of breaking free, but they will be unlikely to think of breaking through the structures of their world and creating something new. **(The Dialectic of Freedom, Maxine Greene, 1988, p. 17)**

INTRODUCTION

What is the psychological impact on adult and youth when unequal power dynamics are challenged? In this chapter, I chose two lives to illustrate some of the findings across lives about what happens to attachment when participation is encouraged and there is alignment between adults and young people. By doing a holistic content analysis of the life history data, a story emerges about attachments (the emergent psychological process being studied). These lives illustrate the complex relationship between these constructs as well as the wonderful individuality of the persons who shared their stories for this research project. Findings related to all four of the research questions can be heard whispering through the data presented in this section. In these narrations one can garner how the conditions that foster productive partnership play out in the context of the lived experience. The analysis reveals unequal power dynamics between youth impact both lives participants. Lastly, impact on multiple levels reverberates throughout these life histories (for more on multi-level impact across lives see Appendix III).

Before presenting these life histories in their entirety, I want to be transparent about my approach to this analysis. Josselson (2004) refers to a taking a stance in lives research in which one aligns with a hermeneutics of restoration (faith) or demystification (suspicion). From the point of view of the hermeneutics of restoration, researchers believe that the participants are telling us, the best they are able, their sense of their subjective experience and meaning-making. The hermeneutics of demystification recognizes the relativity of all accounts: "it dispossesses consciousness, viewed as a site of self-deception and illusion, as the center of human meaning-making and substitutes interpretation for the lost meanings" (Josselson, 2004, p, 20).

I found myself walking a fine line in this analysis. I do believe that narratives are constructed and there are interesting psychological discoveries to be found by exploring, connecting and reading between the silences of peoples' words. However, the more I read about the dissection of young people as objects of development, the less interested I became in doing a psychological analysis of the young people in the lives. Josselson pegged me when she stated: "someone who has an interest in revealing the multiple meanings within a life history text, who is allied empathically with the speaking subject and conceives of their project as giving choice will be unlikely to be interested in hidden meanings, if not downright hostile towards the project of unearthing them" (Josselson, 2004). The aim of the analytic framework I used (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998) distinguishes content from form and treats narratives either holistically or categorically, however, all of these modes of analysis aim to "better elucidate the standpoint of the teller, albeit from different angles" (Josselson, 2004, p. 8).

Although more comfortable in some ways about doing that type of work with adults, I toiled with the ethical dilemmas of knowing that I had specifically told people that the research was about adults and young people working in partnership. I was therefore reluctant to "tear away the masks and illusions of consciousness, to move beyond the materiality of a life to the underlying psychic or social processes that are its foundation" (Josselson, 2004, p. 13), although I do believe they existed at different points in these life narratives. I found myself loath to enter into territory where the participant in my study would feel there was a disconnect between the introduction to the research project and goals and the resulting written product that made them the subjects of scrutiny in the written version. There were hunches I had about participants in this research, interpretations that would have gone beyond what was told, but I did not feel comfortable inserting myself so clearly nor being intrusive in the minds and souls of the participants. I present the lives of Rick and Selina, open about the fact that I chose not to enter into analysis that I felt went beyond the agreements that we made on the day I turned on my tape recorder and interviewed them. At the same time, I acknowledge intentional silences, the co-constructed nature of the lives research process, and the mutable nature of telling one's life history (Bruner, 1990) as the story unfolds.

RICK: "SO WHAT I GOT A MOUTH!"

Rick's life story exemplifies many things. Most pronounced is a narrative of both contradiction and subsequent alignment between Rick and the adults at Brotherhood Sister Sol. His sense of agency and active participation in social justice work were revealed not only in the stories he told, but exemplified in the interview process. Rick

used our interview as a way to educate me about gentrification, disinvestment, racism, US imperialism, and Bro Sis. He demanded I acknowledge how much he had to teach me. Rick often took on the role of teacher in this interview, and I felt that he actively wanted me to leave the interview with more than his life story; he wanted to raise my consciousness. Rick was very strategic about what to share with me and how to use the interview process.

Also evident in this narrative is the relationship between Rick's attachment to the objects of his critiquing (in this case community or society) and the ways in which he was encouraged through adult-youth partnerships in Brotherhood Sister Sol to think critically and actively participate in social change projects. Lastly, this interview reveals how caring and trusting relationships that promote agency and reciprocal learning are coupled with discourses of attachment to adults and peers.

When I first met Rick for an interview we decided to delay for a minute and go on a run for some food. As we walked out of the brownstone onto a sunny 143rd Street, Rick galloped down the steps. He is a big teen, husky with a light step and confident grace. He knew everyone on the way to the Ecuadorian spot. He greeted an older man on a stool outside of the brownstone's garden, three small children and the woman accompanying them. As we decided what to order his daring spirit became evident right away. He decided on that particular spot because he had never eaten that type of food before and when given the chance to choose between different meat dishes, he again chose the one with which he was less familiar. "I will try anything once," he said as we waited for the food. The walk and the wait with Rick was pleasurable as he was supremely comfortable with himself. He told me about his search for a summer job and I

made feeble attempts to offer advice. We made our way back to the brownstone, sat on couches in a room with sun streaming in and began to talk…

Rick began his story with a statement: "I was the bully who bullied the bullies who bullied the nerds. I always stood up for what was right…If something was going wrong I always had to put my two cents in. All through school that was just me." As I pressed Rick to give me a little more detail about his experiences in school he recounted not being challenged enough from an early age. He described kindergarten in this way: "I knew my ABCs. I knew how to spell my name. I knew my 123s. I knew my 1-10 times tables. I was ahead of my class so it was nothing. I was so bored."

He lived with his aunt at the time and had the advantage of having a cousin in fifth grade who liked teaching him things. He recounted not only his boredom in school, but the first time he got suspended. The reason why he got suspended reflects one of his core attributes; standing up to injustice:

> *Actually kindergarten was the first time I got suspended. Because this boy hit my friend so I hit the boy and I got suspended. People have always seen me as the leader type. I'm going to stand up for what I think is right even if you don't think its right. I'm going to stand behind it.*

As Rick talked me through his years in school, more stories of defending the weak appeared. He recounted getting into fights if someone picked on his friends or hit someone he was close to. He also mentioned having to fend for himself, but was less explicit about what that meant: "I've always had to do for myself. I'm always going to stand up for me even if no one is going to stand with me." In this narrative, Rick often mentions standing alone as he recounts never letting others suffer the same fate.

By the time Rick was describing himself in first grade, he used the adjective "bad". It was at this point in his narrative one can hear a sense of detachment from school and some of the ways in which he was barred from contributing or thinking critically. It was clear to him that the school did not want to hear from him: "I was bad and I had a mouth" he said. Although he always made sure his work was done, he did question his teachers, a practice that was not appreciated and in fact, was actively stifled. Rick recalled: "Why?" came up a lot for me. I was like "I know that's not the way it should be." "No, I'm the teacher it's my way". Well "why does it have to be your way?"…I always had something to say. It was horrible." Rick told this part of the story without much critical analysis that teachers or the schools should have been different. He talked about his own "badness" and how much he disliked school in this period of time.

By the time Rick's narrative reached fourth grade he revealed why he is moved so frequently and stayed with relatives. At three or four years old, Rick recounted that his mother was no longer around. After living with an aunt he entered into foster-care. His description of foster-care mirrored that of his early years in school. It began with his getting in a fight while defending his foster brother on the first day he moved into the house. He defended his actions this way: "I can't sit there and watch somebody look helpless. And if I think something is wrong, I'm not going to stand there and be quiet. **So what I got a mouth**! I'm going to say what I want to say. I'm going to be me."

When Rick turned ten he had what he described simply as a "crazy year. Things I don't talk about. Just yeah…it was a crazy year." Later in his narrative, this appeared to be a turning point, low point and life challenge (please see methods section on McAdams protocol for more detail). Without going into detail, he recalled that at "ten years old, life

really shifted. Once I turned ten it was like the sky was the ceiling and all I could do was look up and hope. It was a real..it was a hard challenge."

At this point in the interview Rick clearly defined his boundaries of what he would and would not share with me. I chose not to see Ricks's refusal to share with me the details of the trauma of his tenth year indicative of the ongoing damage that this abuse continues to cause. Rick makes it clear later in the narrative that this trauma was something he worked though with the adults and peers at The Brotherhood/Sister Sol at a retreat weekend. Instead, I view this omission as an indication of the very dynamics between adults with good intentions and young people with strained attachment histories under investigation. When he does not share this part of his life he demonstrates his control over this interview process as well as asserting that trust is not given it is earned.

On the other side of the void of his tenth year was a story of his move to Harlem. Rick had a very strong critique of what was going on in Harlem in the 1990's. With a lively, animated tone he said: "I don't know it was just a lot of wrongs and a lot of things that I see that I didn't think should be going on. Based on what I saw before I moved to Harlem and what I saw when I got to Harlem…excuse my words, but it's just like "Fuck America.'"

Rick understood what was happening in Harlem as systemic. He described the disinvestment in the community and the government's pumping drugs into the neighborhood. He went on to relate government actions in Harlem to the war in Iraq:

> *I feel American government is just like its my way or no way. I did a lot of research and I just feel the American government just does some fucked up things. Even with the Osama Bin Laden thing. The American government*

trained Osama Bid Laden and then when he doesn't want to go their way…"Oh he's a communist." If communism is standing up for what you believe in, even if you are going against the American government, then I'm a communist because a lot of things that the American government does I don't believe in.

He went on to quote Supreme Court decisions and whole sections of a poem he had written entitled "Fuck America."

It is clear from Rick's narrative that agency was not something simply instilled in him by a youth activism program as he now sees and recounts it. Rick talked about feeling capable of doing for himself and others from an early age. He researched and questioned independently. However, what shifted when he found Brotherhood Sister Sol was that critical thinking, questioning, passion about injustice, and standing up for others was valued and cultivated. Instead of being placed in contradiction with adults, adults became allies, facilitators of knowledge acquisition and moving critique to action.

Rick found Brotherhood Sister Sol through two friends at the end of seventh grade. He said that he wanted to join right away, but was too young. In eighth grade, another friend had also joined, but he was still too young to be able to attend. He frequently went to the brownstone on his own to chill, and then, finally in 2006, Rick was able to participate in his first Summer Liberation School (SLS). Although he could not complete that year because of family issues, Rick got enough of a taste of what SLS was about that when he ran away from home the next year and was making his own rules, he enrolled himself in SLS. He described that period of time as transformative: "I had my own freedom. I could do SLS and it changed my life. It really did. It opened my eyes.

Like even though I already felt some type of way about the oppression in this society and in the world period, there was things I didn't know... I feel knowledge is the key to everything and they just added to my keys." Rick both acknowledges in his narrative what being in Brotherhood Sister Sol has done for him while simultaneously reiterating his self-concept as someone who has always fought against injustice and stood with those who had less power.

Acknowledging that he brought his own "keys" with him to the brownstone, he talked about gaining more knowledge and some insight about how to communicate that knowledge to others (i.e. not cursing, etc.). He mentioned critical thinking and analysis as skills cultivated at the brownstone:

> *For SLS we go through an intensive training where they constantly give you knowledge. They give you the kind of stuff that school would give you but more. And it's like both sides of the story and you analyze the quotes but YOU analyze the quotes. It's not like you in school and they tell you well this is how it is, this is how it go, this is what you believe, this is what you say, this is what you write, this is what you think. It's"this is his side of the story, this is the other side of the story, you find your own conclusion". So its like critical thinking made easy. It's your own beliefs and your own opinions with facts and you come out with it. It's not their telling you that. And another thing I like about this place is that I've always felt like people have been trapped by oppressive mindstates and this is like I feel like when you join here you break away from that, from mental changes slowly but surely. It's not going to take one day, it may*

not take one year, but slowly but surely your going to be able to think for yourself and analyze it your own way and still function in society. Like you make your own choices but you play by the rules so you can get ahead in life.

According to his narration, the analytical skills that Rick gained at Brotherhood Sister Sol translated into how he operated in other spheres of his life like school. Rick described researching whatever he was taught in history class acknowledging that the history he learned in school is one version and that he needed to seek out other versions before making any decisions. He reported going above and beyond class assignments transforming them into something of interest to him by conducting research that challenged the original topic assigned or by creating his own topics. He played not just with content but the form of assignments, such as writing a poem for a presentation instead of a power point. Rick also admits that he intentionally plays by the rules at times so he can get ahead. He strategically operates differently in spaces in which he is allowed to be part of challenging and creating rules and in spaces where he finds it wiser to operate by rules made by others.

Throughout our conversation, he educated me about our country, about the Panthers, about J Edgar Hoover, and about my own whiteness. I, in turn, offered brief experiential illustrations of the concepts about which he was talking so that he knew we were on the same page. For example, as he told me about the illegal practices of the FBI and Cointelpro, I told him a brief story about being followed to school daily by an agent when my father, a political activist, was underground. While not wanting to take over the

interview, we exchanged stories that let us feeling like we were both taking and giving as well as ideologically aligned.

Rick was comfortable in this reciprocal exchange with me and admitted that it was something that happens often in the informal spaces in the brownstone:

> *Like we can be upstairs and I can just be listening to a song and based on how I analyze the song, I may tell the person like well this is this and this and this. And they be like "Oh well, I didn't see it like that." And I be like "well." Then I break down where it comes from and all that and they be like "Oh" I don't know I just feel like whatever knowledge one person has he needs to share because we learn from each other. Like there are some things I know that you don't know and there are some things you know that I don't know so its like whatever I have that you don't have, I feel I should give you and I feel like whatever you have that I don't have, you should give me. And I think that's how I treat my relationships with the people at Bro Sis.*

Reciprocal learning between peers and adults is a theme that appears often in Rick's narrative. Rick mentioned more than once that a typical dynamic that he dealt with at home or in school, " my way or the highway," was not present with BroSis staff. He described them as treating "young people at the brownstone as equals." Rick described how that played out when adults and young people were collaborating on a project:

> *Like say we working on a project and we are collaborating. Like say it is [adult facilitator] and [another young person] and we working on a*

project and [adult facilitator] has a way where she see how this project will play out and me and [another young person] have two totally different ways we see it. She's not going to be like "I don't care this is the way I see it and this the way its going." It's more like "Ok so well I am more of like when watching over you and making sure everything goes smooth. What do you all want and any kinks or anything that we need to work out I'll help you all smooth it out. It's more like how should we get this done and that's why I feel more comfortable and at home. There's nobody like "well I'm older, you're younger. I'm right and your wrong." It's never that.

Rick talked about all the learning and teaching that happens in the brownstone as happening in a caring, loving environment. He repeatedly mentioned his attachment to others (both peers and adults) at the brownstone. Like many of the young people in this study Rick used words such as "family" and "love" to describe the relationship to others at the brownstone. However, unlike other young people in the study, no other attachment narratives were present anywhere besides the brownstone. In fact, he imbued a familial atmosphere in his descriptions of relationships with people and even into the structure of the brownstone itself:

It's like my family. It's how the people treat you. It's like the aura given off by the building. Like I know if I ever needed something or had a problem or if I ever just needed to cry that I could come to Bro Sis and it means everything. I don't know, I feel like they are giving me something I just feel I never had. I love them to death! The adults and my peers.

In fact, all of Rick's peek experiences mentioned in our interview occurred in the context of The Brotherhood/Sister Sol program. It may be that Rick was stressing the prominent place of The Brotherhood/Sister Sol in his life for my benefit as he assumed that was my main interest. However, his responses to a variety of questions in the protocol about high points in his life centered around Bro Sis such as: performing his poetry at a Bro Sis event, supporting other young people through his activism in Bro Sis, and writing his oath at the end of summer liberation school. Although still unwilling to share the hardships of his tenth year with me at this point in the interview, he recounted a life changing moment where he shared it with others at a Bro Sis ceremony. He relayed breaking down and using the power of the group to build himself up again.

At this point in his narrative Rick talked less about the individual growth that had happened for him in the program and described in great detail the three Brotherhood Sister Sol campaigns on which he was working. Although Rick came in at different points in each of these ongoing campaigns, he detailed an extensive history complete with dates that were passed onto him by a staff member that was there in the beginning of BroSis's involvement in the project. In contrast to the more general descriptions of his personal history, he offered me rich detail about the activism in which Brotherhood Sister Sol was involved. Throughout the description of a campaign to build a recreation center out of an abandoned school, he once again taught me about gentrification in Harlem and went on to critique the proposed renovations. He took offense at the assumption that what Harlem kids need is another gym as opposed to a theater or science lab. His commitment to each project was evident in his enthusiasm and passion as he described them. He got especially riled up as he described a mapping project focused on young

people's experience with police. He recounted his findings as well as his own stories of police brutality in the neighborhood. His sense of revulsion at injustice came through loud and clear as well as his attachment to making the community in which he lives a better place.

Rick described the underlying goals of the liberation program as a way "to better you and better the community. And if you feel like you young and you want to make a change this is the perfect place to come and build whatever idea you have to make the change. We gonna elaborate on it as your peers and expand and make that idea come true." This quote reveals the program's attention to multilevel change and Rick's assessment that this program is a safe space for young people to share ideas and get support from peers and adults to actualize them.

Although only a junior in high school, Rick had a clear idea about his future. He described college as an educational experience for him. "I feel like everyone should go to college for the simple fact that the first twelve years is for society. Anything after that is for you." After college he wants to get both a doctorate in psychology and a masters in creative writing.

In Rick's narrative we can hear agency resound in the way he took charge of defending himself and others, signing himself up for an activism program, getting the most of educational experiences to developing himself, others and his community. He related his movement between self and others as described what he was striving for:

"Well like I said before, I always felt like I needed to change the world but to change the world I had to look at myself. To see what's wrong with

myself and change myself because Bro Sis helps me to change myself, others and do the work I want to do."

Rick also demonstrated agency in the silences he insisted upon in our interview. He refused to share his tenth year with me nor reveal more than he wanted about his identity and romantic relationships. Although it may simply have been the fact that I did not establish enough trust as an interviewer, I had the feeling that it was important for Rick to maintain control over this process by picking and choosing what to share and what to keep especially from an adult with whom a relationship was fleeting. This interview process provided an opportunity to observe the types of attachment dynamics between adults and young people of interest in this dissertation.

Rick's sense of attachment to others at Brotherhood Sister Sol as well as to a more just society was evident throughout the narrative. Brotherhood Sister Sol proved that it was a safe space for attachment as adults engaged with him and his peers in reciprocal and caring ways as well as invited him to critique unjust conditions and move to change things for himself and others.

SELINA: "PUSH BACK"

"When you've been pushed up against the wall so many times you want to push back and I want kids to push back." (Selina, facilitator, Action)

Selina is a Dominican woman with dark hair, a big smile and a distinct voice. She came into the room in which I was sitting and greeted me graciously. Once she settled I could fix my eyes on how cute her outfit was. She was simply rocking jeans and a shirt,

but her colorful sneakers matched tones in her jacket, and the whole outfit was accompanied by a pair of striking earrings. I realized after a few minutes that I had just seen her in a play at the hip hop theater festival. I made the conscious decision not to tell her this until the end of the interview, but chose instead to let her know how highly recommended she came from the young person who referred her.

We were seated in the main offices of DreamYard in a comfortable room filled with windows, couches and the water cooler. People periodically entered to fill their water bottles or get their lunch out of the small refrigerator on which the water dispenser sat. This lack of complete privacy, coupled with an eerie eye image hanging behind the couch might also have impacted the story Selina chose to tell. However, even with all these constraints Selina seemed pretty comfortable from the beginning. We sat together for almost four hours as she wove a tale that spanned from age five to twenty eight. I chose Selina's life story to share in this chapter as it demonstrates alignment via partnerships with young people on participatory, social justice projects. Throughout Selina's narrative is an alignment with young people as opposed to contradiction. She made parallels between her life experiences, her way of dressing, her transparency, and those of the young people with whom she works. Selina was candid about her growth while working with the young people at DreamYard Action Project. She described deep attachments to the young people with whom she worked and the community in which they were trying to created change. We settled into the small, black and red couches that touched at a 90 degree angle and began to talk.

"My parents are Dominican and I was born in Puerto Rico and I came to the Bronx when I was about five-years-old." Selina told about having to transition schools

and languages and somehow knowing the weight of getting it all right even at such a young age. She described pressure from school officials and her parents to learn English right away or get left in a special education class. Although first placed in a special education class with many of her contemporaries who had recently immigrated from Puerto Rico, she was able to learn English faster than the other girls. She described having to "definitely learn English and get on point with that. If not, then there was this fear that you will not be in normal classes. I didn't know what abnormal was, I just knew I didn't want to be there."

By the end of elementary school Selina was out of special education and doing well in school, although that did not save her from being tracked into special education again once she entered junior high school. School officials did not know how to place students who were called "proficient in English" until they went through exams, so she began the difficult climb through the rungs of the tracking system. Every few months Selina would be tested in math and English. And every few months, she recounted that the department head for the seventh grade would come into her class and say "to get up, take your stuff, that I had passed the exam and I did really well and I shouldn't be in this class with these students... It was hell, it was horrible, because I didn't understand necessarily what was happening with the system and it created a situation with the other students who didn't understand why I was being pulled out or why I was being saved. Because while the teachers were telling me I was being saved, while the other students were like I'm selling out or I'm leaving them behind…"

Selina described the Bronx of the late 1980's and early 90's burning with violence, anger and poverty. She painted visions of stressed out young people with

empty stomachs who fought often and would not think twice about slashing someone in class for disrespect. Going to a new classroom every few months was difficult in the beginning. Feeling tired of being called a "sell out," Selina decided to fail the exams on purpose one time. It did not work; the administrator came in and said "I know you failed it on purpose. Get your stuff," and she was carted, once again, to another class.

Selina remembered navigating her entire education alone as her parents were not from this country and had no idea how the system worked. She played the role of translator and intermediary from a very young age. By the time she was in eighth grade she was again in the top class in a space that she described as non-violent, stimulating and happy. Selina always kept the reality for the other kids in the school alive in her narrative stating, "There was still hell throughout the rest of the school and I knew it."

Although zoned into a huge local Bronx school, Selina remembered that one of her teachers helped her get into a smaller alternative school located at Hostos Community College. There were only 30 people in her freshman class, she said this allowed her "to experiment more and do her own thing." She participated in many after-school activities that kept her away from a block that she recalled as being very "hectic". Once again, Selina included those who did not spend time in after-school, but in the neighborhood, in her narrative. She was also not embarrassed to mention her own attempt to make a quick $20 carrying drugs across the Concourse. Her brief stint at the lower end of the drug trade was cut short when she witnessed a person being shot in close proximity. She remembered his body crumpling as if in slow motion and the blood dripping from his head on the street. She quickly acknowledged that while it was hard to live on the five dollars that she got every two weeks from her dad, that drug game was not for her.

It was during high school that Selina began experimenting with theater. Although Selina described herself as really shy in public, she would write and perform skits for her family every Sunday. She soon started to venture downtown into Manhattan to a place she associated with freedom and performance. She did not yet attend much theater but felt it was exciting even to be close by and away from her comfort zone.

Selina graduated high school early, but stayed on for a few months to help her assistant principal in the office. While in the office, sorting things into teacher's boxes, she would come across information about programs for young people that were not being distributed. She soon became "the person who knew what was going on for the other kids." This was a reoccurring theme for Selina as she later became a conduit between many of her different worlds, providing resources for the young people with whom she worked.

It was on her quest to find interesting programs for others that she:

> *…saw this flyer for this play with teenagers and I was like this looks really cool and I just picked up the phone and I called…I was like "oh my god! I want to come." She invited me to come down, and I was like "I don't have money for the tickets." She was like "we got you, just come." This was only a phone call, I showed up and I stayed for 4 years…Every Saturday from 10:00-5:00 pm I was in theater classes, movement classes, voice classes—through a scholarship and a lot of kids from the city that were in it there were other programs like City Kids. But it was a really intensive program… a big commitment for any kid. There were kids from Queens,*

Brooklyn. It was the best experience of my life because it didn't only bring the classroom stuff. It brought a whole other level of arts.

In this theater program, Selina was mentored by some of the best actors in urban theater, such as Danny Hotch, Sarah Jones and Reggie Gains. People that she came to study at Hunter College were people with whom she had worked, learned from, and had become friends with over the years. It was in this time of growth as an actor, playwright and as a student that Selina also became head of her household.

Selina's father passed away suddenly when she was 19 years old and the next day "There were bills to pay." Selina took a crash course in money management and survival. She adjusted her college schedule to be able to work in order to contribute to the household in which she grew up. In the same period of time that her father passed away, her mother was diagnosed with severe depression. She went from a household where her mother took care of all the laundry, cooking and caretaking with a father who provided financially to having neither. Her mother entered a nursing home and Selina was left feeling utterly alone. All sense of security vanished that year and for years to come Selina became more aware of cultivating self -sufficiency for herself and later with the young people with whom she worked.

Getting through the period of time following the upheaval of her family took focus, determination and sacrifice on Selina's part. She found a job in a movie theater but soon got bored and needed a more challenging job. She risked quitting that job and the next week landed a job where she was paid to act. Selina spent the next few months going into different New York City schools doing skits about HIV, STDs, suicide and domestic violence. She would perform, hand out condoms and provoke discussions with

students about these topics. Selina later joined Public Allies (a paid internship in the non-profit sector) where she worked with Bronx Charter School for the Arts as a part of a planning committee to help design and found the school. These experiences in combination with working at El Puente academy, performing in prisons, being mentored by actors at the theater company and working at the first year of the Hip Hop Theater Festival were formative experiences for her growing consciousness about social issues.

It was at this juncture that she was invited by El Puente where she worked as a teaching artist, to go to Costa Rica for a month. Selina had many stories about that trip. Stories that seemed so outlandish, I once had to forget my interview etiquette and say "for real?" She relayed heartbreaking tales of kids being bought and sold to American men who looked like Santa Claus and listening to the grunts of old men and cries of young kids through paper thin walls of their hotel. She told about whole mountainsides in the rainforest, dotted like Swiss cheese because McDonalds was buying up patches of land, taking out all the existing plant-life and replacing it with microbiotic blades of grass. Selina's words tell this part of the story because it is difficult to recreate…

> *"And each blade of grass, I ended up having to cut these, they grow to like 10 or 15 feet. Each blade is really tall so it gets really dense, really hot, and really muggy in this really tight circle. And what happens is that the sun can't get to the bottom any more…What happens when sun gets blocked? The bottom starts drying up and turning yellow. All of a sudden I saw this plane come with this big fat animal and I was just like "what is that?" I had no idea it was a cow, but let me tell me tell you how big this cow is. It was the size of a house. The eyeball was like this big*

[gestures to demonstrate the magnitude].. Like the side of my face. I tell my kids and they're like "Miss Selina stop"… And they come and they drop it down and it stays there in this circle because it's fenced in and it eats. This massive, disgusting thing, and then a helicopter comes back, takes it and goes like that. And they drop a couple of cows like that all the time. And I was just like I had no idea this is how they do it. And nobody could tell me that it's not true because I saw it with my own eyes."

Selina shared intimate knowledge of whole towns sacrificed for hydroelectric dams to supply Coca Cola plants, paper companies' chopping away constantly at trees in the rain forest and little boys' hands bleeding and bruised from picking bananas to export to the U.S. All of this changed Selina. She explained: "I don't think I came back the same. I got to see everything first hand, just absolute capitalism, globalization, all the companies, every little thing I didn't want to know existed. It was in my face and I had to deal with it constantly…"

Selina ended up leaving El Puente and stopped eating McDonalds when she returned from Costa Rica. She began working in theater at other community centers like the Point (full service community center in the Bronx). It was a referral from the Point that led Selina to her job with DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project. DreamYard was looking for Bronx-based artist; Selina was excited to work with an organization that reminded her of Urban Youth Theater. She decided that she wanted to bring what she got from Urban Youth Theater to the Bronx and to make a long-term commitment to a particular group of youth. She committed to working with a group of eighth graders through their graduation from high school on arts and social justice projects.

Selina articulated many goals for young people at Action that directly reflected the lessons she has gained from her own life experiences. She relayed that she actively sought to support young people to have a sense of agency and to feel self-sufficient and capable in the world. This played out in the way she worked with youth to build skills and to feel comfortable interacting with many different types of people. She was committed to go beyond her job description to make sure the kids she worked with had ID's, licenses, and bank accounts.

Selina was a confidant to many young people in the program and related to their stories with sympathy and empathy, but never with pena[9]. Her goal was to support young people to become resilient, self sufficient, and wise decision-makers. She described engaging young people in a series of constructive questioning that led them to their own conclusion about how to resolve any problems that might arise in their personal lives or in the work of Action. Selina explained:

> *You could have all these teachers running around imposing their beliefs and things and again where it actually comes in is you want to build kids that can make decisions for themselves. And positive and healthy decision on their own. Not because they called up Miss Selina and Miss Selina helped them make the decision and now they're making a good, positive decision. It's because they did it on their own. And when they make these decisions on their own without your help, and your hand, and your phone call. OK you are really ready for the world and you're ready to stand on your own two feet.*

[9] Feeling pity or sorry for someone in Spanish.

When Selina worked on getting out a press release with young people for one of their events she supported youth, but never did the job for them even as the date approached. She encouraged them to find the necessary resources.

Selina was committed to having high expectations of all the young people with whom she worked because she knew how weird her own experience of being favored and singled out was:

> *I was the pet student. I was the kid who got to go to the front. I saw all the hell that my friends were going through and they didn't have to be put through that. They didn't have to see that, they didn't have to be made to feel like I was better than them, I was smarter, I could get out of the hood. Its not fair to do that to children, I never would.*

Selina walked the fine line of tough love so that all the young people with whom she worked became not only better artists and activists, but also empathetic and kind critical thinkers. She talked about wanting to have young people feel like they have the resources and the ability to create or make anything happen without having to wait to be told to act.

Although Selina had goals for young people, she always kept in mind how young people contribute to others and, as will become clearer later in the chapter, how young people have contributed to her own growth process. She sometimes contrasted her approach to those of school day teachers:

> *And I understand their frustrations with a lot of the teachers. You're not questioning me as a full person, acknowledging who am I as a person, and*

what can I provide to this society…I want kids to have a voice in this society.

The way in which Selina approached the arts-based activism that she did with young people was scaffolded, transparent, and intentional. She reported modeling what she preached and was very clear that she too was growing, learning and developing all the time. She drew upon her own creativity and ability to draw out young people's thoughts of various topics. Selina's narrative revealed a relationship between adults and young people filled with reciprocal learning. When asked about her work with young people at action, Selina described it as a series of experiences that build upon each other over the years. Once again, I will let Selina's words tell this chunk of the story:

The first year was more like monologues and by themselves, and then the more we worked as a community and giving responsibilities then we could write a story, write a script. And beyond that then they started to do films. They started to do street theater. We did stuff indoors the second year, the third year we just started taking it out. The second year we went to Vassar College for the summer. The third year we went to Texas. We went to San Antonio, so we flew them all over there. We got to work with other young people from over there. So we combined and they worked on pieces and the group I worked with did a piece on school and the classroom and the teacher not treating all the students fairly and things that were going on. And they also did a film, a video about building bridges on the border. And they did quotes, but it was their faces juxtaposed with a Martin Luther King, Che, Frida Kahlo. It was a really dope film and video piece.

Right in the beginning it was me assigning, depending on what I saw already in the class. Who was apt to do this, who needed to challenge themselves to do that. So I would distribute the work like that, and obviously they could speak up and I'd listen to that…Like this year they started taking the reins more. This year I felt like I was more of a coach, and in the beginning I said "OK, remember all the stuff that we've done, from eighth grade till now. Now I want to see what you can do." And they were like "what are you talking about?" The fear of you're not going to be there. And I said: "I'm going to be there. I'm going to be right there, but let me tell you it will not go up without you. Nothing will happen without you." Also they're seeing the effect that they're having on other kids now that they're juniors and their friends came to see them and saw all this stuff happening. All their friends from other schools are like "Oh my god. Can I get into the program?" And they're like "No. You have to be in here since eighth grade…"

Selina began working at DreamYard Action Project when she was in her mid 20's and at the time of her interview was almost 30. She talked about having to "become an adult and make all these choices in front of them [young people] and be honest and transparent." Selina described her four years working at Action as a period of tremendous growth in her life as a youthworker, actress, and rapper. She often mentioned the skills that she and the youth brought to the table as being equally valuable.

I'm a teaching artist, meaning I'm an artist and I'm coming to work with you and to share what I know with you and we work on it together. I am

not above you, and I think that when I set that up in that sense I think that they all get that, that I'm not necessarily above them or below them. I have training and knowledge of what I've done because I've studied it. That I can bring it to the table the same way they have ideas and opinions that they can bring to the table.

Although she continually spoke about having high expectations for young people, there was one situation that surprised her. She had a student who told her he was gay and that he wanted to share this part of his identity with the rest of the community. She immediately got scared that the other kids would reject or ridicule him because of his sexual orientation. She consulted with the social worker and her colleagues and planned various scenarios and possible solutions as the time when he was going to tell the other people in the group approached. When the moment came she was completely terrified. Much to her surprise the group responded with, "We knew that! We love you." She remembered being so shocked at both his bravery when she was so frightened, as well as the group's acceptance.

Selina also recalled being challenged by some of the group to adjust her way of working with them. She used to pride herself on her "tough love" that was a result of her high expectations. One day after she laid into someone in front of other young people, the young man told her that he did not like to be called out publicly, that she could share her critique of him in a less public way. She talked about it with the group and agreed that she would change her approach to giving feedback.

Selina at times referred to youth as her "moral compass" because she lost many of her familial guides when she was 19 years old. When offered a role as a prostitute or a

part in a cigarette commercial, Selina recalled asking herself what her young people would say if they saw her in this particular role:

> *They're my bar of expectation for myself and I love it really because if not I don't necessarily have parents or this layer of people who expect something of me. And I think when you live for other people outside of yourself that can give you that grounding, its beautiful…There's somebody that you see that you have respect for and my young people are that for me. So 99% of my decisions are based on could my young people see this? What would they think of this?*

In modeling for her students her commitment to acting and activism, it reified that she was indeed a committed "actress" and "activist". Selina recalled that when some of the students first came to A.C.T.I.O.N they had misconceptions about activism, thinking that "speaking up had a lot to do with violence in the sense that I' m going to go to jail, I'm going to be in trouble. They never came in thinking that it was ok to do this, which was really interesting." Selina felt that part of her responsibility was to invite students to see her performances and work outside of Action, so that they could envision that being an activist artist was a possibility that did not entail incarceration or having "teachers hate you." She had to be utterly confident and committed to those identities because she "never wanted my students to feel that I pretended to be something that I wasn't or to not be able to back it up."

Selina talked about learning from young people in various ways as they collaborated on social justice projects, but she also mentioned learning from her

colleagues at DreamYard. She attributed much of her growth from her colleagues as resulting from the diversity of the staff chosen by the project director:

> *Gathering polar opposite New Yorkers and pulling them together to work with a diverse group of young people. On top of that the staff is diverse. We all come from different backgrounds and beliefs and how we handle situations and putting all that shit aside and putting the progress and the good of the students at the forefront. But for all of us to be intelligent and articulate and to be able to challenge each other and to not be people who are offended easily. I think that is one of the great qualities of our staff. You could say something… We're not taking offense, we're just trying to deal with questions and trying to make the dialog or lesson plan better…I love learning, and so I could come in with an idea and then let's say Jessica or Manny says "No I read this somewhere". I'm like "Really? Oh my god, email that to me." So the staff is constantly emailing articles and books," Read this. Oh my god. Oh I didn't know that, for real? Oh let me find this out." And we're all different teaching artists. Charla is a visual artist, Jessica studied creative writing and poetry, I come from a theater background. So we all also see the world through those lenses of art which is very different. Charla sees the world through the art, the visual world, using textiles. And I've learned so much from her from a visual standpoint, that I don't think I've ever gotten from the theater world. So you have the students learning on their own, but you also have the camaraderie between adults like we're learning from each other. We*

have weekly staff meetings. We're always emailing. We always do retreats every Columbus day weekend, and it's important to make us active in the brain and to stimulate ourselves too.

Selina talked about learning about resources for the projects on which she is working from her supervisor and peers. The weekly open lines of communication allowed for her own growth, resource exchange, better lesson planning, discussions about individual young people and problem solving.

In addition to learning from the young people and her peers Selina mentioned other components of her approach. She reported having to do a great deal of planning to engage youth in participatory processes. Although she did not predetermine how the group would move, she did do substantial weekly and long-term planning. In fact, she felt she did more planning for participatory processes because the group constantly shifted or changed according to the feedback of different group members.

Transparency with young people was a major theme in Selina's narrative. She saw herself as a person who actively promoted the idea that all staff should be transparent with the young people with whom they work. When Selina talked about transparency she referred to discussing issues of race and class, whiteness and privilege. She talked to them openly about the discrimination they faced as young people. Most importantly she shared her own struggles and accomplishments. It is important for Selina to **"**make it transparent for them, the struggles that I go through that other teachers go through. We need to remove this veil of this teacher." She also openly invited youth to glimpse into her world outside of DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project. She talked about gigs she invited youth to and often shared with them any accolades she received for her work as an actress

or activist. Selina felt like too much "detachment" from young people was not healthy, that it was dishonest and did not let either staff or young person get the most they can out of the relationship.

As Selina transitioned from talking about the program to talking about her future in the response to McAdams' "future self" questions (please see protocol in methods chapter III), she often contrasted her future against her past, not to separate from it or those people that form the narrative, but to remain close to them. Selina was told she was different and separated repeatedly from those in her classes or in her buildings. In her own narrative she asserted how similar she was yet how different her opportunities had been:

> *"I feel like if it wasn't for the arts and the activism and all the things that opened up my eyes, that I could have really fallen victim to a lot of the things a lot of the girls fell victim to. When I hear back from friends, oh so what happened to this girl from junior high school. Oh you know this girl has a bunch of kids, this girl has HIV, these people are locked up, this is what's going on. And all I think about is my god, there was no difference even though those teachers kept separating me and doing all these things I absolutely feel to this day, but people are like oh no Selina but you're so smart and you're so talented. And I told them that's bull shit, you can't tell me that those girls in my building aren't as talented as I was, because I know for a fact that I'm regular. People always want to create this myth even within the neighborhood. You're the talented one, you're the smart*

one. I am not different from the girl next door to me. Obviously I just had an opportunity. Opportunity, and talent, and luck."

Selina's aim was to create opportunities for other young people. Acknowledging that young people were under attack in public spaces, she wanted to provide a safe space for youth to chill and connect. Her work with young people in the Bronx reconnected her to her roots. There was a palpable sense of her attachment to the community. Selina tied together a vision for her youth work to her aims in other areas of her life:

Well I definitely still want to be involved with the students/young people, period, in the Bronx, because I'm from here, but throughout the United States. One goal I had was to open up a coffee shop or something in the Bronx. Like the Nuyorican or the Bowery or something. There really aren't any spaces or venues for young people to do readings or just go and check out the internet, just relax. I've never had one place where I didn't get followed or people weren't threatened by or we didn't get kicked out of. Even at Mickey D's, we were kicked out of Mickey D's. Because it wasn't a place for young people to hang out in.

I definitely still want to create art. I'm working on my album right now, so doing my music stuff, writing, and directing, I love film. Keeping myself busy. I still want to create and travel and experience different worlds, and share, and connect people."

Selina was a hard worker who was not afraid to sacrifice the future for herself and others. She felt connected to her roots in the Bronx, and she identified with people all over the world. She often mentioned being a conduit that connects people and resources

across her life space. Her narrative reveals a profound alignment with young people as opposed to contradiction. She portrayed an openness to learning from youth and adults and clearly articulated strengths and surprises that have emanated as a result of working in partnership with young people. It is important to mention that, although I chose Selina's life to illustrate "alignment," this alignment existed in lives data of other adult staff who were not from the Bronx, who were not people of color, and who were not close in age to the participants. This alignment had more to do with an openness to learning from and with youth, a profound attachment to young people, transparency, willingness to analyze and share power, as well as a shared commitment to working with young people on social justice issues.

LESSONS ACROSS LIVES

Across the life stories of Rick and Selina were narratives of attachment between "self" and "others" enabled by active participation and a sense of alignment between adults and youth. Like Maxine Green (1988) articulates so beautifully in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, people need attachments to others and a shared project of change to affirm themselves as humans. In these lives one can see a striving for humanization using critical engagement with the world as one searches to create an alternative vision in the process (Freire, 1970). Although this is true for both adults and young people, the low power status of young people necessitates concerted and intentional effort to publicize the humanization of young people as subjects not objects as they are often considered "not yet people" (Dollar, 1975). Although it is evident when looking at the adult life history data that they too are continually developing, young people are often seen primarily as development projects, leaving unacknowledged the

current strength, power and ability they have to positively change our worlds. When adults and young people stood aligned to critique their world, as they embarked on projects aimed at changing it, something shifted between the realm of "self" and "other" while concurrently moving towards shifting unequal power arrangements.

The relationship connecting alignment between adults and young people doing participatory work and the resulting changes in attachment (as well as other levels of impact) played out differently for young people and adults. Evident in Selina's life, but found in an analysis across adult narratives, is that adults experience a deeper attachment to their art and/or political commitments because they had to teach it to young people as well as actively model whatever they were teaching. Adults also talked about young people inspiring them to sustained action. Lastly, adults reported that working with young people made them feel more attached, in general, to young people and more interested in what they had to say, for example on the streets, trains, and other public spaces.

Attachment in these lives moved beyond relating to specific figures but was echoed in narratives about communities, the programs, and a commitment to a just society. Affective ties and a way of viewing "self" and "other" as connected in the most personal spheres to the more distant concepts like societal was demonstrated by reported behaviors as well as feelings. The fact that these attachments facilitated by joint action between adults and young people moved beyond talk meant that there was impact on multiple levels as a result of these efforts. In these two life histories, one can extract data on impact that moved beyond the individual young person and adult facilitator gained

from this experience, but what campaigns were launched, community action taken, and community members persuaded to exercise their democratic rights through voting.

In fact, one of the findings that echoed across lives is that the changes that resulted from these partnerships happened for young people, adults, programs, communities, institutions, and society. In addition to the impact on attachment, young people articulated gaining particular skill-sets that included being able to better communicate their ideas within the groups in which they were working as well as to others outside of the group. They mentioned gaining leadership skills such as developing an idea, learning about it, planning something and executing it. Although feeling more competent as leaders, they simultaneously valued working closely with a group of adults and peers (teamwork, collaboration). Most mentioned a crossover between the sense of agency that they felt in program time and how they operated differently in school.

In addition to feeling more attached to young people and their commitments as activists, adults in this research reported that working collaboratively with young people also helped them become more patient, understanding, and adaptable. Staff mentioned that the program quality was better because of youth input. Young people who came through the program were also utilized as junior staff which reportedly added an important resource.

Communities were reported to benefit from the adult-youth partnerships in a number of ways. First, the partnerships often coalesce around community change projects such as transforming an abandoned building into a community resource or campaigns against police harassment or for environmental justice. The impact was not limited to local communities as people in both organizations mentioned work nationally

and internationally where the collective engaged in community action. Some examples of this were community performances with young people impacted by hurricane Katrina in New Orleans at Action and work with sister organizations in Ghana and South Africa.

Through the work of the partnerships, adults and young people were attempting to shift institutions that had an impact on their lives like schools such as adults who wielded power over them such as police. Their work on the institutional level took the forms of educating young people, new police recruits, and educators. Young people reported organizing conferences about education and doing work within local schools.

Lastly, research in the field of youth civic engagement supports the link between increased engagement of young people and a more democratic society (Flanagan & Faison, 2001). In fact, many people believe it is essential for maintaining a healthy democracy (UNICEF, 2006; Winter, 1997). Adults and youth reported on projects in which they or their colleagues were involved that focused on getting youth more involved in politics and tackling global issues like climate change and broken criminal justice systems (for more information about multi-level impact using data across lives please refer to Appendix III).

This multilevel impact did not happen automatically. The staff meetings, supervision, and planning mentioned by Selina formed the organizational infrastructure supporting the adult-youth partnerships in her organization. When analyzing data about the supports for this work across life narratives an even clearer picture emerges to include continual supervision, a long-term program structure, supportive learning communities, and a rigorous interview and orientation process (please see Appendix II for full analysis). For example, in both organizations the staff met regularly to learn together as

well as met one-on-one with their supervisors. Both programs required that staff commit for at least four years and followed the same cohorts of young people through their transition from middle to high school. This cemented relationships between youth and adults as well as between peers. The organization assessed long-term commitment as well as skills and attributes through a rigorous interview process. These skill sets included active listening, constructive questioning, and communication skills. Attributes included being consistent, supportive, respectful and open (please see Appendix II for more related to skills and attributes). The organizations were intentionally structured to support the success of these partnerships.

In addition to the organizational supports, there were characteristics of the partnership that seemed to be present across organizations. The groups of adults and young people that worked together were not just bodies in a room, but had particular practices and qualities to the relationship. Heard in Selina's narrative as well as across all lives narratives was a type of youth-adult partnership that included transparency, power-sharing, explicit common goals, caring relationships and reflective practices (please refer to Appendix II for full analysis). Although, these conditions of engagement were mentioned in the previous chapter, the lives of Rick and Selina exemplified in this chapter allow one to explore concepts of interest in all their complexity, context specificity and most importantly as they play out in the lived experience of adults and young people.

Although these life histories emphasize the power and joy in these partnerships, there was data across other lives that illuminate that this work is not always easy. For

example, a dynamic mentioned by Tammy, a facilitator at Action, is once young people feel supported to challenge adults, it happens in the program space:

> *That they're going to disagree with you, yeah, I mean, that they're going to challenge you, that they're going to disagree with you and they're going to sometimes, take out that kind of empowerment and maybe not always use it in a positive way.*

This quote illustrates that young people challenged and questioned adults in the program. However, "control" of young people was never mentioned as the aim of this work, although many adults mentioned encouraging critical thinking, analysis and action. This narrative was told by a director speaking about dilemmas that came up for her staff and how she supports them to work through these challenges. It was not mentioned as insurmountable, but as a starting point for discussion with her staff.

Chandra, a staff member at Brotherhood Sister Sol mentioned her frustration when a group of young people with whom she had been working for a while, still had to be pushed to realize how much control and agency they had:

> *...which used to drive me crazy because I would come and sit down and five people would be like "Is there any more work to do, is there anything to work on?" And I was like, "What did we talk about at the meeting that we had?", and they'd be like "Oh, right", and they would go to their notes and say, "Right, I need to go do this"... And then they're off.*

This data may be an indication of just how long it takes to overcome paradoxes of participation or the length of the developmental process to achieve deep participation and

attachment. Both quotes illuminate that participatory work between adults and young people even in "exemplary" programs is challenging and takes considerable effort.

Although at the beginning of this chapter I acknowledged that I mainly stand aligned with a hermeneutics of restoration (Josselson, 2004), an interesting pattern emerged across all the youth lives data that was noticeably different from the form of the adult lives data. Rick educated me about the disinvestment in Harlem and tightly controlled the information I got from him, Jason taught me about conditions at Rikers Island and took it upon himself to check in to see if I was ok in both our interview and later when I was collecting ethnographic data at his site. Isani made sure her narrative moved from silly boy obsessed girl to mature, excelling, self-composed young woman, and Jasmine constantly made certain that I did not stereotype her as from the "ghetto". With the exception of Selina convincing me about the giant cows plopped down by McDonald's planes, this was different from the form of the adult lives data. I would argue that even in the interview process they were still contending with the double consciousness (Du Bois, 1897) imposed by stereotypes of young people, especially being that they are youth of color. They had to let me know that they were coming to the table with knowledge, that they were not silly or boy obsessed or any of the other stereotypes that are generally imposed on them. There was not the same need or determination from the adults, there didn't have to be.

ETHNOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION

I return to ethnographic data captured at a DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project meeting about a school in which young people had done workshops with younger children to illustrate attachments to society and institutions as impacted by the support

that young people receive from their participation in transforming them. Also evident in this data is an attachment to other young people and the ways in which young people push adults to sustain their commitment to young people, institutions and societal transformation:

> Rece*: This whole experience makes me very scared for the future and I have three brothers. I don't want a world where they are silenced. I can't see these kids get shut down and not say something. It really scares and upsets me. They want them to become mute.*
>
> Mike: *Like "Do the Right Thing"…Smiley the mute.*
>
> Julio: *The thing is we have the power to speak and we should use it.*
>
> Trisha: *To see other people go through it really opened my eyes. It needs to be changed.*
>
> Ed (executive director): *What do we do? Do we stay?*
>
> Jessica: *We start a riot and rebellion. We get 7 on your side. We impeach him (the principal). We should speak for them.*
>
> Julio*: Dreamyard should stay in or expand. They [the youth] need a place to be heard.*
>
> Ade: *I just failed a class because I am outspoken. I am thinking about it now and I am mad! [TELLS STORY ABOUT HER NOTES AND TEACHER FAILING HER FOR A NOT GOOD REASON]*
>
> Amina: *My cousin is getting demerits for skipping to the cubby and drawing…in kindergarten!*

Julio: *It would be irresponsible to leave 331. Our main priority needs to be the students, but we should go in there and talk to the administration, not the students.*

Robyn: *Young people are functioning out of fear, not respect.*

Field notes: Adult facilitator makes the case to the executive director that the principal is too messed up to stay. Young people disagree

Francesca: *The kids need our support. We have to stay there.*

Mike: *You guys have to remember that it's not going to be easy.*

Rece: *Do we want to have a world were kid's heads are hanging to the floor or do we want a different vision?*

Jessica*: The issue is not the kids…it's the adults.*

Julio: *We have to be willing to work until we can't anymore.*

The scene captured in this ethnographic data reveals a moment in which young people pushed the adults to remember their commitment and attachment to the young people even in the repressive context of the school in order to sustain the work. Young people remind the adults that "It's not going to be easy" but that leaving would be "irresponsible." They recommended shifting the focus of the collective's work in the immediate future to working on changing the adults in the school instead of conducting workshops with young people and to increase their services to this school, not leave. Young people acknowledged their fear of a society in which young people "are silenced" and their desire to change it. Agency was more pronounced for the young people than the adults in this particular data with young people making statements such as: they

"can't see these kids get shut down and not say something" or "We have the power to speak and we should use it." Agency for both young people and adults in the group was evident in analyzing how and who shifts the conversation. There is also disagreement between adults and youth about the next steps for working in that school and was acceptable and valued. Alignments and attachment did not mean agreement and deep participation meant critical engagement and dialogue.

This data also illuminates that although the paradoxes of participation mentioned in the previous chapter exist, the fluid movement between attachment is pushed and pulled in part based on deep participation. For example, there was mention of detachment from both people and institutions that occurs when contexts are hostile, and yet, young people also show attachment to adults in a different setting in which they are encouraged and supported to be actively engaged in changing unjust structures and situations. Although the young people experienced barriers to participation, they became attached to, rather than detached from the institutions. The data illuminates that being involved in this activism project with peers and adults meant that they were invited to make decisions about how to tackle oppressive school administrators, not just supported to exist in it. The young people recognized that changing these institutions was related to the ongoing relationship between themselves and other people; attachment evident in their persistence to keep the program doing work in that particular school.

The holistic content analysis of these life narratives in conjunction with ethnographic glimpses offer a sense of the complex process that envelops adults and young people involved in social justice work in the current socio-political climate. They also give a sense of possibility and hope that change is possible.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

"Do we want to have a world where kid's heads are hanging to the floor or do we want a different vision?" (Young person, Dreamyard Action Project)

"I loved what I was looking at and I felt driven to let others in on the beauty that I was observing" [Suzanne Ouellette (2003) talking about life history, p. 14].

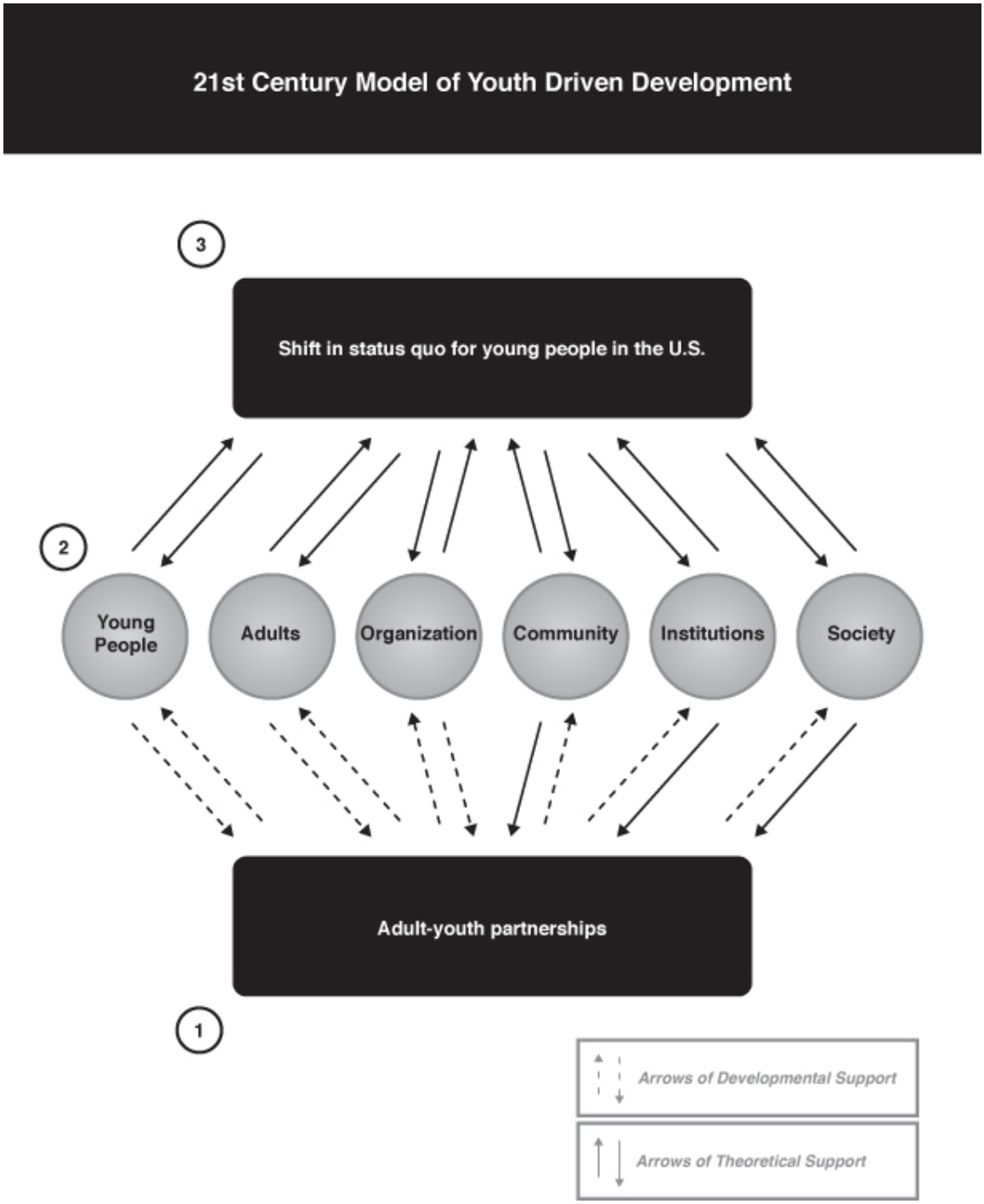
Similar to Ouellette's (2003) description of doing lives research, I too found beauty in what these lives taught me about adult-youth partnerships. I left interviews and observations inspired by what I experienced and felt determined to share this "beauty" with others. I am committed to applying this evidence to support this important work. I accept the challenge of the participant quoted above because I do not "want a world where kids' heads are hanging to the floor." In fact, looking across analyses my own vision of how adults and young people can work together to combat oppression begins to emerge. In the spirit of Maxine Green (1988) who invites us to imagine and Bronfenbrenner (1979) who would ask that one be aware of the multiple ecologies in which people live, I offer a theory of change that knits together the various findings in this dissertation and my own hopes about how they can be applied toward shifting unequal power structures, not just fitting adult-youth partnerships into them.

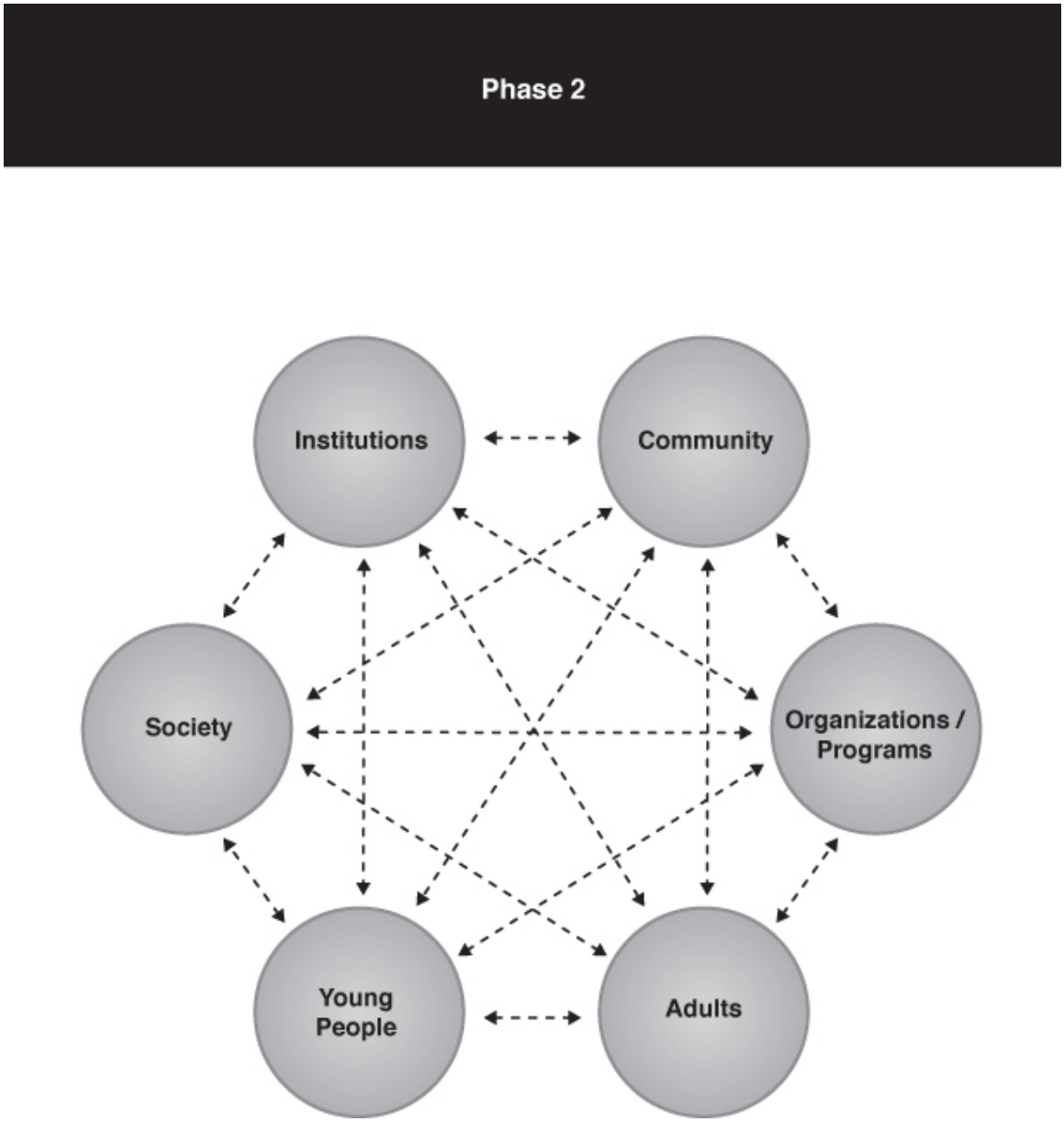
A THEORY OF CHANGE MODEL

A theory of change model is a specific and measurable description of a social change initiative that forms the basis for strategic planning, on-going decision-making

and evaluation (Gambone, 2006). The theory of change that emanated from this analysis has adult-youth partnerships[10] as its foundation. I argue that, given the context of oppression of young people in the United States, it seems appropriate to have a method that supports and impacts adults as well as youth in the process. This model would be relational and, at its core, place young people in alignment with adults, jointly committed to the common goal of transforming root causes of oppression. As youth are in a low power position, they may not have the access or connections necessary to make changes in adults, organizations, institutions or community. Therefore they benefit from having adult allies. Contact theorists (Allport, 1954; Pratt, 1991; Torre, 2010) laud the creation of spaces in which differently positioned people, in this case adults and young people, are at the same table. I concur with multiple theorists (Hart, 1997; Norman, J., 2001; Zeldin et al., 2001) who promote adult-youth partnerships as opposed to youth-led or adult-led strategies in this socio-political context. Please refer to Figure 1 below.

[10] Adult-youth partnerships is not confined to a dyad but includes groups of adults and young people


21st Century Model of Youth Driven Development
3
Shift in status quo for young people in the U.S.
2
Young People
Adults
Organization
Community
Institutions
Society
Adult-youth partnerships
1
Arrows of Developmental Support
Arrows of Theoretical Support



In this model, groups of young people and adults participate deeply on work that is jointly decided by the collective. Transparency, power-sharing, reflection and caring-relationships prevail, facilitating the development of youth, adults, organizations, communities, institutions, and society (see Appendix II and III for more detail). Attachment is the psychological impact that moves across all these levels from the individual to the societal. Attachment occurs broadly, not simply within adults and youth

but in relation to organizations, communities, institutions, and society (refer to the model of what happens in phase 2). Both participation and alignment are the enabling conditions for attachment and the achievement of multi-level change.

All arrows in this model are bidirectional (reciprocal), acknowledging the impact that young people, adults, supportive or unsupportive organization, communities, institutions, and supportive or unsupportive societies have on adult-youth partnerships. Also evident is a web of supports and impact that is created between young people, adults, organizations, communities, institutions, and society acknowledging various developmental contexts and the ways in which those interact (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979). The movement between supports and impact is portrayed in this model as interwoven arrows that form a web of impact on each other (see page 131 for a detailed look at the web of impact at phase two).

The top part of the proposed model (labeled 3) may take considerable time to impact. It is the part of the model in which I imagine that another world is possible in the hopes that imagining will inspire action (Green, 1988). The hope is that youth and adult engagement that drives development on many levels will result in a shift in status quo for both young people and adults. For young people this shift will have to include changes in both material conditions and public perception. Instead of treating youth as "not yet people" (Dollar, 1975) and including long-term goals that only materialize when they become adults, this model includes changing the way young people are treated and perceived in the present.

The impact on the status quo, however, would not remain on the individual level. The hope is that shifting the low power status of young people would lead to a more

democratic society, youth-centered institutions, communities, and programs (International Institute for Child Rights and Development (IICRD), 2004; Rajbhandary et. al., 2003; Swift, 1997; Winter, 1997; UNICEF, 2006), that hopefully function better for young people and adults alike as indicated by bidirectional arrows. The benefits are also relational. The expectation is relations between adults and young people would move toward greater alignment over time as opposed to contradiction.

The analysis reveals that this theory of change model comes with a warning label for those attempting to engage in partnership in a context in which young people have long histories of contentious relations with adults and who have been barred from participation in many spaces in their lives. The paradoxes of participation, desire and disappointment and persistent public exclusion complicate the process of joint action between youth and adults. Desire and disappointment occurs when young people want to take on active roles in issues that effect their lives and the lives of others and yet they have been discouraged, shut down, silenced and treated with contempt in many parts of their life space. Thus even in well-intentioned settings, participation is not automatic in repressive contexts and requires concerted effort and patience by those in power (in this case adults) to overcome. Deep participation takes time, trust and many bruises.

The second paradox, persistent public exclusion, means that even once engaged in a productive adult-youth partnership in which youth are taking active roles in their communities, when young people leave the safe space of programming, they will likely be discounted, underestimated, and once again barred from participation. These paradoxes raise a lingering question about the power of youth programs to substantially impact the ability for youth to participate in impacting multiple levels without substantial

societal level shifts in the ways that we relate to young people. This change cannot be concentrated only in youth programs. Although the model posits that the perception of young people will shift as a result of adults and youth engaging more often in partnership in a variety of settings (i.e. youth programs, schools, governing bodies), intentional work on a larger scale to address adultism may be necessary. As I explore further in the conclusion section, this could take the form of a push for youth rights or a call for social justice for young people that moves beyond particular "youth issues" to the barriers to active citizenship for young people in the U.S.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY: ATTACHMENT THEORY

Attachment emerged in this dissertation as I examined the psychological impact on adults and youth when unequal power dynamics existed and when they were challenged. As mentioned in the analysis section, attachment theory is used in this dissertation as a psychological construct upon which I rely and extend. Attachment theory has continuously shape-shifted over time. From its roots as an internal working model of relationships based on the early relationship between a caretaker and infant that structures all subsequent relationships (Bowlby, 1973, 1982; Bretherton, 1990, 1993; Harwood et al., 1995). Attachment was later found to be applicable to other relationships. In this research project, I followed the lead of attachment researchers who push the boundaries of attachment to relationships outside of the mother-child dyad to romantic relationships (Bartholomew, K. & Horowitz, L.H., 1991; Bartholomew, K., & Shaver, K., 1998; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Roisman, G.I., et al., 2001) or peer relationships (Greenberg, Seigel, & Leitch, 1983; Rice, 1990; Waters, Wippman &

Sroufe, 1979) to explore attachment between adults and young people not restricted to familial relations.

Attachment researchers studying a variety of types of relationships discovered there are continuities and discontinuities of working models of relationships. In this dissertation I viewed attachment as an organizational construct (Sroufe, 1977; 1979; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Roisman et al., 2001; Carlson et al., 2004), which can be reconfigured based on past, current, and even future conceptions of relationship experiences (Carlson et. al., 2004). However, the analysis reveals what might be considered a *dialectic of strategic attachm*ent formed when young people learn to selectively and strategically attach to or detach from relationships and contexts. This strategic attachment was impacted by alignment or contradiction in interpersonal interaction coupled with the experience of active participation in particular contexts. In effect, a sense of alignment between adults and young people along with the ability to engage in active participation on issues of importance fosters attachment (as well as multi-level change). This attachment moved beyond relationships to adults and peers within programs but to organizations, communities, institutions, and society; attachment writ large. It is considered part of a "culturally constructed web of meanings regarding the relationship of self to others" (Harwood et. al, 1995, p. 15).[11]

In the chart below, I outline how my conception of attachment advances and challenges key attachment theorist:

[11] Note, these conclusions are only meant to be applicable in the United States as the assumptions underlying the contextual constraints are based upon current conditions between youth and adults in the U.S.

Table 4: Attachment advances and challenges

Theorists	Bowlby/early attachments with families.	Shaver/adult attachments with romantic partners.	Zeller-Berkman/strategic attachments between non-familial adults and young people.
Assumptions	Early with parents determines attachment style.	Can develop later in non-familial relationships such as romantic partners.	Youth engaged in participatory projects with adults who are aligned with young people can develop new forms of attachment and a strategic understanding of when attachment is deserved and when not. Attachment occurs for adults as well. These attachments move beyond the level of individuals. This process is not linear and requires patience.
Enabling conditions	Warm relations with family.	Later relationships that are consistent and satisfying.	Relations that in which there is alignment and opportunity for active participation as opposed to relations that exist in contradiction and where active participation is discouraged.

Attachment theorists may be pushed by this analysis to think even further about the context specific nature of attachment processes and just how strategically it can be used as a mental model for "self" and "other" writ large.

REFLECTION ON METHODS

For lives researchers interested in studying questions related to agency it may be especially useful to utilize an "open lives" interview process similar to the one I employed in this research project. As mentioned in the methods section, an "open lives process" involves beginning with a broad invitation to the participant in the study to open the researcher's mind to things that they had not considered when formulating research questions. Although I gave participants various tools to organize the telling of their lives such as a map, a life grid (Haglund, 2004) or one's year in school, the person had the agency to decide how to use the interview process. The flexibility at the beginning of the interview is designed to reflect a respect for participants' ability to shape their own narrative, make connections across their lives, as well as redirect the researcher's process. One participant, Tammy, described the open lives interview process in this way after her second interview:

> *Exactly what I took away from it the first time was just feeling like I had that space which made me feel less anxious to feel like I could use the time to make the connections, then they could really come to the surface rather than feeling like I was imposing. I liked that.*

In this study, my participants chose to utilize these interviews in various ways. For example, Rick (one of the lives highlighted in chapter V) used his interview to give me a political education. Another participant who was the director of the program felt that the lives process would be a valuable staff development tool and wanted all her staff to do an interview to have the opportunity to connect their current work with youth to their own histories:

> *I wish that I could do every one of our teachers Sarah, because they would, they would just revel in this kind of conversation because they really do constantly connect back. I think also that when you work with high school kids, it, it, you're always checking in with yourself in that time of your life. It's just constant. You know, like Jessica started remembering what it was like being coached by her father, and the way that he coached her versus working with her mother. And with her father, she always did really, really well, but didn't enjoy the process, and with her mom, she enjoyed the process, but you might not have. We talked about expectation and I asked her "Jessica, did you do it because your father wanted you to be really good and that was your goal? or was it because you wanted to?" and that led to that conversation and her just having that whole kind of epiphany about her relationship with her parents and what inspired her to be kind of an overachiever. And what she inspires in the kids. And, and obviously these don't have to be mutually exclusive.*

The way in which this director wanted to use the interview as a staff development tool reveals one of the valuable components of this variation on the life history method. The open lives process invites people to make meaning and connections across their past, present, and even possible futures as articulated in the telling of their life. Many life history theorists have articulated the link between the process of narration and the meaning-making that happens as a result (Widdershoven, 1999). There were many moments near the end of these interviews where people realized that something they currently did or thought probably had its roots in the communal household in which they were raised, their experience as a participant in a longitudinal moral development study, their first experience with activism through their church, their parent's sudden passing, or their identity as the only child of a powerful immigrant woman. That is, the respondents were making meaning while producing narratives of present, past, and future. Agency was revealed not only by analyzing the interview data but also by how participants used and transformed our interview relationship. Future research on the benefits and drawbacks of the open lives process is needed to explore this variation on a life history method more fully.

EMERGING QUESTIONS

There are many questions raised about the attachment concept as it appears in this dissertation. As I stretch the attachment concept across levels from the interpersonal to community, institutions or societal, does the quality of the attachment concept differ? Is this type of strategic attachment, pushed and pulled by participation and alignment, found in other high power/low power attachment dynamics with complicated attachment

histories? How does attachment shift over time? Is there a tipping point at which there is less guardedness at the beginning of a relationship between adults and young people if there has been an accumulation of positive interpersonal experience or a shift in the larger context regarding the treatment of young people? These and many more questions remain to be explored in greater depth.

There are also some questions related to the context in which the adult-youth partnerships sit. Does the context in which these groups of young people and adults work make a difference? For example, I studied youth programs, however, if I am calling for this work to spread out from the realm of youth programs into a way of operating across context (municipalities, schools, courts, institutes, etc.) would there have to be substantial prep work before these partnerships would be viable? It would also be interesting to see the relevance of this model for adult-youth partnerships in privileged settings such as those explored by Stoudt (2009), where there may be less of a confluence of power dynamics related to age, race, and socio-economic status. For this dissertation, I made the decision to look at youth across the board as in low power status. Although I allude to the differences based on race and ethnicity, I did not fully interrogate if and how contradiction with adults is different for those who have other positionalities that provide them with greater power status such as being privileged, white, etc. There may have to be more work done to understand if and how the concepts and models explored in this dissertation change across settings.

Some may also wonder about the applicability of this model to settings in which adults and young people are working on projects that are not related to community change, activism or social justice. Although this data collection was limited to youth

activism organizations, recent data suggests that a more egalitarian relationship in which young people are asked to plan activities, work with their peers, and take on leadership roles in afterschool programs have the best developmental "outcomes" for young people (Smith, et al. 2006). More research is needed to understand if adults and youth who use the methods of power-sharing, transparency, etc. without having a social justice aim would achieve the multilevel impact outlined in the model.

Lastly, although I clearly situate my research in the context of the relationship between adults and young people in the United States, attachment research and theory of change models are sometimes thought of as universally applicable. There are questions related to the applicability of these theoretical concepts and models to non-U.S. contexts and further research would have to be done in this area.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

In this dissertation I am moving from a small unit of analysis to large notions like democratic participation and attachment to society. The lives research cited in the methods section of this dissertation builds a strong argument that through the exploration of a life one can learn a lot about the context in which that life was lived. I now agree, with full knowledge of the power of a life to reveal complexity we couldn't know in a single observation or variable driven project. Further limitations of this research are due to limited sample size and limited program observations over a relatively short timeframe.

In reflecting on the design of this dissertation, it may have been better to include a method like focus groups or more ethnographic data collection, to capture group

processes between adults and young people. Adult-youth partnerships occur mainly in the group setting and therefore attention must be paid to stages of group development when attempting to theorize on concepts such as power-sharing in the group context. Lastly, the ethnographic data was used very little and mainly to paint a vivid picture of the immediate context of these attachment relationships. I could have utilized that ethnographic data more strategically in this dissertation.

CONCLUSION

> ***"The political repercussions to society of keeping a large and able fraction of its members as outsiders, with no history or experience of responsibility, until well after they are politically active, are certainly great" (Coleman, 1974, pp. 124)***

> ***There are opportunities to change yourself but there should be also thinking about changing the circumstances in which you live. So not necessarily about being able to be in the system the way everyone else is, but actually changing the system so that it's kind of a different…***
> ***(Tammy, DreamYard A.C.T.I.O.N Project)***

The scholarly journey of this dissertation began with questions related to doing deeply participatory work with young people in a context in which they are excluded from active participation in most parts of their lives. It traveled from critical literature review of the relationship between adults and young people to an analysis of progressive sites of youth-adult partnerships in the field of youth activism. Through this investigation

I learned a great deal about the psychological impact of contradiction, alignment, participation, and attachment. I became aware of what I termed paradoxes of participation, the barriers to participation that exist even when young people and adults are engaged in deeply participatory work as a result of the larger context of repression of young people remaining in tack.

As I leave this exploration, my entry point for thinking about this work has changed. I am thinking now about how we use adult-youth partnerships to change the repressive conditions that exist for young people, instead of how we try to work around those conditions in order to do productive work in partnership with youth in youth programs. I land from this journey with my feet planted on the ground of youth rights/social justice and call for the removal of structural barriers to youth participation.

Freire (1970) maintained that the oppressed and oppressor need to work together to change the root causes of oppression in order to substantively shift the status quo. I stand with many others that young people will not be able to fully impact other types of injustice unless adults and young people transform the system into one which youth have a right to a say on issues that impact their lives (Winter, 1997).

There is much to learn from other countries that are much farther along in their thinking and operationalizing youth rights (Driskell, 2002; Cook et al., 2005; Hart, 1997; O' Kane, 2003; Save the Children UK, London, 2003). Many countries have used Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to recognize that children have the right to be heard and considered in decisions affecting them to put the issue of child participation on the agenda of government and institutions as never before. Youth rights movements in the United States can follow the lead of Children's Parliaments in

Slovenia and Zimbabwe and learn from projects in the U.K., Nicaragua, Jamaica, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Colombia, and Ecuador (Lansdown, 2001). Although weary of the trappings of a global human rights discourse (Fine, Tuck and Zeller-Berkman, 2006; Guilhot, 2005, Merry, 2008), I move forward, visioning a merger between youth rights and social justice.

As I learned from this research project this joint endeavor between young people and adults to fight for youth rights/social justice will involve deep participation, alignment in relationships, and attachment. There will have to be a simultaneous push to impact change on multiple levels (individuals, communities, policy makers at the city, state and federal level) and to do that by engaging cycles of planning, action, and reflection with other youth and adults (Freire, 1970; Lewin, 1946). Although this data warns that the process can be messy, takes time and is not linear, I look forward to engaging in this work in the years to come.

Appendix 1

Sarah's Life Story Interview Youth (Modified version of Dan P. McAdams, Northwestern University, Revised 1995)

Introductory Comments

I am interested in the lives of adults and youth who are working together on social justice projects. I am going to divide up the interview into different parts. In the first part of the interview, I will ask you to lead me through your life story. Whatever you want to share. In the second part I will ask you more specific questions about your life experiences and beliefs. Lastly, I will ask you specific questions about the program and the relationship you have to the adults with whom you work.

Part I

Ok, people have different ways that they like telling their life stories in this part of the interview. Some people like to break it up into chapters like a book, some people are visual and like to map it out and then talk about it based off of their maps (I show them an example of a map and a timeline). Some people like to just kind of talk through it starting from their earliest memory and taking me through the memories they had for that grade in school. You can choose however you want to organize it. How do you think you would like to tell your story? Great, lets begin…

Part II

The person will then choose a way to lead me through the first part of the interview. When they have outlined their life story as a whole, I proceed to take them through a series of questions based on Mc. Adams life history interview that allow me to probe deeper into certain experiences and beliefs:

Event #1: Peak Experience

A peak experience would be a high point in your life story -- perhaps the high point. It would be a moment or episode in the story in which you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, great happiness, uplifiting, or even deep inner peace. Today, the episode would stand out in your memory as one of the best, highest, most wonderful scenes or moments in your life story. Please describe in some detail a peak experience, or something like it, that you have experienced some time in your past. Tell me exactly what happened, where it happened, who was involved, what you did, what you were thinking and feeling, what impact this experience may have had upon you, and what this experience says about who you were or who you are. [Interviewer should make sure that the subject addresses all of these questions, especially ones about impact and what the experience says about the person. Do not interrupt the description of the event. Rather ask for extra detail, if necessary, after the subject has finished initial description of the event.]

Event #2: Nadir Experience

A "nadir" is a low point. A nadir experience, therefore, is the opposite of a peak experience. It is a low point in your life story. Thinking back over your life, try to remember a specific experience in which you felt extremely negative emotions, such as despair, disillusionment, terror, guilt, etc. You should consider this experience to represent one of the "low points" in your life story. Even though this memory is unpleasant, I would still appreciate an attempt on your part to be as honest and detailed as

you can be. Please remember to be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has the event had on you? What does the event say about who you are or who you were?

Event #3: Turning Point

In looking back on one's life, it is often possible to identify certain key "turning points" -- episodes through which a person undergoes substantial change. Turning points can occur in many different spheres of a person's life -- in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests, etc. I am especially interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point. If you feel that your life story contains no turning points, then describe a particular episode in your life that comes closer than any other to qualifying as a turning point. [Note: If subject repeats an earlier event (e.g., peak experience, nadir) ask him or her to choose another one. Each of the 8 critical events in this section should be independent. We want 8 separate events. If the subject already mentioned an event under the section of "Life Chapters," it may be necessary to go over it again here. This kind of redundancy in inevitable.]

Life Challenge

Looking back over the various chapters and scenes in your life story, please describe the single greatest challenge that you have faced in your life. How have you faced, handled, or dealt with this challenge? Have other people assisted you in dealing with this challenge? How has this challenge had an impact on your life story?

Influences on the Life Story: Positive and Negative

Positive

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons, or organization/institution that has or have had the greatest positive influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organization and the way in which he, she, it, or they have had a positive impact on your story.

Negative

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons, or organization/institution that has or have had the greatest negative influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organization and the way in which he, she, it, or they have had a negative impact on your story.

Personal Ideology

Now I would like to ask a few questions about your fundamental beliefs and values and about questions of meaning and spirituality in your life. Please give some thought to each of these questions.

1. Consider for a moment the religious or spiritual dimensions of your life. Please describe in a nutshell your religious beliefs or the ways in which you approach life in a spiritual sense.
2. Please describe how your religious or spiritual life, values, or beliefs have changed over time.

3. How do you approach political and social issues? Do you have a particular political point of view? Are there particular issues or causes about which you feel strongly? Describe them.
4. What is the most important value in human living? Explain.
5. What else can you tell me that would help me understand your most fundamental beliefs and values about life and the world, the spiritual dimensions of your life, or your philosophy of life?

Life Theme

Looking back over your entire life story as a story with chapters and scenes, extending into the past as well as the imagined future, can you discern a central theme, message, or idea that runs throughout the story? What is the major theme of your life story? Explain.

Future Self

How do you envision yourself in the future? What will you be doing? What are some of your goals for yourself?

Other

What else should I know to understand your life story?

PART III

In this section of the interview I am going to ask you a few questions that are more related to the social justice work that you do:

1) So where does the social justice project fit into the life story that you just narrated for me? (note if it was mentioned before I mentioned it)

2) Are there any things that you feel are different about this social justice project from other parts of your life?

3) What are some of the "actions" or changes that have occurred as a result of working in this partnership?

4) Is there anything that you have gained by working with others on the projects here? What are they?

5) What has the experience of working with adults on this project been like for you? What are the adults that work with you like? (probe for power dynamics)

6) Is there any adult that you think I should do this interview with? Why do you recommend this person?

7) Is there anything else you would like to share?

8) Lastly please complete this sentence:
Social change happens when…

Modification for Adult protocol:

Part III question 5 is: What has the experience of working in partnership with youth been like for you?

6) How are you supported to do this type of social justice work with young people?

Appendix II

CONDITIONS OF ENGAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

What do these two programs and the people in them have to teach others about ***how*** to engage in youth –adult partnerships? In this appendix, I further explore findings related to two research questions: 1) What are the conditions that facilitate adult-youth partnerships? 2) What changes/develops as a result of adult-youth partnerships? A categorical content analysis of the data related to adult-youth partnerships reveals conditions within programs that support these partnerships as well as the impact that they have when these supports are in place. This analysis also uncovers supportive conditions within the adult-youth partnerships as well as the organizations in which they operate.

WHAT ARE THE SUPPORTIVE CONDITIONS WITHIN YOUTH- ADULT PARTNERSHIPS IN THE PROGRAM CONTEXT?

What are the conditions that facilitate productive adult-youth partnerships evident in these programs? The following themes emerged from this analysis as the supportive conditions within the youth/adult collaborations:

- power-sharing
- transparency
- explicit common goals
- caring relationships
- reflective practices

Each theme will be explicated in more detail below. I will use one or two excerpts from the data to illuminate each theme.

Power-sharing

Power-sharing emerged as a theme in the data that encompassed the participatory process in which decisions were made and roles assigned. The word 'collaboration' was used a great deal to indicate that power was distributed evenly across the groups of youth and adults. Rick talked about it in this way:

> *Like say we working on a project and we are collaborating. Like say it is [adult facilitator] and [another young person] and we working on a project and [adult facilitator] has a way where she see how this project will play out and me and [another young person] have two totally different ways we see it. She's not going to be like "I don't care. This is the way I see it and this the way its going." It's more like "Ok so well I am more of like when watching over you and making sure everything goes smooth what do you all want and any kinks or anything that we need to work out I'll help you all smooth it out." It's more like "how should we get this done" and that's why I feel more comfortable and at home. There's nobody like "well I'm older, you're younger. I'm right and your wrong." It's never that.* (Rick, Participant Brotherhood Sister Sol)

Exemplified in this quote are the ways in which adults and youth shared power to make decisions or take on certain roles in the group. However, this egalitarian power-sharing did not often happen right away:

> *It was hard for me the first two years to let the youth know that we did want them to make decisions and choose things. They were like "no you decide." It's that making decisions also comes with accountability and*

> *responsibility. Once we coupled that with knowledge about injustice they took it personally and wanted to take on more.* (Becca, facilitator, Action, ethnographic data collection)

Many other quotes from adults and young people illustrate how sharing leadership was not automatic, was modeled by adults and scaffolded over time. However, across lives data equal status in decision-making between adults and youth was the stated goal. Young people were treated as partners who were essential for moving forward the work of the collective.

There seemed to be special attention to how power was shared in the third space (when the group was doing activism work outside of the program space). The ethnographic data collection revealed that adults checked in about whether they were too overbearing in a particular workshop. Adults often took on the role of set-up or clean up while young people led community meetings. Lives data revealed that young people were generally the ones to ask the collectives questions or voice their concerns at larger community forums. This might have meant that the group consciously played with power-sharing based on the context in which they were operating.

Transparency

Analyzing these programs through the lives of those within them as well as ethnographic data collection revealed that adult-youth partnerships worked well when there was a shared sense of transparency about issues of power. The quote below illustrates one example of how race was addressed in the program context:

> *… the way we talk about race, we talk about it. You know, I mean, the kids will talk about it. And this is my new favorite thing, and I love it when I'm in the room, and the kids don't really seem to care if I'm in the room or not, is they'll say "White-Caucasian"… Like as though Caucasian is an insult, so they'll say "White-Caucasian"… What I love though is that there is space for these conversations, even with the kids… I've said to the staff, it's ok for you to disagree with the kids. We've talked about how to handle it…I want them [the young people] to come in, or even to sit in on our staff meetings. I want them to sit on the staff meetings, see our struggle. Yeah. It's, it's, it's intense. And I think that's where the kids are completely at home. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)*

The enthusiasm with which Tammy narrated how much she enjoyed taking on issues related to race with both youth and staff, exemplified how strongly the idea of transparency resounded in this data. People's personal lives, thoughts, feelings, and experiences were considered integral to the work. Critical engagement about race, class, gender and sexuality as well as group dynamics was fostered. The example below illustrates what happened when young people challenged staff to think about the next cohort of young people having more choice than they did.

> SZB*: When you brought that to the staff and was like I think we should let people have more choice, how was that received? What was that process like?*
>
> *Jason: We came to them and they felt the same way, actually. We came up to them in a group discussion and said you know throughout the years we*

> *give you more and more power, and until the end of it in the 4th year you have the most power. (Jason, participant, DreamYard Action Project)*

This quote exemplifies how there is transparency within the group, not just about gender, class and race, but about how young people are treated in the group context. In this quote, the young person encourages staff to give young people more say and power in the group. The interaction relayed by this young person was not particularly contentious although the quote by the adult above illustrates that disagreement between adults and young people was completely acceptable and even encouraged by this director.

Issues related to ageism and the low-power status of young people that occurred within the program context but outside the safe space of the program, were also dealt with in a transparent manner. In the following chapter, transparency related to ageism will be illustrated in detail.

Explicit Common Goals

> *The summer usually the staff picks it, then in the first fall it was basically a collaboration of both. They gave us a few options and we were the ones who picked. But the second fall, we did our own thing. Everybody broke up into groups and we decided on one topic and then we put it on paper and we pitched the idea to the rest of the group and then we voted on it, then we voted again and we saw whichever got the highest votes would do it…, The next fall and spring is the one that we're doing now. This year, basically, what we're doing is we completely switched it up. There was no specific poetry group or anything like that. What we did was the teachers*

pitched us ideas, each staff member pitched us an idea and we would have our first and second choice, and then they'd interview us to see which one we would be most challenged in and which one we sound more passionate about. ... I liked it when they pitched it to us. Because they had more time to think it over where as we only took two Saturdays and it just seemed more together when we had some ground work done for us that we can build up from. (Jasmine, participant, Action)

Intergroup contact, in this case between adults and youth, worked well when they coalesced around a project or a series of goals that are decided upon by the group (Allport, 1954). Freire (1970) also hypothesized that the only way to overcome oppression as well as contradiction between groups was to work together to change oppressive conditions. The way this played out in the program context was that adults and young people jointly decided on which issue or activity they wanted to tackle for the year or the group jointly created a mission statement or plan to guide their work. The quotes below illustrate the way in which these decisions were made in three different instances:

It may be because we were going to get initiated that year on our retreat so we had to come together and bring our name. We had to come together and get a mission statement. We had to come together and do our definitions. (Isani, participant, Brotherhood Sister Sol)

We would all collaborate with ideas but we would come up with how would we get the most out of this trip. We thought if we worked with little

kids and did a talent show in their church with them, it would show the community how to run a little performance, that would be the most important. Cause I've heard that this year they told us they made that the tradition every year. (Jason, youth staff, Action)

Well, initially we were talking to the Innocence Project and that's where we found out about life after exoneration and how low-funded they are and how much help they need and then we came up with the idea of doing a documentary and doing a benefit and doing a fundraiser so that they can get more funding and spread awareness because a lot of people don't know this. Its election year… (Jasmine, participant, Action)

Evident in these three exemplars is how much the word "we" was found in the data that fell under the thematic heading "common, explicit goals". My probes within the interview revealed that the word "we" referred to both youth and adults. The use of the word "we" revealed that goals for the group were decided upon collectively. However, data in which an adult talked about an instance where there was not joint decision-making, underscored the importance of this characteristic of the partnership. Khalil, a facilitator at Brotherhood Sister Sol critiqued the fact that young people he worked with in his cohort were not able to decide the topic of their campaign: "*I would say that would be the biggest one. Let them choose the campaign. Don't choose it for them. It has to be something that they're interested in."* His critique illuminates that it was problematic to have new cohorts of young people "inherit" a project; that there was something important about co-creating the goals of the work.

Caring Relationships

The data revealed that adult-youth partnerships in these activism organizations were supported by the existence of caring, adult-youth relationships. The fact that relationships drove this work was a finding confirmed by other researchers studying the work of youth programs (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, AYD; Deutsch, 2008). The quote below illustrates how adults in the program were confidants for the interviewee about problems outside of the work of the youth program:

> *If I have a tough problem, a tough situation or something like that, I can always talk to any of the staff members about it or Tanya or Evelyn and they're always there to listen to me and make me feel comfortable. (Jasmine, participant, Action)*

Youth and adults did not seem to have the same responsibility for being open and caring. Mention of caring was generally found in young people's narratives as they talked about their relationships with adults in the program context. Adults in this data set seemed to be charged with providing a space in which young people could feel comfortable because of the larger context of repression of young people that shaped this work (please see chapter II). The young person quoted below illustrates the differences between the quality of the relationship with staff in her program as compared to other adults in her life:

> *We don't even consider them teachers. They're just staff, cause they're so, like, I don't know if they're young exactly, but they relate to us. They help us know that they're ok to confide in. Because sometimes teens are a*

> *little biased against who they want to talk to and there are problems that way, so they were very comfortable with us. We would be able to share anything that we want. If we disagreed with them they let us know first it was ok to disagree, just let us know. Of course we had that respect that we have to have with everyone else, especially since they're adults, but it wasn't like "oh the teacher is going to get us." It was comfortable. (16 year old female)*

Adults had to put in some work to let young people know that they were "ok to confide in", that it was "ok to disagree." The interviewee also described adults feeling comfortable with young people and relating to them. We hear a great deal about the relationships this young woman had with adults in the program, posed in sharp contrast to her relationships with other adults in her life. "The teacher is going to get us" revealed her perception and anticipation of an aggressive quality to relationships with adults in other realms of her life. In general, there was the sense that the relationship with adults in the program was the antithesis of relationships to other adults. Although the young woman mentioned young people "being biased" about who they open up to, in light of these histories, we may recast these biases as informed and strategic based on the quality of the relationship.

Young people in these interviews freely used familial references to describe the quality of the relationships with adults in these programs:

> *DreamYard is like family. I can go up to one of them, Tammy, I can go to her with anything, She's like my second mom. She knows my mom. We*

> *always hang out. The teaching artists I feel like we're all related, such a close-knit family, it's impenetrable, nothing can break it. (Jason, participant, Action)*

This quote reveals the strength of the bonds formed between adults and young people. In addition, it illustrates that staff in these programs did not depersonalize their roles as facilitators in an activism project and were quite connected to young people's families and lives beyond the program walls.

Caring is also coupled with high expectations for the group members and the work that can be accomplished by the group. Young people and adults in this partnership described being capable of anything with sufficient support. For example:

> *All the adults make me feel like I matter and then we got into a big discussion about that and what it means to feel that you matter and high expectations. And then that results in them having real expectations of me that then inspire me to do good work. (Rick, participant, Brotherhood Sister Sol)*

This young person described that he felt that staff had high expectations for him, but that there were the explicit conversations about the high expectations for individuals in the group that inspired him to do "good work."

Although the onus may have been on adults to demonstrate that this was a safe and caring relationship for young people, adults also described deep connections to young people. The data in this section regarding the quality of the relationships between adults and young people working in partnership will be

explored in greater depth in the following two chapters using a different type of analytic lens and emergent theoretical constructs.

Reflective Practices

> *It's as important to reflect about the work as it is to do the work and they see reflecting as a vacation or doing nothing, but reflecting is important. If you're not reflecting you don't know what's working and not working and you don't give yourself the opportunity to check in with you about how you're doing. So definitely seeing reflection and taking breaks as a part of the work. (Chandra, facilitator, Brotherhood Sister Sol)*

Reflection appeared across narratives and in both programs as a practice that was used to deepen learning/development, fortify relationships, assess program progress, and bring the personal into the activism. This finding confirmed the importance of time and space for collective and individual reflection on the work and people's personal lives (Dollar, Bruce,1975; Freire, 1970; Zeller-Berkman, 2007). Reflection in these programs seemed to happen most intensely on retreats, but both programs mentioned daily check-in and check-outs with the group, as well as reflection happening after group action. There were sometimes whole projects that young people created that were geared towards self-reflection which, in turn, brought out larger issues. In the example below individual reflections led to a larger conversation about gender:

> *They did an art project with newspapers where they had to turn the newspaper into this reflection of themselves right now and they're going to do it throughout the year as this art piece. But it was just really*

interesting. So they started talking a lot about gender. (Selina, facilitator, Action)

Building in time for reflection was also critical for adults at staff meetings or planning sessions. Below is an example of how time for reflection allowed adults to deepen their planning process and come up with projects:

Staff went through an intense process to come up with their individual projects. Lots of reflection, group discussion, etc. They took an extra month of planning before beginning the year. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)

Ethnographic data collection uncovered the use of reflection during program time. In one of my visits, nearly half the time was spent in some sort of reflection. For example, young people and adults reflected on a quote by Martin Luther, Jr. and related it to their own experiences. The group then spent the next hour and a half reflecting on the following questions related to work they had done in middle-schools the previous week:

1. What did you learn from the experience of facilitating a conversation with a group of your peers?
2. While facilitating the conversation did you feel knowledgeable about the topic?
3. How did you support one another during the presentation?
4. In what ways have you seen staff support each other during the presentations?
5. After reflecting on your presentations what were your challenges and accomplishments?

These questions led to an intense conversation as one group's reflections brought up issues of adultism, racism, and revealed the complexities of doing activism in

entrenched settings. This ethnographic glimpse will be excavated further in the following chapters.

Summary

These characteristics offer some sense of the supports that adults and young people need to provide to the partnership to make it viable. Interestingly, the conditions that support productive partnerships between adults and young people are similar to those conditions created by an organization to support staff working in adult-youth partnerships in the organization. For example, staff are transparent in their interactions with each other, engage in reflection, directors and line staff share power, and adults report caring relationships between staff members as reported in life history interviews and witnessed in ethnographic observations. The conditions that support adult-youth partnerships in organizations are woven into specific organizational structures that support adult youth partnerships outlined in the following section.

SUPPORTIVE CONDITIONS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATIONS

A belief that young people are valuable, powerful and indispensable to the work undergirds the infrastructure for these youth activism programs. The data on organizational infrastructure and supports mainly emerged from the life history interview when adults were asked: How are you supported to do this type of social justice work with young people? The observations of staff meetings also informed these findings. Staff reported that there was an infrastructure that was provided by the organization that helped to move the work forward. This includes:

- rigorous interview and orientation process

- supportive learning communities
- long-term program structure
- continual supervision

Rigorous Interview and Orientation Process

What became evident through this analysis is that there was a rigorous hiring process to find staff with certain attitudes about young people, commitments and skills. Staff reported engaging in a series of hypothetical situations to identify potential staff with correct skill sets and attributes for the job. These skill sets included active listening, constructive questioning, and communication skills. Attributes included being consistent (do what you say, make long-term commitments), supportive (both in personal and in the work), respectful (respect youth culture, ideas, agency) and open (to learning, to being challenged, to changing course based on youth input).

Staff reported being given a clear organizational mission, philosophy, culture and goals through an in-depth orientation process. In one program, the orientation included a drum ceremony and two days where co-facilitators who would be working together with a new cohort took each other on a day-long journey to reveal their interests to each other.

Staff were hired who could make a long-term commitment to the work as developing relationships with young people over time is key. Staff was asked by their organizations to make multiple year commitments (usually around 4 years). In one

program staff were asked not to turn off their phones, even when not in program time, so that young people could reach them whenever there was a need[12].

Supportive Learning Communities

Staff at both sites reported that staff meetings occurred on a consistent basis. These regular meetings offered staff the support they needed from their colleagues to plan the process (not the outcomes) of their work in partnership with youth. At least two staff reported the need for more organizational support, not less when using participatory process with young people because those processes are complicated and not straightforward.

From both interview data and observations, staff meetings included time when staff was learning with each other to enhance their skills and knowledge (e.g. reading articles together, in-house trainings, etc.). Staff meetings need to include time for reflection on youthwork practice as well as time to share personal experiences that might impact the work. Issues and concerns related to individual youth are also included in staff meetings. Participants reported that this created a community of supports for the facilitator. Staff meetings often modeled and mirrored the types of environments staff would like to create with youth (transparency, time for reflection, collective learning, power-sharing). Staff mentioned that retreats, though less frequent, offered many of the same supports as staff meetings in a very intense and shorter period of time. Both staff

[12] This may have been a structural support that helped young people develop caring relationships, but it was considered problematic by a staff person. He felt like it led to burn out in his case to be endlessly available.

meetings and retreats were viewed as critical supports to the staff and in turn the partnership.

Long-term Program Structure

Programs were structured so that they supported young people in their transitions from middle-school to high school (long-term). This was reported to allow staff and youth time to develop thoughtful projects and deep relationships. Programs were also designed to incorporate time for reflection, collective learning, action, and celebration of milestones.

Continual Supervision

There were various supervisory supports that were mentioned by staff such as frequent observations during program time and frequent feedback to staff. This feedback was given during one-on-one supervision time, staff meetings and retreats. Supervision was also reported to include support for staff pursuit of personal goals and passions outside of their work-related goals.

Appendix III

WHAT CHANGES OR DEVELOPS AS A RESULT OF ADULT-YOUTH PARTNERSHIPS?

The lives data provides evidence of development occurring as a result of these adult-youth partnerships embedded in these youth activism programs. Development (or impact as a result of the adult-youth partnership) was noted for:

- Young people
- Adults
- Programs
- Communities
- Institutions
- Society

As a psychologist interested in social change, I have come to believe it is important to outline impact that exists beyond individuals if it is found in the data. By not asking questions about multi-level impact, nor studying the effects, we are limiting the ways in which we think about who or what gets developed/changed or needs to be developed/changed. The results of the analysis for the multiple levels are outlined below:

Young People

Young people, across narratives, mentioned increased knowledge (political, self, artistic), critical thinking skills, a sense of agency and confidence about their capabilities. Young people articulated gaining particular skill-sets that included being able to better communicate their ideas within the groups in which they were working as well as to

others outside of the group. They mentioned gaining leadership skills such as developing an idea, learning about it, planning something and executing it. Although feeling more competent as leaders, they simultaneously valued working closely with a group of adults and peers (teamwork). Most mentioned a crossover between the sense of agency that they felt in program time and how they operated differently in school[13]. Lastly, young people articulated an increased attachment to others, empathy, and investment in changing their communities and society.[14]

These outcomes map well onto the stated psychological processes and competencies outlined in Gambone (2006) for the field of youth development such as connectedness, control, and identity (psychological processes), and vocational, academic, and social interpersonal competencies. The process of engaging in intergenerational partnerships as it was done in these organizations also maps well onto the current discussions in the field of both education and youth development about 21st century skills and competencies (Levy & Murname, 2003). These skills are critical thinking and problem solving, civic literacy, creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration, flexibility and adaptability, initiative and self-direction, social skills, cross-cultural competencies, productivity, accountability, leadership and responsibility.

Below are some examples of the growth and development that were reported by young people, which they attribute to their involvement in programs and supportive relationships with adults:

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[13] Note that this did not always mean better grades for these young people as their critical thinking or investigative research on school topics was not always appreciated and was sometime viewed as a challenge.

[14] Some young people also mentioned gaining help on applications and resume building

I am slowly leaving Bro sis and it's really hard because I have been here about 7 years. I am leaving LP. Because if it would not have been for BroSis I wouldn't have this voice to talk to you now. Like I've finally learned how to use my voice and now I am learning how to hold back and let other people in the program move forward... it has been a crazy ride and I have to say I am at a place where I am thinking smart and where I am powerful because of Bro Sis. (Isani, participant, The Brotherhood/Sister Sol)

This young woman talked about feeling powerful and having a voice, but also learning how to step back so that other people in the program could step up. She attributed many of the changes in her personality directly to the Brotherhood/Sister Sol. The young person quoted below acknowledges that she was very strong before coming to A.C.T.I.O.N, but learned how to communicate his strengths to others as a result of the program:

I feel like even though I was strong before Action I feel like they helped me communicate with people a lot more. They make me a lot more aware of issues that I wasn't really aware of and that I probably wouldn't be if I was outside of Action. And using the type of person that I am, outspoken that I am, it's easier for me to help others when people are helping me. (Jasmine, participant, Action)

This young woman revealed that the support she got through the program allowed her the time and space to help others because she was not so overwhelmed by her own need. The program did not seem to introduce the idea

of connecting to or taking action for others, it simply allowed her respite and supports so she could focus on issues outside of her own survival.

These young people's words illuminate their attachment to others, their sense of agency, leadership skills, increased confidence, and commitment to collective social action. Below is a quote from an adult describing similar types of skills and connection to political commitments that they saw shift in young people as a result of their work in the program:

> *I mean, I've just seen them become, I mean, a lot of our kids become involved in issues that they weren't involved in before. Environment stuff has just been huge. Whether it's in their schools, in their communities, in their own life, that's been enormous. They've just become more politically sort of connected and, and minded, over the four years, you definitely see that. You know, they're going home and they're talking to their parents, and their friends, and they're challenging a lot of things at school. Start boycotts, did walk-outs, refuse to go to classes, refuse to do the pledge of allegiance. So we've seen stuff like that. So there's stuff in Action, 'cause we do public actions and things, so stuff there, but also stuff in their own lives.*
>
> *I mean, I think one of the first things we saw happen with Action, like in terms of school, is we're very involved in the school stuff here in the (inaudible 172) because we have a school right across the way. I guess we're kind of like a school reform program in some ways. It's like when you create an alternative learning environment our kids start to look at*

school in a different way, and start more disenchanted with school. So that was a big "Aha!" moment for us. 'Cause we thought we'd be kind of helping them do better at school, you know, we're like going to help support that and put more emphasis on academics and the importance of critical thinking and writing and all that. What we started to notice though, is that kids were also becoming more aware sort of this sense of individualism in schools, the lack of the idea of the collective and so that was one interesting thing. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)

Tammy's quote illustrates the growth in critical thinking skills, social skills, and once again, attachment to others. Although adults hypothesized that the program would help young people academically, in fact, young people began to rebel against spaces that didn't support collective action. In summary, these programs were found to have profound impact on young people as reported by both adults and young people.

Adults

Adults reported being greatly impacted and developed as a result of working in partnership with young people. There were many instances, including the ones below, where adults express the value they receive from learning with and from youth:

My philosophy is thinking about this kind of give and take, this kind of ongoing dialog between the staff and the kids. And I absolutely think that the staff, and this is one of the successes of Action is that they're learning from the kids constantly. I know that in the past their artistic work, I've

> *seen it, it's effected who they are as human beings. I think it's impacted just how they think of themselves as educators, I've seen, especially with the Pioneer staff, and I've just watched them shift. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)*

This staff member, who oversees multiple staff, acknowledged that adults were constantly learning from the kids. She mentioned the impact on staff as artists, educators and as human beings. Another staff member described her own experience as both teacher and learner in the following excerpt from the lives data:

> *As much as I see my self as an educator, I'm still a learner and I learn a lot from the young people that I work with. (Chandra, Brotherhood Sister Sol)*

There were specific skills that staff reported emerging as a result of engaging in participatory work with young people, including adaptability. Some of the staff mentioned turning to their colleagues for support as in the following example:

> *So many times I would have to plan my own lessons and reach out to the other staff, "Ok this looks good" but based on what the students did then have to scrap it or find other material. It was participatory. Week to week it was changing, and finding the resources week to week. Ok we're talking about this week, god, everybody, go into the world and find this, go to the library and find that. So on top of them learning something I learned something too, and it was constantly keeping it fresh and keeping it new and not saying in June, we're going to work on the environment.*

> *How we ended up on Obama is because this is what is happening right now, today. That was also what else works. That planning, that continuity, that think ahead. (Selina, facilitator, Action)*

In addition to learning to be adaptable as a result of doing participatory work with youth, adults also reported learning how to collaborate and share power with young people:

> *And so it's just been interesting to watch the process from the staff and kind of learning how to do that and really letting the kids also monitor each other. A lot of the stories they were telling yesterday is just these instances where the kids have really taken a lead and when other kids are not carrying their weight how they've handled that. I'm also saying to the staff you remember that you need to continue to model leadership even to the kids who are taking on leadership because they're still learning what it means to be a leader. So their way of handling someone in their group who they don't think is doing great work might not always be the most productive way cause they're still learning how to do that. So we were talking about how that's a really great role for the teaching artist at this stage in the game. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)*

Facilitators in this project reported that working collaboratively with young people also helped them become more patient and understanding:

> *But when you're working with youth its important to think this child is a whole person with an experience and history, lets try to figure out what's going on. It's helped me a lot with my patience, it's helped me a lot with my*

humility, because I've learned from young people. Just to be more perceptive. (Khalil, facilitator, Brotherhood Sister Sol)

Adults mentioned that as a result of working in partnership with youth they made a deeper commitment to their art and/or political commitments; they had to teach it to others as well as actively model whatever they were teaching. Adults also talked about young people inspiring them to sustained action. Lastly, adults reported that this intergenerational contact made them feel more attached to young people in general, more comfortable and more interested in what they had to say on the streets, trains, and other public spaces. For example:

So I know that for a lot of people that go through that, just not being around them (young people), but just the fact that I am all the time makes me more comfortable. I'm just more comfortable. I think it also might make me more likely if I see something going on that I don't think is cool, like if there are kids giving shit to another kid, if there is someone being treated… I would step up more. That I would have a better sense of how to engage that or I am more upset by that or its just harder for me to ignore. I pay attention a lot more. I probably look at things… Like what are teenagers talking about? More curious about that. If I see, especially coming up in the Bronx, when I hear of kids getting on the train, and I see a diverse group of kids on the train I watch interactions or different kids running into each other. I think my comfort level is greater and I am also just more interested. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)

Lack of intergenerational contact may lead to the fear and repression that surrounds young people's lives. Having more adults who feel comfortable and respect young people is very important in shifting the public perception of young people.

Programs

Programs benefited from having reciprocal, transparent relationships that value youth skills, capabilities, and input which in turn creates better quality programming (Sabo, 2003). The adult illustrates the way that the program learned from youth participants in the example below:

> *But because they're the Pioneer group, and we've told them over and over again, that everything we learned from you guys gets incorporated… So I think they've always had a sense that their input directly impacts the way we do programming with the other groups. The fact that last year it didn't work at all for them with us meeting after school, it was a real struggle. Actually Nancy's group was the most successful with it, and they know that because of that the Rebels continue to meet on Saturdays. So I think there are things like that and I just think that because they do—Ricardo, Joanne and Kate used to do so much reflecting with them all the time that probably they've always had this sense that they were the lab rats, excuse the expression... You hear this talk like about sweepers, mine sweepers, or something like that they went through things and paving the way with everything they learned…(Tammy, facilitator, Action)*

The program gained by utilizing adult-youth partnerships fully to gather information about the program, but also that they were explicit with the young people about how much they shaped the program.

Young people who came through the program were also utilized as junior staff which reportedly added an important resource. Below is an example from a young person who was in his first year of becoming a staff member:

> *Yeah, I'm facilitating, interning. I'm an apprentice with the new program. I'm trying to pass on what I learned to them. Which ways I went because I want them to get the most out of it.*
>
> SZB: *How are you doing that?*
>
> *Jason: I occasionally talk about my experience with the program and tell them how we… Because my group was the first group, that's why we were called the Pioneers so everything we did was for the first time. We found that this wasn't as good as it could be, how could we make it better? And through the years see what we could do better. (Jason, facilitator, Action)*

This young person when on to say that he had absolute faith that the program leaders were "going to try to take our experiences and try to change things." These programs were perceived by adults and young people alike to grow and change readily drawing on the experiences of the adults and young people in the program.

Communities

Communities were reported to benefit from the adult-youth partnerships in a number of ways. First, the partnerships often coalesce around community change projects such as transforming an abandoned building into a community resource or

campaigns against police harassment as exemplified in these projects at Brotherhood Sister Sol:

> *Well for obvious reasons, those group of LP kids wanted to do something about it…It was a fight to just get water and electricity in there. And now its turned into where now they are going to have affordable housing to people in the community so people that live in Harlem can actually afford property in Harlem. And then we have our mapping project. Our mapping interactions with the police project. It's just a project based on police brutality. They've been working on that for like 2-3 years now too. (Rick, participant, Brotherhood Sister Sol)*

This young person outlined for me the myriad of community-based projects on which he was working with the adults in his program. Young people were encouraged through their organizations to have a presence at community board meetings as well as convene their own community forums. Selina, a facilitator at Action, talked about the work of her colleague's group to bring community awareness around environmental justice and sustainability:

> *You know Carla's groups work with Sustainable South Bronx had this huge block party. This is how we are bringing in ideas about healthy living and access, environmental justice to a wider group and making community awareness around that. (Selina, facilitator, Action)*

Benefit at the community level extended beyond the local communities. People in both projects mentioned work nationally and internationally where the collective engaged in community action. Some examples of this were community

performances with young people impacted by hurricane Katrina in New Orleans at Action and work with sister organizations in Ghana and South Africa.

Institutions

Through the work of the partnerships, adults and young people were attempting to shift institutions that had an impact on their lives like schools or criminal justice systems. Their work on the institutional level took the forms of educating young people, new police recruits, and educators. In the example below a young woman discusses organizing a conference on school reform:

> *While in LP, I helped plan this conference called the Free Peoples Conference (education conference). Yeah, so, it was really, really cool. Like, I was doing these workshops. There were, like, we did over 168 workshops. And we had to pick about 70 of them. So we really had a hand. Emailing, meetings on Fridays.… And it felt so empowering. Like we have our own website and I'm like, that's me, that's me! And it just felt so empowering to be able to do something. And I feel very strongly about education. (Isani, participant, Brotherhood Sister Sol)*

In this quote one can hear this young woman's commitment to challenging the institution of education across the board by helping to organize people from all over the country to participate in an alternative conference. Youth and adults also talked about doing work within local schools in New York City as exemplified by the work of one adult-youth collective in middle schools:

> *Like next week they'll be taking their projects into middle schools and doing their art pieces which all have an interactive educational element in*

8th grade classrooms. It's going to be very interesting. (Selina, facilitator Action)

Another adult talked about the next phases of their work which the group was hoping would include educating new police recruits about racism and power:

Take the police brutality example. We had a guy from the Innocence Project come in and we talked about going into the police departments and being able to do our projects for the new recruits. That seems like someplace we could actually be impacting some of the ways in which new recruits are thinking about race and systems of power. (Tammy, facilitator, Action)

People did not report working towards policy changes in their narratives although it may have been a component of their campaigns that was simply not mentioned in these narratives.

Society

Research in the field of youth civic engagement supports the link between increased engagement of young people and a more democratic society (Flanagan & Faison, 2001). In fact, many people believe it is essential for maintaining a healthy democracy (UNICEF, 2006; Winter, 1997). In the life history narratives we find narratives of "possible impact," not actual measurable impact. I hypothesize that the work of these groups may produce impact on the societal level. Adults and youth reported on projects in which they or their colleagues were involved that focused on getting youth more involved in politics in the example below:

> *Patty's group that's doing a lot around the election, are they really going to get more young people out there to vote and have them really thinking about the issues…(Tammy, facilitator, Action)*

This group used block parties, rallies and other strategies to get young people interested in the election in 2009. In the following example, societal level impact appeared as the focus of some of the work of the partnerships such as the justice system and global issues:

> *For our documentary (on exoneration) we interviewed a couple of people and we had to explain what exoneration was and they were shocked about the things that happen and the mistakes that the justice system makes and I feel like if people doesn't know enough and information doesn't get around and people don't think it's a big enough problem then nothing is going to happen. The same thing with global warming. It's a big issue. And you know what, my generation is going to have to deal with this issue and try to bring it forward, but if the generation prior to us doesn't try to help reduce the negative effects of global warming, then my generation and the generations after us will suffer a lot. It applies to all ages (Jasmine, participant, Action)*

Evident in this young person's words is her viewpoint that multiple generations will have to work together to tackle some of these global issues like climate change and broken criminal justice systems.

Outlined in the thematic data presented above is an impressive array of impact created by adults and young people engaged in joint action. This impact

moves through individuals to transform not only those doing the work and the programs from which they operate, but also influences small changes on the community, institutional and societal level.

Appendix IV

KIDS ARE NOTHING BUT TROUBLE! FROM YOUTH PROBLEMS TO YOUTH DEVELOPMENT TO SOLVE YOUTH PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTION

I am using this appendix as a space for theorizing the applicability of the theory of change model proposed in this dissertation to fields outside of youth activism. As there have not been many published accounts of the history of this burgeoning field, I begin by offering an in depth tracing of the field of youth development from 1960 to the present. I argue that the roots of the field of youth development moved from a push for youth participation in the service of changing youth, adults, programs, community and society in the 1970's to enlist those same entities to focus on creating the conditions to respond to young people's developmental needs in the 1990's. This movement towards a focus on young people's needs and outcomes seemed to result from a concerted effort to secure federal funding for youth development organizations. Later in this appendix, I use critical theory to explore how the shift to individual skills and competencies for youth as a strategy to secure funding for the NGO sector, resulted in maintaining the status quo for young people, not shifting it as proposed in the model derived from this dissertation. Lastly, I theorize the possible gains for individuals, programs, institutes, evaluators and funders if the theory of change model proposed in this dissertation were to replace the model currently used in the youth development field.

TRACING THE HISTORY OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT FROM THE LATE 1960-2009.

Although the story of the field of youth development has its roots at the turn of the century in Settlement houses and the Afterschool programs of the Boys and Girls Scouts, YMCA as well as 4H and Boys and Girls clubs, this particular history of the field begins in the late 1960s. The youth participation movement, like other groups such as people of color, women, LGBT people, and Native peoples emerged from the 1960's poised to advocate for greater control over issues that impacted their lives. One of the major players

in promoting youth participation was the National Commission on Resources for Youth (NCRY). NCRY was established in 1967 to foster more active and significant social roles for young people …or "youth participation". Throughout the 1970's and early 1980's the NCRY published literature that explored and extolled the benefits of youth participation for young people, communities and institutions.

In 1975 Dollar, writing for NCRY established the need for a nationwide youth participation program and suggests strategies and problems in implementing such programs. He argued that youth participation provides a means for young people to be released from their isolation from the rest of society by providing the opportunity for participation in socially productive activities. The volume is presented in two parts. Part I examines the "adolescent predicament". Topics include the social context of youth, concepts of youth as "not yet" people, alienated youth and the alienating society, and adolescent needs. Part II, the major portion of the document, discusses youth participation at length. The first section provides criteria that may be used both in observing present programs and designing new ones, and distinguishes youth participation from other programs that benefit youth. The section concludes with an analysis of benefits of youth participation to youth, the community, the policy, and schools. The second section in Part II examines issues and concerns of program implementation. Topics include minority students, youth decision making, adult leadership, teacher training, voluntary adult participation, school credit, and the cost of youth participation. The appendix provides brief descriptions of 15 youth participation projects such as publishing community magazines, job counseling, day care work, physical therapy, tutoring, and documenting and restoring historical sites. Projects are based in public and alternative schools and in community-based agencies.

In 1974 James Coleman chaired a panel on youth that culminated in an important report entitled "Youth: transition to adulthood". Coleman traced the history of young people in U.S., outlined their current status as well as recommended possible next steps. This book was mainly focused on schools, but he did look at youth communities, youth organizations, service opportunities, and job programs. He problemetized the push towards extended schooling for all youth, in large schools, divided by grade, which have little opportunity for young people to interact with different age groups as well as adults in meaningful ways. Coleman argued that:

> *"Schools are the principal formal institutions of society intended to bring youth into adulthood. But schools' structures are designed wholly for self-development, particularly the acquisition of cognitive skills and of knowledge….They do not provide extensive opportunity for managing one's affairs, they seldom encourage intense concentration on a single activity, and they are inappropriate settings for nearly all objectives involving responsibilities that affect others." (Coleman 1974, pp. 146).*

Coleman proposed that youth are a low power group in this country. He argued that youth have their own youth culture due to age segregation and the advent of mass media that has recognized them as consumers stating:

> *Youth are segregated from adults by the economic and educational institutions created by adults, they are deprived of psychic support from persons of other ages, a psychic support that once came from the family, they are subordinate and powerless in relation to adults, and outsiders to the dominant social institutions. Yet they have money, they have access to a wide range of communications media, and control of some, and they are*

relatively large in number (Coleman, 1974 pp. 125)

He made a series of recommendations of which I will mention a few: 1) school diversity and student choice 2) reduction in school size 3) role-diversity for youth in school 4) the school as agent for the young 5) alternation of school and work 6) greater government support of youth communities and youth organizations 7) youth educational vouchers and 8) opportunities for public service.

Also developed in the late 1970's was a new model of child development that dealt with the multiple ecologies in which young people develop. Bronfrenbrenner (1979) was one of the first psychologists to adopt a holistic perspective on human development called Ecological Systems Theory which had a widespread influence on the way psychologists and other social scientists approached the study of human beings and their environments. Bronfenbrenner emphasized the importance of the social environments in which children are raised delineating four types of nested systems. He called these the *microsystem,* the *mesosytem,* the *exosystem,* and the *macrosystem.* He later added a fifth system, called the *Chronosystem*. The idea of studying and analyzing the impact of social environments on young people's development greatly influenced the field of youth development as youth development moves away from a strictly biological perspective to place the onus of creating positive environments for young people's development on municipalities, institutions, organizations (Scarr, 1992; Brooks-Gunn, 1995).

There was literature about youth development being published by the commerce department (NTIS, 1971), however, much of the most innovative work on youth participation produced in the late 1970's and early 1980's was developed in conjunction with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention under the US department of

Justice and in the realm of prevention as a whole. For example in the Spring of 1980, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) awarded grants to twenty-two organizations to bring about improvements in youth services through advocacy. One of the major themes of the program was youth involvement, defined as "meaningful youth participation in policy decisions affecting youth for the purpose of better defining youth needs and impacting on the practices, policies and utilization of funds in youth serving institutions." NCRY assisted grantees with the youth participation component of their projects. In order to assist these programs NCRY studied more than 100 programs and identified 19 as models which they documented. They convened adults and youth for the Idea Exchange on Youth Participation in Youth Advocacy in Chicago in June 1981.

Katherine Costin writing for the OJJDP (1982) argued that youth were excluded from being accepted and fully participating members of their communities. Costin (1982) wrote about the feelings of frustration and alienation that young people may feel when they do not have access to personally gratifying social roles in early adolescence. Costin (1982) referred to well intentioned adults missing the mark by focusing on individual level strategies aimed at changing and individual's "nonconforming behavior through the provision of services such as counseling, recreational opportunities, or jobs." (p. 1) Costin argued for looking at resiliency, not delinquent behavior, and try to emulate the conditions that help youth be resilient. The most theoretically promising line of research at the time that backed up the youth development work at OJJDP was bonding theory (Hirishi, 1969).

The work of the OJJDP positioned young people as agentic and took a more systemic approach to issues such as juvenile crime (see Fox, 2009 for connections between youth as agents and systemic critiques). For example, in an article addressing illegal acts committed in schools Costin attributed the high levels of crime and violence to the "many policies and practices of schools unintentionally discouraging the proper socialization of youth. Schools generally stress control and rigidity rather than promoting self-expression and responsibility, and they often fail to prepare a youth for the transition into adulthood. "

(p. 3). OJJDP recommended that youth participation programs were the answer and should be for all segments of the youth population. The focus on promoting healthy development for all young people, not just marginalized youth, began in the early 1980's.

There is general agreement in the youth development field that the work of Werner and his colleagues stands out in its early influence on the movement in the 1980's (see Werner 1989, 1990; Werner & Smith 1977, 1982, 1992; Baines & Selta, 1999). Werner et. al (1977) conceived of youth development as not only surmounting difficulty but thriving, and that there are two separate but interrelated spheres that make up youth development (internal and external). Internal-resiliency factors (internal to the individual) was described as consisting of cognitive abilities, imagination, or creativity, having an engaging personality, sense of purpose and direction, an ability to establish and meet goals, an ability to form positive relationships, and a sense of spirituality. These factors are conceptualized as highly interrelated and artificial to separate. Like Bronfrenbrenner's (1979) ecological model, Werner posited that environmental protective factors (external) serve as a critical buffer for youth living in non-optimal living conditions. The idea of internal and external assets plays a large role in the Search Institutes framework for youth development that is actively promoted today.

Another critical step for the field of youth development was when large funders committed resources and brainpower to develop a series of reports that were widely disseminated. The Carnegie Corporation Council on Adolescent Development, working group of the Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs was established in June 1986. In 1989 Carnegie Commission released a report, Turning Points, on preparing youth for the 21st century. The report recommended that the country's commitment to "preparation for adulthood" must go beyond a commitment to formal schooling and that the examination and revitalization of the institutions charged with helping young people successfully navigate this transition must go beyond schools. This was one of the first examples of a shift towards increased focus on changing institutions in the

service of identifiable outcomes for young people. They recommended connecting schools with communities as well as outlined a vision of what a 15-year-old who was involved in positive youth development programming should be like:

- An intellectually reflective person
- A person en route to a lifetime of meaningful work
- A good citizen
- A caring and ethical individual
- A healthy person

In 1988, The Grant Commission's report, *The Forgotten Half,* that focused on non-college bound youth stated:

> Young people's experiences at home, at school, in the community, and at work are strongly interconnected, and our response to problems that arise in any of these domains must be equally well integrated…All young people need:
>
> - More constructive contact with adults who can help them guide their talents into useful and satisfying paths
> - Opportunities to participate in community activities that they and adults value, especially giving service to others
> - Special help for particularly difficult problems ranging from learning disabilities to substance addiction and
> - Initial jobs, no matter how modest, that offer a path to accomplishment and to career opportunity (p.3).

The language referred to young people's needs to become healthy adults. This was considered a shift from the mainly negative framing in the prevention field of what needs to be done to prevent delinquency. However, later in this chapter I argue that the focus on youth needs and developmental outcomes that happened in this period of time, without the concurrent focus on what they can contribute, perpetuated the detrimental framing of young

people. By the end of the 1980's a few key shifts happened: 1) the idea of looking at resilience instead of solely prevention of negative problems emerged 2) a focus on clearly outlining developmental outcomes as the goal of youth development efforts 3) a focus on the environmental protective factors that influence youth development. This was a shift from the largely systemic critiques in the 1970's.

In 1990, the Carnegie Council commissioned a study of the potential and actual contributions of community-based youth programs to the development of young adolescents (ages 10-15). A 26- member task force (blue ribbon commission) guided the work. They conducted focus groups with young teens, conducted structured interviews with board and staff leaders of 20 national organizations, conducted a lit review, commissioned twelve papers, consulted with field leaders on professional development and evaluation issues and conducted a survey of independent youth organizations. Their findings were published two years later in 1992, in a report entitled a *Matter of Time*. This seminal document will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Although the notion of looking at resilience for clues about what would be the most useful skills to teach kids in order to prevent them from engaging in negative behaviors, emerged earlier in the 1980s, Bonnie Bernard (1991) published a longitudinal study of "high risk" youth which distilled the following characteristics of the resilient child. The characteristics of a resilient child were identified as: 1) social competence 2) problem solving skills 3) autonomy-a sense of identity and an ability to act independently and exert control over your environment (p. 13). Bonnie also outlined the protective factors across schools, family and community: 1) a caring and supportive environment; 2) high expectations, and 3) opportunities of meaningful involvement and participation. These three protective factors emerge later with a few others in youth development trainings as the "factors that foster resilience" in the Advancing Youth Development training offered in the field of youth development today.

In the early 1990s both public and private money was financing publications

defining and refining the burgeoning field of youth development. The U.S Department of Agriculture Extension Service, Carnegie council on Adolescent Development, presentations for the House Select Committee on Children Youth and Families all supported researchers to articulate a clearer vision of the "paradigm shift" that is the promise of youth development. One of the major institutions that pumped out the literature and most current thinking in the field of youth development was the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research established in 1990. The center developed a series of papers that were instrumental in defining the field and commissioned by various entities such as the Carnegie Council, Kellogg Foundation, USDA, Lilly Endowment, Ford Foundation, Big Brothers Big Sisters and Chief State School Officers. Two people, Karen Pittman and Michelle Cahill, had a major influence on the field and created much of the literature that was used to justify, articulate and develop it. Karen Pittman came to youth development from the field of sociology and Michelle Cahill from education. The combination of their different skill sets and perspectives in conjunction with their remarkable productivity created a plethora of literature for the field in the 1990's.

There was a lot of interest in the government in the early 1990's to address "youth problems" (Pittman, 1992), therefore policy makers were the main audience for the papers commissioned in the early 1990's. Reform efforts were proposed for every major institution touching the lives of young people such as education, health, and Juvenile Justice (Pittman, 1992). Pittman, Cahill, Zeldin and many others in the burgeoning field pushed to get lawmakers and funders to switch from thinking about how to "fix" youth problems with prevention programs and problem focused interventions to thinking about how to create holistic services that went beyond fixing youth problems to helping them be fully prepared adults.

A mantra developed by Pittman that characterized the thrust of the early youth development field was "problem free does not mean fully prepared." (Pittman, 1992; Pittman & Cahill, 1992). In other words preventing high-risk behavior is not the same as

preparing youth for the future. Pittman argued that there were many statistics indicating that children aren't doing well enough, but missing was a theoretical base to frame and assess actions (Pittman, 1992). Pittman argued for "a massive conceptual shift from thinking that youth problems are merely the principal barrier to youth development, to thinking that youth development serves as the most effective strategy for the prevention of youth problems." (Pittman, 1991, p. 3). The 1990's was the dawn of youth development as we know it today.

Proponents of youth development argued that youth service providers in the early 1990's were forced to accept funding that was based on prevention of specific problems which pushed them to provide fragmented, problem-focused programming at the expense of broader services and opportunities critical to problem-prevention (Pittman, 1992; Pittman and Fleming, 1991). They also felt that providers who argued for developing programs that address the root causes of the issues trying to be prevented left those concerned about pregnancy prevention (and other problems) advocating for the elimination of poverty, sexism, and racism" (AED). They quipped that program expenses went up exponentially as tutoring, family counseling recreation and summer employment all became prerequisites for pregnancy prevention while evidence of improve outcomes were scarce and not connected to program inputs (AED). Pittman (1991) argued in front of congress that there was an urgent need to "reexamine the current array of policies and services that address youth. More must be done. The first step, however, must be to define the vision. Teachers, program directors parent, community leaders, researchers, policymakers, and youth themselves must be actively engage in defining outcomes, amassing evidence, and outlining strategies. We have to make youth development as real as youth problems. We have to make the positive rhetoric—that we want our youth to be good parents, good workers, good citizens,--reality." (p. 16).

Over the course of the next few years Pittman and others attempted to define the vision, outcomes, evidence and strategies as well as shift a from thinking of youth as "problems to be solved" (Roth, et. al. 1998; Pittman 1992). Although there was

considerably more focus on youth development as the key outcome for reform efforts, there were major proponents that held onto the idea that young people could be part of the solution. Pittman and Cahill (1992) stated: "we are certainly not arguing that services are not needed. However, an exclusive emphasis on services excludes focusing on broader issues…Missing from the discussion of options is consideration of opportunities for youth to contribute to solving their own problems and, equally important, to use their skills to contribute to the solution of family and community problems" (p. 5).

Pittman and Cahill (1991) spent months developing a working definition of youth development that "identifies the supports and opportunities youth need to develop the identities and competencies required for adult life and acknowledges youth potential to participate in meeting their needs" (p.3). Ford foundation supported them to complete literature reviews on program effectiveness and interview individuals such as Dorthy Stoneman, Luis Garden Acosta, Michelle White, and Truman Thomas. They went around the country to garner input from program planners, researchers and evaluators. Eventually they defined youth development as a term to refer to both a broad goal, a growth process, a specific subset of activities… of organizations.., and even a specific program approach (participatory, experiential, non-formal) (p. 7). They conceptualized a definition of youth development not attached solely to what youth serving organizations do but attached to youth, themselves. Pittman and Cahill (1991), the National Assembly (1994) and others viewed youth development as an ongoing and inevitable process in which all youth are engaged and invested. They posited that young people play a critical role in the process and will meet their basic needs one way or another.

They also conceptualize the idea of **positive** youth development as consisting of outcomes that families, communities and society would define as useful and sufficient. Agents were conceptualized as the people, organizations, and institution that: "1) take deliberate responsibility for helping young people get through the above process while achieving outcomes that family, community and society would define as useful and

sufficient and 2) offer supports, services and opportunities that have demonstrably positive outcomes, (Pittman, 1992, p. 9). They proposed that in order to have healthy development young people must have particular needs met such as: 1) safety and structure, 2) belonging, 3) self-worth, 4) independence, 5) closeness and 6) several good relationships. They also proposed that young people needed to acquire certain competencies to be able to become a healthy adult related to health, personal/social, knowledge, reasoning, creativity, vocational, and citizenship. Youth development was designed to meet young people's needs plus build their competencies (Pitman, 1991; 1992). The authors asserted that it is "the simultaneous concern for the broad spectrum of both needs and competencies that is critical for youth development and indicative of caring" (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, p. 32). Young people need to be "nurtured, guided, empowered, and challenged---asked to do important work. It means that they have to be engaged in constructive relationships with peers and adults" (p.4). Youth development theorists pushed for comprehensive programs, case management services and coordinated community action (Pittman & Cahill, 1992) **in the service of youth outcomes**. The articulation of "youth outcomes" as the goal concerted reform efforts has become integral to the current youth development field.

In 1992, the final report from the Carnegie Council's study was published entitled a Matter of Time. The key recommendations were as follows: 1) non-school hours offer untapped and promising opportunities to promote healthy development of young adolescents, 2) communities should build networks of affordable, accessible, safe and challenging programs that appeal and respond to the diverse interests of young adolescents, 3) funders and policy makers should provide greater support for youth development 4) programs should extend their reach to underserved young adolescents (especially low income), actively compete for kids time and attention, strengthen quality and diversity of adult leadership, partner with schools and families, enhance young adolescents role as resources, be vigorous advocates for youth, specify and evaluate their programs' outcomes, establish strong organizational structures, including energetic and committed board

leadership.

Although this report mentions opportunities to enhance young adolescents role as resources it is still talked about in the service of their positive development. For example the Carnegie Report states:

> *"Young adolescents should have the opportunity to participate in all aspects of youth programs: teaching skills to peers, caring for the facility, planning special events, assisting in governance, and representing the organization to the media and policy makers. Young people enjoy and are good at providing community service such as planting trees, registering adults to vote, working with elders, staffing soup kitchens. They also gain experience in understanding how to use community resources for their own benefit."*

The language stresses that youth participation is important because "they enjoy it" or "they gain experience." There is no mention of what the community gains or adults gain from youth participation. There is only attention given to improving young people through this type of participation perpetuating the idea that young people are in need of repair and are inactive receptacles of the developmental process. This document made a strong case for funding youth development based on data about crime in the non-school hours and how that time could be filled with positive activities to promote youth development. It framed young people in a negative way to ensure more resources focused on developing them. It retained language about youth as resources but also in the service of their own development (later in this chapter we will look critically at the impact of this strategy in relation to the status quo for young people).

Although all youth were encompassed in the call for reform, there was a recognition that low-income and minority youth faced particularly hard circumstances and that the field

must "address head on the underlying issues of class and race that suggest that not all youth are worth developing and to forestall the creation of a two tier system of supports for youth that, based on class and race offers some youth participation and enrichment, and others social services and case management (Cahill & Pittman, 1991; Matter of Time, 1992). In particular, there was a call for a coordinated response to the needs of black male youth (Pittman, 1992; Pittman & Zeldin, 1993). In this literature the strategies proposed and the framing of young Black men focuses not on their needs, but strengths and potential to contribute.

In 1992, Pittman proposed a domestic service corps to "assist young black males ages 10-24, in economically distressed communities to realize their individual potential and to act on their potential as partners in community change through enriching their opportunities for and commitment to education, training, service, employment and personal development." This emerged from a meeting funded by Kellogg Foundation in 1991 that brought 36 individuals together to discuss the status and future of African American men and boys in the United States. In 1993, Pittman & Zeldin further outlined strategies and rational for the focus on black youth in the US. They proposed that "African American males needed more recognition, more participation, more responsibility, and more legitimate roles and opportunities. This tension, while greater and historically more sinister for young African-American males, pervades all class divisions and affects all youth in this country. Hence, by improving services for black youth in this country, we will also gain valuable lessons on how to improve policies and services for all youth (Pittman & Zeldin, 1993, p. 3). The authors outlined three competing assumptions about youth:

> 1) that society's primary responsibility –beyond education—is to deter and correct deficits among youth. This is a fix then develop philosophy of services
>
> 2) that young people have little of value to offer their communities during the formative years of adolescents

> 3) that young people have marginal attachments to society's values and therefore cannot be trusted with any significant responsibilities. (p. 3)

In this paper, Pittman and Zeldin (1993) highlighted how considering youth as resources leads to different program interventions then those typically offered. Proving youth with opportunities to contribute to community, and a choice of how to contribute, leads to the development of social, academic and vocational competencies, youth contribute to the welfare of their communities. The authors hypothesized that "being viewed as a problem…with little to offer, is not likely to foster the attachments that society and adolescents desire" (Pittman & Zeldin, 1993, p. 6). They further proposed that "because young people are not given the opportunity to contribute or feel ownership over their work, learning does not occur. Attachments are emotion as much as competency-based, indicating that youth will respond when they are given participatory roles, when they are trusted, and when they are valued members of communities and schools. (Pittman & Zeldin, 1993, p. 6). They proposed "that young people need to be nurtured, guided, empowered, and challenges, asked to do important work that they perceive is relevant. It means that they have to be engaged in constructive relationships with peers and adults" (Pittman & Zeldin 1993 p. 9).

Community-based organizations were beginning to be seen as a primary development agent and a campaign was launched to advocate for their expansion (Carnegie Council, Matter of Time, 1992; Pittman and Cahill 1992,; Pittman and Wright, 1991; Mclaughlin, et. al., 1994). Pittman & Cahill (1992) proposed that the role of youth programs and organizations in promoting youth development was different from schools and family, and related to mission, structure, staffing, programs and practices, relationships to youth, and relationships among youth. These authors explored the idea of caring as the currency of youth development and that youth serving organizations promote caring by creating environments in which young people feel welcome, respected, and comfortable. Other researchers referred to neighborhood organizations as "urban sanctuaries"

(McLaughlin, et. al. 1994) in inner cities, by structuring opportunities for the development of caring relationships with adults and peers; providing information, counseling and expectations that enable young people to define what it means to care for yourself and to care for a definable group; and by providing opportunities, training, and expectations that encourage young people to contribute to the greater good through service, advocacy, philanthropy and active problem-solving on important issues (Pittman & Cahill, 1992). Opportunities to express views and be listened to and opportunities to contribute to community were reported by young people to be the most important aspect of their experience in these programs (Pittman & Cahill, 1992). Pittman and Cahill (1992) also found that young people defined their attachment to programs and organizations in terms of their relationship with a caring adult in that program. (p. 8). Relationships are considered key to development processes (relational theory in youth development organizations is later expanded upon by Deutsch, 2007).

Pittman and Cahill (1992) were concerned with to what extent youth organizations and programs "are central to the cultivation of caring young people, not just by individual design, but by collective purpose, structure and philosophy" (p. 3). They found that "youth development organizations tended to be smaller, place a high value on youth participation and rely heavily on non-formal education methods" (p. 21). They argued that the contribution of youth serving organizations is that they promote youth development through the cultivation of caring by creating environments in which young people feel welcome, respected and comfortable. These programs structure opportunities for the development of caring relationships with adults and peers, provide information on what it means to care for yourself and care for a definable group, and provide opportunities to contribute to the greater good through service, advocate and actively problem-solve important issues. Caring adult-youth relationships were viewed as a necessary context for an equally valid aim of engaging young people in "caring for themselves, caring for the group within the program and caring for the wider community/society of which they are

members" (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, p. 13). Many of these organizations viewed community service as a vehicle "for increasing young people's concern about their community, for giving them opportunities for meaningful activity, and for helping young people overcome their sense of powerlessness about their environment" (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, p.18). The role of staff in these organizations beyond providing caring relationships was viewed as assisting young people to select what they will do, how often they will participate and what they hope to accomplish" (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, p.14).

Pittman & Cahill (1992) promoted that the youth serving organizations be strengthened and better supported in order to help promote youth development, however, they acknowledged that caring "would not pass the social/political litmus test until we can clearly define the "caring inputs and strategies and demonstrate that these inputs and strategies yield youth outcomes defined as important by policymakers, practitioners, and the press. These outcomes include "caring" outcomes (service, citizenship, ethics, respect for diversity) but go well beyond them to include "hard currency" outcomes such as employment, school completions and the array of avoidance outcomes (pregnancy, substance abuse, delinquency). The authors stated that "without this evidence, caring as an input, like the youth programs that convey and promote it, will be seen as something beneficial but ultimately expendable in favor of more tangible inputs with bigger promised payoff" (Pittman & Cahill, 1992, p. 39). Like many of the arguments that the field was advancing at the time, they felt the need to define youth level outcomes in order to gain public support.

In September 1994, the Youth Development Institute of the Fund for the City of New York partnered with nine youth development agencies in NYC to promote youth development as a field based upon competence and mastery. These networks for Youth Development, participants (management, supervisors, line staff and young people: 1) defined "best practices" in youth development programs 2) articulated the positive youth development outcomes to be acquired when young people participate in programs providing

the supports and opportunities embodied in the best practices and 3) defined the skills, knowledge and personal attributes necessary for youth workers. Participants in the networks wanted competencies/and outcomes to be the conceptual framework for shifting program orientation and shaping dialogue about program evaluation (p. 7). They proposed that adult-youth partnerships should be employed to measure specific skills like social engagement, problem-solving and communication using a methodology that centers around a youth evaluation team (a subset of program participants agreeing to meet on a periodic basis and reflect upon changes that have occurred to them and their peers).

In addition to increasing the call for youth development organizations to demonstrate caring for young people in clearly delineated ways, youth development theorists and advocates pushed public institutions such as education, employment and training, juvenile justice, and health services to deal engage in a paradigm shift (Pittman, 1992; Pittman, O' Brian, Kimball, 1993). In Pittman & Cahill's (1992) push for education reform, the authors stated that "schools are far too often, constraining and even hostile environments for young people. The answer is simple, institutions are driven by their accountability systems. Schools are only held accountable for attendance, matriculation, and achievement, not the environments they create, nor are they held responsible for developing competencies beyond academics" (p. 21). They argued that accountability requirements must change or schools would fail to prepare youth for adulthood and that youth would lack the critical skills necessary for economic success. They wanted all youth serving institutions to focus on young people's development.

There also began to be a push for greater collaboration between schools and community-based organizations (Cahill, May 1994). One model that was proposed were school-based community centers (Beacon programs) that were aimed at increasing the likelihood of children and youth achieving educational success by building communities of support for learning that included students, parents, social networks of youth by providing youth development programming in the school building seven days and evenings a week.

They anticipated these school-based community centers would impact "youth, families, schools and communities" (p. 9). There was simultaneously a push for community schools that emanated from the findings of the Matter of Time report by Carnegie which gained traction throughout the 1990's.

In 1997, youth development theorists began to push to strengthen youth employment prospects through youth development (Cahill & Pitts, 1997). The authors stressed a need for youth employment strategies that address both community context and the developmental characteristics of youth (see also "Strengthening Programs for Youth: Promoting Adolescent Development in the JTPA system, Gambone, Feb, 1993). The authors advocated that all programs for youth must focus on youth needs and competencies and view "youth as resources rather than as a human of problems, and developmental experiences as the route to solving problems" (Cahill & Pitts, 1997, p. 4).

Throughout the1990's, there was a focus in the field on defining youth development, articulating its outcomes as well as promoting youth service organizations and other delivery systems. At this point many in the field were echoing the definition of youth development shaped around needs and competencies pioneered by Pittman and Cahill and proposed that in order to succeed, youth must be engaged in a process to acquire adequate attitudes, behaviors and skills (Sagawa 1998; Scales and Leffert, 1999; Pittman, Irby, Smith, 1999). The Search Institute (1997, 1998) reworked the idea of attitudes, behaviors, and skills to outline internal and external assets building on the work of Werner et. al (1977). They emphasized that all youth initiatives should identify and enhance the assets youth possess in an attempt to promote a strength-based perspective. The premise was that young people's development depends on a range of supports and opportunities coming from family, community and other institutions that when plentiful enable youth to thrive and when deficient, prevent youth from positive growth. The Search Institute honed measures of assets through large-scale surveys of youth in various communities and promoted the idea of positive youth development as measurable and relatively easy to assess. Along with

Public Private Ventures (PPV), Search Institute provided applied research findings that brought new credibility to the field of youth development (Conell, Gambone & Smith, 1999 PPV).

A simple analysis of the definition of youth development from literature in the field from 1994-1999 reveals two things: 1) there were many different definitions of the term youth development and 2) there is a greater focus on the production of youth outcomes or competencies. The table below illustrates that 13 of 20 definitions focus on youth competencies, six focus on youth as well as youth impacting others (i.e. adults, communities, etc) and one focused the definition of the field on how young people impact others. This is a shift from the literature in the 1970's that promoted youth participation to impact social change.

Table 6: Definitions of "Youth Development"

THEORISTS/INSTITUTE/ORGANIZATION	FOCUS ON YOUTH ONLY	YOUTH IMPACTING OTHERS	BOTH
National Clearinghouse on Families and Youth (1998)			X
Nixon (1997)	X		
Search Institute (1998)	X		
Baines and Selta (1999)	X		
Lakes (1996)		X	
The National Youth Development Information Center (1998)	X		
Roth, Brooks-Gunn, and Foster (1998)	X		
Kellogg (1999)			X
The National Collaboration of Youth (1999)			X
Hahn and Raley (1997)			X
Catalano et. al. (1998)	X		
The American Youth Policy Forum (Halper, Cusack, Raley, o'Brien and Wills 1995)	X		
Lawrence (1998)	X		
National Collaboration for Youth Members, (March 1998)	X		
A Model of Youth Work Orientations (Edginton & DeOlivera, Humanics, pp. 3-7, Spring 1995)			X
Building Resiliency, pp. 11-14, National Assembly, 1994;	X		
Position Statement on Accountability and Evaluation in Youth Development Organizations, p. 1, National Collaboration for Youth, 1996	X		
4-H organization			X
Making the Case: Community Foundations and Youth Development, Bonnie Politz, Senior Program Officer, Academy for Educational Development, Center for Youth Development & Policy Research, Foundations for Change, 1996, Second Edition	X		
Youth Development: On the Path Toward Professionalization, National Assembly, 1999	X		

By the end of the 1990's there was an increase in private support for youth development and the phrase "youth development" along with "problem free is not fully prepared" were integrated into the US policy lexicon (Delgado 2002; Pitman, Irby, and

Ferber; Public Private Ventures, 1999). Many in the field thought the America's Promise Alliance founded in1997 under Clinton, with General Colin Powell as Chairman was indicative of a shift in commitment to youth development by the US government and more than 300 corporations, nonprofits, faith-based organizations and advocacy groups. The alliance (which still exists today) aimed to ensure that all young people graduate from high school ready for college, work and life. The alliance worked to raise awareness, encourage action and engage in advocacy to provide children the key supports called the five promises: caring adults, safe places, a healthy start, an effective education and opportunities to help others.

This new youth development movement steadily gained more recognition in the field of youth programming, as evidenced by a 1997 Presidential Summit for America's Future. At the summit, three American presidents, nearly 30 governors, 100 mayors, 145 community representatives, dozens of prominent business leaders and several thousand citizens gathered to declare their support for youth development. The summit highlighted examples of programs designed to enhance social, emotional, physical, and cognitive growth of youth in structured, supportive and safe environments.

Other wins included the national replication of Youth Build and the expansion of Boys and Girls clubs in low-income housing projects. A $454 million dollar federal funding stream was earmarked for after-school programming through the 21st Century Learning Centers, and at the state and local levels, the programs, policies and initiatives addressing youth development were too numerous to count.

However, these wins co-existed with a pervasive skepticism about public social programs for youth, especially for adolescents (PPV, 1999). Public support for postsecondary education declined, widening the gap between minority and white college

enrollment (Pittman, Irby, and Ferber, 1999). Young people's rights to reproductive health services continued to be challenged and there was a plethora of "get tough" juvenile justice legislation enacted that were contrary to youth development philosophy (Pittman, Irby, and Ferber, 1999). In an era where there was a multi-trillion dollar budget surplus, there was no sense that the positive development of young people was a high priority (Pittman, Irby, and Ferber, 1999).

In 1998, the Youth Development Directions Project gathered youth development intermediaries from around the country to take stock of the field and chart the issues moving into the new millennium. The aim of this group was not to cover all youth, but to focus on adolescents, who were the hardest age group for which to generate public interest and support. The group gathered in May of 1998 and spent 1999 producing a group of essays to "stimulate the thinking of leaders in the public, private, philanthropic and nonprofit sectors about the actions needed to support the healthy development of America's youth" (PPV,1999, p. 10).

There was a consensus amongst this group that key challenges in the coming decade were to create information and messages that could generate pubic and political support for positive youth development and to secure leadership to publicize these messages and information. The discussants also agreed that it would be useful for the philanthropies and public agencies most involved in youth development to agree on a common agenda of priority issues for youth development research and evaluation. The group noted that there were institutional challenges to promoting a widespread youth development approach to young people. They recommended that each institution be addressed with a distinct "youth development" initiative, that each initiative define and measure how it will help the institution meet its basic outcome goals, and that an intensive effort be made to understand the many community and neighborhood-wide youth development initiatives currently under way; their approaches, successes and failures. Lastly, there was a call for the professionalization of the youth development work force and a need to codify and spread

good practice.

Although, there were many interesting essays related to the cost of funding youth development, scientific foundations of the field, and many on institutional challenges, I have picked two essays on which to focus. Pittman, Irby and Feber (1999) created an essay entitled "Unfinished Business: Further reflections on a decade of promoting youth development". Although they acknowledged that there had been significant change in the acceptance of youth preparation and development, not just problem free young people, they felt that those were broad goals requiring intentional monitoring and strategic action. They claimed the field made vague assumptions using weak justifications, with stated goals that were not compelling. The authors also argued that the chosen means for achieving those goals, such as building up the capacity of youth-serving organizations, were insufficient. They offered many recommendations, but emphasized that the field needed to focus and measure "beyond the program level to examine what a neighborhood , community, system or sector is providing for youth and their families" (p. 48)

Conell, Gambone and Smith (1999) essay proposed that the field had created expectations that youth serving organizations alone could produce a myriad of positive skills and psychological traits in young people without addressing the influences of families, schools or neighborhoods. They proposed using a "community action framework for youth development" that would outline the basic supports and opportunities that all youth need to grow up healthy and the non-negotiables of the youth development approach and the outcomes for these non-negotiables within and across settings where youth spend their time. They formulated a set of community strategies that when implemented, would close the gap from existing levels of support and opportunities to what is needed to achieve goals for youth. Lastly, articulated the need to offer ways to mobilize and build the capacities of all stakeholders who live and work on behalf of youth to embrace and implement these community strategies. This model was honed in the early 2000's so that it more clearly articulated the intermediate and long term outcomes for young people that can

be expected when one mobilized all stakeholders. It is the later incarnation of this model that I critique in the section on critical youth development for its primary focus on youth outcomes.

From 2000-2009, there was a response to the call to create research and evaluation to back up claims of the field. Harvard Family Research Project created a database of OST evaluations and regularly publishes findings and Policy Studies Associates have done many highly publicized evaluations of large scale youth initiatives (Russell, et al,. 2008). Mott, Afterschool Alliance and Chapin Hall have released articles and monoliths related to out-of-school time programs/Afterschool. William T. Grant foundation regularly supports research on the field. A few key meta analysis have revealed the impact of Afterschool Programs on outcomes for young people (Durlak and Weissberg, 2007; Granger, 2008; Halpern, 2005; Piha, S, 2006; Pittman, 2005). In addition, there has been an increased emphasis on measuring program quality (Granger et. al, 2007; Granger, 2007; Gayl, 2004; Miles, Martha, 2006; Wilson-Ahlstom et. al., 2007) and a proliferation of quality assessment tools (High Scope, NYSAN: NAA; Policy Studies).

Following the lead of Newman et. al., (1999), the field has invested in costing out the price of large scale youth initiative for policy makers and funders (Grossman, Lind, Hayes; Deich, 2008). Presumably due to this increased investment, (Little, et. al. 2008), attention to out-of school time initiatives at municipal, state and Federal levels has increased along with public and private funding of OST. The federal government increased its investment from a million dollars to a billion dollars from 1992 to 2002, and states and municipalities joined non-profit groups to create systemic approaches to out-of-school time. By 2009, nearly all major urban centers and most states had structured after-school programs, with intermediaries to support them (Wahl, 2010, in press).

In the past 10 years even the term "youth participation" is being invoked in the field as a means to gain better developmental outcomes for young people. For example, a

close examination of a pivotal piece in New Directions in Youth Development (Villarruel, F. A., et. al., 2003) about youth participation reveals the "why" behind their push for greater youth participation: "By engaging and providing youth with real opportunities to contribute to the communities in which they live, the clubs and organizations in which they participate, and the families in which they grow up, we believe that we are ensuring the successful development of youth now and in the future" (p. 396). Again, giving youth opportunities to contribute is discussed in relation to ensuring young people's successful development, not as simultaneous to the successful development of communities and organizations.

There have been exciting new developments in Community-Youth Development (Tolman & Pittman, 2001; Villarruel et. al, 2003), adult-youth partnerships (Zeldin, S. Petrokubi, J. & MacNeil, In press; Zeldin, S. MacNeil, 2006; Zeldin & Petrokubi, J, 2006; Zeldin, Larson, Camino, O'Conner, 2005; Zeldin, Camino, & Mook, C. 2005) and recent issues of New Directions in Youth Development have highlighted youth activism, community building, and most recently, youth participatory action research (2009). Although, there are areas in which related literature re-invokes its roots in a push for youth participation in systems reform, these attempts remain peripheral to major emphasis in the field on better measurement of youth outcomes, improving quality, and professionalizing the field to focus on better outcomes for youth.

CRITICAL YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Redefine the strategies in order to ensure a broad scale of supports and opportunities for young people that reach far beyond the existing status quo. (Pittman, Irby and Ferber, 1999)

The field of youth development is at an important juncture in 2010. Youth

Development or "Afterschool" is currently positioned as a way to remediate poor academic performance, prevent violence and drug use, improve health and wellness as well as increase the self-esteem of young people (Little et al., 2008). The campaigns to increase state dollars for the field by honing in on the developmental outcomes for young people have been relatively successful. For being such a "cure-all" the field is set to receive unprecedented amounts of funding from the Obama administration. However, at the same time young people are still more likely to be in poverty than adults, hypervillinized in the media, overincarcerated and overtested. How may the field of youth development inadvertently contribute to this continued repression of youth in our society? In this section, I argue that a flawed theory of change and focus on individual as opposed to communal level outcomes contributes to maintaining the low-power status of young people in the United States.

One lens through which one can create an examination of this kind is critical theory. Critical social theorists are *critical* of what they see as pervasive inequalities and injustices in everyday social relationships and arrangements (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010). A "critical social theory" reveals underlying assumptions, as well as concerns itself with forms of authority and injustice by assessing how things are in order to transform them into what they ought to be (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010). The primary goal of this chapter is to use critical theory to analyze youth development discourse and theory in order to reveal the ways in which the field perpetuates the status quo for young people in the U.S. in an attempt to move us towards what "ought to be." The hope is that using the theory of change derived from this dissertation on adult-youth partnerships there may a change in practice for people, programs, institutes, evaluators and funders in the field of youth development.

Postmodern critical theorists such as Michel Foucault traced the way knowledge and power are produced in discursive formations thereby unmasking their effects on the construction of multiple subjects in society (Leonard, 1990). In this chapter, in addition to examining the historical underpinnings of the field, the discursive formations surrounding the articulated relationship between young people's development in relation to adults in the youth development field are examined. Language is viewed by critical theorists as embedded, illuminating and powerful. The words we use in the youth development field both reflect the underlying assumptions of our thinking in relation to youth as well as actively create it. The discursive formations of the youth development field under examination in this article are a theory of change model and language used to talk about young people. I attempted to use discursive formation that are representative of either a broad swath of prominent theorists or institutions in the field or derived from seminal texts. These findings are then places in conversation with the theory of change model proposed in this dissertation. Lastly, I explore the implications of what would shift if the underlying assumption of how change happens in the field of youth development were shifted to a model rooted in adult-youth partnerships, reciprocal and geared towards multi-level development.

THEORY OF CHANGE

A theory of change model is a specific and measurable description of a social change initiative that forms the basis for strategic planning, on-going decision-making and evaluation (Gambone, 2006). The theory of change used for this analysis needed to meet two standards: 1) summarize theoretical frameworks across major thinkers and/or institutions in the youth development field and 2) use data from a variety of sources.

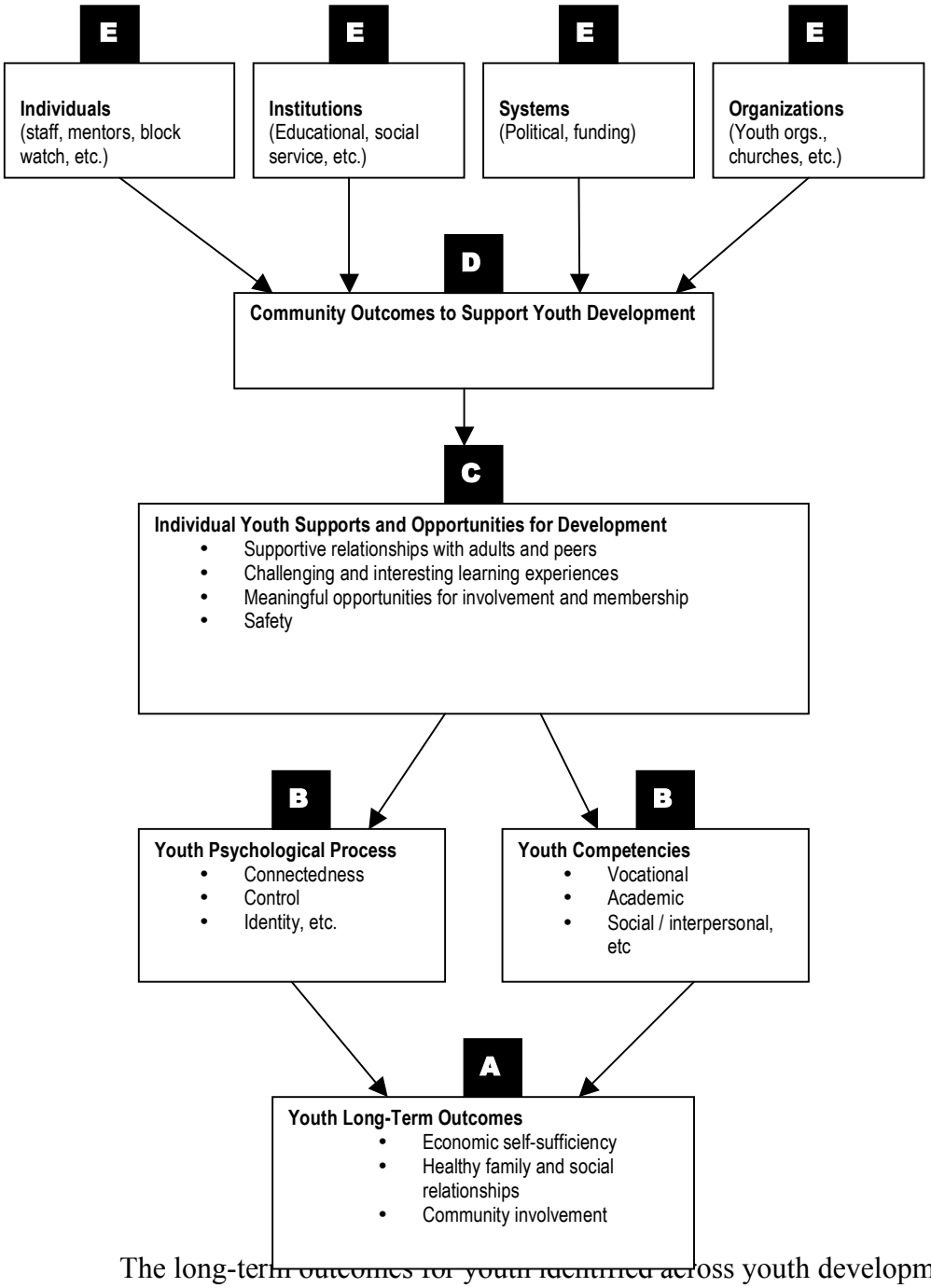
The theory of change model chosen was one created by Gambone in 2006. Gambone (2006) analyzed 25 theoretical frameworks, community initiatives, authors and projects for a common vision of outcomes and process a meta-analysis of the current thinking and research about youth development and communities (see model 1). In effect, this is not one researcher's theory of change, but represents the theorizing of a major proportion of the field of Youth Development. Frameworks, authors and initiatives reviewed include major players such as:

- Search Institute's Developmental Assets for Children;
- Public/Private Ventures Community Change for Youth Development;
- Center for Youth Development and Policy Research's Youth Development Mobilization;
- National Urban League's Community Youth Development Mobilization Initiative;
- Development Research and Programs Inc.'s Communities that Care;
- Community Network for Youth Development's: San Francisco Beacons Initiative and Youth Development Learning Network;
- W.K. Kellogg Foundation's: Kellogg Youth Initiative Partnership

(for the complete list please see Gambone in 2006)

The resulting model for the relationship between youth development and a community of adults is outlined below:

Figure 2: Gambone (2006) Theory of Change



The long-term outcomes for youth identified across youth development models are: 1) Economic self-sufficiency: adequate education, living wage job, discretionary resources 2) Healthy Family and Social Relationships: physical and mental health, good

caregivers/parents, dependable family and friendship networks and 3) Community Involvement: taxpayers, law-abiding citizens, members of churches and other organizations, voters.

In order to achieve these outcomes, Gambone (2006) indicates that the youth development field rallies individuals (staff, mentors, etc), institutions (educational, social service), systems (political, funding) and organizations (youth organizations, churches, etc.) to contribute to community outcomes that support youth development. These community outcomes then contribute to the individual youth supports and opportunities for development such as supportive relationships with adults and peers, challenging and interesting learning experiences, meaningful opportunities for involvement, membership and safety. The individual youth supports and opportunities for development lead to youth psychological processes (connectedness, control and identity) and competencies (vocational, academic and social interpersonal) that purportedly produce the outcomes for youth outlined in Model 1.

What is striking in this theory of change for the field is that all arrows point to clear and measurable outcomes for youth. The support of individuals (assumed in this model to be adults), institutions, systems and organizations are all focused on developing young people into competent and productive adults. There is a unidirectional flow of support for development that starts from adults and ends up as development outcomes for youth.

The depositing of development into young people who act as receptacles as opposed to actors who shoot back arrows of development towards adults, institutions, systems and society is reminiscent of what critical theorist, Paulo Freire, refers to as the

banking concept in education (1970). Development, like education, becomes an act of depositing, in which young people are the depositories and the adults are the depositor. The consequence of such a view is that it maintains the view that young people have nothing to offer up that would simultaneously contribute to the development of adults, institutions, systems and organizations. Freire (1970) viewed oppressed people as potential actors and sources of knowledge and expertise. This model does not portray young people as assets to society but only in need of societies' attention, protection, guidance and "development". Although it is valid and valuable to meet young people's needs, by not mentioning in the same breath that young people are able to contribute to development, we have maintained traditional representations of youth.

The fact that the field's theory of change may be fundamentally flawed has tremendous implications as theory of change models are used for strategic planning, ongoing decision-making and evaluation (Gambone, 2006). In fact, by completing an analysis of over 209 evaluations of both large and small out-of-school time programs and inititative available through the Harvard Family Research Project's Out-of-School Time Program Research and Evaluation Database, it is evident that the singular focus on youth in this theory of change model is reflected in the level of analysis at which we are evaluating our out of school time programs.

The profiles included in this database are searchable on several key criteria in each of these broad categories. I utilized this search mechanism to refine my scan of the profiles to specific program, research, and evaluation characteristics and findings information. I conducted three types of scans. In the first scan I searched for community or systemic outcomes for evaluations of middle school and high school programs. That

search revealed no matches. For the second search I looked for all evaluations that had community outcomes and found four out of 209 evaluations that measured outcomes at that level. The last search, for systemic outcomes, revealed two evaluations and a literacy project. Out of 209 a handful of unreplicated evaluations measured community or systems level outcomes while five pages measure individual gains related to academic achievement. These evaluations reflect the field's maintenance of the individual as the object of development and change instead of looking for multiple levels of impact that may address root causes of inequity.

In a country where young people are currently in a low power position, focusing on developing youth instead of supporting young people to develop adults, programs and policy perpetuates the existing social order. By doing so, it makes one wonder if we are sufficiently supporting these "developed" youth to push back against forces that constrict their active participation such as media, policies, racism, classism and ageism in order to help youth achieve better lives? There is a real question mark as to whether outcomes for young people can improve if we focus on individuals as opposed to working with youth towards social justice for communities as a whole (Pittman & Martin, 2007).

FRAMING MATTERS

Systems of oppression are perpetuated in discourse as well as practices and institutions. The way young people are framed is important as revealed by scholars who have shifted from pathology-based frames to ones that invoke the power of the people studied (Fine, 1991; Luttrell, 2003). I offer two examples of the ways in which young people are portrayed as antithetical to the aims of increasing young people's position of power in the U.S. The first is how they are portrayed in order to secure funding as well

as how they are nearly invisible when it comes to conceptualizing solutions to "youth problems."

The discourse surrounding funding for youth development is of interest in building this argument in that the purse strings wield incredible power in the field. Framing youth in a negative light to get funding or piggy back on hot "policy" areas can sometimes be damaging to an ultimate goal of Youth Development, which is to view youth in a more positive light, not as problems to be solved. There are very different implications about the capabilities and potentialities of young people if requesting funding that frames youth development as a "drop out" prevention strategy as opposed to requesting funding to support youth to come together to problem solve and strategize about how to address push out practices in public schools or chronic absenteeism. In one version, youth development is a field that works to help squeeze youth into structures that are not working well for them. In the alternative version, the youth development is a field where youth are considered assets to any issue that impacts their lives and as capable to work with adults to solve the underlying systemic problems.

As mentioned in the literature review section, one of the largest city financed youth initiatives, Beacons, were developed under Mayor Dinkins in NYC, 1991. The press release states: "Mayor David N. Dinkins announced plans yesterday to set up community drug prevention centers at nine public schools to increase health services for pregnant drug abusers and to create a central office to expand and coordinate the city's fragmented anti-drug efforts…They are to open 16 hours a day every day of the year, offering social services and recreational, educational and vocational activities. Neighborhood anti-drug campaigns are also expected to be developed from the centers."

(Joseph B. Treaster, 1991). Although it is important that the city connected drug prevention with positive supports and opportunities to communities, youth development is still framed as remediation for drug use and community violence.

This coupling of youth development and remediation is found throughout the field of youth development. Current initiatives such as federal funding for OST programs via the 21st Century Initiative, relates youth development to school remediation, dropout rates and behavior problems in the school day. Fear about what young people will do if let out on the streets unsupervised between 3:00 and 6:00pm is evoked for the purposes of mobilizing people's support for youth dollars. This strategy to secure funding can be damaging and misaligned with the goals of getting the public to view youth positively, not as dropouts, failures or violent, drug addicts.

Another example of the detrimental framing of youth is found in the seminal youth development documents such as the Carnegie Council document (1992). With great intentions the various funders, policy makers and researchers issued this recommendation:

> "Children and young adolescents do not vote, cannot be heard in political debates, and command no power commensurate with their needs or their critical importance to the nation. They need strong advocates at all levels of government." (Carnegie Council, 1992).

In this recommendation there is a mention of unequal power distribution between adults and youth, as well as the lack of youth input about issues that impact their lives. However, this recommendation still frames youth as in need of protection and still advocates for adults to be the mouthpiece for youth perpetuating the notion widely held

by adults that youth are unable to represent themselves or others (Zeldin & Topitzes, 2002). We can think about an alternate recommendation that would have challenged the status quo such as: children should be heard in political debates and should have power. They need to have adult allies to advocate with them.

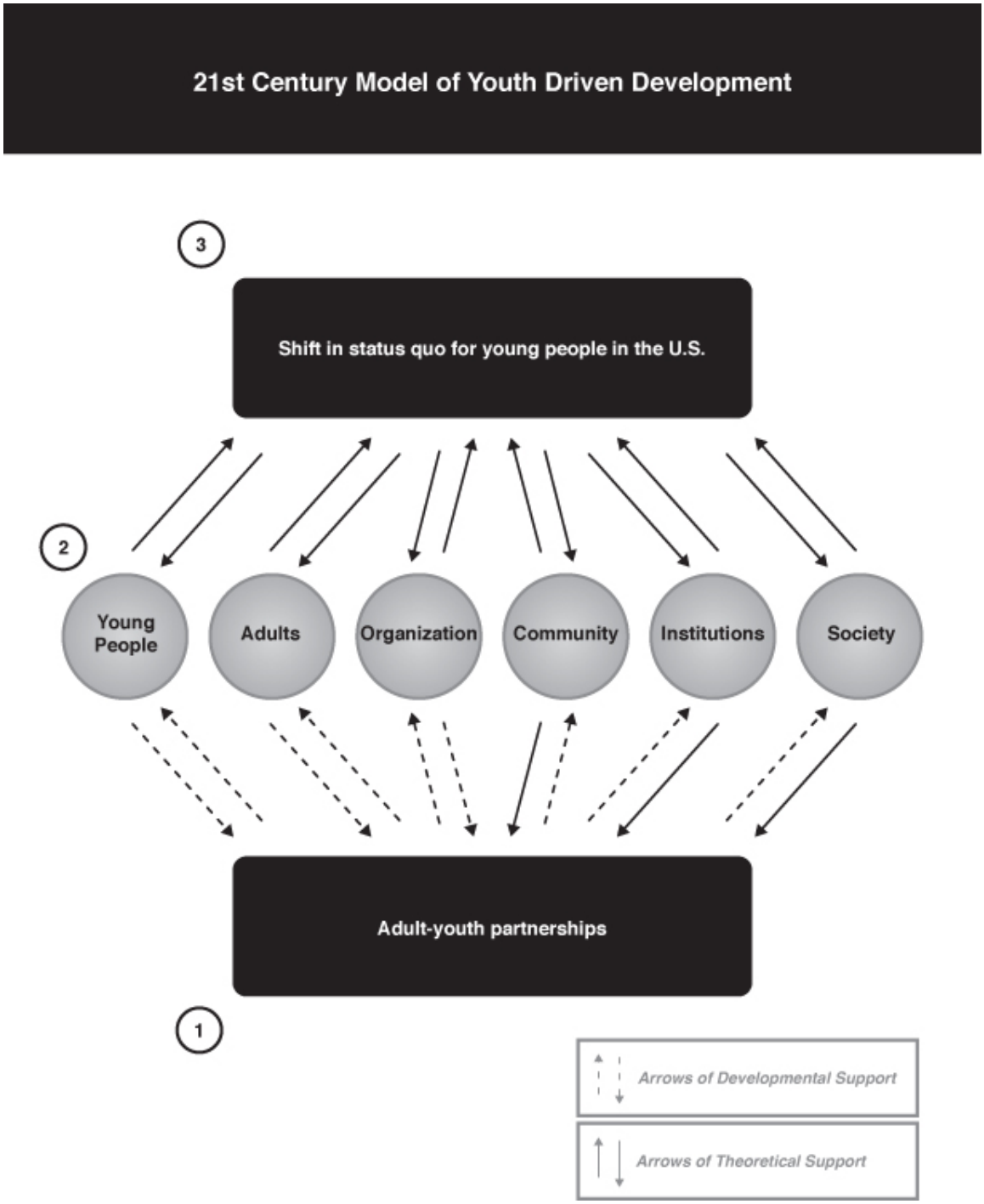
Young people must be central to conceptualizing and promoting any change that impacts their lives, however, current youth development policies are often couched in paternalistic and oppressive language. For example, as mentioned in the literature review there is a current federal initiative, America's Promise Alliance (http://www.americaspromise.org/APA.htm) that enjoys strong bipartisan support. Its aim is to "promote volunteerism on behalf of children." America's promise initiative "sponsored by president Clinton is an effort to mobilize communities to achieve five promises for children: relationships with caring adults, safe places and structured activities, a healthy start for a healthy future, marketable skills through effective education, opportunities to serve." Although these aims are imperative, the language surrounding the initiative does not mention the potential of youth to help actualize these goals. Often the promotion of policy or community level change is done in young peoples' name but does not support them to be change agents. The process by which we go about promoting youth development has largely been disempowering to young people maintaining existing power dynamics between adults and youth.

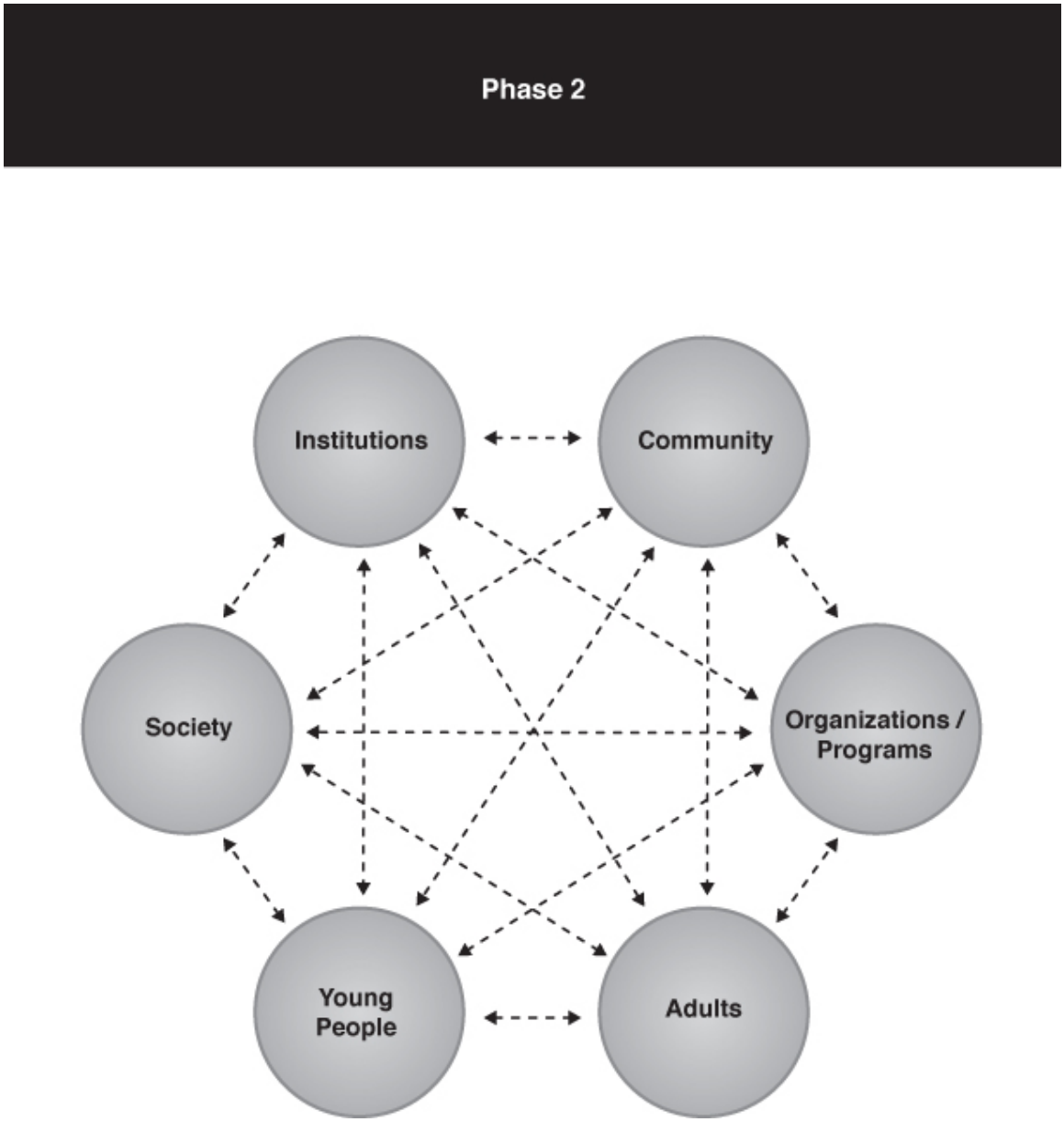
DIFFERENT THEORIES OF CHANGE, DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FIELD OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

The questions raised in this chapter, implores the reader to think about the state of the field of youth development. As the field is maturing with better resources, increased

professionalization of its workforce, and better investment in researching and evaluation of youth development programs across the country, it is simultaneously suffering an identity crisis. I argue that one of the core values, to view young people as active contributors, is actively being undermined. By focusing on young people's development, not simultaneously on how young people can develop peers, adults, programs, communities, and institutions the perception that youth are incapable is maintained. By framing them as in need of remediation, drop-outs, violent and drug addicted as the field pursues secure funding streams, negative images of young people are perpetuated. By not involving young people in problem solving around the issues that impact their lives, advocating on their own behalf and being visionaries in the field of youth development their low power status in relation to adults is enabled.

The theory of change model that resulted from the study of adult-youth partnerships looks very different from that proposed by Gambone (2006):


21st Century Model of Youth Driven Development
3
Shift in status quo for young people in the U.S.
2
Young People
Adults
Organization
Community
Institutions
Society
Adult-youth partnerships
1
Arrows of Developmental Support
Arrows of Theoretical Support



The theory of change proposed in this dissertation has adult-youth partnerships[15] as its foundation as opposed to youth only. By creating alignment between adults and young people at the core, the bidirectional arrows that emanate from their joint action acknowledges reciprocal development from the outset.

[15] Adult-youth partnerships is not confined to a dyad but includes groups of adults and young people

In this model, groups of young people and adults participate deeply on work that is jointly decided by the collective. Both participation and alignment are the enabling conditions for attachment and the achievement of multi-level change for young people, adults, organizations, communities, institutions, and society. All arrows in this model are bidirectional (reciprocal), acknowledging the impact that young people, adults, supportive or unsupportive organization, communities, institutions, and supportive or unsupportive societies have on adult-youth partnerships. This is very different from Gambone's (2006) model that summarized the youth development field's hypothesis that one need only focus the efforts of all those players on the developmental needs of young people. Also evident in the theory of change model is a web of supports and impact that is created between young people, adults, organizations, communities, institutions, and society acknowledging various developmental contexts and the ways in which those interact (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979). There is no representation of the complexity of the interrelation between individuals and institutions in a model in which all arrows point into young people's long-term development.

The hope is that youth and adult engagement that drives development on many levels will result in a shift in status quo for both young people and adults. The impact on the status quo, however, would not remain on the individual level. The hope is that shifting the low power status of young people would lead to a more democratic society, youth-centered institutions, communities, and programs, thus looping back to encompass the process involved in the traditional theory of change model proposed by Gambone (2006). These two models may have some of the same desired changes however they are drastically different in both the "why" and the "how".

Approximately a decade after the 1998-1999 reassessment of the youth development field revealed that information and messaging were the key challenges (PPV, 1998), I argue that they remain challenges because the messages currently promoted don't reflect the strengths of young people. Shifting the language and focus of the theory of change from solely the development of young people to the ways in which young people concurrently development people and institutions that impact their lives will help our field avoid paternalism towards youth that results in maintaining traditional power relations. However, this is not just about language, communications and framing. Shifting the theory of change would have real implications on the practice of practitioners, programs, intermediaries, evaluators, funders and advocates.

Practitioners would be supported to develop skills that would help them work in partnership with youth such as constructive questioning, supporting youth planning, critical analysis and reflection. In addition, they would be trained to confront adultism, become comfortable sharing power with young people as well as learning how to scaffold collaborative leadership over time. Although youth workers will always have to be trained in content areas, processes and philosophical underpinnings that relate to youth, power analysis and agency would also be addressed.

Programs may have to shift to become more democratic spaces as participation should be modeled in the way staff is invited to give input and have "opportunities to contribute." Power cannot only be challenged in relation to youth and adults, as doing so would illuminate the workings of power in the program and/or agency as a whole. As illustrated in depth in Appendix II, there are hiring processes, supervisory structures, and programmatic designs that support productive adult-youth partnerships.

Intermediaries that work with adults may offer more trainings that help adults to engage youth to plan, reflect, and think critically. These workshops would address adultism, paradoxes of participation, dialectics of attachment and focus on multi-level outcomes. Discussing how adult-youth partnerships can lead to outcomes for the adults, programs, communities, etc. would be an important reframing of the work. In addition, as people learn from modeling, intermediaries would have to model partnership with young people by having youth co-facilitate workshops for adults when appropriate. For example, with this shift in framework it would not be uncommon to have young people working at an intermediary doing both training work and some of the more visionary aspects of field-building. Young people should be thought about as partners and experts whenever intermediaries are gathering stakeholders to vision about next steps for the field or even for a particular project at the intermediary (for good examples of adult-youth partnership informing the intermediary level please see the Minneapolis Beacons initiative).

Evaluators of youth programs would need to invest more energy in designing projects that capture change at multiple levels (Zeller-Berkman, 2010). Currently most evaluations only capture change at the individual level of youth outcomes, even when the program is one that engages youth in community change efforts for example. Evaluators should employ adequate measures and indicator of community and institutional change. In addition, evaluator's would be encouraged to use methodologies that reflect youth development theory. This would mean that young people would be part of stakeholder, planning meetings and would greatly inform the research. Youth Participatory Evaluation may be a good strategy for using an evaluation design that reflects youth

development theory (Sabo, 2003; Zeller-Berkman, 2010)

The way that funding is issued has great impact on the field. As articulated earlier in this chapter, the way that young people are framed in RFP's implies damage or an underlying propensity for failure. Funders may have to think about shifting funding for youth development programs to address the drop out crisis, or pregnancy prevention to funding programs that bring young people's expertise to bear on various issues impacting their lives. Another possibility could be funding groups of adults and youth in various local communities to define their own most important issues via research and then trying to address them jointly. Once again funders would have to express interest in measure impact of the work that they are funding beyond what it does for individual youth and offer sites support in finding adequate measures and indicators of success. Funding for dance, sports or academic programs should also aim to engage youth at the highest level which would include planning, reflecting and taking action (Smith, et. al. 2006). When we think about framing RFPs we should be looking for young people to engage in this work, not only for their own development or to ward off delinquency, but for the benefit of communities and programs.

Lastly, advocacy efforts that work in collaboration with young people, not just in their names, would help the public at large view young people as capable and not solely in need of adult protection. Young people should be considered experts on their own experience or one of the experts on program models for which advocacy is being done. It does not necessarily mean that young people have to be at every meeting with city councils on budget cuts or take regular trips to Washington, but that they are consulted and more often then not, have the opportunity to represent their own interests.

CONCLUSION

A sense of possibility emerges from exploring the history of the field of youth development, critically examining its current state and thinking about an alternative future. The theory of change model developed from the life history project conducted in this dissertation could be one way to address what I argue is an inadvertent maintenance of the status quo for young people. This model incorporates youth participation with adults to create change on multiple levels that was critical in the beginning of this movement and remains critical today.

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