EXAMINING THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN JUVENILE JUSTICE SETTINGS USING A MESTIZA METHODOLOGY

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Graduate and Professional School of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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August 2021

Major Subject: Recreation, Park, and Tourism Sciences

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ABSTRACT

In the United States, youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic communities are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system, and programs for youth in the juvenile justice system should be informed with an understanding of the backgrounds of youth they are designed for. The purpose of this study is to examine the application of Social Justice Youth Development within the borderlands of juvenile justice using a Mestiza methodology. Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) specifically considers the impact of sociopolitical factors on youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic communities. Mestiza Methodology is a critical emancipatory methodology that rejects perspectives promoting colonial superiority and investigates the interactions between different groups within a given space, the Borderlands, using the resources available, a strategy called Bricolage.

While providing a contextualized history of the U.S. juvenile justice system, this study examined the implementation of SJYD principles in the juvenile justice context through in-depth interviews with 11 adults who worked in various capacities with youth in the juvenile justice context in seven different U.S. states. The results of this study suggest that the juvenile justice system is a Borderland where personal identities of staff influence their ability to provide SJYD programming to youth. The findings also suggest that staff act as Bricoleurs to provide SJYD programming through authentic engagement, centering youth, and embracing youth choice, youth voice and a future orientation within SJYD programs.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to everyone in the Borderlands. It is my hope that this paper provides encouragement and practical ways for us all to continue resisting and reimagining what a just society looks like where all youth can flourish.

Here's to the Truth Tellers of every age who have gone before me in this work to dismantle oppressive systems and create a better, more equitable society to promote the well-being of *all* young people. I stand on the shoulders of the powerful Mestizas who have created space for others, I hope in some small way, this paper does the same. I am inspired everyday by the young people who seek not only to liberate others but recognize they deserve freedom too, I hope this work honors them.

En la Lucha.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my committee for their investment and guidance to complete this dissertation. I am especially appreciative of their support, expertise and flexibility over the past year in the midst of a pandemic to help me produce this work, thank you. Dr. Outley, there will never be words enough for me to thank you for the opportunities you have given me and the example you have been.

Thank you to all of my mentors and professors that have invested in me and provided opportunities during my time at Baylor and Texas A&M. Thank you to Mr. Parks, Ms. Rosas, Ms. White and the rest of the juvenile justice staff I have been able to work with and learn from. I appreciate your trust and always enjoy my time with you. I am reassured that youth who have to be detained are cared for by people like you.

In addition, I am grateful for my colleagues and friends across the country who provided feedback and encouragement throughout this process. Thank you to the National Juvenile Justice Network for their partnership and to my Youth Justice Leadership Institute family for their support and inspiration to continue reimagining what youth justice can look like. Thank you to the group text of older sisters that have been a consistent source of wisdom, reassurance, honesty, and entertainment.

In a year spent largely alone in quarantine, I would be remiss not to acknowledge those that helped provide structure throughout my weeks and pockets of time to virtually escape

as I completed this study: the 2020 World Series Champions, the Los Angeles Dodgers, Nate and Jeremiah for bringing beauty through my screens and teaching me about design, Matt Sharp and the 90 Day Fiancé universe, everyone I met in Club Quarantine with DJ D-Nice, comedians Christian Hull and Mindy Kaling, and all of the podcasters that made going for walks and doing dishes this past year enjoyable.

Finally, thank you to my family and friends who are family for being there for me, feeding me, making me laugh, and keeping me humble. This project is the culmination of years of your consistent love and support, your expectations to use my gifts and voice to do what is right and good, and your example of respecting and honoring the dignity of all people. I am forever thankful for the village that raised me.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

Contributors

This work was supervised by a thesis committee consisting of Dr. Corliss Outley [advisor] and Drs. Scott Shafer and Jun Wang of the Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Sciences and Dr. Robert Durán of the Department of Sociology.

All other work conducted for the dissertation was completed by the student independently.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2018, there were 728,280 youth arrests and 744,500 delinquency cases, the lowest number of cases since the 1970s (OJJDP, 2019; OJJDP, 2020). On October 24, 2018, there were 37,529 youth offenders placed in an out-of-home residential facility, a number that has continued to decrease since its peak in 2000 (OJJDP, 2020). Each of these figures demonstrates that increasingly, young people are diverted from the justice system, however, further inquiry reveals which young people are being sent to the justice system and which are not. On average, youth of color are placed in residential facilities at a rate of 2.4 to 1 compared to white youth, and in 33 states, the rate is more than 4 to 1 (OJJDP, 2019). For Black youth, they are 4 times more likely as white youth to be sent to an out of home placement, while Indigenous youth are 3.7 times more likely to be placed in an out of home placement facility by the court, a figure that is on an increasing trend (Burns Institute, 2016). Evidence suggests that Latino youth are undercounted, skewing the data although Latino youth are twice as likely to be placed out of home (Burns Institute, 2016). Though disproportionate minority contact cannot be attributed to a single cause, the cumulative effect of contextual factors including differential selection, geographic differences, differential treatment, opportunities and pervasive stereotyping suggests that there exists a justice system that supports and maintains inequality (Fix, 2018).

In addition, knowledge is limited regarding the type and quality of treatment being provided to young people within various juvenile justice system facilities. Currently, there is no federal juvenile justice system, only the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) that supports the state, local and tribal jurisdictions through grant funding, technical

assistance, research, and training (OJJDP, 2020). Each state has its own juvenile justice system made up of state, county, local, tribal, and privately owned facilities. Within juvenile justice, roughly 14,000 youth are in local facilities, 13,000 youth are in state facilities, and 10,000 youth in placement are in private facilities (OJJDP, 2020). Since there is no federal system that regulates the minimal provisions for youth in correctional facilities, meaning that each state has its own juvenile justice system with its own requirements for the treatment of youth in custody. In 2019, the Prison Policy Initiative released a report entitled "Youth Confinement: The Whole Pie 2019," providing insight into the breakdown of where young people are being placed and associated charges, however conditions of confinement remain difficult to capture on a broad scale given the complexity of jurisdictions and discrepancies across state and local requirements.

Throughout the last decade however, more attention has been given publicly to three areas of the treatment of youth in juvenile justice- ending solitary confinement for youth and keeping youth out of adult facilities. Research in adolescent brain development has been pivotal for advocates to draw on and cite that brain development is not complete until the mid-20s, in addition to the danger posed to youth in adult jails and prisons that can have lasting effects given the traumatic nature of incarceration (Evans-Chase, 2014; Lambie & Randell, 2013; Luna & Wright, 2016; Maroney, 2009; Steinberg, 2009). In 2012, the Task Force commissioned by the Attorney General released the Defending Childhood Report on Children Exposed to Violence and identified the damaging effect of solitary confinement has on youth who are incarcerated. Evidence surrounding the use of solitary confinement and the detrimental psychological, emotional effects began to emerge and challenge states to eliminate the practice (Castillo, 2014; Birkhead, 2015; Gallagher, 2014; Giannetti, 2011; Lee, 2016). The death of 22 year old Kalief Browder in 2015 raised national attention to the issues of solitary confinement and jailing youth

in adult facilities after Browder died by suicide in his home after spending three years in Rikers Island, two of those in solitary confinement (Casey, Taylor-Thompson, Rubien-Thomas, Robbins, & Baskin-Sommers, 2020; Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), 2015; Fettig, 2017; Johnson, 2019; Soohoo, 2016). Browder's case brought attention to the increased risk of physical and sexual abuse youth face from older adults, including staff, when they are jailed in an adult facility (EJI, 2015).

The Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) that was passed in 2003 required that youth be separated from adults by sight and sound, which consequently resulted in youth who were placed in adult facilities being placed in solitary confinement for facilities to be in compliance with PREA (Castillo, 2014; EJI, 2015). Currently, the national conversation has shifted to "raise the age" that youth are tried in a juvenile court in order to keep young people from being automatically transferred into the adult system. Advocates for raising the age cite many of the same arguments and evidence used in ending solitary confinement for youth and keeping kids out of adult jails. In 2018, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) was reauthorized and became the Juvenile Justice Reform Act (JJRA), with two of the core components included separating youth from adults in facilities and removing youth from adult facilities (JJDPA, 1974; JJRA, 2018; OJJDP, 2020)

In regards to specific standards for treatment within juvenile justice facilities, research has been done examining the educational programs available, although there remains less known of the day-to-day programming given the decentralized structure of the juvenile justice system. The provision of developmentally safe and appropriate services necessary to effectively accomplish the stated goals of public safety by decreasing delinquency and empowering youth to live law-abiding lives (OJJDP, 2020). Given the statistics that reveal youth crime increases

during the out of school time hours, it is prudent for juvenile justice facilities to ensure that young people are capable of maintaining safe, healthy, and fulfilling leisure lives (Heyns, 1957; León et al., 2019; Robertson, 2000; Robertson, 2001). Not only is there practical incentive to ensure adequate and appropriate recreation services are available for youth in juvenile justice facilities, but there is an ethical component to consider as well. The procedures and standards of a system that is designed for children should reflect the needs of children. The title of the aforementioned Defending Childhood Task Force implies that there is a need to protect the ability for children to be children, and children still have human needs even when they are incarcerated, one of these needs is opportunity and access to leisure and recreation. León et al. (2020) examined the provision of recreation services for youth that were being provided in juvenile justice facilities and reported similar challenges in evaluating guidelines because of the aforementioned factors and varying legal weight of recreation guidelines and mandates. While the study was limited in its scope, the results are indicative of the overall quality of care youth are receiving while in custody. Among other findings, the evaluation results indicate that for youth in confinement only 40% of states had a purpose statement guiding the provision of recreation and 90% of states had mandatory minimum requirements, 70% being daily mandatory minimums (León et al., 2020). In regards to the duration of recreation to be offered to youth, 90% of states included a requirement, and only 42% of states require two hours per day, one hour for “Large Muscle Exercise/ Activity” and one hour for “out of cell” time (León et al., 2020). While the opportunities for services are dependent on the type of placement to an extent, youth can be placed in any number of facilities that follow the same written authority. In essence, one child may be placed in a group home for a property offense and another child is placed in a detention center for the same property offense. Further, a child with a felony offense may be

placed in a shelter alongside a child who has been placed in a shelter for a status offense or experiencing homelessness. Many of these facilities are under the same guidelines unless otherwise specified in relevant written authority, so a group home that houses foster youth has the same treatment standards as a detention center (León et al., 2020; Prison Policy Initiative, 2019).

It is important to note that underlying each of the areas of juvenile justice that has been discussed to this point is a racist foundation that favors white youth over Black, Brown and Indigenous youth (Kempf-Leonard, 2007; Ward, 2012; Zane, 2021). In 1988, 14 years after the authorization of the JJDPA, states that received federal funding were required to report racial and ethnic disparities at nine points in the juvenile justice system. As previously mentioned, youth of color continue to be stopped by police, arrested, sentenced more frequently, more harshly and for longer than white youth (Armour & Hammond, 2009; Burns Institute, 2016; EJI, 2014; Fix, 2018; Kempf-Leonard, 2007; Piquero, 2008). Evidence of disproportionality within the juvenile justice system beckons additional research into solutions that address foundational and systemic inequity that persist and continue to ravage communities of color.

Theoretical Framework

The orientation of this dissertation is informed by Social Justice Youth Development and *Mestiza* methodology. Each approach centralizes the significance utilizing one's critical consciousness to evaluate inequitable systems that marginalize specific communities with the goal of making a meaningful, transformative contribution (Elenes, 2002; Ginwright, James, & Cammarota, 2002; Ortiz, 2020) . SJYD is particularly salient for youth of color and from low-socioeconomic communities because it not only acknowledges disparities across all sectors including health, education, criminal justice, food, etc., but it encourages critical inquiry into

these systems and promotes solutions to benefit the collective. The current body of knowledge regarding the justice system is concerning from an ethical standpoint, especially when considered through a Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) lens (Ginwright and Cammarota, 2010), one that considers the political and economic systems that disproportionately impact youth of color and values the contributions of youth as they develop a critical consciousness and global awareness.

Harnessing these theories allows for the intersectional nature of youth development and juvenile justice to be amplified and explored in a manner that is contextually grounded and dignifying to those that are participating in the research process (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Collins, 1987; Ortiz, 2020; Pryor & Outley, 2014). Further, using *Mestiza* methodology (Anzaldúa, 1987; Ortiz, 2020) utilizes my personal awareness as a Latina and provides a guide to address social inequity that is relevant to the present research. The Mestiza way (Anzaldúa, 1987) is an ongoing process of reflection and analysis of one's mixed-identity and analysis of the relationships between the oppressor and the oppressed in a shared space (Anzaldúa, 1987; Elenes, 2002; Nasser, 2021; Ortiz, 2020). The purpose of Mestiza methodology is to produce knowledge intended to aid in social transformation (Ortiz, 2020). The use of *Mestiza* methodology and SJYD contextualize the entirety of this dissertation, providing a strategy (Mestiza) to examine the application of SJYD within the juvenile justice system.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to *examine the application of Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) within the US juvenile justice system by conducting in-depth interviews with adults who work with youth in the juvenile justice system.* To do this, I will define what

SJYD is, and using a Mestiza methodology, examine how SJYD principles are applied within the juvenile justice system, and how it can be used to facilitate system change in the future.

Research Questions

This study included 11 in-depth interviews with adults who work in the juvenile justice system to examine the application of SJYD principles in the juvenile justice system. The following research questions were designed to build upon one another, examining SJYD within a broad juvenile justice context, generally seeking to answer: *What is the current scientific understanding of Social Justice Youth Development?*, *How is SJYD currently implemented* ?, and *How can SJYD be used to facilitate system-wide change*? This study will focus on the following specific questions:

Question 1 – What is the current scientific understanding of SJYD ?

- *What are the defining features of SJYD?*
- *What are the core components needed to develop an SJYD program?*
- *What distinguishes SJYD programs from other programs within the juvenile?*

Question 2- How is the SJYD model applied within the juvenile justice system?

- *What is the current use (within the past three years) of SJYD within the juvenile justice system?*
    - *Are there differences in the application of SJYD and resulting levels of awareness according to facility type, geographic location, mission, funding, or developmental outcomes?*
    - *To what extent do organizations apply SJYD principles to promote each level of awareness (self, social, and global)?*

- *What are the challenges and successes of implementing SJYD from the perspective of juvenile justice practitioners?*
- *Which dimensions of the model were perceived by JJ staff to be most salient to youth? To staff?*
- *What changes are recommended by JJ staff in regards to theory, practice, and policy?*

Question 3- To what extent can SJYD prompt further transformation of institutional philosophy, policy, and practice within the JJS?

- *What insights does the use of SJYD in juvenile justice organizations offer to transform system logics and realize greater social justice?*
- *What are the prospects and limitations of the SJYD-based approach for facilitating system change?*

Significance

As it stands, research at the intersection of youth in correctional institutions and Social Justice Youth Development has been limited, although there is considerable evidence to suggest the utility of such an approach has been found in bodies of literature concerning marginalized youth, engagement, voice and Positive Youth Development (Ginwright & James, 2002; Iwasaki, 2016; León, Rodas, & Greer, 2020; Pryor & Outley, 2014; Wagaman, 2016). In order to address inadequacies within the juvenile justice system from a social justice and developmentally appropriate perspective, a body of evidence is needed to inform decisions at the policy and programmatic level. In addition, social justice youth development elevates the voices and perspectives of young people, a necessary and historically absent step in regards to decisions being made about young people in the United States (Aviles & Grigalunes, 2018; Efuribe et al., 2020).

There remains relatively little work done within SJYD as it is itself a smaller segment of the general study of youth development (Pryor & Outley, 2014). Since its introduction in the early 2000’s by Shawn Ginwright, Taj James, Julio Cammarota, research using SJYD continues to examine the experiences of marginalized youth across different contexts including education, out-of-school time programming, and civic engagement. Additionally, SJYD has not been examined with a Mestiza methodology in the juvenile justice system.

SJYD is unique as a theoretical and methodological approach because unlike traditional Positive Youth Development frameworks that are based on the results of studies with WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) participants like the majority of behavioral sciences research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Where the very nature of these studies fails to account for the contexts and systems that surround an individual shape their experience, SJYD highlights the inequities within systems that contribute to marginalization. By introducing SJYD as the foundation for inquiry, there is recognition of unequal systems that specifically marginalize young people of color and from low socioeconomic communities, a novel approach in much of social science that is pertinent for advancing equitable scientific solutions. To be clear, research with marginalized communities requires an awareness of political significance in order to more easily translate research into policy and practice.

Given the shift towards activism among young people and attention towards inequitable social systems, it is important that research is being informed with young people so that solutions are salient and appropriate to promote best practices and prevent unintentional consequences. In addition to the system-level work that is accomplished through SJYD, implementing SJYD practices within youth will prepare young people to be critical thinkers and leaders dedicated to enacting change for a more equitable future. It is in the interest of researchers to recognize the

power that young people have, particularly when it comes to enacting socio-political change, and seek to produce work that can be used to elevate policies and practices that are healthy for all young people.

Delimitations

The scope of inquiry in this study is concerned with the justice system in the United States. Thus, geographically, this study focuses only on the fifty states in the United States although international research is included in the literature review.

In an effort to identify how SJYD is implemented in juvenile justice organizations throughout the state, participants will be recruited from organizations that work with young people at all stages in the justice system. All types of juvenile justice facilities and organizations that work with youth in the juvenile justice system are included in the sample, including residential treatment centers, detention centers, training schools, halfway houses, correctional facilities, group homes, etc.

Positionality and Reflexivity

I am a 28 year old cisgender, heterosexual light-skinned Chicana/ Latina and United States citizen. I was born and raised in Southern California and hold a Bachelor's degree and a Master's degree from Predominantly White Institutions in the southern United States. I was raised lower middle-class with and still align with the Christian faith, although I do not consider myself a member of a specific denomination. Both of my parents are natural-born citizens as was my maternal grandfather. My paternal grandparents are immigrants from Mexico and maternal grandmother an immigrant from Kenya via Canada. One of my family members has autism although I do not have any physical or intellectual disabilities.

I recognize that the land that this research is being done on belongs to the Tawakoni, Tonkawa and Waco people and has been colonized for the benefit of white colonizers, resulting in oppressive institutions and systems of which I am a member and have benefited from as a U.S. citizen, student and researcher at a Predominantly White Institution.

In regards to my personal involvement with the justice system, I am not a formerly incarcerated person and do not have any members of my immediate family that have been incarcerated. As a child, I grew up on a summer camp in Los Angeles that served children, youth and families in social systems, including the justice system. For going on six years, I have worked with and on behalf of youth in a long-term secure facility in Texas in multiple capacities, primarily related to the recreation and volunteer programs. As a light-skinned Latina, some of the youth people speak to me in Spanish, of which I am better at understanding than speaking. I recognize that my position as a researcher from a university affords me privilege to gain access and conduct this study, while simultaneously presenting a barrier given the history of abuse and exploitation that marginalized communities, including individuals who are incarcerated and the communities they come from. As a member of the academic community that is aware of this history, I believe it is my duty to ensure that the process and product of this research study is dignifying and has utility for establishing more equitable systems. For the purposes of this study, I want to be clear that in the discussion of understanding leisure to be a right or a privilege, I believe that leisure is a right and all people should have access to healthy and fulfilling leisure lives. Furthermore, as an adult that is working with and on behalf of young people, including youth are included and represented as equal partners whose voice and interests are respected.

Definitions

For the purposes of this paper, the following terms and acronyms will be used.

- *Bricolage:* Indigenous and emancipatory methodological tool that involves using multiple analytical tools in order to appropriately conduct research
- *Critical Consciousness:* awareness of one's own and others' position within multiple contexts and cultures, and awareness of the location of power within sociopolitical systems and institutions
- *Critical Race Theory (CRT):* theoretical framework with origins in law used to examine the role of race and power
- *Desistance:* the cessation of offending
- *Deviance*: non-normative; not necessarily criminal, but is outside the norms of acceptability according to the social group with power to define social and legal norms
- *Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC)*: term used to refer to the rate of contact among youth in the juvenile justice system, specifically that youth of color have higher rates of contact with the juvenile justice system compared to white youth
- *Foundational:* underlying principle upon which all systems are built and reinforce unless explicitly and intentionally addressed
- *Juvenile*: a person under the age of 18 that has contact with the juvenile justice system
- *Juvenile justice:* concept of a separate justice system for children and youth from adults that emphasizes treatment and rehabilitation in addition to public safety
- *Juvenile justice facility:* any out of home placement facility where young people are placed as a result of contact with the justice system. Though not exhaustive, the following list includes terms used to describe these types of facilities: correctional facility, correctional institution, detention, group home, halfway house, jail, long-term secure

facility, placement, prison, rehabilitation center, residential treatment center, training school, alternative placement

- *Juvenile Justice System*: criminal justice system designed for people under the age of 18 that is designed to emphasize rehabilitation in addition to public safety
- *Mestiza*: Elenes' (2002, p. 692) definition of *Mestiza* consciousness as "the ability of an individual (person) to understand her position in a world that undervalues subaltern communities and how she uses this knowledge to transform society" " a *Mestiza* methodology draws on this consciousness as a means to use research for social transformation" (Sáenz Ortiz, 2001, p.23).
- *Neoliberalism:* "political project designed to create the conditions for capital accumulation based on the upward distribution of resources and ideological adherence to meritocratic notions of individual success and personal responsibility… the latest elite white strategy that uses racism to preserve elite white political and economic power" (Hohle, 2017, pp. 7-8)
- *Policing:* (verb) the act of critically monitoring a person, group or community for deviance
- *Power:* the ability to influence, direct or decide
- *Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD):* Positive youth development approach that considers the sociopolitical and economic forces that disproportionately impacts youth of color and youth from low socio-economic communities by promoting critical consciousness and social action (will be explained in greater detail)
- *Systemic (systematic):* continuous and intentional outcome facilitated by a series of processes and actors within one or multiple institutions

- *Youth (young person):* any person whose legal status is not an adult or remains a child in the justice system
- *Youth Justice:* concept of justice that is oriented towards establishing equity within all facets of life for a young person, not just areas of crime or the legal system
- *Youth Development:* interdisciplinary field and body of research pertaining to young people moving from childhood to adulthood that is concerned with promoting healthy biological, social, physical, emotional, cognitive, ethical, and spiritual competencies
- *Youth Justice System:* a system of youth justice is one that has policies and procedures that have been institutionalized to facilitate equitable outcomes

I would like to take a moment to elaborate on the use of youth justice and juvenile justice throughout this dissertation. Youth justice refers to all young people, regardless of their affiliation with the justice system. Youth justice is a concept that includes all aspects of life that touch young people, including food insecurity, housing insecurity, misogyny, ableism, ageism, etc. Of course, there are overlaps with the juvenile justice system, a term I use to specify a particular program, system, institution or facility that serves youth who have contact with the justice system in their respective state or locale that has been established in lieu of placing youth into the adult criminal justice system. I will not be using the term "juvenile" to refer to any young person because I believe it diminishes the humanity of each young person and further stigmatizes youth who have been in contact with the juvenile justice system. It is particularly important to provide this explanation given the overrepresentation of youth of color in the justice system that is due to no fault of their own and is the direct result of a racist society that polices black and brown youth at a higher rate and penalizes more harshly than white youth (Engen,

Steen, & Bridges, 2002; Crutchfield, Skinner, Haggerty, McGlynn, & Catalano, 2012; Kramer & Remster, 2018; Kutatedadze, Andiloro, Johnson, & Spohn, 2014).

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into five chapters, the Introduction, Literature Review, Methods, Results and Discussion. The introduction included a brief overview of the theoretical framework, definitions, research questions, limitations and delimitations, the significance of this study and researcher positionality and reflexivity. In the next section, I will discuss the ideas found in Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD), Critical Race Theories, the Social Contract, Classical Criminology and Desistance literature. Then, I will describe the foundational and systematic marginalization of communities of color and youth by using a timeline. I will discuss the structural problematizing of youth, particularly youth of color and the historical marginalization of youth.

The next section in the literature review will include a conversation on the policing youth of color, specifically in the areas of education and out of school time. A brief discussion of leisure education and prevention programming will follow. Then I will discuss the integration of SJYD, the law, and youth justice.

After the literature review, I will discuss Mestiza methodology in chapter three. Mestiza is an emancipatory methodology that is premised upon the critical analysis of power within the Borderlands, or spaces of contact and interaction between different groups, and Bricolage, the act of using whatever resources are available to complete a task. I will also describe the development of the interview guide and data analysis process.

In chapter four I will present the results in three sections, Mestiza, Borderlands and Bricolage. In the section on Mestiza, I will discuss the ways in which patriarchy and colonialism

manifested in the juvenile justice system that serves as an overarching umbrella of Borderlands and Bricolage. Then, I will introduce the themes that emerged as characteristic of the Borderlands, including the emotional nature, as well as the role and impact of personal identity on staff's ability to gain access and funding to implement SJYD principles in the juvenile justice context. After discussing the Borderlands, I will discuss Bricolage, and the themes that emerged as strategies adults used to apply SJYD within the Borderlands of juvenile justice.

In the final chapter, I will provide a discussion and revisit each of the research questions. Then I will discuss the implications and future directions for research, policy and practice. I will then discuss the limitations of this study before providing a final conclusion. An appendix has been included at the conclusion of this dissertation after the references that includes the original interview guide, tables and figures.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following review of the literature begins with a discussion of the social problematization of youth throughout the United States. I will specifically address areas of education and out of school time. Then, I will explore the historical foundation of marginalization of youth by providing a timeline with youth justice related events, legislation and legal decisions. After discussing the historical context shaping juvenile justice, I will describe the current structure of the U.S. juvenile justice system in terms of the current population, the organization, types of facilities and programs currently taking place. After describing the juvenile justice system in terms of the larger social systems, I will introduce Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) as an appropriate framework to be used in the juvenile justice context. I will discuss critical consciousness in terms of programming and activities, and I will also provide examples of programs that have used SJYD. Finally, I end the literature review by discussing the integration of SJYD, the law and youth justice.

Social Problematization of Youth

Since the conception of adolescence, there has been an implicit deficit associated with the stage. G. Stanley Hall (1904) identified adolescence as a period of crisis, conflict, discontinuity and turbulence. Later, Hollingsworth (1928) described adolescence as a gradual stage that continues prior development and does not necessarily assume that it will be turbulent. Piaget and Kohlberg (1955) held the position that childhood is a path from disorder to order. James and Jenks (1998, p. 19) rightly offered the critique of Piaget that childhood is not universal and therefore a single explanation of childhood will be insufficient. Each of these approaches have an inherent deficit perspective, where youth are viewed as lacking according to the normative

standard that is based on elite white men. When such a small segment of the population is used to set the norm for all of society, it has limited utility and applicability and results in the problematizing of youth that exist outside the segment of the population deemed normal. Theorizing what is right and normal automatically labels anything else as deviant, risks, or wrong. Since the laws and norms are based on elite white men, the risks are structured by race and gender constructs (Harcourt, 2010; Moore & Padavic, 2011). The foundation and establishment of the juvenile justice reflects the design of society and the problematizing youth of color who are barred from social, economic, political, and cultural capital (Skeggs, 1997, p. 12). Youth are deemed “at-risk,” another deficit term to identify youth as lacking and problematic when they do not fit the larger institutional structure (Kelly, 2000). The creation and operation of a juvenile justice system is dependent on youth who are deemed dangerous, lacking, and unable to successfully exist in society without intervention. Katz (2004) explains that a child’s ability to go through development is in direct relation to their community and access to social and economic capital. Polier (1989) attributed the placement of black youth into training schools to the lack of supportive social institutions, causing youth to be labeled “delinquent” (p. 141).

Youth in the United States have always been a problematized population, and youth of color continue to have faced the most severe consequences. Feagin (2013) explains his development of the White Racial Frame as a concept to encompass the foundational and systematic racism that undergirds U.S. institutions, policies, and practices, particularly within the juvenile justice system. Fear undergirds the entire juvenile justice system, to the extent that it plays a role in the locations of justice facilities in this country. Not only are they geographically distant from higher income areas, but they depend on whites from low socioeconomic

communities to operate them (Eason, 2010). The white communities operating these facilities have bought into the public and psychological wage of whiteness, believing in their superiority and responsibility to control the inmates. The result is inhumane, unsafe facilities for those incarcerated and the employees. The physical separation relieves elite whites from close proximity to "criminals." These efforts are reminiscent of colonists' dedication to drive Native Americans to their outskirts of the land (Feagin & Ducey, 2019). Mexicans were publicized as a threat to white civilization in order to increase support for the forceful deportations of the Mexican Repatriation (Ray, 2005). The fear of black boys remains prevalent as they are adultified and receive longer and harsher sentences, reflecting the fear white slave owners had of young male slaves as a sexual threat (Feagin & Ducey, 2019; Goff et al., 2014). All this considered, it should be no surprise that black and brown youth are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system (Fix, 2018; OJJDP, 2009). The white racial frame allows the public to perceive that child welfare agencies protect children and provides safe and age-appropriate care which precludes the public from investigating the linkage between child protective housing and juvenile justice facilities. The intention of the Hull House and programs like it is evidence of the economic and power stratification, as strategies and trainings were developed to equip immigrants and poor children, families and women to successfully navigate the culture and systems controlled by white men. Social service agencies continued to be established with an air of saviorism and involve youth of color at a disproportionate rate (Chand & Thoburn, 2006). Not only are children and youth of color more likely to be removed from their home, but they are more likely to become victims of violence and sexual exploitation, the same experiences of their enslaved ancestors (Epstein, Blake, & Gonzalez, 2017; Webb, Maddocks, & Bongilli, 2002).

The Role of the Education System

The problematization of youth is best seen in the current school-to-prison pipeline. Noguera (1995) reviewed the disciplinary practices of schools in urban areas and discovered that coercive tactics were being utilized that resembled prisons that Tilton (2013) also highlights. The school to prison pipeline has become a platitude that confines critical analysis of inequality within school systems to present-day problems and ignores the framing of the problems as inherently racist. The influx of police called School Resource Officers (SROs) in schools shows an increase school arrests, including in youth of all ages, including 50,000 court referrals for preschoolers (Lindsay, Lee, & Lloyd, 2018). Schools with a majority population of black and Hispanic students are more likely to have an SRO assigned to their campus (Lindsay et al., 2018). Referrals to law enforcement are five times more likely at a school with an SRO than without, black girls alone are eight times more likely to be referred to juvenile justice agencies (Miller & Jean-Jacques, 2016; Norwood, 2019). Researchers have found that teachers expect bad behavior from students of color (Feagin & Ducey, 2013). Given that roughly 80% of public school teachers are white, the highest figure to date, teachers as a whole operate out of a white racial frame which is undoubtedly reinforced through their training (Hansen & Quintero, 2019).

A notable instance of those with power in schools imposing their white frame is the matter of dress-codes. Boys too are subject to the discretionary discipline of their appearance, as was recently seen in a wrestling match where a young man's dreads were cut off by a white referee in lieu of a forfeit. Girls of color however experience higher rates of discipline for dress-code violations, including for their hair if it is deemed distracting, often by a white teacher or administrator who is operating from a white racial frame (Norwood, 2019). Black students are

primed throughout their schooling to comply with standards of whiteness, and the cost of noncompliance steadily increases throughout their educational tenure. Many of the educational experiences of black youth are shared with other youth of color, including immigrant and undocumented/ non-citizen youth.

The Role of Out of School Time & Racialized Physical Space

Evidence suggests that the perceptions of certain activities, words and places are considered black or white (Bonam, Taylor, & Yantis, 2017). For example, the phrase "basketball in the inner city" conjures images of chain link fences, black men and concrete courts- similar to the image elicited from the phrase "prison basketball" (Bonam et al., 2017). The racialization of leisure spaces is not inconsequential. Police patrol racialized spaces at higher rates, therefore it is no wonder why black and brown youth are arrested at higher rates than their white peers given that the police spend more time monitoring them (Bonam et al., 2017). The concept of racialized physical space is a product of structural racism and the individuals psyche and the reinforcement of these images maintains racial inequality (Bonam, Taylor & Yantis, 2017). In essence, the stereotypes that are assigned to individuals of a particular race are applied to physical places associated with those races, and research has shown that physical spaces then become "target(s) of racial stereotyping and discrimination" that have caused residential segregation … and racial disparities in wealth and pollution exposure" (Bonam et al., 2017 p. 8).

The physical space is not the only setting for leisure activities, the immersion of media and technology in the lives of youth provides an entirely new context for leisure pursuits. The white frame continues to shape and reinforce white dominant ideas, reproducing race even in these digital spaces (Feagin & Ducey, 2019; Pinckney et al., 2018). Young people continue to spend increasing amounts of time in the digital world online, on social media and playing video

games, where the white racial frame is reinforced through the characterization of blacks and Latinos and targeted advertising (Feagin & Ducey, 2019; Jiang, 2018). In the physical and digital world, whites have greater amounts of symbolic racial capital because they have always had access, putting them in positions of power in leisure spaces (Feagin, 2013; Pinckney et al., 2018). Whites are able to easily navigate and construct the norms of physical and digital leisure spaces, forcing blacks and other people of color to comply with the terms that are rooted in the white racial frame. As you can see, these norms regulate where youth are able to spend their leisure time and influence the perceptions around the actual time of day that is appropriate for leisure activities.

The time of day considered to be for leisure activities for young people is after school, when juvenile crime rates peak between 3-7pm (OJJDP, 2018). This has been the basis for many afterschool programs, particularly those targeted for latch-key kids, those with working parents that would be unsupervised from the end of school until dinner time. The idea that being a latchkey kid is inherently bad and the situation needs to be remedied is rooted in the white racial frame that presumes the mother is available at all times for child rearing. This is a reality only possible for a small segment of the population that can exist on a single income. Additionally, phrases like “idle hands are the devil’s workshop” are rooted in the Protestant Work Ethic and consequently criminalize the activities of young people that exist outside of institutionally sanctioned time. Therefore, many whites have a negative perception of youth not participating in an organized leisure activity, and the consequences of this reality for black youth are much greater.

The reality of youth of color is that they are policed at higher rates than their White counterparts (Legewie & Fagan, 2019). This is the result of initiatives to address high crimes

rates by increasing the number of police officers in specific areas (Legewie & Fagan, 2019). Shildrick and MacDonald (2006) also explain that the social categorization of youth based on race and class youth contributes to who participates in certain leisure activities. Further, Bonam, Taylor and Yantis (2017), discuss how physical spaces have been racialized and the perceptions of individuals impact how individuals interact with that space, reinforcing structural racialization. When individuals, like police, who are official actors of the state are not aware of these racialized perceptions, they respond and interact with youth of color and youth in particular zip codes differently (Bonam, Taylor & Yantis, 2016). Consequently, youth continue to experience different rates of police contact based on their race (Hayle, Wortley & Tanner, 2016).

An example of this occurred in Michigan in 2017, when five unarmed black youth were stopped on their way from the local basketball courts. Eight officers responded to the call of a fight and possible gun at the basketball courts and took the boys into custody until their parents could pick them up. One police officer justified the interaction to a father as “wrong place, wrong time,” however the parent responded with, “right place at the wrong time” (Pinckney et al., 2018). The question that the officer’s statement begs is when is the ‘right’ time to be a young black boy walking home from the public park with your friends? Tamir Rice was shot by a police officer in broad daylight in a public park on a Saturday (Mowatt, 2018). Young boys and girls of color were brutally thrown by police into the ground as guests at a private pool party. The fact is that there is an imminent threat to black youth and youth of color when there is police presence or individuals that actively apply their white racial frame when they see nonwhite youth. It is clear that the acceptability of leisure activities for youth of color is contingent upon where and when they are located, regardless of what the leisure activity is.

In June of 2015, police officers were called and attempted to disperse the young people and began using excessive force to get youth to comply with their demands (Pinckney et al., 2018). One young white man who filmed the fracas was quoted as saying, "Everyone who was getting put on the ground was black, Mexican, Arabic,"... [The police] "didn't even look at me. It was kind of like I was invisible." (Pinckney et al., 2018). This instance and the aforementioned instances of black youth in city parks demonstrate that the same activity that is acceptable for white youth is not acceptable for black youth. This is due in large part to the predisposition whites have to view blacks and Latinos as inherently criminal, regardless of the preponderance of evidence that confirms white youth have higher rates for drug use (Feagin & Ducey, 2019).

The public and psychological wage of whiteness embraces the concept of public safety, more accurately, the safety of the white public, touted as a goal of the juvenile justice system. Acknowledging the functions of the white racial frame throughout the history of the juvenile justice system is an ethical imperative and necessary for understanding the current juvenile justice population, policies and practices.

Historical Foundation of Systemic Marginalization of Youth

From the onset of building America, African children were kidnapped and/or brought with their family to the East coast for the sole purpose of elevating the lives of whites, both economically and personally. The white racial frame immediately reduced them to objects of service. Indigenous children and women were also kidnapped by colonists and subjected to similar brutal conditions (Feagin & Ducey, 2019). The treatment of slaves and Indigenous people set the precedent for the treatment of those that would later come into contact with the justice system as we know it today. The difference in treatment of youth is reflected in the placement of youth considered deviant, white youth were sent to reformatories while Black, Latino and Native

American youth were sent to prisons (Zimring & Tanenhaus, 2014; Ward, 2012). Later during the Industrial Revolution, immigrant children that worked in factories and sweatshops to support their families were labeled "delinquent" for their age-appropriate behavior that did not align with the behaviors deemed legal by the law established by whites (Fradin & Fradin, 2006). Services like the Hull House were provided to help "troubled" immigrant youth assimilate to the United States by providing opportunities for education, recreation and leisure activities typically reserved for the elite (Addams & Brown, 1999; Linn, 2000). The reduction of crime that was celebrated as a result of such programs can be critically understood as a celebration of the assimilation of white immigrants.

One of the early leaders recognized for youth work in the United States is Jane Addams. Addams is credited for responding to juvenile crime in the early 1900s Chicago by attempting to address the needs of the poor and immigrant youth in the community that were coming in contact with the justice system (Adams, 2010). Through critical analysis, it is clear there was limited opportunity for poor and immigrant children and youth to play in safe areas after returning home from factory jobs. The behavior of the children did not align with the goals of productivity to increase wealth of factory owners, i.e. capitalism, and was problematized. Addams responded to the criminalization of youth by hosting youth programs in immigrant communities to help them develop socially acceptable behaviors that would improve assimilation into American culture (Adams 2010; Addams & Brown 1999). This is in fact a colonial approach to leisure; rather than focusing on the problematic system that penalized immigrant youth, Addams instead tried to bring immigrant youth into the white, Eurocentric patterns of leisure. It was not until later in her work did Addams begin advocating for systemic change to address issues impacting the health and well-being of immigrant communities.

Given the ecological foundation of Social Justice Youth Development, the macro and chronosystems provide insight into the context surrounding young people in the United States. Engaging young people in changing communities has proven to be more effective and successful than traditional rehabilitation efforts of youth in the justice system (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Iwasaki, 2015; Tilton, 2013).

A timeline is presented of major policy decisions captures the macro and chronosystems in an ecological model and is required in order to have critical discourse that addresses the needs of young people at each level of the ecological system in order to achieve sustainable change. Specifically, an understanding of the context of the socio-political and economic structures and systems provides greater insight to identify the specific systems and policies that directly impact individuals, and when considered in the aggregate, communities. Kirshner and Ginwright (2012) describe that one of the present shortcomings of the ecological approaches is the insufficient attention given to the sociopolitical and time context.

The following timeline reflects the silencing of youth at a macro level as young people have been written out of U.S. law. Their invisibility within the law is compounded because of race and gender. Including this timeline is an important piece of research that is guided by *Mestiza* methodology which will later be discussed in greater detail. Presenting this timeline offers a glimpse of the sociohistorical context that youth in juvenile justice system are situated within. The timeline includes key markers at the intersection of race, youth, and juvenile justice that have served as precedent for ensuing legislation and legal decisions. With the understanding that the levels within an ecological system interact, Identifying the concepts built into the law illuminates where power is located and provides context for the interactions between ecological levels. The mechanisms that exist within the American legal system like *stare decisis* reproduce silence and invisibility as case precedent is built off previous court decisions, decisions that do

not account for the lack of protection for people of color and youth (Moore, 2014). In juvenile courts, *loco parentis*, “in place of parent,” is granted to the state, effectively minimizing the rights of the individuals directly impacted by the state’s structures and systems, limiting their agency to resist without penalty.

Timeline of Youth Justice Related Events, Legislation and Legal Decisions

1526 Africans brought to region that would become U.S. as slaves

1601 The Poor Act of 1601

1646 *Stubborn Child Law* set by General Court of Massachusetts Bay makes child disobedience towards a parent a capital offense

1675 "The Great Swamp Fight" or "Great Massacre" settlers attach Narragansett village, killing 1,000 Narragansett men and binding out children to settler families

1776 Declaration of Independence
1787 United States Constitution written and ratified
1790 U.S. Congress states that any white "alien" living in the U.S. for two years can become a citizen

1800s Child labor exploitation among poor immigrant families is common due to industrialization

1817 Prevention of Pauperism of New York
1819 *The Civilization Act Fund* used for Indian Boarding Schools to teach Indian children values of white colonists, guided by the motto, "kill the Indian, save the man"
1824 *The Yates Report* is commissioned by New York City recommends institutionalization of poor and ragged children
1825 The New York House of Refuge set up for poor white youth to prevent expected delinquency, black youth were excluded

1835 Houses of Refuge add section for "colored children"
1838 *Ex Parte Crouse* Supreme Court introduces *parens patriae* that gives the state the ability to make decisions for families that to its attention
1841 John Augustus started community probation program with limited accessibility for Black men and women

1865 Emancipation Proclamation
1865 Ku Klux Klan started in Tennessee as a private club and grew to a secret society
1866 13th Amendment of the Constitution is passed- abolition of slavery
1866 Freedmen's Code enabled former slaveholders to force Black children into apprenticeships and become legal guardians until adulthood
1868 14th Amendment of the Constitution is passed- Equal Protection under the law
1870 Black codes are passed, criminalizing Black individuals for actions they would not be punished for if they were white
1870s prison farms and convict leasing becomes common practice throughout the South
1871 Virginia Supreme Court rules that an incarcerated person is a "slave of the state"
1871 Civil Rights Act of 1871 authorized use of armed forces against those who denied equal protection of the law
1873 Phrase "persons of African nativity or descent" added to act of 1790 to prevent Asian Americans from citizenship

1882 Congress passes the *Chinese Exclusion Act*
1883 Supreme Court rules federal enforcement of certain crimes as provided in *Civil Rights Act of 1871* unconstitutional
1885 *Major Crimes Act* passed by Congress and removing tribal sovereignty
1890 Census data show 18% of Black prisoners were youth
1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court upheld "separate but equal" doctrine and constitutionality of racial segregation
1899 *An Act for the Treatment and Control of Dependent, Neglected and Delinquent Children* is drafted and precursor to establishing the first juvenile court
1899 Juvenile Court Act passed, establishing the first juvenile court in the U.S.

1905 The Asiatic Exclusion League formed in San Francisco
1906 San Francisco Board of Education votes to segregate Japanese, Chinese, and Korean students
1908 *Gentlemen's Agreement* ends migration of Japanese workers to U.S.

1912 Children's Bureau was established and juvenile courts set up in 22 states
1913 Alien Land Law passed in California, 12 states later, preventing land ownership for "all aliens ineligible from land ownership" and eventually leasing
1916 *Measurement of Intelligence* by Lewis Terman published and described Mexicans, Filipinos and Blacks as "feeble-minded" and was cited as justification for incarceration and sterilization of youth to promote public safety
1920 White women are granted the right to vote
1920 Alien Land Law passed in California, with stricter laws
1921 *Orden Hijos de América* (Order of the Sons of America) organizes Latino workers to raise awareness of civil rights, including fair wages, education, and housing
1922 Supreme Court reaffirms ban on Japanese people from becoming naturalized citizens
1924 Congress passes Immigration Act of 1924 denied entry to Mexicans, Japanese and Southern and Eastern Europeans; Filipinos denied citizenship and foreign status
1927 *Confederación de Uniones Oberas Mexicanas* (Federation of Mexican Workers Union) is first large-scale effort to organize Mexican workers
1928 Convict leasing ends and chain gangs begin
1931 Scottsboro Trial in Alabama, nine Black youth were accused of raping two white women on a train. Eight of the nine were convicted and sentenced to death.
1940 Mary Huff Diggs releases report reviewing racial disparity in 53 courts
1940 Correctional institutional model in the North reserves rehabilitation for whites
1940s Cessation of chain gangs
1942 Incarceration of Japanese Americans in internment camps
1942 Bracero Program created to bring Mexican workers to the U.S. temporarily
1942 17 Latino youth wrongly convicted in "Sleepy Lagoon" trial based on witness testimony citing need to draw blood because of Indian or Aztec heritage
1942 U.S. Navy orders and begins removing Japanese Americans, those not removed are given a curfew and must remain indoors from 8pm to 6am
1942 Over 92,000 Japanese Americans detained in "Assembly Centers"
1943 *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Yasui vs. U.S.* Supreme Court rules curfew orders for Japanese Americans is constitutional
1944 *Prince v. Massachusetts* Supreme Court rules parental authority is not absolute and government has authority to regulate actions and treatment of children
1944 U.S. issues a draft on Japanese men, including those in internment camps, men who resist are charged with federal crimes

1943 Zoot Suit Riots last 10 nights in Los Angeles, results in 500+ Latino youth arrested and charged with vagrancy and rioting
1944 George Stinney, a Black 14 year old, is executed in South Carolina after a wrongful conviction. He is the youngest person to be executed since World War II.
1944 *Fair Employment Practices Bill* is introduced by Senator Dennis Chavez, and proposed prohibiting discrimination based on race, creed, or national origin. It is not passed.
1945 Japanese Americans are allowed to leave internment camps
1946 Tule Lake, the last internment camp is closed
1947 *Mendez et al. v. Westminster* ending discriminatory practices against students
1948 Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act signed to repay Japanese Americans for loss of income and property

1952 *McCarren- Walter Act* grants most Asian women the right to vote
1953-58 "Operation Wetback" results in U.S. Immigration Services unfairly arresting and deporting 3.8 million Latin Americans
1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruled racial segregation in schools unconstitutional
1954 *Hernandez v. Texas* is the first post-WWII Latino civil rights case. Supreme Court ends discrimination based on class and ethnic distinctions.
1957 *Indian Citizen Act* grants Native American right to vote, however still face voter suppression

1963 *Equal Pay Act* passed to prevent sex-based wage discrimination
1964 *Civil Rights Act of 1964* signed
1965 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is established to eliminate unlawful employment discrimination
1965 United Farm Workers association is established by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta
1965 *Voting Rights Act* signed to end discriminatory practices and grants Black women and some Latinx women the right to vote
1966 *Kent v. United States* Supreme Court ruled youth have same due process rights as adults under 14th Amendment
1966 *Cuban American Adjustment Act* passed to allow Cubans who have lived in the U.S. for at least one year to become permanent residents
1967 *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court rules ban of interracial marriage is violation of Equal Protection and Due Process clause of 14th Amendment
1967 *Age Discrimination in Employment Act* passed to protect people between 40-65 years old
1967 *In re Gault* requires youth are given right to notice of charges, legal counsel, questioning of witnesses, and protection against self-incrimination
1968 Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund set up as first legal fund to protect civil rights of Mexican Americans
1968 *Fair Housing Act* ended discrimination in selling and renting homes
1969 Young Lords Organization established in Chicago by Puerto Rican youth using direct action and political education
1970 *In re Winship* required establishing guilt by proof beyond a reasonable doubt
1970 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare issues memo protecting students from being denied access to educational programs for not being able to speak English
1971 *Reed v. Reed*: Supreme Court rule gender discrimination is unconstitutional and violation of 14th Amendment

1971 *McKeiver v. Pennsylvania* jury trials not required in juvenile court
1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act is passed in Congress
1974 *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court reaffirms 1970 memo that students cannot be denied access or participation in educational program as a result of not being able to speak or understand English
1975 Congress expands *Voting Rights Act* to include language assistance at polling centers, allowing all Latinx women the right to vote

1983 The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians issues report recommending an apology and $20,000 to 60,000 people
1984 *Schall v. Martin* pretrial detention for youth is allowed in some cases
1985 *Flores v. Reno* challenges the processes and conditions of treatment of youth detained by Immigration and Naturalization Services
1986 federal mandatory minimum sentences established for possession of cocaine
1**986** *The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986* established sentencing disparity between the distribution of crack versus powder cocaine
1986 *Immigration Reform and Control Act* provides legalization for some undocumented workers
1988 Courts ruled executing youth under 16 was a violation of the 8th Amendment
1989 Case of the Central Park Jogger results in five Black youth, the Central Park Five, being wrongfully incarcerated for 13 years
1990 California Delegation Against Hate Violence documents human rights violations by Immigration and Naturalization Services and private citizens against migrants
1990 *Americans with Disabilities Act* is signed to protect individuals with disabilities from discrimination in the workplace
1990 *Riyadh Guidelines* (UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency) are adopted by the UN General Assembly
1990 *Agreement to End Juvenile Life Without Parole* by the UN at the Convention on the Rights of the Child states children should not be subjected to torture, inhumane, degrading treatment or given the death penalty or life without the possibility of parole.
1991 *Civil Rights Act* passed
1992-97 juvenile courts have expanded sentencing options, transfer to adult court becomes easier and confidentiality provisions are removed
1994 Zero Tolerance Policy introduced to reduce drugs and weapons on school grounds
1996 false idea of "super-predators" popularized by book *Body Count* by DiIulio, Bennet & Walters
1997 *Flores Settlement* established standards for processes and conditions of detention for children and youth in custody of Immigration and Naturalization Services

2001 Hate crimes, police profiling, and harassment against Arab Americans and people of Middle Eastern descent increases
2003 *Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA)* is signed to address rape and sexual assault in U.S. correctional facilities
2004 The Minuteman Project is set up by anti-immigrant citizens and known white-supremacists at the U.S./ Mexico border
2005 *Roper v. Simmons:* Supreme Court ending death penalty for youth
2006 Day Without Immigrants is organized by Latinos to demonstrate contributions
2010 *Graham v. Florida:* Supreme Court ending life sentences for youth for non-homicide offenses
2010 *Fair Sentencing Act* reduced sentencing disparity established by *Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986*

2012 *Miller v. Alabama* and *Jackson v. Hobbs* Supreme Court rules mandatory juvenile life without parole sentences are violation of 8th Amendment
2016 *Montgomery v. Louisiana* Supreme Court rules Miller decision to be applied retroactively
2018 Zero-Tolerance policy at the U.S.-Mexico border directs federal prosecutors to criminally charge adults crossing the border illegally and to separate children from their parents in separate detention facilities
2018 *Juvenile Justice Reform Act* signed after *Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act* is reauthorized by Congress, specifically intending to address racial disparities and keep youth out of adult facilities
2018 *SB 1391* repeals prosecutor's ability to transfer 14 or 15 year-olds to adult court
2019 *SB 394* 16-17 year-olds who are sentenced to life without parole eligible for parole after serving 24 years
2021 *Jones v. Mississippi* Supreme Court effectively reverses decisions of SB 394 and grants judges discretion to sentence 16-17 year olds to life without parole without proof of consideration for youth's developmental maturity; Justice Sotomayor vehemently opposes the Court's decision in her dissent and is joined by Justices Kagan and Breyer

The timeline illustrates that from the point the Declaration of Independence and Constitution were signed in the United States, 191 and 180 years passed before *In re Gault* in which youth were granted the same due process rights as adults under the 14th Amendment. The 14th Amendment offers "equal protection under the law" and was ratified 81 years after the Constitution and 99 years before *In re Gault*. In 1899, the first juvenile court was established in Illinois to intervene when children were found to be "neglected, dependent, or delinquent" (Zimring, 2005, p. 6). However, it was not until 68 years after the first juvenile court was established that youth were granted formal legal rights, and 75 years later the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) was passed at the federal level. The JJDPA provides funding to states for delinquency prevention and interventions, creates a national planning and advisory team, and established the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Coalition for Juvenile Justice). In 1988, the JJDPA was amended to require states receiving funding to report Disproportionate Minority Contact.

In 1989, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child as a "treaty that lays out the rights of children and the standards to which all governments must aspire to in order to promote these rights." The United States is currently one of only three countries that have not ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This means youth rights are defined and protected by individual states. The legal standing of children reflects the attitudes of adults with institutional power towards youth. The United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, the Riyadh Guidelines, were adopted in December 1990 by the UN with six fundamental principles. The Riyadh Guidelines are not legally binding because they are not a treaty, however, they do represent international consensus regarding the treatment of incarcerated children (Human Rights Watch & ACLU, 2006). The standards set forth by the

Riyadh Guidelines are considered authoritative given the adoption by the General Assembly as standards and guidelines for implementing treaties approved by the UN and ratified by countries (Human Rights Watch & ACLU, 2006). The following year, in 1991, the United States Congress defined adolescence as an extended period of childhood starting at puberty around 10 or 11, extending to 18-24 years old when individuals reach independence in early adulthood [See: Report on the Activities for the Year 1991 of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families]. Even with the concept of adolescence legally defined, legal protections for adolescents were not included or adopted from the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, warnings of super predators were issued by academics and politicians alike (Dilulio, 1995). Most notable in regards to this timeline was Bill McCollum, former chair of the U.S. House subcommittee on crime, testifying at the 1996 JJDPA hearing to ”brace yourselves for the coming generation of super-predators’“ (The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act: Hearing Before the House Subcomm. on Early Childhood, Youth and Families, 1996; Zimring & Rushin, 2013). McCollum later became the Attorney General for Florida who represented the state in *Graham v. Florida*, losing the case and ultimately ending the death penalty for minors (Zimring & Rushin, 2013). While the evidence shows that juvenile crime has decreased and the warning behind the super-predator was unfounded and racist, the statement from McCollum reveal not only the personal sentiments held by people with power in the country, but also the legal protection which they are given and the ways in which such beliefs are recorded into law and used as future case precedent.

It was not until nearly 30 years after the JJDPA was first authorized in 1974, that the U.S. Supreme Court ended the death penalty for youth in *Roper v. Simmons* in (2005) and ended life sentences for youth with non-homicide offenses in *Graham v. Florida* (2010). In both cases, the

Supreme Court cited the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in its decisions as well as the scientific evidence demonstrating the differences between youth and adults, specifically that adolescent brain development continues into the mid-twenties (Caldwell, 2016). In *Roper*, the Court noted that the U.S. was the last country to allow the death penalty for youth and in *Graham*, the U.S. and Israel were the only remaining countries that allowed life imprisonment for youth. The Court explained that the U.S. approach to juvenile justice was in violation of international human rights standards, failed to recognize and account for differences between adults and youth, and focuses on punishment rather than restoration at the expense of youth, victims, and communities (Caldwell, 2016).

In 2018, the latest major juvenile justice legislation was passed, and Congress reauthorized the JJDPA, renaming it the Juvenile Justice Reform Act (JJRA). The four Core Requirements identified in the JJRA include the deinstitutionalization of status offenses, adult jail and lock-up removal, sight and sound separation, and addressing racial and ethnic disparities (Coalition for Juvenile Justice, 2020).

Current Structure of the U.S. Juvenile Justice System

Youth Population

In 2019, U.S. law enforcement made 696,620 arrests of youth under 18 (OJJDP, 2020), with 1,995 youth being arrested each day (Children's Defense Fund, 2020). On average, there are over 36,479 youth in residential placement in the U.S., a figure that continues to decrease since 2000 (OJJDP, 2021).

Two thirds of youth in the juvenile justice system are youth of color, 41% Black and 21% Hispanic (Children's Defense Fund, 2020). Across the United States, in all but seven states and Washington D.C., Black youth are placed in residential placement at higher rates than other

youth of color, and the placement rate for minoritized youth compared to White youth is 2.3:1 (OJJDP, 2021). In 35 states, the ratio between youth of color and white youth is higher, and is over 4:1 in 11 states plus Washington D.C. (OJJDP, 2021). In residential placement, youth of color are detained longer than white youth (OJJDP, 2021). Economic marginalization is also recognized as a contributing factor to the overrepresentation of youth of color in the juvenile justice system (Development Services Group, 2014).

Additionally, of all the youth arrests in the United States, females make up 31% of arrests (OJJDP, 2020), yet make up only 15% of the youth in residential placement (OJJDP, 2021), and tend to have shorter sentences than their male counterparts (OJJDP, 2021).

In the United States, a "juvenile" is a youth up to the age of the original jurisdiction in the state. In five states, the oldest a young person is considered a juvenile and is under the original jurisdiction of the juvenile justice court, is 16 years old (OJJDP, 2021). In 46 states, the upper age is 17 years old. Where there is not original jurisdiction, states may have a process in place to determine if juvenile or adult system has original jurisdiction, there may be exceptions, or the decision on which court to charge a youth may be up to a prosecutor.

Juvenile Justice System Organization

In the United States, each state is responsible for defining the structure of its juvenile justice system and delinquency services (OJJDP, 2017; OJJDP, 2018). Delinquency services include detention, community supervision, and reentry services, and are organized at the state and local level, or a combination of both (OJJDP, 2017). Nearly half of the U.S. states, 22, were mostly state operated, 11 were completely state operated, and in 18 states, juvenile justice services operate at the local level (OJJDP, 2017).

A 2018 review by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention identified the purposes of each state as defined by the state legislature. There were four primary purposes identified that guide states, *Due Process Era*, *Developmental Approach*, *Parens Patriae*, and *Balanced and Restorative Justice*. Seven states have purposes from the Due Processes era, the period of reform in the 1960s and 1970s, where the Supreme Court, federal policies and models are applied to the state juvenile justice systems (OJJDP, 2018). *Parens patriae* is a Latin phrase that means “father of the nation” and reflects the original role of the juvenile court judge who is the designated protector of the child (OJJDP, 2018). Parens patriae is applied in eight states. A Developmental approach is applied in five states, where states keep elements of the other approaches but includes the use of adolescent development research and evidence-based practices (OJJDP, 2018). The final approach is Balanced and Restorative Justice, and is employed in 29 states. This approach was developed in response to the most punitive era of crime that is focused on reform (OJJDP, 2018). Two states, Arizona and North Dakota, do not have a stated purpose clause (OJJDP, 2018).

While each state has its own specific process, across the U.S., there are nine major decision points (Burke, 2019; Development Services Group, 2014). The first decision point is (1) the arrest. Once a young person is arrested, they are (2) referred to the court, either the adult or juvenile court depending on their age, offense, and decision of the prosecutor based on the state they are in. The third (3) decision point is diversion, an informal route that prosecutors may choose for less severe, first time offenses. If the case continues to go through court, youth may be placed in (4) secure detention until their court date if the youth poses a flight risk, danger, or a guardian cannot be identified/ does not agree to take custody. The (5) decision to send a youth to the adult system and (6) filing a petition with the charges against the youth are the next decision

steps. The (7) adjudication, similar to an adult trial, is when a decision is made that the charges against the youth are dismissed, they are placed on (8) probation or (9) sent to a secure residential facility.

Types of Facilities

Of the over 36,000 youth in residential facilities, 9,444 youth have been placed in private facilities, 14,390 have been placed in local residential facilities, and 12,645 youth are in state facilities (OJJDP, 2021). There are a total of 1,510 juvenile justice facilities in the United States, 60% of facilities are public, and 40% are private facilities (Puzzanchera, Hockenberry, Sladky & Kang, 2020). Public facilities are operated by a state or local government and the staff who work in the facilities are state or local government employees. Private facilities are operated by non-profit or for-profit entities where the staff are employees of that organization or corporation. There are different types of both public and private facilities: detention, group homes, ranches and wilderness camps, boot camps, long-term secure facilities, residential treatment centers, alternative schools, shelters and diagnostic centers.

Detention facilities are short-term facilities youth are sent to while they wait for adjudication, wait for their disposition hearing, or are waiting to be transferred to another jurisdiction or facility (Burke, 2019; National Center for Juvenile Justice, 2021). In a national evaluation, 41% of facilities are considered detention facilities (Puzzanchera et al., 2020). Youth in detention facilities are physically restricted and receive care within the facility, including medical, educational, religious, and recreation services.

Group homes make up 16% of juvenile justice facilities (Puzzanchera et al., 2020), and are long-term facilities where youth have contact with the community (Burke, 2019; National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021). Youth who are placed in group homes attend school and may

have a job in the community as well (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021). Group homes may also be called "halfway houses" in some systems or for particular programming, like substance abuse (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021).

Ranches and wilderness camps make up two percent of juvenile justice facilities (Puzzanchera et al., 2020). These are facilities that emphasize physical activity and manual labor, and offer youth extensive opportunities for social interaction (Burke, 2019). These facilities are less confining and are long-term placements for youth (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021). In addition to camps and wilderness ranches, these types of facilities might also be in a farm or marine environment (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021).

Long-term secure facilities make up 11% of all juvenile justice facilities (Puzzanchera et al., 2020) and most closely resemble adult prisons with strict security protocols and confinement. These facilities offer specialized programming for youth in a highly restrictive setting (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021). Long-term secure facilities are considered the last resort before a young person is transferred to the adult criminal justice system (Burke, 2019). Long term secure facilities may be called training schools, reformatories, or juvenile correctional facilities (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021).

The last type of facility I will discuss are *residential treatment centers*, which make up 37% of all facilities (Puzzanchera et al., 2020). Residential treatment centers are usually considered medium security (Burke, 2019). Youth are placed in these facilities for a minimum amount of time, usually six months to one year, to complete individual treatment programs like mental health, substance abuse, or sex offender treatment (Burke, 2019; National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021). These are facilities that often require specific licensing to operate (National Juvenile Justice Center, 2021).

Types of Programs

The type of programming and services provided to youth is dependent on the type of facilities that youth are placed in. However, across all juvenile justice facilities, within 24 hours of placement, 88% of facilities conduct a suicide assessment of youth, 60% evaluate substance abuse needs, 35% assess for mental health needs, and 22% assess youth for educational needs (Puzzanchera et al., 2020).

Across the United States, there are certain types of programs that are universal in juvenile justice facilities although the specificities and implementation are unique. These programs include education, mental health, behavioral interventions recreation, while nontraditional programs are not uniformly available to youth in facilities.

Education

Educational risk factors that contribute to system involvement include truancy, suspensions and expulsions, dropping out, and not being enrolled in schools (Development Services Group, Inc., 2019). However, involvement in the juvenile justice system also contribute to negative educational outcomes (Development Services Group, Inc., 2019). When youth are placed in a facility, they are screened for educational needs (Puzzanchera et al., 2020). Over 1/3 of youth in juvenile justice facilities qualify for special education services and up to 60% of youth in juvenile justice facilities have repeated a grade(Council of State Governments, 2018). There was little understanding of the educational services that were being provided to youth in juvenile justice facilities until the *Every Student Succeeds Act* was signed in 2015, increasing accountability for juvenile justice facilities to report the services provided to youth. Educational services may be offered outside of the traditional school hours because of the residential and year

round nature of the facilities (Jolivette & Swoszowski, 2020), with nearly 25% of facilities offering over 230 days of educational programming compared to the 180 state minimum required in most states (Department of Education, 2016). In contrast, however, 26% of facilities offered less than 180 days per year (Department of Education, 2016). On average, facilities offered 26 hours per week of educational services during the regular school year, while 15% of facilities offered less than 20 hours per week (Department of Education, 2016). While some facilities offer vocational programs for youth to complete their GED or community college courses, juvenile justice facilities are less likely to provide core math and science classes than public schools (Department of Education, 2016).

Mental Health

Up to 70% of youth in juvenile justice facilities meet the criteria to be diagnosed with a mental health disorder (Kumm, Maggin, Brown & Talbott, 2019). At intake facilities or when youth are placed in a facility, youth are screened for mental health needs (Puzzanchera et al., 2020). Mental health services are designed to address the emotional, behavioral, and social needs of youth, however there are no current national laws requiring specific mental health interventions (Kumm et al., 2019). Consequently, the training for administering mental health interventions is not uniform across states (Swank & Gagnon, 2016). The majority of mental health services were implemented in post-adjudication facilities, likely because of the duration of interventions cannot be completed in a short period of time in pre-adjudication detention facilities with transient youth populations (Kumm et al., 2019). Further, interventions may be targeted to achieve a specific mental health outcome, although many of the youth in juvenile justice facilities experience comorbidity of mental health disorders (Kumm et al., 2019).

Swank and Gagnon (2016) identified eight specific treatment approaches that demonstrated some effectiveness with youth in juvenile justice facilities: Aggression Replacement Training, Dialectical Behavior Therapy, Family Integrative Transition, Motivational Enhancement Therapy, Mode Deactivation Therapy, Relapse Prevention Models, Thinking Errors Approach, and Thinking For a Change. These interventions can be applied with specific groups of youth based on offense like sex-offender or capital murder programs, or youth with specific needs, like substance abuse or anger management (Swank & Gagnon, 2016). In addition to these types of programs, many facilities also utilize individual, family and group counseling with youth in facilities (Swank & Gagnon, 2016).

Behavioral Interventions

The mental health interventions just described overlap with behavioral interventions and are designed to promote or replace specific anti-social behaviors with pro-social beahviors (Swank & Gagnon, 2016). More recently, juvenile justice facilities have adopted “Facility Wide Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports” (FW-PBIS), a model that is designed with the entire nature of facility operations in mind (Jolivette & Swoszowski, 2020). PBIS is a three-tiered framework where the first tier is focused on offering all youth support, the second tier of practices and supports are designed to help students “at-risk” of developing problem behaviors, and the third tier includes interventions in need of more individualized support (Jolivette et al., 2020; Jolivette & Swoszowski, 2020; Sprague et al., 2013). PBIS originates from schools and has since been adopted in juvenile justice settings (Sprague et al., 2013). FW-PBIS crosses all levels of the ecological model of the correctional facility, and have shown increases in engagement and decreases in behavioral incidents (Jolivette & Swoszowski, 2020). FW-PBIS is

not limited to education or specific therapeutic approaches, and has been used to support the mental health of youth in confinement (Kumm, Mathur, Cassavaugh, & Butts, 2020).

Recreation

Another type of program that is offered in juvenile justice facilities includes recreation. León et al. (2019) found that recreation guidelines for juvenile justice cover a range of activities like music, exercise, sports, arts, and reading. The provision of recreation services for youth in residential juvenile justice facilities is required by law, however the allocation of resources to deliver recreation activities is not uniform across facilities and agencies in different states (León et al., 2019). Given that 40 states have either a weekly or daily minimum provision for recreation in juvenile justice residential facilities, and the remaining ten states do account for some type of recreation programs being offered (León et al., 2019), there is a regular opportunity for out-of-school-time programs to be implemented in juvenile justice facilities. The legal provision of time for recreation in juvenile justice facilities does introduce the opportunity for implementing programs implemented in the out-of-school-time setting, including programs based on Social Justice Youth Development, which I will discuss in the next section. Further, recreation, and non-traditional programs are used as mechanisms to promote life skills and social skills among youth in juvenile justice facilities (Jacobs, Wahl-Alexander & Mack, 2019).

Non-Traditional Programs

In addition to the traditional types of programs, multiple studies have been conducted examining dog training programs in the juvenile correctional setting that suggest improvements in social and cognitive growth, as well as increased attachment and more positive attitudes (Duindam, et al., 2020; Grommon, Carson & Kenney, 2020). Another creative type of program that has been implemented in juvenile correctional facilities is gardening (Sandel, 2004; Twill,

Purvis & Norris, 2011). Similar to PBIS, after participation in the gardening programs, there were decreased behavioral incidents, improved interpersonal skills, higher levels of self-esteem and personal responsibility, youth showed more positive attitudes about health, nutrition, and eating vegetables (Sandel, 2004; Twill, Purvis & Norris, 2011).

Each of the types of programs discussed describe an attempt to target a specific aspect of a young person's life, only FW-PBIS actively attempts to work across all domains and departments of the facility. In some states, treatment team meetings will be held, particularly as decisions and recommendations are made regarding the progress and release of youth. However, even in FW-PBIS and treatment team meetings, the clinical approach assumes a deficit, dismisses the impact of the external context on the development of the young person, and largely posits them as a receiver of treatment rather than an active agent in their own development. In addition, these programs and facilities operate as individual level interventions that even if implemented with fidelity, will never be sufficient in enacting system-wide change. Social Justice Youth Development provides a framework for working with youth in the juvenile justice system, to meet their immediate needs of developmentally appropriate programming and encouraging their development as thoughtful and engaged citizens.

Social Justice Youth Development

Social justice youth development is concerned with the development of critical consciousness as youth move towards having a global awareness and holds that youth are active agents in their own personal development and communities (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). This requires that youth voice and agency be recognized and utilized, particularly the voices of youth of color and other marginalized identities that have been disproportionately impacted as a result of systemic injustice. Iwasaki (2015) describes that youth engagement is a catalyst for

social justice youth development, an approach that supports holistic development of young people. Youth organizing that is rooted in social justice youth development and enables youth to identify the social origins of problems and then take action to address the identified problems (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012).

Social Justice Youth Development is a theoretical framework with origins in Positive Youth Development, an interdisciplinary field that includes perspectives from psychology, sociology, biology, education to name a few. Urie Bronfenbrenner (1992) established the Ecological Systems Theory, providing a social-ecological model based on the assumption that individual young people are at the center of multiple contexts represented by concentric circles. Bronfenbrenner (1992) accounts for the individual's innate attributes including citizenship status, sex, age, language, race, ability, gender, etc. Moving outwards, the microlevel consists of the family, peers, school, teams/ organizations, churches, etc. The mesosystem in another step removed from the individual and may include aspects like neighbors, school district, grocery stores, parks etc.. The exosystem is made up of social services like healthcare, politics, and industries within a particular community whereas the macrosystem is the greater context that includes attitudes, beliefs and norms of the dominant culture. The characteristics that mark each level interact and influence the person at the center. Evidence suggests that interventions for youth offenders have higher success rates when they are based on an ecological model (Schwalbe et al., 2012).

In an effort to avoid conceptualizing a deficit based approach to development, traditional theorists often neglect to critically examine how development is impacted by oppression and social stratification (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012). However, Social Justice Youth Development emphasizes the social, economic and political contexts that surround young people with specific

regard to the disparities in outcomes and experiences among youth of color (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2011). The Ecological Systems Model is a particularly helpful tool to organize social relationships and graphically illustrate how youth are impacted by specific actors and relationships at the macro level. As youth place their individual experiences within a larger context, their social and global awareness increases and they are able to strategically address social problems through organizing and initiating social change. While young people are influenced by oppressive social forces found in the systems and institutions they exist in, social justice youth development also holds that youth are active agents with the capacity to respond and exert reciprocal influence on their environments.

The goal of social justice youth development is to create a more equitable society for all young people by engaging critically conscious citizens (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). According to SJYD, youth first begin developing self-awareness, then a social awareness and eventually a global awareness as they develop a critical consciousness through the following strategies and principles of social justice youth development (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). The hallmark strategies of SJYD include: 1) analysis of power in social relationships, 2) making identity central, 3) promoting systemic social change, 4) encouraging collective action, and 5) embracing youth culture (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). As youth work within the Social Justice Youth Development paradigm, developing a critical consciousness is somewhat inevitable as their awareness of the systems around them increases. According to social justice youth development, as young people grow their critical consciousness, they become powerful agents of change that have the knowledge and ability to directly challenge the systems that oppress them (Ginwright, Cammarota & Noguera, 2005). However, strategically challenging an oppressive system requires critical examination to deconstruct and reveal the catalyzing

mechanisms. The following table from Ginwright & Cammarota (2002) captures the practices and outcomes associated with each SJYD principle as well as the awareness level that is an indication of the level of critical consciousness.

Table 1

SJYD Principles, Levels of Awareness & Outcomes

Principles	Practices	Awareness level 1	2	3	Outcomes
Analyzes power in social relationships	Political education		x		Social problematizing, critical thinking, asking and answering questions related to community and social problems Development of sociopolitical awareness Youth transforming arrangements in public and private institutions by sharing power with adults
	Political strategizing		x		
	Identifying power holders		x		
	Reflecting about power in one's own life		x		
Makes identity central	Joining support groups and organizations that support identity development	x			Development of pride regarding one's identity Awareness of how sociopolitical forces influence identity Feeling of being a part of something meaningful and productive The capacity to build solidarity with others who share common struggles and have shared interests
	Reading material where one's identity is central and celebrated	x			
	Critiquing stereotypes regarding one's identities	x			
Promotes systemic change	Working to end social inequality (such as racism and sexism)			x	Sense of life purpose, empathy for the suffering of others, optimism about social change Liberation by ending various forms of social oppression
	Refraining from activities and behaviors that are oppressive to others (for example, refusing to buy shoes made in sweatshops)			x	
Encourages collective action	Involving oneself in collective action and strategies that challenge and change local and national systems and institutions		x		Capacity to change personal, community, and social conditions Empowerment and positive orientation toward life circumstances and events Healing from personal trauma brought on from oppression
	Community organizing		x		
	Rallies and marches		x		
	Boycotts and hunger strikes		x		
	Walkouts		x		
	Electoral strategies		x		
Embraces youth culture	Celebrating youth culture in organizational culture		x		Authentic youth engagement Youth-run and youth-led organizations Effective recruitment strategies Effective external communications Engagement of extremely marginalized youth
	Language		x		
	Personnel		x		
	Recruitment strategies		x		

Principle 1: Analyzes power in social relationships

The critical analysis of social relationships is required in order to locate power and identify the actors that hold power and analyze how it is used (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). The "analysis of power reveals hidden systems of privilege and encourages critical thinking about social problems" (Ginwright & James, 2002, p. 36). In addition to focusing on the current systems and locations of power, conducting this type of analysis at different points in history reveals changes over time and indicates where power has historically been located. This task further contextualizes current systems and can illuminate patterns of exclusion from positions of power and outcomes of decisions that disproportionately impact marginalized communities. By keeping power hidden, it remains unchallenged and systems are enabled to continue operating without meaningful change. At the individual level, critical awareness of social power contributes to psychological empowerment, resulting in critical hopefulness (Christens, Byrd, Peterson & Lardier, Jr., 2018). Christens et al. (2018) explain that critical hopefulness is the combination of critical awareness and belief in their ability to influence the sociopolitical sphere. This understanding reinforces the socioecological foundation that underlays SJYD and recognizes the levels are mutually interacting.

Principle 2: Makes identity central

The role of identity is salient within social justice youth development as a result of the impact that identity has in relation to the amount of privilege and power an individual has (Ginwright & James, 2002). Given an intersectional approach that recognizes an individual has multiple identities, the level or privilege and power a person experiences is in direct relation to the combination of identities they hold. As a result of privilege being unequally distributed across identities, those with shared identities often bond in their efforts to advocate for social change that is related to one or more of their identities. In regards to critical hopefulness,

evidence has shown that youth of color, particularly Latinx youth show were more likely to demonstrate critical hopefulness (Christens et al., 2018). This may be attributed in part to youth of color being more aware of their race and ethnicity and they ways in which they have been marginalized systemically as a result of their identity (Christens et al., 2018). With regards to critical hopefulness, youth of color reported higher levels of cognitive empowerment versus emotional empowerment that privileged youth were more likely to report (Christens et al., 2018).

Principle 3: Promotes systemic social change

Social justice youth development is concerned with addressing problematic systems rather than problematic behavior that is actually the result of structural inequalities. Systemic change goes beyond the individual to address policies and protocols that are responsible for creating and maintaining inequality. Advocating for systemic change is only possible when power within social structures has been critically examined as dismantling systems requires targeting the root of structural inequality, power. This focus removes the burden of change from the individual who is being oppressed and requires that the oppressor, the individual(s) with power within a system are also accountable for contributing to successful outcomes for individuals and communities. Systemic change of any scale is only possible when there are engaged citizens that are aware of inequalities created by the structures and processes designed to produce disparate outcomes. In order to initiate action to achieve social change, one must have critical hopefulness that systemic change can be actualized.

Principle 4: Encourages collective action

Collective action as described by Ginwright & James (2002, p. 36) “is the process of engagement that seeks to alter existing social conditions through non-institutional means.” The central idea behind collective action is related to the previous principles, in that systemic change

cannot be achieved at the individual level and collective action is often the result of individuals who are an identity collectively working together to challenge systemic abuses of power. Since collective action activities take place outside of the institution, the ways in which groups of people advocate for change can range from marches, boycotts, sit-ins, and now social media activities. Youth organizing requires that young people identify a salient issue and then mobilize peers to improve the overall quality of life in their communities (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012). Critical consciousness and psychological empowerment, the combination critical hopefulness, are prerequisites for civic involvement and the ability to strategically organize individuals in such a way to cultivate social power and advocate for social change (Christens et al, 2018). In communities that have experienced marginalization and oppression, issues of human rights and quality of life are not difficult to identify and the presence of youth organizing is in fact indicative of positive individual development that also contributes to the communal well-being.

As young people organize and build their networks, they are thereby increasing their social capital by building trusting, mutually beneficial relationships that Putnam (1993) deems necessary for community improvement.

Principle 5: Embraces youth culture

The principle of embracing youth culture is rooted in the reality that young people have been successful drivers and agents of social change. This is in part because of the shared ideals that young people have that include a desire for change paired with optimism and the belief that such meaningful change can be actualized, whereas older populations may share the desire for change but be too cynical to initiate action to achieve such change. It should not go unstated, and will later be discussed in further detail, but youth themselves have faced marginalization and in some cases, limited protections and power because of their age. SJYD embraces the culture of

youth that have been marginalized throughout the U.S., historically urban youth, and harnesses the messages of injustice, hope and change that is reflected in language and music (Ginwright & James, 2002). Issues around clothing and dress are also considered in SJYD, where the types of clothing deemed presentable are challenged by embracing the clothing styles of young people that appeals to youth and removes barriers that reflect the institutional values that are being challenged (Ginwright & James, 2002).

The Role of Critical Consciousness in Youth Programming

Critical consciousness is "an awareness of how institutional, historical, and systemic forces limit and promote the life opportunities for particular groups" (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002, p. 87). Critical consciousness is a process that includes three levels, self, social, and global awareness. In regards to the value for youth programs, Critical consciousness and SJYD contribute to creating safe, appropriate youth programs that promote healthy development and the well-being of youth (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). While all youth programs have been concerned with promoting Positive Youth Development, the benefit and significance of ensuring Critical Consciousness is integrated is particularly important for youth with marginalized identities because the context and world in which youth live is being considered and the program reflects the actual needs of young people in that community.

One of the seminal notions of Positive Youth Development is that youth are assets, and not problems to be solved (Witt & Caldwell, 2005). SJYD expands upon this principle, recognizing that young people make contributions to their communities in addition to their own personal development. In order to provide quality contributions to the community, young people must critically assess the landscape of the community and consider the systems and use of power. As a result, young people are able to identify issues and offer solutions that extend

beyond their personal well-being and in fact promote the well-being of the entire community. As evidenced by the overrepresentation of youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic families in the justice system, providing quality programs for youth in the justice system requires that the contextual factors contributing to youth contact with the justice system be considered in order to improve outcomes for youth. With the understanding that youth are not inherently problems, contact with the juvenile justice system cannot be attributed wholly to the young people from these overrepresented communities, prompting critical inquiry of circumstances and factors surrounding youth that influence outcomes. SJYD requires that inequity within legislation, programming and resources is examined and disparities are attended to.

In their review of Paulo Freire's (1973, 1996) conception of Critical Consciousness, Watts, Diemer and Voight (2011) identified three primary elements- Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action as necessary in order to achieve a critical analysis that leads to social action. The first level of awareness is self and is concerned with celebrating the identities of a young person, and how those identities are impacted or threatened by social systems and institutions. Kumagai and Lipson (2009) describe critical consciousness as thinking that is done in relationship to others in the world. This way of thinking includes critical reflection, a precursor for social action that is intended to produce social change (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). The sense of political efficacy that youth develop as a result of critical consciousness is reflected in the notions of self-efficacy and self-determination within the field of youth development (De Pedro, Jackson, Campbell, Gilley, & Ciarelli, 2016; Freire, 1973; Watts et al., 2011). When young people develop political efficacy, they feel competent to make changes that address social conditions that have contributed to oppression. The final element of critical consciousness is critical action, which comes from political efficacy rooted in critical reflection,

and is when youth initiate and participate in individual and collective actions to make changes in their community (De Pedro et al., 2016; Freire, 1973; Watts et al., 2011). As young people engage in the tree elements of critical consciousness, they move from self-awareness to eventually, a global awareness.

Activities that lead to critical consciousness; Key to SJYD

The nature of activities that facilitate SJYD and critical consciousness can range, particularly in reference to the type of awareness that is being fostered. SJYD and the development of critical consciousness have been utilized in education through creative writing where youth are asked to tell fictional stories of hardship, or with a character who is vilified or misunderstood based on what they have observed in society (Stillar, 2013). Also in education, strategies where teachers pose problems to their students and ask for their feedback requires youth to critically consider the circumstances and develop solutions. This erasure of power and separation between students and the teacher is a trademark of Freire's (1973) conception of critical consciousness, where knowledge is not solely located with the teachers. In a program focused on HIV prevention among South African youth, peer educators facilitated conversations around ideas of masculinity and gender identity that were found to play significant roles in whether or not youth engaged in high-risk sexual behaviors (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Role playing is another effective strategy used to develop critical consciousness among youth because it provides young people a space to reflect on the current realities for themselves, or someone who may be different, and imagine what could be. Hip hop culture is another example of a politicizing tool that encourages youth to think critically about their experiences that can be attributed to social conditions (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Hip hop culture provides opportunities for youth to express their personal feelings and name oppressive structures that

contribute to their suffering and creates a community that is based on shared experiences (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Relatedly, Ginwright and James (2002) describe how SJYD includes practices like support groups and camps that are based on the identity of youth can help youth develop and explore their identity, and youth can initiate and participate in walkouts, marches, social media campaigns, and community organizing to achieve social change.

Two of the outcomes experienced at the individual level in spaces where critical consciousness is developed are healing and hopefulness (Brown, 2016; Cammarota, 2011). Activities like poetry, storytelling, acting, play-writing, dance, painting, photography provide youth a space to critically reflect and the display or performance promote critical consciousness among youth as they consider the experiences of others and identify oppressive systems (Cammarota, 2011; Delgado, 2018). Brown (2016) calls these places “healing spaces of refuge” in her study of a summer arts program for Black youth as they receive radical care from adults concerned with their personal and communal well-being and celebrate their cultural identity in a space that promotes critical consciousness. Young people also begin to experience pride in their race and ethnicity, their physical characteristics and feel hopeful, empowered and generally positive towards the future (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). Young people who participate in SJYD programs that promote critical consciousness also improve their problem solving skills, critical thinking, and feel a sense of meaning, belonging, purpose, optimism and empathy for others. Young people who develop a critical consciousness feel competent in their ability to take social action to improve their communities.

Social action is a direct result of critical consciousness and can take many forms. Social action that is a derivative of critical consciousness enables young people to grow in their awareness and promotes a sense of agency and control over the outcomes of one’s life

(Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Paulo Freire (1993, p. 33) uses the term *praxis* to describe the process of "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it." Through social action, young people are able to increase their understanding of the foundations and social systems in their community and beyond. Then using their position, youth are able to address areas of marginalization and oppression through social action. As critical consciousness increases, youth become not only concerned with their own experiences, but are moved to take action on behalf of others.

As a result, at the program, community and institutional level, outcomes include changes to systems in order to become more equitable for all youth. Programs become more accessible and welcoming to all youth. Communities have policies regarding programs and resources that are more equitable and fair, contributing to the short and long-term well-being of all young people.

SJYD Exemplars

The review of literature regarding SJYD revealed exemplar cases that applied SJYD principles with youth who have been marginalized by social systems and structures, including Native youth, youth experiencing housing instability, and Black youth (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Pinckney et al., 2020). All of these studies identified that the critical consciousness and awareness of youth was increased as a result of their participation in the respective programs through different activities (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Carey et al., 2020; Iwasaki et al., 2016; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Pinckney et al., 2020; Ross, 2011).

In their summer Critical Media Literacy program, Johnston-Goodstar and Sethi (2013) found that the Native Youth in their program improved their critical consciousness, specifically

their ability to hidden systems of power and their awareness of the impact of colonization in areas of their day-to-day lives. The second SJYD principle, Making Identity Central, emerged in this study as youth demonstrated positive self-perceptions in their final projects through their portrayals of themselves as Native Youth. One of the implications that Johnston-Goodstar and Sethi (2013) found was that the SJYD principles Advancing Systemic Change and Encouraging Collective Action were not identified in their Critical Media Literacy program according to the conceptualization by Ginwright and Cammarota (2002) and Ginwright and James (2002), that reflect American ideas of democracy. However, Johnston-Goodstar and Sethi (2013) did find that the actions of youth did align with Indigenous theories of change, suggesting that the evaluation of the manifestation and implementation of SJYD principles is biased towards programs conceived with American democracy as its primary frame of reference. This limits understanding the full extent of impact that SJYD programs, particularly with populations like Native youth whose ethnic culture may not be completely accounted for in the evaluation of SJYD.

Multiple studies used youth and participatory research methods to apply SJYD principles and encourage critical consciousness (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Iwasaki et al., 2016; Ross, 2011). Aviles and Grigalunas (2018) examined the impact of participating in a Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) program on youth experiencing unstable housing, and found that their experience navigating social services in their community revealed inequitable barriers to access social supports based on race, gender and class. As youth participated in the YPAR program, their critical consciousness and social awareness increased, particularly as they became more familiar with the first SJYD principle, analyzing power in social relationships and making identity central. The YPAR program itself also provided an opportunity for youth to

participate in collective action to enact system level change in an environment that embraces youth culture. This was true for the YPAR and Community-Based Participatory Action Research (CBPR) programs by Iwasaki et al. (2016) who focuses on community policing procedures and Ross (2011) who implemented a CBPR tobacco prevention program. In these programs, the self-awareness and critical consciousness of youth was increased as youth critically examined the local policies, procedures and opportunities (Iwasaki et al., 2016). By analyzing power and organizing activities, youth identified disparities based on race, class, and social power (Ross, 2011). In each program, youth found that the barriers based on demographic differences impacted individuals' ability to be involved in the PAR programs and overall community.

Similarly, Carey et al. (2020) examined in an urban youth activism courses that the critical consciousness of youth increased. Additional outcomes from participating in the activism program were improved technical as a result of taking courses that were focused on building the skillset of youth through practical opportunities to learn and practice their ability to be effective organizers and advocates (Carey et al., 2020). The opportunity to interact and engage with their peers and with staff from the community as course instructors expanded the networks of the youth who participated in courses. Putnam (2001) calls the network of relationships that are beneficial to an individual "social capital."

Pinckney et al. (2020) explored the impact that Rites of Passage programs have for Black youth through SJYD as a theoretical framework to prepare youth for adulthood. As a result of participating in Rites of Passage programs, youths' connection to the historical Black community was increased, increasing youth awareness and providing youth support and opportunities for social action. Participation of Black youth in Rites of Passage programs demonstrated the value that SJYD elements can have in providing opportunities for radical healing, addressing historical,

racially-based trauma, and developing a critical consciousness among youth (Pinckney et al., 2020).

In another study that found SJYD to be particularly salient in addressing trauma and facilitating individual and collective healing, Brown (2016) found that a summer arts program that adopted SJYD practices served as a "healing space of refuge." Specifically, as youth navigated their community as individuals who have been marginalized because of their race, economic status, and age, the program offered youth caring, invested adults in an environment that celebrated their culture and encouraged critical thinking (Brown, 2016). Like the other programs, youth developed a critical consciousness, and like Pinckney et al. (2020) and Johnston-Goodstar and Sethi (2013), youth knowledge and celebration of their cultural identity is supported and encouraged throughout their participation.

Wagaman (2016) conducted a study with 72 LGBTQ youth to examine the relationship between critical consciousness, engagement and empowerment. Wagaman (2016) surveyed youth participants in a program using the Social Empathy Index (Segal, Wagaman & Gerdes, 2012) that is related to critical consciousness and includes items related to the macro level and contextual understanding of youth. The results demonstrate a significant relationship between empowerment with community engagement and critical consciousness, and programs aiming to improve outcomes for LGBTQ youth should invest in building a supportive community network of organizations that provide accessible services, especially for LGBTQ youth of color and youth who were economically marginalized (Wagaman, 2016).

Cammarota (2011) used SJYD to facilitate an urban education program, the Social Justice Education Project, with Latinx students in Tucson, Arizona, that involved Youth Participatory Research activities. The program was designed to increase youths' awareness of

personal potential, community responsibility, and broader humanity (Cammarota, 2011). One of the implications that emerged from this study is that lower academic achievement is partially the result of decreased engagement, and SJYD presents opportunities to increase engagement of youth (Cammarota, 2011). In addition, youth in the program demonstrated an increased awareness that their circumstances are the result of more than just their personal choices and are the outcome of structural and systemic barriers beyond their control (Cammarota, 2011). Like the African American youth in other studies, the Latinx students demonstrated critical awareness of the impact of their personal identity in relation to social contexts, and displayed a positive identity in the photographs, poems, and notes that youth took throughout the project (Cammarota, 2011). The results of this study also reveal that through SJYD based programs, youth become advocates for themselves and their community (Cammarota, 2011).

Each of the programs that I have just discussed showcase elements of SJYD that specifically support youth of color and youth from marginalized economic communities. In addition, each of the studies revealed the structural systems and processes in the community that oppress youth involved in the program and foster a critical consciousness among youth. The programs implemented with Black youth and Native youth highlight the cultural element of SJYD that is unique to the population of youth and community and is not necessarily uniform or predictable according to SJYD (Brown, 2016; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Pinckney et al., 2020). Similarly, the relationship between LGBTQ youth and their community is essential in supporting the development of critical consciousness and empowering youth to be active agents in their own development and the community (Wagaman, 2016). All of the programs examined in these case studies, however, do emphasize the disproportionate impact that the macrolevel

policies and institutions and systems across the ecological system have on youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic communities.

Integration of SJYD, the Law, and Youth Justice

Promoting SJYD requires encouraging youth to take a critical look not only at the systems in which they are positioned and should also require a critical look at the location of power throughout history. While promoting a global and social awareness encourages youth to have a wide perspective, asking youth impacted by the justice system to look at the history of youth justice in the United States promotes a deep awareness that is paramount for a critical consciousness. Including the legislation of juvenile justice can be cumbersome given the decentralized structure of juvenile justice in the United States, however it is a necessity in order to achieve meaningful change within a legal system. By introducing a social justice youth development approach in a juvenile justice setting, youth are able to offer concrete examples to address inequality and disproportionality within the system they are embedded (Sanders et al., 2011). The greatest potential for positive development of youth and for systems to become more equitable and just is dependent on the freedom young people have to be critical of the systems that they have firsthand experience in. Toqueville (1969) expresses concern that social inequality prohibits equal participation in democracy, therefore youth serving agencies must engage youth and allow them to be active members of the community. Social Justice Youth Development is contingent on shared power between youth and adults, counter to the dominant narrative and hierarchy of power in youth development organizations. Ginwright et al. (2005) emphasize the collective ability of youth to effect social change in communities when youth have access to social capital. In order for this to occur, there must be a policy shift away from control and

containment that predominates current juvenile justice system programming to proactive participation (Ginwright et al. 2005).

There are instances of youth organizing to advocate and successfully enact change in the juvenile justice system. Kwon (2006) recounts that youth organized in Alameda County to stop the construction of a "super jail." RISE for Youth is a leading youth-led organization in Virginia that works with communities and legislators to advocate for dismantling the current juvenile justice system and promoting community-based alternatives. The Youth Justice Coalition in Los Angeles is a youth-led movement that works to challenge race, gender, and class inequality by advocating for new legislation, closure of detention camps, and offering support and services to youth. Social Justice Youth Development offers promise for juvenile justice organizations when it is inclusive of the legal and structural foundation. Social Justice Youth Development emphasizes the innate strengths and ability for youth to address social issues, as Brown (2016) highlights pockets within black and brown communities that offer space for healing from the foundational oppressive social systems and structures. Because Social Justice Youth Development encompasses each level of the ecological system, the individual acts of liberation, like storytelling are also recognized (Freire, 1970).

Ginwright et al. (2005) express concern for the future of urban youth since few steps have been taken to protect youth and address the economic, political and social conditions. In order to do this, five points are outlined to advance theory and policy for youth in urban communities by Ginwright et al. (2005). Given the demographics of the juvenile justice population, these principles can be extended and applied to the juvenile justice population. First, youth are currently regarded as second-class citizens which prohibits their participation (Ginwright et al., 2005). Second, youth are considered problems or possibilities within conceptual frameworks,

suggesting that youth are either threats to society or passive consumers (Ginwright et al., 2005). Third, behaviors must be contextualized within political, economic and social conditions; fourth, understanding the role of political, economic and social capital will reveal the ways in which youth can participate in the community (Ginwright et al., 2005). Finally, youth have the collective capacity to change coercive and debilitating public policy (Ginwright et al., 2005).

McDaniel (2017) argues that the traditional models of Positive Youth Development are unable to effectively support all young people as a result of failing to "interrogate how power, privilege and oppressive forces shape a young person's identity and how that young person engages with society" (McDaniel, 2017, p. 136). The totality of these key points lay the foundation for understanding the imperative for Social Justice Youth Development to be applied in a juvenile justice context.

Summary

The literature that I have reviewed contextualizes the interaction between young people and the juvenile justice system from a structural, social, and developmental perspective. The inequalities that are present within the juvenile justice system necessitate an approach that meets the immediate developmental needs of youth and address the system and structure of the juvenile justice system in order to create equitable long-term solutions. Social Justice Youth Development provides a framework for programs to do this by utilizing the ecological model, recognizing the agency and of youth, and critically analyzing the location and use of power. The principles of SJYD offer flexibility to be implemented in a variety of settings, including the juvenile justice context. The rest of this study will explore how SJYD is currently applied within the juvenile justice system.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology I have used to complete this study. The primary paradigm that guides this study is *Mestiza* methodology. After the discussion of *Mestiza*, I will discuss the Borderlands and Bricolage as they guide the methodology of this study. After I discuss Mestiza, Borderlands and Bricolage, I will discuss my research design, including data collection, the study participants, and recruitment procedures. Then I will provide background on the participants who I interviewed for this study before discussing how I analyzed the data from the interviews. I will then introduce the themes that emerged from the data and provide a discussion on the trustworthiness of this study.

Methodological Approach: Mestiza Methodology

The methods of this dissertation reflect a *Mestiza* methodology as proposed by Ortiz (2020). Using Elenes' (2002, p. 692) definition of *Mestiza* consciousness as "the ability of an individual (person) to understand her position in a world that undervalues subaltern communities and how she uses this knowledge to transform society" " a *Mestiza* methodology draws on this consciousness as a means to use research for social transformation" (Ortiz, 2020, p.23). A *Mestiza* methodology captures the significance of critical consciousness that is central to SJYD and reflects the foundational understanding of the disproportionate marginalization experienced by youth of color involved in the juvenile justice system. Two primary components of *Mestiza* consciousness and methodology are the concepts of borderlands and bricolage.

Borderlands

One of the concepts that Ortiz (2020) utilizes to develop a *Mestiza* methodology is from Gloria Anzaldúa's Borderlands (1987). Borderlands are the space where two or more cultures

interact, both physically and non-physically, and those who are located in the borderlands are marginalized (Anzaldúa, 1987). I contend the juvenile justice system is a borderland given the demographics of youth in the justice system where multiple racial and ethnic groups are represented among youth and staff. The dynamics between the young people who are incarcerated and the staff, adults who are given control and tasked with rehabilitation also emphasizes the nature of the juvenile justice system as a borderland. Evidence has shown although staff managing juvenile justice facilities may be white, they often come from low-socioeconomic communities, one of the reasons that communities are selected as sites for justice facilities (Eason, 2017). In addition, many of the young people in the justice system are native Spanish speakers. In my time working in a Texas juvenile justice facility, many of the youth would speak to me in Spanish, often asking for clarification on directions given in English by non-Spanish speaking staff. The immigration and citizenship status of youth is another area that youth, especially those without documents, must be aware of, and often live with fear and anxiety while they are incarcerated for themselves as their family members. In 2017, I was at a juvenile justice facility in Texas and was told by staff that the day prior a young man was in the middle of an off-campus program for youth who were doing well when the facility received a call he would be getting picked up by the Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and transferred to a detention center to await deportation. Another prominent element of borderlands found in juvenile justice facilities is the diversity of religion. Youth of different religions share physical space and receive the same baseline services, although youth may have to decline or abstain from certain meals or activities like holiday parties or faith-based programs run by volunteer, because of their religious beliefs. It is also important that while not common, Other borderlands that have been less frequently identified as

such in the juvenile justice literature include sex, gender, and sexual orientation. I have heard staff discuss the challenges associated with housing a young person who identifies as gay or a transgender female in an all-male facility. There should be legitimate concerns and attention given to LGBTQ+ youth in the juvenile justice system, especially with regard to the high levels of violence youth face while in placement. However, the majority of challenges that staff have when gay youth are placed at their facility reflects the heteronormative policies and procedures that problematize the mere existence of gay youth in the program and highlight another layer of oppression and marginalization youth experience while in a court-appointed juvenile justice facility.

What Anzaldúa (1987) describes as a sixth sense that is developed by those who live in the borderlands can also be understood through SJYD as a facet of critical consciousness that arises out of an awareness of their position within the context made up of multiple, sometimes diverging cultures. While living in the borderlands presents inherent challenges that will require an individual to negotiate, from a SJYD youth development standpoint, the ability to navigate these systems is an asset that reflects and enhances the strengths of the individual. The awareness of the borderlands enhances critical consciousness, thereby improving the ability of youth to identify ways in which to make meaningful changes.

Bricoloage

In 1966, Lévi-Strauss introduced the term *bricoleur* to describe a person who is skilled at using the available resources to accomplish multiple tasks, a jack-of-all trades type of person. The concept of bricolage as a methodological tool involves utilizing multiple methodological and analytical tools that are appropriate and align with emancipatory research in marginalized and Indigenous communities that inherently questions the validity and authority of Western research

(Kaomea, 2016). Bricoleurs then, will use whatever strategies are required by the context and develop new strategies as needed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Kincheloe (2001) elaborates on the nature of bricolage as useful for diverse interdisciplinary research as it values multiplicity of thought, especially theoretical concepts and methods that are outside mainstream Western research. Traditional youth development has always been interdisciplinary, however SJYD introduces a critical lens that is often missing from youth development research. As a result, many of the tools and measures that have been developed lack the ability to account for the context of young people, especially youth who come from marginalized communities and whose experiences are vastly different from white youth. Critical bricolage emphasizes an awareness of the relevant historical, philosophical and social lenses in research design (Kincheloe, 2001). These principles are shared with SJYD that values the current and historical sociopolitical context shaping youth experiences.

The underlying call to critically select theories and methodologies is key to Mestiza methodology and reinforces the critical consciousness that is concerned with social well-being. As stated before, the *Mestiza* consciousness is driven by the duty to use knowledge for the betterment of society. In order to ensure that the knowledge produced from this study is accurate, dignifying, and contributes to the well-being and betterment for marginalized communities, the individuals most impacted by the juvenile justice system must be fairly represented and included in the research process. The flexibility within *Mestiza* methodology to use whatever tools are available is especially vital to the process of conducting research throughout the continued Covid-19 pandemic.

Research Design

This is a qualitative research study, allowing the perceptions that individuals have of Social Justice Youth Development and its implementation in the juvenile justice system to be captured in a way that cannot be accomplished by exclusively using quantitative methods and statistics (Patton, 2002). The qualitative nature of this study will provide a nuanced understanding of the application of SJYD within the juvenile justice system and reveal the invisible systems and structures that would otherwise go unknown (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative research allows researchers to make significant contributions to the knowledge base, particularly because the findings of qualitative research are contextualized within a setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 1988).

Research Questions

To guide this research, the following questions seen in the table below were asked.

Table 2

Research Questions

	Question
Question 1	*What are the defining features of SJYD ?*
	What are the core components needed to develop an SJYD program?
	What distinguishes SJYD programs from other programs within the juvenile?
Question 2	*What is the current use (within the past three years) of SJYD within the juvenile justice system?*
	Are there differences in the application of SJYD and resulting levels of awareness according to facility type, geographic location, mission, funding, or developmental outcomes?
	To what extent do organizations apply SJYD principles to promote each level of awareness (self, social, and global)?

	What are the challenges and successes of implementing SJYD from the perspective of juvenile justice practitioners? *Which dimensions of the model were perceived by JJ staff to be most salient to youth? To staff?* *What changes are recommended by JJ staff in regards to theory, practice, and policy?*
Question 3	*What insights does the use of SJYD in juvenile justice organizations offer to transform system logics and realize greater social justice?* *What are the prospects and limitations of the SJYD-based approach for facilitating system change?*

Data Collection and Data Sources

To complete this study, multiple data sources and collections methods were used. This provided increased opportunity to gain insight into the application of SJYD within the juvenile justice system.

Data Collection

Qualitative research includes different methods for collecting data within each qualitative tradition (Creswell, 1998) for three primary reasons (Maxwell, 1996). First, using multiple collection methods allows for triangulation of the data. Triangulation involves using the different methods to examine a phenomenon, and is a strategy that reduces the risk of researcher bias (Maxwell, 1996). The second reason for using different data collection methods is that it allows for a range of implications and conclusions to be explored (Greene, 2007). The final purpose Maxwell (1996) identifies is that it provides the researcher a greater understanding of the context than if only a single method was used. In this study, data was collected from individuals through interviews, my personal reflexive journal with field notes, and archival documents provided by the study participants.

Data Sources

For the purposes of this study, interviews were the primary data source in this study, in addition to my reflexive journal and field notes, and archival documents provided by the study participants. These sources provided authentic data to be used for analysis.

Interviews

Interviews provide opportunities to obtain new information and gain insight into the experiences of the individuals who are being interviewed (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Interviews also offer the opportunity to discover how individuals who are similar or different from oneself think, feel, and experience the world (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In Mestiza methodology, interviews are particularly valuable and appropriate because the identity of individuals is centered and able to be explored, especially with regard to the interviewee's experiences with power in a specific setting. Interviews also allow for individuals to share stories, from which insights can be derived that are grounded in their experiences (Merriam, 1998). Interviews are based upon communication between the researcher and interviewee, or participant, and mechanisms like member checking ensure that the voices of the participants are included and accurately represented instead of only the researcher's interpretations. Given the decolonial nature of Mestiza methodology, interviews provide a way to challenge the inherent authority of the researcher in Western scholarship by integrating the voices of the participants into the scientific body of knowledge.

Interview Guide Development

To complete this study, I developed a semi-structured interview guide with questions to address the research questions. The 26 questions in the initial interview guide were derived from SJYD literature generally and each SJYD principle. Before finalization of the interview guide,

the draft was provided to three juvenile justice experts and one youth development expert for review. Experts reviewed the interview questions pertaining to language, wording, and relevance to the juvenile justice context and the application of the SJYD principles. Following the initial review, six questions were modified due being identified as leading questions or needing further clarification. Feedback from these individuals provided necessary modifications to improve the interview guide, particularly interview questions, resulting in a semi-structured interview guide with 20 questions (Appendix A).

Prior to asking the participants any of the questions, I asked the participants if they have previously heard of SJYD and shared a brief introduction them. Since none of the participants had previous knowledge or familiarity with SJYD, I modified the original script of 20 questions after conducting two interviews to be more appropriate for interviewing individuals who did not have prior knowledge of SJYD. The final script and questions I used to guide the interview are below.

> *The goal of this project is to gather a greater understanding of the application of Social Justice Youth Development in the juvenile justice context, so I am interviewing folks who work with youth involved in the justice system in a range of spaces, some are based in the community and some are in official facilities. Social Justice Youth Development is a branch of PYD that is specifically focused on the impact of sociopolitical and economic forces on the development of youth, especially youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds. So obviously, there is a lot of crossover with the juvenile justice population. The five principles are 1) analyzing power in social relationships, the second is making identity central, the third is promoting systemic change, the fourth is encouraging collective action, and the fifth is embracing youth culture. Like Positive Youth Development, these principles can be implemented in any activity, and one of the outcomes in addition to all the regular PYD outcomes is the development of a critical consciousness and social/ global awareness that prompts youth to be aware of and challenge the sociopolitical and economic forces that are inequitable. Do you have any initial questions?*
>
> 1. *Can you tell me about [Program] turns and how you got started in this work?*
> 2. *What are the primary goals of [Program]?*

3. *What are some of the regular activities that you do with youth who have contact with the juvenile justice system?*
4. *What are some of the successes you have had with [Program}?*
5. *What are some of the challenges you have had, and how have you managed them?*
6. *Do any of the five principles of Social Justice stick out to you as being central to your work? Can you give an example?*
    a. *Or if not, what are the challenges to each principle?*
7. *Can you talk to me about who you are, your personal identity, and how that influences your work with youth?*
8. *Who benefits from programs like [Program]?*
9. *Why do you think programs like [Program]is important in serving youth impacted by the justice system?*

Each interview lasted approximately one hour so not all interview questions listed were asked, and additional follow-up questions were asked based on the unique responses of participants in an effort to probe and get more information. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, all of the interviews took place over Zoom, except for one that was over the phone. Three of the Zoom interviews did not include the video at the request of the participant. Individuals participated in the interviews in their homes or offices. To prepare for interviews, I researched the individuals and their organizations, in some cases reading personal biographies made publicly available by their organizations or in articles.

Archival Documents

During or after the interviews, participants shared documents or videos regarding the implementation of programs with me. Reviewing documents in qualitative analysis as social facts allows researchers to "elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). In this study, I reviewed examples of projects that youth created in the programs, program pamphlets with overviews, and annual reports. All of these documents were provided voluntarily by the participants based on the understanding that I would not share or reproduce the material. Some of the participants shared these documents with me during the interview and I was able to ask questions regarding them during the interview, which

was included in the transcript. For the other archival documents and videos, I recorded notes in my reflexive journal.

Reflexive Journal

Throughout the duration of this study, I took field notes and kept a reflexive journal to record my thoughts, reactions, and questions. As I conducted interviews and reviewed them, I also wrote down potential connections and themes that were emerging. After each interview, I would record myself reflecting on the interview, the interaction between myself and the participant, and my initial thoughts, opinions and feelings. Ortlipp (2008) explains that accounting for this is part of the qualitative research process, and helps illuminate the research process and direction (Janesick, 1999). The reflexive journal also serves as an account of the choices I made throughout the research process and reasons why, a way to enhance the research practice and make informed decisions (Janesick, 1999).

Participant and Site Selection

This study was completed virtually because of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic during Fall 2020 and Spring 2021. Interviews were conducted over Zoom or the phone with adults who work with youth in different capacities of the juvenile justice system in seven different states across the United States. Each of the interviewees represented programs within the juvenile justice system and y included long-term secure juvenile justice facilities, community-based organizations for youth on probation, local juvenile detention centers, and schools.

Study Participants

To complete this study, I conducted semi-structured interviews over Zoom with 11 adults who work in the juvenile justice system in and implement Social Justice Youth Development.

Recruitment

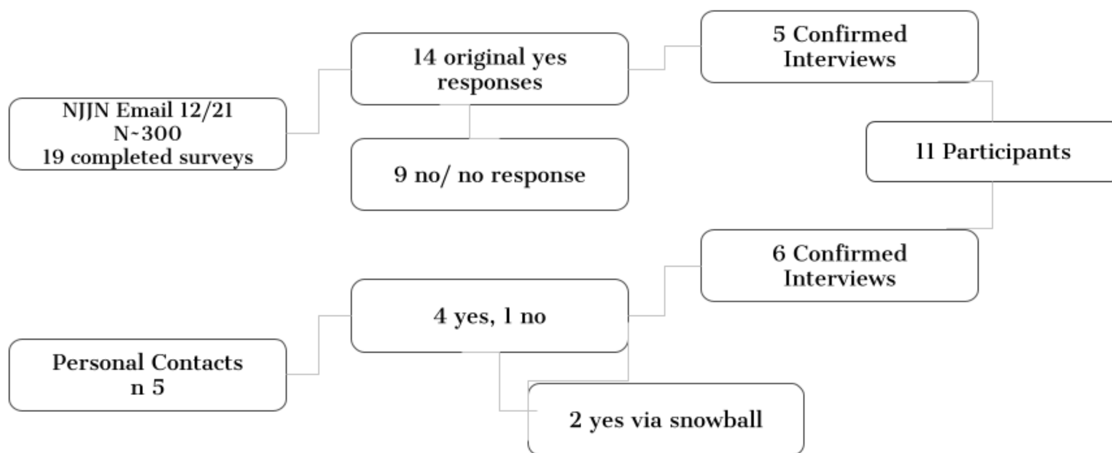
To recruit participants for this study, I used purposive sampling (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). Purposive sampling "is the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2). I chose this method to ensure that the participants complied with the criteria approved by the IRB, including that participants are over 18 years old and work with youth who are involved in the juvenile justice system. Purposive sampling is used in qualitative research in order to "select information-rich" individuals (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2).

To this end, the participants for this study were recruited from the National Juvenile Justice Network (NJJN) email listserv and my personal network because these individuals will meet the criteria for the study. NJJN is a membership led organization made up of a network of advocates and organizations across the U.S. that seeks to enhance the work of state-based advocates. NJJN provides education, technical assistance, community building and leadership development to members. The network includes organizations and individuals that work directly with and on behalf of youth.

The criteria for participation required that participants be over 18 years old, and work with youth in the juvenile justice system within the last three years. The initial study proposed a two phase research design that included a survey and interview component. During the survey phase individual were provided a question for participants to select whether they would be willing to participate in an interview during phase 2. The survey was distributed through the NJJN listerv with roughly 300 individual emails in Fall 2020; however, despite repeated recruitment efforts (mass mailings and reminders) I received 19 complete and incomplete survey responses after 3months. Based on this low response rate, a decision was made to move forward

without the survey component and focus only on the interview portion for this study. Of the 19 responses, I received 14 responses from the NJJN recruitment email that individuals were willing to participate in an interview. I followed up with all of these individuals and confirmed interviews with five of the participants. In addition, I initiated contact with individuals in my professional network and recruited 4 additional participants. Using the snowball method, I recruited two participants for the study out of the individuals who I personally contacted that met the criteria for this study. This process led to a total of eleven participants from nine programs in seven states. The recruitment process is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Participant Recruitment



All of the participants in this study are over 18 years old. The study sample includes individuals who work with youth in various levels within their organizational or agency. The study population is diverse in regards to race, ethnicity, age, religion, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, and geography. Personal information was protected and has remained

confidential according to the stipulations set forth and approved by the Texas A&M Institutional Review Board. All data, including participant personal information, was encrypted and password protected in Syncplicity. Participants and the organizations have not been identified in the results and will not be identified in future publications. Instead, I have used pseudonyms for individuals and organizations, as well as referring to the general region of the United States as opposed to the specific state.

All of the participants were provided with a consent form prior to the interview and I obtained consent and permission to record again at the beginning of the interview. The Texas A&M IRB did not require that I obtain signatures and only that I provided the consent informational sheet to participants. The participants represent seven states and nine different entities. All of the participants were provided a copy of their transcript to review and retract any statements. All of the participants have been given a pseudonym which I will use throughout the results and discussion sections. Additionally, the names of the organizations or states that the participants are from in order to protect the confidentiality of the individuals who participated in this study.

Introduction of the Participants

The participants of this study were all adults who worked in the juvenile justice system. The table below provides a snapshot of the key characteristics of the study participants, including whether or not the individual is an employee within the juvenile justice system or works with youth in a program that is not officially part of the juvenile justice system. Of the eleven participants, six were women and five were men. In addition, five of the study participants were African American, two were Latino, and four were white. The types of programs were also varied in this study, including arts, sports, poetry and leadership based programs. The

participants in this study had ranging authority within their programs and in the juvenile justice system. Below Table 3 are more detailed descriptions of each participant.

Table 3 Study Participants

Study Participants

Pseudonym	Program	Setting	Insider/ outsider status	Race/ ethnicity	Gender
Candice	Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Woman
Greg	Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Man
Heidi	Sport	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Woman
Diane	Grassroots advocacy	Community/ Probation	Outsider	African American	Woman
Travis	Poetry, music	Long-term detention	Outsider	Latino	Man
Nicholas	Arts	Community/ Probation	Outsider	Latino	Man
Courtney	Leadership	Long-term detention	Insider	African American	Woman
Robert	Recreation	Long-term detention	Insider	African American	Man
Michelle	Grassroots advocacy	Long-term detention	Outsider	African American	Woman
Lisa	State system	Long-term detention	Insider	White	Woman
William	Literacy	Local detention	Outsider	African American	Man

Candice

Candice is a faculty member at a university who runs a sports-based program in a secure juvenile detention facility for boys in a midwestern state. She is a white woman who has been running the

program for three years. The program will soon be expanding to other facilities in the same state system. The sports-based leadership program that she and Greg run is also facilitated by graduate students at the university they work at. Their program recently received funding from the state agency to continue operating and expand. Candice has previous experience in programming with youth in communities that have high rates of youth contact with the juvenile justice system.

Greg

Greg is a faculty member at the same university as Candice, and they are co-directors of the sports-based program in a secure juvenile detention facility in a midwestern state. He is a white man who has previous experience teaching physical education for eight months at a small girls' facility in a southern state while he was in graduate school. His background is in physical health and fitness and physical education, and he has extensive experience teaching and facilitating physical fitness programs with youth.

Heidi

Heidi is part of running a sports program in a state juvenile justice facility for boys. She is a white woman who has been part of running the program for 4 years alongside other coaches. Heidi is located in an Eastern state in the U.S. She is also a graduate student at a university and her primary area of emphasis is sport and physical activity with youth in corrections.

Diane

Diane is a formerly incarcerated woman who runs a non-profit organization that supports youth and adults transition back home. Diane runs a Youth Advisory Board that is part of the organization. Diane is also involved in state legislative working groups as an advocate. Diane is

an African American woman who is located in an Eastern state. Her program is a local, grassroots organization that is provides services and support to adults and youth. The organization also provides mutual aid and emergency funds to individuals, although that is not the primary function of the organization.

Travis

Travis is a Latino man who runs a poetry based organization that provides programming in the state juvenile justice facilities and community based programming that youth can participate in when they return home. Travis has been with the program for over ten years and was previously involved in the juvenile justice system. He is located in a large city in a Western state. Travis is also part of local and national networks of programs serving youth in the juvenile justice system and advocating for the closure of detention facilities.

Nicholas

Nicholas is a Latino man who works with youth who are on probation in a community-based arts program in a large city in a southern state. His position also allows him to work with youth after they get off probation and age out of the juvenile justice system and summer arts career readiness program. The organization Nicholas works for also has partnerships with school districts to promote educational goals, and they are expanding their partnerships to multiple counties. Nicholas was hired right before the Covid-19 pandemic with this organization, but has previously worked with youth in the justice system in other capacities as a probation officer and at an alternative high school.

Courtney

Courtney is an African American woman who serves on the state advisory board for the juvenile justice system. She has prior experience working directly with youth, particularly Black girls. Her formal training is in social work, and she currently teaches at a local university and supervises interns in the social work program completing their practicum. In addition to her work in juvenile justice, Courtney runs a local senior center for older adults, and has served on the local school board. Previously, Courtney also chaired her state's Disproportionate Minority Contact Coordinator.

Robert

Robert was an administrator for recreation provided in state juvenile justice facilities. He no longer works in the juvenile justice system after his position in the agency was recently terminated due to restructuring across the agency. Robert is an African American man who worked in the department for two years prior to leaving. Robert is now a physical education teacher at a middle school who is a graduate student in public health.

Michelle

Michelle is an African American advocate and Executive Director of a family and youth advocacy organization that supports families and youth in the juvenile justice system and is an advocate for mental health and special education services. Michelle's formal training is in psychology and she has experience as a mother of a child in the juvenile justice system and has experience working with legislators, system administrators, media and advocacy organizations.

Lisa

Lisa is an administrator of a large state juvenile justice agency. Lisa is a white woman and has worked in the agency since 2018. Her formal training is as a clinical social worker. She has previously worked with youth in the juvenile justice system in another state as a direct care service provider and has spent over ten years working with adults in the criminal justice system.

William

William is an African American man who runs a literacy program as part of his non-profit organization. He has been running the program since 2015 in a local juvenile detention center in an Eastern state. William was previously involved in the juvenile justice system and has professional experience volunteering in an adult jail as well as the juvenile detention center before starting his nonprofit and literacy program. William is also part of local and national networks of organizations that work directly with youth and advocate for changes to the juvenile justice system.

Data Analysis

To complete this study, I embraced bricolage as an indigenous and emancipatory methodological tool that involves using multiple analytical tools in order to appropriately conduct research. The Mestiza is a bricoleur, and uses the strategies deemed necessary by the context to conduct and analyze research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001). The "logic" of bricolage encourages the Mestiza to use their own home language rather than a reliance on academic terms and concepts (Torres, 1990, p. 8). This is a decolonial approach that reflects the principles of grounded theory where phenomena appear from the data and new knowledge is generated directly from participants, rather than a researcher imposing their own theoretical understanding and limiting the voice of the people being studied (Kaomea, 2016; Kincheloe,

2001). It is important to emphasize that bricolage occurs within the borderlands. Those who use bricolage and/or study the borderlands are often in the borderlands within their own academic institutions and personal lives, as previously discussed (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 206). Bricolage is part of the Mestiza way, and therefore is concerned with fostering a Mestiza consciousness, the process of deconstruction and reconstruction to achieve ongoing liberation and transformation.

To complete this study, I analyzed the data using a multi-layered process. The three levels of analysis were interconnected as each level went deeper into the analysis. This practice shaped an ongoing process of analysis, finding, and ultimately interpretations.

Coding Level 1: Primary Analysis

Coding is the process of breaking down the data and assigning names to the fragments (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2009). This process reveals the details within the ideas that are communicated by the participant (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2009). To do this, I went through the transcripts line by line and labeled the segments with codes (Katz, 1983; Riessman, 1993). As I conducted virtual interviews and coded the transcripts, I kept a log of codes in my reflexive journal.

Coding Level 2: Secondary Analysis

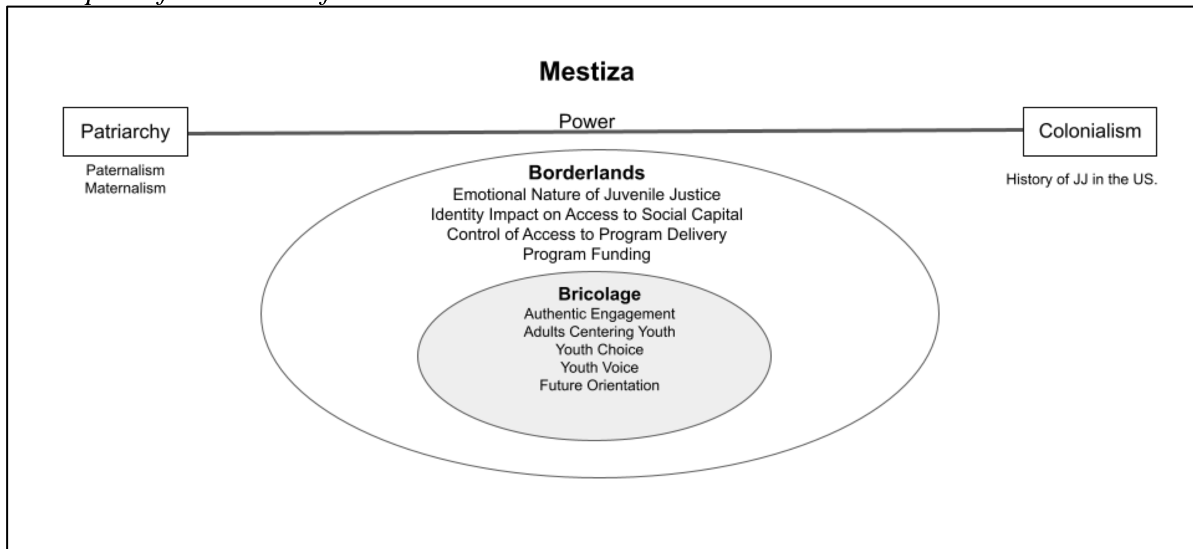
In the second level of analysis, I completed focused coding by reviewing the transcripts and codes to identify the codes most salient to the research questions. At this level, I began to identify connections and themes in the data. As I did this, I wrote memos that were more analytical in nature and included the most significant information.

Coding Level 3: Theme Development

In the third level of analysis, I put the codes into categories, which became themes. Using my field notes, interview codes, member checks, and reflexive journal, I triangulated the data to identify themes that emerged (Craswell, 2007). I connected the themes by identifying patterns and connections between the themes. As I analyzed the themes and relationships between themes, I grouped the themes according to the concepts of Mestiza, Mestiza, Borderlands, and Bricolage. I then created a conceptual framework that included all of the themes seen in Figure 2, which will be discussed in greater detail in the Results section.

Figure 2

Conceptual framework of themes



The table below displays the themes and subthemes found in this study. The themes are organized into three groups based on the Mestiza Methodology I used to conduct this study, Mestiza, Borderlands and Bricolage. Mestiza captures the themes that create an overarching umbrella, the Borderlands includes themes that mark the landscape duality of juvenile justice, and Bricolage is made up of themes describing how SJYD was implemented in the juvenile justice system. The second column from right also shows the SJYD principle that corresponds

with each respective theme and subtheme. Example quotations for themes and subthemes are displayed in the final column as well.

Table 4

Table of themes

Group	Themes	Sub-themes	SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
Mestiza	Power		Power	
	Patriarchy		Power	
		Paternalism	Power	"And I will say like, I feel like my tone has been negative. We have had really good experiences here and there."
		Maternalism	Power	"I'm not a young person, this is your fight to fight. Now, I'm gonna be here. I'm going to stand up for you. But I want you all to learn how to use your voice. "
	Colonialism		Power	
Borderlands	Borderlands	Transitory	Youth culture	"Sometimes they're just like, gone, and it sucks, and we don't see (them)."
	Emotional nature of juvenile justice borderlands			
		Fear & emotional manipulation of youth	Identity, power	"Corrections is historically very compliance based and is very centered in fear."
		Motivation for SJYD staff	Identity	"And just being able to, to get that kind of response from the youth themselves, is really like, it's really rewarding. As you know, a member of the team."
		Secondary trauma of SYJD staff	Power, identity	"I was unable to metabolize that. I would drive home in tears, powerless. And that's when I decided I needed an easier job."
	Identity impact on access to social capital			
		Age	Identity	"And there was even like, mentorship that started to happen where like, you know, older, older folks

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					that had money, were like meeting kids from the hood and like, be like, 'hey, if you need a ride, like I'll pick you up next week,' and things like that"
			Mentoring	Identity	“Their athletic director who I see as a very like dynamic, really strong kind of mentor to a lot of the kids in the facility. He really tries to model respect for them"
		Race		Identity	"I know that some of the Caucasian parents that I worked with, they would call me by my first name. And none of the, none of the kids that came from communities of color ever called me by my first name. And I think that was just kind of like, I don't know, like a respect thing.”"
		Gender		Identity	“I’m sure this is overkill now, but I always do with my husband, before I leave the house for the day, I’m like, ‘Ok, boob check, butt check, how we looking?’ and he’s like, ‘Can’t see anything,’ and I’m like, ‘great.’”
		Intersectionality		Identity	"‘Y'all treat these girls like they're invincible, like you don't see them and y’all act like y’all don’t see me. Y'all see me.’ So you know what I started doing? This is so stupid. I started wearing bright colors to every meeting. I’m like since you act like you don't see me I'm wearing a bright ass red sweater. POW! I mean, seriously, it was intentional, I wore bright colors to those meetings every time. Like you gone see and hear me, damn it."
	Control of access to deliver SJYD programming				
		On-Paper		Power	"So we have Derek (pseudonym) who's in there. And he's, I think about to get a huge promotion. He's gonna be I think they're testing him to be the number two in the facility… which would be really good for us… And we're like, we text with them,

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					like and the person that I think that would step for him. Like we're also super close with him. He does a pretty good job, but that would be nice.”
		In-Person		Power	"I've definitely worked with staff that have been like, I don't know, if it's that they, like, they think we're taking their jobs, or they see us as a threat, but I feel like they make it complicated for us to kind of like get to the kids, you know, like, or sometimes we'll be waiting and waiting and waiting and waiting. And it's just like, or like we'll be stuck, like, in between locked doors, you know? Like, can someone like help us? Literally, like incarcerated, you know, we'll just have to wait it out. But um, it's a mix. It depends. It really depends on on who you're dealing with.”
	Program funding				
		Justification		Power	"I think that since we can connect to health outcomes more, maybe that’s a thing."
		Affordability		Power	“they're really open, they're pretty much like the Yes-us to death… And we're not, it doesn't cost them a ton.”
		Gender		Identity	"I wouldn't consider it a boy’s club, but if she does, I definitely know what I need to do to try to, like play into that. Because, again, I'm not against playing into it if it’s going to get us money for the program.”
		Bridging		Power, collective action	“Honestly, they just heard about it and pop that one day and was like, ‘hey, do you mind if we do this thing for you?’ And I was like, sure, you know what? Yeah… (Kendrick) (restaurant owner) and I actually became good friends, and we never met… like, I have a ton of new friends who I have never met in person. But they're like, really good friends.

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					And, you know, they just heard about the work through a different like, organization, they may have been doing a fundraiser.”
Bricolage	Authentic staff engagement with youth				
		Agency		Youth culture	“(The youth) participate in meetings, they develop their zoom series. They speak to parents whose kids are, are separated, like, for example, in our parents coalition, we have one parent whose son was put in solitary, and she didn’t understand the process. So then she was connected with (Ray). And also (Chris). And they could say to her, ‘this is what he should do right now, he needs to ask for this form, fill out this information, because they need to know that, that he is appealing this decision.’ So the wealth information that they're able to provide, that's one of the things that they do in addition to that, and then they write a piece for the newsletter that goes into the newsletter. And they participate in all of the coalition's and campaigns.”
		Dignified language		Youth culture	"I know that people come first. And it has to be about centering people... And it's not just for, like, non-violent offenders versus violent offenders. You know, language is always important. "
		Financial compensation		Youth culture	“I'd say, number one, is we actually pay them for their time there… And this also gives them, you know, that job accountability and experience as if, as if it were a real job, so we do treat it as a real job for them. But at the end, you know, seeing them get their, their paychecks at the end is, is definitely something they look forward to.”

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
		Social capital		Identity, power, collective action	"...there's so much learning and so much that can happen there. Resource wise, you know, what I mean, learning wise. It's really, it's really like, I think everybody in our community is benefiting from it in one way or another."
		Appealing to youth interests		Youth culture	“But like I said, though, the articles in the smaller reading stuff were kind of like I felt like it will help them, like build them up first. So when we come in here, we will talk about, like, you know, just shooting shoot the crap. And then we'll get into like, ‘I got two articles for y'all today... But it also lets them know that they're reading, but they don't even realize that they actually reading.”
		Staff sharing personal experiences		Identity, power, collective action	"And, you know, we like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through... And then oftentimes, like, there's a lot of questions that pop up, like, ‘Wow, like, where'd you learn to write? When you said this? Like, did you really go through that? Is that a true story?' Like, 'how did you get through that?' like, you know, or you'll have kids will be like, you know, 'when you said that line about, you know, being incarcerated, like I resonated with that, because I've been incarcerated or my brother is incarcerated, or my dad is incarcerated,’ you know. And, and, and those invitations are kind of made in that way.”
	Adults centering youth				
		Staff self-awareness		Identity, power	

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
			Self- Acceptance	Identity, power	“One of my favorite quotes I get from most of them is like, ‘we hate white people.’ And I’m like, ‘guys, I’m white do you know that?’ And they’re like, ‘Well you’re not white-white,’ and I’m like, ‘No, I’m white-white (white emphasis, laughs).”
			Self-Assurance	Identity	"We like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through, like, I'm gonna tell you a lot of what I've been through in one poem,"
		Promoting holistic development		Youth culture	
			Physical health	Youth culture	"Everybody could find a place to participate in whatever activity that like, you know, met their skills set… I always talked about inclusion."
			Mental health	Youth culture	“We would do meditation, mindfulness with the guys, which was always an experience (laughing). They're like, I'm like, I would like, another new kid would come in like, ‘What are we doing?’ And this kid would be like, “You just sit in silence. It's good for you, just sit down.’”
			Social-emotional health	Youth culture	"(Sport) oftentimes brings emotions immediately to the surface… and maybe sometimes they can't handle it. So I think we in sport, we see that happen very, very quickly. And so then we're trying to kind of, which it can be a positive, like that can be a real opportunity to work through that with them on the field.”
	Youth choice			Youth culture, power	"And so they were tossing marshmallows into each other's mouth. And it was fun, and they're getting along with their peers. But they're, they're allowed

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					to say, 'No, I don't want to do this,' right? They're allowed to set boundaries and those things."
	Youth voice			Youth culture, identity, power	"It's nothing in our organization for one of our youth caucus members or youth advocate leaders to, which happened before, to interview our pro bono attorney, so he was interviewed by two of them. And so when we say all levels of decision making, we truly mean that."
	Future orientation				
		Employment		Youth culture	"Everything that they do, we pay them for… even for the work that they do to prepare for their zoom events, when they come out, we pay them for the meeting just because you know what? It has to be like the way it is, with the real world. If you have a job and you have a position when you do the work, you get compensated."
		Education		Youth culture	"We've invited coaches to come in that were going that coach at the school that the young man was going back to. They would come in, just like you know, make contact. And also, I think, like, I would let that coach know like this can be overwhelming and intimidating for him, you know, can, can you just make sure when he gets into that school like can you just go and meet him at his first class and like say hi. You know, and let them know he's invited to come in. I wouldn't say this explicitly telling him what to do but like can you be that person that like is a bit of a link."

Throughout this process, I recorded memos and checked in with colleagues and my doctoral advisor to engage in ongoing reflection of the themes that were emerging and consideration of my personal biases, perceptions and questions. This allowed me a space to account for the choices and decisions I made throughout the research process, particularly because each of the levels I described, especially Level 1 and 2, occurred concurrently.

I conducted interviews until I reached the point of saturation, or informational redundancy, what Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe as the point where there are no new codes or insights emerging from the data. Since I kept a log of my codes, I was able to identify that no new codes or connections were emerging from the data and did not need to continue conducting interviews. Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe that the sample size is determined by saturation, which was achieved expeditiously by using purposive sampling (Etikan et al., 2016) and an interview guide.

Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, trustworthiness refers to the worthiness of a study and its results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) identified four components needed to establish trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. In this section, I will describe how I established trustworthiness within this study.

Credibility is the confidence that the results as accurate and true. To establish credibility, I provided all of the participants in the study a copy of their interview transcript and asked them to review it to ensure their ideas were represented accurately and if there was anything they wanted to add or omit. In addition, I followed up with interview participants in instances where I had a follow up or clarification question. In the presentation of quotations, I did not change the

language or words of the participants except for spelling or inserting punctuation to promote understanding in the results.

Transferability in qualitative research is the idea that the results have relevance that can be transferred to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The range of contexts within the juvenile justice context that programs were facilitated in are representative of all aspects of the juvenile justice system. In addition, the programs that were represented in this study are located in seven different states in all regions of the United States. I also had a diverse group of participants, with men and women of different races and positions in the juvenile justice system. I triangulated the data through the range of programs and contexts represented in this study, including the racial and authoritative diversity of participants in this study.

Dependability comes from showing how findings were reached, they are consistent and the process could be replicated with the same outcome (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The dependability of this study is addressed through my transparency of the recruitment and analytic processes, in addition to the ongoing personal reflection and consideration of my own biases. Further, by acknowledging and communicating my positionality, the dependability is improved.

Finally, confirmability addresses the idea of neutrality and ability to attribute the results to the respondents and not the bias, motivations or personal interests of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I address the confirmability of this study by having a log book, regular peer debriefing meetings and meetings with my advisor, and keeping a reflective journal as an audit trail to account for why I made decisions. In addition, I triangulated the data using the data from the interviews, field notes, archival documents, personal reflections, and debriefing meetings with my peers, experts, and doctoral advisor.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this study can be organized into three sections based on Mestiza, Borderlands, and Bricolage. Mestiza is the overall umbrella influencing the structure and interactions within the juvenile justice system, the Borderlands is the context or landscape of juvenile justice interactions, and Bricolage captures the ways that the staff I interviewed implemented SJYD within the Borderlands of juvenile justice. The first section on Mestiza includes a general description of the impact of patriarchy and colonialism on the application of SJYD within the juvenile justice system. The second section is the Borderlands, which includes the themes that emerged as salient to the juvenile justice context. The third section is bricolage, which captures the ways in which SJYD is implemented by the participant organizations that exist in the borderlands to challenge the oppressive power dynamic that currently exist within and beyond the borderlands.

Mestiza

In English, Mestiza means "mixed," and has Aztec roots that means "torn between ways" (Anzaldúa, 2009, p. 303). Gloria Anzaldúa (2009) outlines three components of the Mestiza way, the first step is taking inventory of the origins of ideas, whether they are inherited, imposed or accepted uncritically. This was addressed in the literature review as I provided the background and current landscape of juvenile justice in the United States, including the background of criminological theories and description of the history of juvenile justice institutions and corrections. The second step is to critically examine history to identify oppressive traditions and separate oneself from those practices and philosophies, which was achieved through the Timeline of Youth Justice Events, Legislation and Legal Decisions (pp. 49-53). The final step is

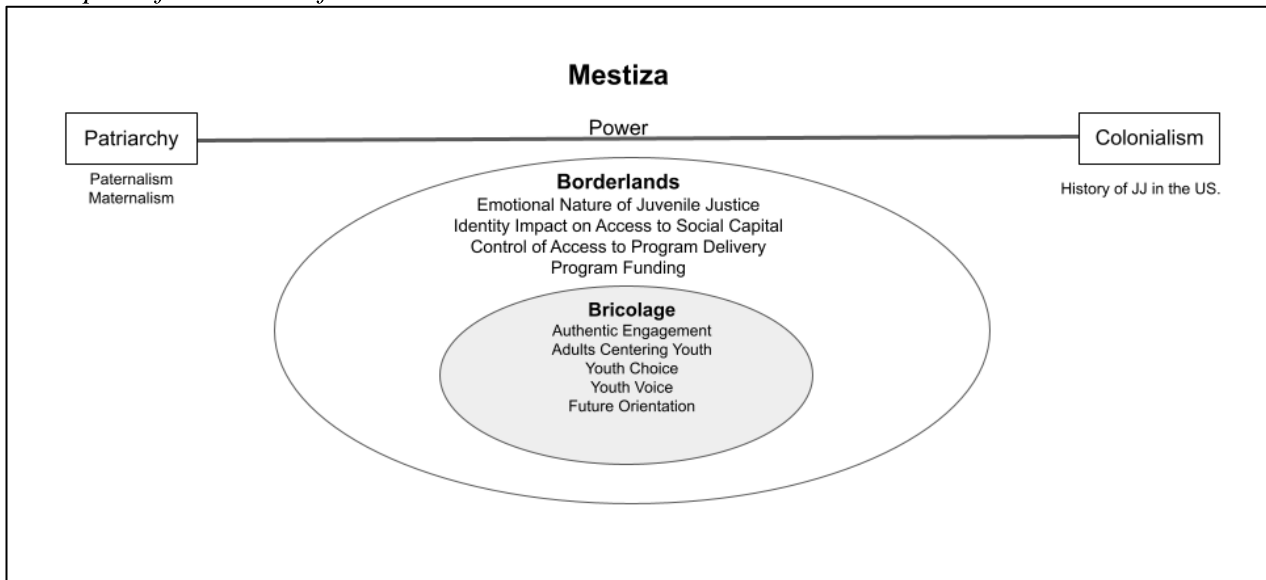
reconstructing the status quo for transformation, which I completed through the interviews with staff who work with youth in the juvenile justice system and through subsequent qualitative analysis (Anzaldúa, 2009). The third component of Mestiza is achieved by coding the data, identifying themes and conducting analysis to produce new knowledge with regard to the social context. This process is ongoing and produces the Mestiza consciousness, specifically analyzing the impact of patriarchy and colonialism on Chicana psyche and to transform the social world (Elenes, 2002; Thomas, 2016). Within research, a Mestiza methodology draws on this consciousness as a means to use research for social transformation (Ortiz, 2001, p.23) The Mestiza consciousness is concerned with the deconstruction of the impact of patriarchy and colonialism on the Chicana psyche and to transform the world (Thomas, 2016). Inherent to this process is the location and evaluation of power. Given that power is central to the interpretation of results of this data, I will review what power is and how it functions to provide a common understanding from which the rest of the results will be based on.

Mestiza provides a theoretical and methodological understanding of Social Justice Youth Development as a framework for youth development. The themes that emerged from the research aligned with the three primary components of Mestiza methodology, therefore I am going to use Mestiza to frame how I report my findings. Two concepts that I introduced earlier that fall under the umbrella of Mestiza are borderlands and bricolage. The borderlands is a conceptual space to describe where two or more cultures, institutions, systems, etc. come in contact (Anzaldúa, 1987). Bricolage is the practice of using whatever resources are available to conduct research and/or accomplish a task (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001). To report the results of this study, I will review Mestiza, Borderlands and Bricolage, and describe the themes and subthemes that emerged from the research that align with each. The visual below (Figure 2)

illustrates that Mestiza is the umbrella, held up by patriarchy and colonialism. I have added power to the illustration between Patriarchy and Colonialism because it is central to both and the overall understanding of how Mestizas interpret the world. Within Mestiza Methodology are the two primary components, Borderlands and Bricolage. Borderlands are the context in which Bricolage takes place.

Figure 2

Conceptual framework of themes



Power

Earlier in this study, I defined power as the ability to influence, direct, or decide. Power undergirds the entire juvenile justice system, therefore in the coding and analysis process, all of the themes can be tied to power. This is why I have added power as an explicit concept in the model of Mestiza in Figure 2. When power is not named, it is able to go unchallenged. Christens et al. (2018) describe that social change is preceded by social action, and social action, particularly collective action and institutional change is dependent upon social power or access to social power. The centrality of the various dimensions of power can be overlooked because it is tied to individual and social factors. Political power is another dimension of power that is necessary to participate in democracy and is not equally accessible to all individuals (Delgado et al., 2012; Ginwright et al., 2005; Toqueville, 1969).

Mestiza methodology is specifically concerned with the influence of power as it relates to the patriarchy and colonialism (Thomas, 2016). I will provide a review of how patriarchy and colonialism manifest themselves in the juvenile justice system and in the SJYD programs involved.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general" (Lerner, 1986, p. 239). Lerner (1986) points out that patriarchy does not mean that women are completely powerless in society or institutions, but that by default, women do not hold the same power and male power has evolved and shifted to accommodate the demands of women. Power is the commodity at the center of patriarchy. Just as power undergirds all of society, Mestiza recognizes that patriarchy is a social institution that is a "social institution that

permeates our society" (Hernandez, 2020, p. 306). A primary theme emerged in the data of this study that was directly related to the ideology of patriarchy, that is paternalism. In contrast, maternalism emerged as a theme where "care" and "nurturance" was done for the sole benefit of the youth, not the procurement of resources (Koven & Michel, 1990, p. 1079).

With recognition that gender is fluid, a social construct, and that no one gender is superior, I do contend that identifying the differences between maternal and paternal approaches can help to categorize the nature of relationships that exist within the juvenile justice system, and the ways in which paternal and maternal relationships impact youth. Within a masculine environment, identifying the significance of feminine actions and attitudes may help shape the future. As seen in the data, both men and women can, and do, practice paternalism and maternalism. I am labelling the actions and attitudes of individuals as being paternal or maternal in nature towards either an institution, relationship, or individual.

Paternalism

Paternalism is the nature of "a relationship between a dominant group, considered superior, to a subordinate group, considered inferior, in which the dominance is mitigated by mutual obligations and reciprocal rights" (Lerner, 1986, p. 239). Paternalism is a product of patriarchy, and within the juvenile justice context, is tied to the power differentials between adults, the dominant group, and youth, the subordinate group (Henning, 2012; Moulds, 1978). In this type of relationship, the adults, who represent the state and are institutional actors. Paternalism also characterizes American slavery, one of the predecessors to the adult and criminal justice system in the United States, as previously discussed.

Historical and literary accounts illustrate the paternalism writers hold toward Mestizas in their descriptions of individuals and characters of mixed-race, characterizing the women as

victims because of their existence outside of whiteness and engendering emotion and sympathy through white virtues or standards of beauty (Bost, 2010). The white gaze and proximity to whiteness are the sources that Mestizas are attributed value by authors, appealing to the emotions of their audience made of literate individuals with financial capital and leisure time to read. In these stories, Mestizas are in need of help and redemption, and redemption is granted by giving them white attributes, not by allowing them to embrace the non-white parts of themselves. In the same way, youth in the justice system are considered redeemable or not-dangerous based on their demonstration of white behaviors. Their likelihood for successful rehabilitation is code for amenability to whiteness.

In this study, paternalism emerged as a theme that marked the posture the respondents had towards particular individuals, relationships, or institutions. Paternalism is concerned with power and the continuation of the existing power structures, therefore I distinguished between the actions of individuals who were concerned with power and maintaining the hierarchical relationship between the dominant and subordinate group and those concerned with the welfare of the youth. This resulted in maternalism as a subtheme under the paternalism theme. After the discussion of paternalism, I will introduce maternalism, provide a definition, and discuss how it emerged as a subtheme.

As a reminder, patriarchy implies that the dominant group is charged with providing for and protecting youth and paternalism refers to the actions to uphold the relationship between the dominant and subordinate (Lerner, 1986). At the most basic and fundamental level, juvenile justice institutions are charged with the safety and supervision of youth. The facility’s desire to limit public knowledge of treatment of youth in the facility is an act of paternalism as it prioritizes the reputation of the facility and continuation of systems over ensuring the proper

provision of services and treatment of young people housed in the facility. The quote below is from Candice, who runs a Sports-based program for youth in a long-term juvenile justice facility. The program is in its third year at the facility she is talking about.

> "And this facility is not without a jaded past, and present, like there's like often sort of um, maybe corruption is a strong word… And so like, I totally understand them being protective of the people who want to capture what's going on in its current form."

Candice communicates an understanding of the benefits of paternalism for the facility. She also alludes to the interest the facility has in controlling the information and narrative regarding what takes place in the facility. The object of protection by the facility is not the youth, instead it is the information being shared about the facility. Paternalism indicates where power is located. This example shows that the institutional actors hold power as do outsiders with external outlets. As a result, the institutional actors make policies and procedures to prevent narratives being shared that would challenge the existing power structure.

In this study, paternalism also looked like the protection of relationships with the juvenile justice institutions and an unspoken acknowledgement and recognition of the cost of broken trust with an institutional actor. In a system theoretically built for youth, paternalism is demonstrated as the benefit of the doubt being given to adult staff and system actors. For example, during my interview with Heidi, who runs a sports program in a small state facility, she paused after answering a question about some of the challenges they have faced and said:

> "And I will say like, I feel like my tone has been negative. We have had really good experiences here and there. We've had times with honestly more like certain individual staff members, but from like an institutional perspective, like from the Deputy Director, Director, Superintendent of the facility like they've always been really supportive and

> they've they found a way to kind of adapt and be flexible in a pretty rigid bureaucracy because they they felt really they felt that this program was really important."

The need Heidi feels to represent the institution in a positive light reflects a disposition that prioritizes the relationship with the institution. It appears that there is a fear of being critical of an entire institution, and specifically naming insiders with power in the juvenile justice system reveals an awareness of the power and influence particular individuals can have. There is also a familiarity with the inner workings of the juvenile justice institution that is communicated by recognizing the nature of the system as bureaucratic. This insight is reflective of an individual who has invented in understanding the setting and "massaging" the relationship with insiders as another participant noted. Heidi's paternalism reinforces the current relationship with the institution as it is.

I asked Candice, who runs a sports program in another secure juvenile justice facility, about the learning curve for their team coming into an institutional setting from another institution, albeit academic, but still an institution. She highlighted the relationship with their key insider partner as critical to their success, saying,

> "Most of our insight and information is coming from our direct partner. Like we've like massaged that relationship, and developed that relationship, so we can like speak really candidly with each other. Where other partnerships might have the experience of being very diplomatic like having to tiptoe around things that might be sensitive. Like we ask him straight out , like "are allowed to do this? Are we in trouble?"

The investment in a relationship with a key insider partner is for the purpose of gaining something based on the current distribution of power. Candice uses the word "massage" as a reference to the intentional attention and work that has gone into that particular relationship in

order to have the ability to run their program. Candice and Heidi both contrast the relationships and individuals they have with key insiders with the entire juvenile justice system, a diplomatic and bureaucratic system.

In addition to giving the benefit of the doubt to adult staff outright, paternalism manifested as adults dismissing their own perspectives that were critical of adults who worked in juvenile justice institutions and would challenge the relationship between themselves and the institution, or the relationship between staff and youth. For example, Travis was describing some of the recent challenges that his poetry organization has had as an outsider to the juvenile justice system, especially in light of the Covid-19 pandemic.

> "I don't know, there's challenges, and we'll we'll tell them, like, you know, we were having a lot of challenges with them. And really, they're supposed to go figure it figure it out, you know? Yeah, but with the (facilities), that's, that's why they exist. But um, I think they're doing the best that they can. Like, I think there's just a lot of resistance. I'm not sure if like probation sees us as a threat, you know, and they're like, 'these people are taking our jobs or trying to shut us down.' "

Travis mentions the resistance his organization is facing and simultaneously recognizes the responsibility of the system partners to allow his organization to work with youth in the juvenile justice facilities and makes an allowance for their failure to do so. He also mentions as an organization, being perceived as a threat to the juvenile justice institution, thus inhibiting the relationship between the two. There is humanity in Travis' response and account for the staff "doing the best they can," and it should not be problematized to the point where there is a lack of empathy, that is not the goal as the dehumanization of all people will never be the solution to the dehumanization of some. However, the empathy that Travis is exhibiting is exceptional because

it is not reciprocated or demonstrated by the juvenile justice institutional actors. In this situation, the subordinate party is making allowances for the dominant party, and the dominant party is not required to account for their failure to uphold their end of the partnership. In this way, paternalism looks like internalized oppression, where the feelings of the dominant group are prioritized over the subordinate group (David, 2013).

Another example of paternalism of the juvenile justice system is emphasizing the narrative that change takes time. This is true; however, it can be used to justify not implementing SJYD practices. In my conversation with Lisa, an administrator for a large state juvenile justice agency, I asked about the type of work and demands she has to balance from different stakeholders. She explained that she took the position with an understanding that she would have minimal involvement in external stakeholder relations, including communication with the media and legislators, so that her focus could be on reform efforts. She told me,

> "I accepted this job because it was a reform effort, meaning the goal of this team and this administration is to improve and change the way that we serve kids…
>
> This is, this is a five year effort for me in the sense that it's going to take me five years to be able to say that we're engaging in a new way of doing business, we may not be doing it well, but in five years, you know, I'm sort of turning the Disney cruise liner around in the Panama Canal. It's, it's slow. And it's cumbersome, because the system is so enormous and a bit archaic. And so if it were a different system, and it wasn't a 180, and it didn't require the level of commitment, I might be able to balance all those demands."

This perspective recognizes the juvenile justice system is in need of changing and reformation, however it does not go so far as to identify the specific elements that are tied to oppressive systems at the foundational level. To extend Lisa's analogy and use

another, racism is the water the ship she is steering is in (Jones, 2002). Reform does not address the root causes and structure of the juvenile justice system, and in that sense, reform is a paternalistic attitude towards protecting the foundation of the juvenile justice system. Paternalism therefore may benefit youth, as Lisa explains the goal is to better serve youth, however, reform efforts that do not address foundation issues like patriarchy and colonialism, are likely to maintain these systems of oppression, even inadvertently.

Lisa is a juvenile justice insider with status, so she does not need to build or nurture relationships with insiders in order to deliver programming. Only three of the participants, including Lisa, were insiders in the juvenile justice system. The other eight participants in this study work in programs or organizations that are located outside of the juvenile justice system. As I mentioned earlier, for the programs housed outside of the juvenile justice system, key relationships with insiders are significant in being able to operate. For these individuals, the relationship that they had with a partner who was an insider in the juvenile justice system. These types of relationships that cross organizations or social groups are referred to as bridging (Paxton, 1999). Therefore, paternalism reinforces the bridging relationships that allow programs to operate. The participants in this study demonstrated paternalism for the relationship with the key insiders and the institution they work in in order to deliver the program. Two resources that key insiders held emerged as themes in the data, access and funding. Each of these themes will be discussed in greater detail in the section on Borderlands because of the utility they have in allowing individuals to move throughout the borderlands of juvenile justice. Acting and making decisions for the procurement of resources or solidifying the institutional

structure are indicative of paternalism, whereas the concern and care for youth is distinct and emerged as a theme, maternalism.

Maternalism

In contrast to paternalism, participants in this study demonstrated maternalism. Sullivan and Niker (2018, p. 655) distinguish paternalism as acting in the best interest of another without consideration of their autonomy, and maternalism as acting in best interest of someone else with regard for their autonomy and agency. In addition to recognizing agency of youth, the participants I interviewed demonstrated the maternal values of "care, nurturance, and morality" that extended to "the state, to community, workplace, and marketplace" (Koven & Michel, 1990, p. 1079). One individual shared that she was a mother of a child who has gone through the system, and that experience prompted her work, providing an explicit maternal connection. In the same way that women demonstrated paternalism, there were men who demonstrated maternalism.

The tone and language used by the participants communicates care for the youth. My interview with Diane was conducted over the phone and my interview with Lisa was conducted on Zoom but her camera was not working, so I did not have access to their physical demeanor or body language, however the tone of their voices and choice of words conveyed care for the youth.

In my interview with Lisa, an administrator for a state agency, I was providing background information on SJYD and that it specifically centers youth of color and youth from low socio-economic communities. Without interrupting, Lisa muttered, "those are my kids." The phrase and manner in which Lisa made the statement was not to draw attention to herself, it was a genuine reaction to hearing the description of the youth represented in SJYD. Diane, another

participant was talking about the youth advisory board that is part of her organization and caught herself saying, “So with the babies, they're not babies, they're 16,17,28,19.” In this statement, Diane recognizes that she sees the young people involved in the program as “babies” but that they are not actually babies. In these statements, Diane and Lisa’s disposition to the youth is in stark contrast to the public rhetoric that categorizes youth in the juvenile justice system as dangerous, hardened criminals. Their tone and language reflects compassion, endearment, and relationship with the youth; each of the women are mothers which may be another contributing factor to their ability to see these young people through a maternal lens. This fact could also impact my perception of them and their temperament towards youth. Aside from personal fulfillment, Lisa and Diane do not gain anything from caring for youth in a maternal way. In actuality, it is more difficult to operate out of an ethic of care versus control because of the emotional toll it can take. This is a theme that came up and will be discussed in greater detail in the Borderlands section. Both Lisa and Diane’s language could be mistaken for infantilization, however they acknowledged the autonomy and agency of the youth, two features that distinguish maternalism from paternalism and infantilization. For example, Diane describes the work she does with the youth advisory board, “the babies.” She described the work with the youth advisory board, saying:

> “You know, so we teach them a lot about like laws, and we teach them about all of the new laws that come out every July 1, with our special session, of course, we have some different dates. Now, they're all over the map, but it used to be all new laws come in July 1, so we teach them how to look up the system… so just teaching them for the benefit of them having the knowledge so that they can get caught up in something that said, we had no idea… but like teaching them, like just letting them know, this is what's coming. This

is what we need you all to step up and tell people your perspective about, it's no longer you can just ignore young people, right, and I can't be the voice of it. Because I'm not a young person, this is your fight to fight. Now, I'm gonna be here. I'm going to stand up for you. But I want you all to learn how to use your voice. And who is the appropriate person to contact, whether it be at a city council meeting, or a school board meeting or in front of these legislators in general assembly? know who to contact? And like who to lean on when it's time to make some changes that you want to see?"

Diane's description of the activities with the youth advisory board describe the transition from teaching youth to engaging youth, specifically engaging youth for civic change. The shift is reflective of the highest levels of Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992; Hart, 2008). These levels emphasize participation and agency among youth in programs, characteristic of maternalism. In addition, Diane is supporting SJYD as youth develop a critical consciousness that grows with their increasing self-awareness and social awareness as they are able to identify their position and role in society. Diane demonstrates maternalism by centering youth interests, recognizing their position in the juvenile justice system and community as a whole. Diane's program is supportive of youth agency and youth voice, youth are encouraged to do research on their own, get involved and speak out to advocate for themselves and others. Elements around youth voice and choice will be discussed further, however each are characteristic of maternalism as they provide youth with scaffolded opportunities for engagement and agency.

Courtney is another participant who demonstrated maternalism as she described centering Black girls in order to better serve them. Courtney is demonstrating care for the Black girls in the juvenile justice system and the experiences of youth in my interview with her.

> "I know you guys are here for young women. But do you realize Black girls are also young women. And this is a problem like this is a significant problem. And these girls' lives are being ruined at 14,15 years old, like what does that mean for their children? Like, what does that mean for their ability to make money because they made a mistake, or they were with the wrong group? Or like, I mean, we know the stories, so many. So um, yes, there are some intentional girls where you learn. But are there plenty that are just wrapped up in the wrong thing, and in a couple years, their brain will readjust? And they're like, What the hell was I thinking? Um, and you know, and so it was just like, constantly putting pressure on them. And I mean, I had to guilt these people… that was the issue and they're there they're in there in the system. And somehow they have been rendered invisible. And their issues have been rendered, rendered invisible. And so this is an initiative to specifically to specifically make their issues, their needs, the need for reform, the need for disparities to change, visible."

Diane, Lisa, and Courtney were both women who demonstrated maternalism, but there were men who also demonstrated maternalism. Nicholas described a judge that would attend the performances of youth in the program, saying:

> "And then the judge, the judge that I worked with, specifically, he was, he was all for youth participation in the program. And, and he even showed up to watch the youth's performance at the end of the seven weeks, a couple of years."

The judge demonstrates maternalism by supporting the youth outside of the courtroom during his personal time. There is no personal incentive for the judge to attend youth performances, he is prioritizing and celebrating the youth as well as recognizing their competencies and agency. In addition to demonstrating maternalism towards the youth directly,

the data from one participant who was an administrator in charge of programs in multiple facilities revealed maternalism involving staff and youth. The reason it is still considered maternalism is that youth were the beneficiaries of his actions. I asked Robert what he considered in his day to day decisions as the recreation administrator for all of the state facilities. While he acknowledged that investing in the relationships with the staff, he was explicit in noting that investing in the relationship with the staff was for the benefit of the youth. Robert's location inside the system affords him the opportunity to focus on supporting the needs of the youth versus having to gain access to youth.

> "I mean really just like you know what's in the best interest of the kids, you know what I mean. What can I do best to, my thing is like I wanted to support the staff and the kids as much as possible. And I knew, like, oh hey, if I can support the stuff that's going to help me support the kids. So my biggest thing and I just always wanted to build a relationship with the staff, you know, let them know that, hey, I care about them and their wellbeing. I mean, a lot of them have been there for 10-15 years and always new, I was younger than a lot of them. You know what I mean. So I didn't want to make it so yeah hey I'm just some guy like who has all this experience. I mean, which I did in terms of physical activity and fitness, but they had so much experience in juvenile justice. So for me, it's just like man like you know is gonna, is this going to best support the staff and help them do their job effectively, you know, and then try that's going to help support the kids."

Here Robert is demonstrating maternalism for the staff and youth simultaneously. His acknowledgement of the experience that the staff have is a recognition that the staff are not dependent and have the ability to act independently. He further explains that beyond the successful implementation of the Sports program, his concern is for the well-being of the staff

because of the positive effect that will have on the youth in the facilities. The elevation of human well-being as a priority is indicative of maternalism.

In another example, William demonstrates maternalism for all the individuals in the correctional facility. He was describing the challenges of trying to figure out programs operations during the Covid-19 pandemic and told me about his decision not to pursue in-person activities regardless of the facility guidelines. He said, “And so you think about COVID, and think about, like, how, now you're bringing somebody in is I you know, I wouldn't want to put that extra burden on those staff members.” His concern goes beyond the physical well-being of the staff and youth in the juvenile detention center and recognizes the mental and emotional concern his program presence would have on the staff charged with the safety of youth. He recognizes that his presence in the facility during a pandemic would be a burden on the staff by increasing the risk of infection and transmission, jeopardizing the safety of youth and staff, and therefore made the decision for his program not to continue in-person. His decision is informed by the well-being of humans versus the maintenance of social systems and power dynamics. In fact, William enacts personal agency and decides for himself what the relationship with the juvenile detention center will be as a result of the pandemic.

Colonialism

Colonialism is an omnipresent force, specifically for Chicanas embracing a Mestiza methodology (Padilla, 1999). The ancestral heritage for many Mestizas includes both the colonizer and colonized. Mestizas with Spanish and Indigenous ancestry are, quite literally, the embodiment of power and powerlessness. The challenge for Mestizas has been making sense of their personal and collective histories that have traditionally been recounted in silos defined by power related to race and class, separating the Spanish, Native Indians, and Hispanos, those who

were later born from Spanish ancestry in what is now the Southwest United States (Padilla, 1999). The nature of Mestiza is an acknowledgement of the “mixed” history that Mestizas hold and is a rejection of the traditional social and cultural divides that are dictated by imperialism and colonialism. Within Mestiza, there is an acute awareness of the ways in which colonization and imperialism influences U.S. institutions, including the juvenile justice system. I discussed this in my literature review, especially with regard to which youth have institutionalized and which communities continue to be policed.

Colonialism is the root of racist ideologies, including those that have become the basis and foundation upon which behaviors are normalized and criminalized. In addition to behaviors deemed criminal, attitudes and emotions outside the white normative are also deemed socially taboo.

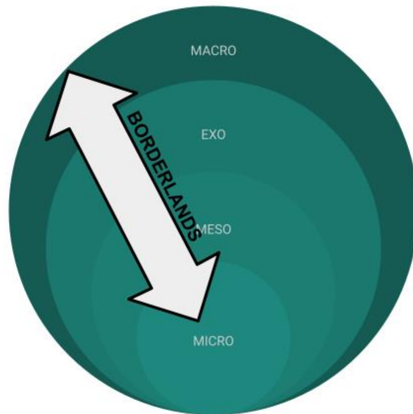
Borderlands

The space that marks Mestiza is the borderlands, where there is mixing between two distinct spaces. Derived from an understanding of the physical space surrounding the U.S.-Mexico, the conceptual borderlands is a “vague, undetermined space” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 25) that includes “crossings of all kinds” (Benge, 2020, p. 59). Anzaldúa describes life at the borderlands at the U.S.- Mexico border as a mixture of two distinct cultures. Mestiza uses this concept of the borderlands to make sense of the interactions between two distinct cultural groups. The interactive space, the borderlands, is comprised of elements of oppression and are viewed as spaces of “contradiction, violence and exploitation” (Nasser, 2021, p. 27).

Like the Ecological Systems, the Borderlands is concerned with interactions that occur between different entities at the individual and communal levels. In this way, the borderlands include the interactions between the different levels of the ecological model (Figure 3). The

borderlands are where interactions, or mixing, occur between two or more different people, groups, cultures, or systems.

Figure 3 *Visual Description of a Borderland Applied to the Ecological Model*



In this section, I will discuss the themes that emerged as characteristics of the borderlands of juvenile justice. The first aspect of the borderlands I will discuss is the transitory nature of juvenile justice, then I will discuss the emotional nature of the borderlands of juvenile justice including the ways that emotions are used as a weapon against youth and motivation for staff. I will then discuss the ways that identity, specifically age, race, gender and intersectional identities shape the interactions among individuals within the borderlands before discussing the mobility and access adults implementing SJYD have within the juvenile justice system. Finally, I will discuss the accessibility of funding available to staff attempting to implement SJYD programming based on their personal identities.

Transitory Nature of the Borderlands

Within the juvenile justice system, youth are required to engage with systems, cultures and individuals. These interactions are the borderlands because of the mixing that is occurring. The transitory nature of the borderlands places youth in contact with the different levels of the

ecological system as they move through the system. While within the juvenile justice system, youth are consistently in contact with individuals, programs, and a system where they are the party with the least amount of power, control and autonomy over what happens. There is also an element of unpredictability in relation to the duration of time that a young person will spend in a given facility. Greg said, “sometimes they're just like, gone, and it sucks, and we don't see them.”

Even during the COVID-19 pandemic, in some states, youth were moved out of the system due to calls for safety, however, youth in the system were moved either to their primary residency or to another facility because of a decision made by someone else. The pandemic is an example of one of the reasons youth are moved throughout the system for reasons outside their personal control. Two participants described that increasing calls for deinstitutionalization in each of their states had resulted in reduced numbers in secure facilities. This recognition reflects what SJYD would consider social awareness of the macro level and the impact it has on the exo, meso, and micro systems.

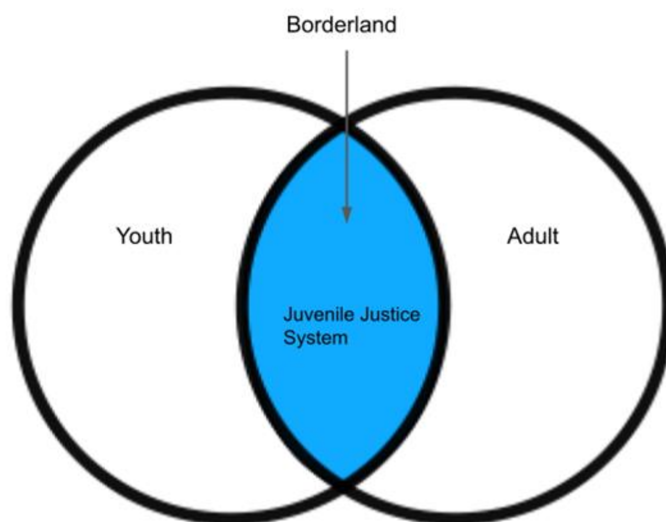
> “So when I started four years ago there was about 40 kids in the building. Now I talked to their administer their superintendent last week there's 15 kids in the building. Yeah. And when when it was founded, like the new school was built in 97 there was 150 kids in the building. But you have to remember, we're (state) also so small.”

In addition to secure confinement, branches of the juvenile justice system like probation and parole where surveillance and tracking mechanisms are used to monitor youth are increasingly being identified as state control. This understanding makes the power dynamics between the individual youth and the state explicit, specifically that youth do not move throughout the juvenile justice system of their own agency and accord. Their movement through the borderlands is dictated by adults who are representatives of the juvenile justice system.

Therefore, while the borderlands are transitory, the push and pull of youth within those boundaries is powered by the juvenile justice system, not the agency of youth. This is a direct result of the interaction between the transitory nature of the borderlands with chronological age differences between borderland cultural groups. The borderland of Age is the space where youth and adults overlap or interact (Figure 4). At a minimum, the juvenile justice system transitory nature is designed to reflect this age difference through policies that are designed for youth to eventually age out, if they do not leave before then.

Figure 4

Visual Example of a Borderland



The entirety of the juvenile justice system is transitory, and directly impacts chronological age differences between youth and the adults that are a part of it. The transitory nature of the juvenile justice system raises emotional and programmatic challenges. One participant, Greg, described the personal and programmatic challenges that came from abrupt changes while running a relationship-based program in a juvenile justice facility.

> "I think for us, like the hardest part is you build these relationships with the kids. And like once the relationship is short, like starts to become strong (and then they're gone)… It sucks and like yeah, so like, again, it's great for them. But it was like no closure to just like, (you) don't see them… The thing that's so crappy about it is like, you can have like the perfect youth, and you can work with them for six months. And they might leave in one second, you know."

Greg was aware of the reality that one day each youth would leave and no longer be a part of the program, either through successful completion of the program or by aging out of the juvenile system. The uncertainty youth experience is not unique given that they have not been afforded much agency and autonomy while they have been in the juvenile justice system. As a result, the element of uncertainty as to the exact day when young people would be transferred or returning back home manifest itself in a range of emotions experienced by those in the borderlands.

Emotion Manipulation, Trauma and Resistance

Within the borderlands of juvenile justice, emotion is central and emerged as a sub theme and of the nature of the borderlands. Like the transitory state of the borderlands is a feature that reinforces the power structure within juvenile justice, the ways in which emotions manifested is an outcome of the power dynamics that simultaneously perpetuates the power structure. The emotions of all individuals within the borderlands of juvenile justice were impacted by their engagement with the system and interactions with one another. Emotions such as *fear* were used by adults to enforce youth adherence to policies through specific behaviors, and staff experienced secondary *psychological trauma* as they worked with youth have been victims of trauma. Due to the realizations staff had regarding the emotional trauma and manipulation youth

had endured, staff were emotionally motivated to work with youth and change the nature of the borderland spaces.

Fear

One of my interview participants who is an executive in a large state juvenile justice department noted, “Corrections is historically very compliance based, and is very centered in fear.” The use of fear is a tactic within the juvenile justice system to target the emotions of youth and urge youth into behavioral based compliance. Across the chronosystem of the juvenile justice borderlands, youth emotions are weaponized against them by the juvenile justice system and the adults who are responsible for their well-being.

The processing and categorization of emotions is shaped similarly in the manipulation found in colonization, as well as the long-term impact of emotional colonization on youth. Colonization as defined in the mestiza framework is the result of one group forcefully asserting its superiority over another using binaries that distinguish between the colonized and colonizers in areas of difference, like language, race, religion, sexual orientation, gender, nationality, etc. (Feghali, 2011; Salvidar-Hull, 1991, p. 211) Emotional colonization is then the result of problematizing the emotions of one group in favor of another and exploiting and punishing the subordinate for their emotions in order to force alignment with the colonizing group’s conception of acceptable emotions. In the borderlands of juvenile justice, youth fear was exploited by the adults to force youth into compliance with the behaviors deemed appropriate by the adults maintaining the juvenile justice system. Consequently, the fear youth experienced while they were in the juvenile justice facility forced them to adopt behaviors that were necessary for their safety and survival, putting youth at risk for long-term developmental ramifications. Neurological research has found that the constant state of fear creates stress that impacts the

development of the adolescent brain (McLaughlin et al., 2016). As such, the emotional colonization of youth in the borderlands of juvenile justice has long-term physical consequences for youth.

Using the borderlands to understand emotions within the juvenile justice system connects back to one of the forces Mestiza inherently challenges, colonialism. In this study, the colonization of emotions became clear. Specifically, in regards to the acceptability of emotions and the expression of emotions. Travis, who runs a poetry based program talked about the emotions he has experienced and he sees in the youth he works with.

“T: But I really wanted to, like, be seen, you know, like, I really wanted to, like, talk about like, my incarceration and, and how I saw like, black and brown folks being taken advantage of by sheriffs behind closed doors, where they would take them to these corners where there's no cameras, and they would beat them, you know, and, and I and I saw that with my own eyes. And nobody else saw that, you know, what I'm saying? Because there was no way no one else to see that. And so, those type of things, I think, was really what I wanted to write about . And I think, I think young people also have like, these stories within them. They're kind of like pregnant with these, with these stories. And, and there's no one to talk, talk to about these things. And I think when that kind of starts to build up inside, and you're you don't know what's doing it, I think that's when you hear about like, the self-destructive things that that tend to happen with young people where they're like, ‘Alright, nobody cares. Nobody, nobody, like, nobody really cares about me. nobody really cares what I've been through, like, it's all good.’ Like, you know what I mean? And they go and deal with their pain, how they know how to deal with it, you know, which oftentimes, if you don't, I think if you don't, I think there's, you know, behind anger and rage, oftentimes, there's sadness and tears. And I think we tend to jump past that into the

anger and rage. Because we, we, we were told from little, especially young men, from a young age, we're told, 'you know, don't cry, men don't cry like men.' You know what I'm saying? Like, you know what I mean? Like, we're told to be kind of, like, rough enough and tough, tough enough and be a man. Yeah. And in reality, I think there's a lot of healing that can happen if we allow ourselves to just kind of like, you know, feel that and cry and process that pain, you know?

M: Like anger is an acceptable emotion and sadness isn't?

T: Right."

From this excerpt, colonization is present in the treatment of Black and Brown folks and in the processing of emotions. The attribution and acceptance of certain emotions based on the immutable characteristics of individuals, specifically people of color and women is an act of colonization.

The emotional colonization of emotions is a form of conditioning that does not desist when youth return home or leave the carceral environment. One participant, Michelle, recalled a conversation with a young person after they returned home.

"I remember, when he came home, it was a while. And you know, that he walked with his hands (demonstrated holding hands behind back). You know, it's just because you're released doesn't mean you're released emotionally. You know, people don't realize it. You're still incarcerated. It takes, it takes a couple months, depending on how long you've been there."

Michelle described here the insight of the impact of emotional states that manifest through trauma based behaviors offered by a young person that the emotional experience transcends the physical occupation of the borderland across the chronosystem of the ecological model. There is an emotional captivity that youth remain in once they are outside the physical bounds of the juvenile justice system. Examining the emotional impact of involvement in the

juvenile justice system over time reveals the long-term impact that incarceration has on youth and provides insight into their post-incarceration behaviors that were adopted in the juvenile justice system in order to survive.

One of my study participants understood the emotional colonization of youth, specifically boys and men of color, and the program was designed to resist that socialization and allow youth to express their emotions without fear of negative consequences. As a result of this, Travis described to me that as he facilitates workshops with youth, he is exposed to their trauma in an emotional way.

> "I think one of the main goals is to build community using poetry, and, and create healing spaces… where they're not going to be judged or feel shameful, or, or anything like that, but really create spaces where folks feel open enough to, to share you know, Share, share, share, whatever it is that they, they, they need to share in order in order to heal. We, we kind of have the we have we follow this kind of idea of "gifts and wounds" … So this idea that we all have wounds, even our culture has wounds our country carries wounds, and that there's, there's, there's gifts that lie next to those wounds if we're able to kind of like go through the the trauma and the process of kind of looking at those wounds and looking at that darkness, that as hard as it may be to kind of explore that. That if we're able to do that we can come back with with with some kind of gold, some kind of like gifts that that can carry that we can carry into our communities and and help others heal as well as ourselves heal… But, um, oftentimes, like, you know, people will cry in our workshops, people will open up and share some of some of the most traumatic stories I would say, that I've ever heard"

Travis describes that shame is often associated with sharing personal experiences and emotions. In addition to facing external consequences, there are emotional consequences that may result from sharing emotions, specifically shame. Travis identifies the narrative regarding the acceptability of certain emotions for individuals depending on their personal characteristics. He also points out that youth are witnessing atrocities, simultaneously experiencing and witnessing abuses of power, but do not have a means to process those emotions.

However, the fear is not just limited to the youth, Travis called the adoption of certain behaviors as putting on a mask to hide emotions like fear among the staff.

> "Because I think oftentimes, we, we put these masks on, and we don't, we don't realize it, we're like, Alright, I gotta go to work, like, put this on. Now I can walk down the street, oh, there's some gang members. I'm not scared, like, you know, I mean, there's the cops like how I don't care, like, you know, and its just kind of like, but in reality, like, you're feeling this fear, and you're like, you're really like, scared inside, you're like, man, I might get shot, or like, these cops might pull me over, and I don't know, if they're gonna arrest me or what you know. And I think a lot of our communities deal with these, these issues that oftentimes we kind of, it's like, we become numb to, to like, all the wounds around us and all the other trauma, that's that's influencing, influencing us on a daily basis."

The act of putting on a mask that Travis describes is purposeful and like the young person who spoke with Michelle, these are also behaviors that youth feel compelled to demonstrate for their own personal safety. Their survival in the justice system is based on their ability to suppress or mask their emotions. Travis' mention of the police officers signifies the reach of the justice system, and the presence of the system outside of juvenile justice facilities. He also describes the everyday occurrence of trauma eventually leading to numbness, or an absence of emotion and

feeling. The elimination of emotion is a survival mechanism for both youth and adults impacted by all facets of the justice system, including police who often serve as the entry point of the juvenile justice system.

In my interviews with adults who worked with youth in the juvenile justice system, all of them intentionally or inadvertently described the emotional nature of the work. As staff intentionally and inadvertently communicated the emotional toll that the work with youth had on them, the participants also described the emotional fulfillment they derived from working with youth in the borderlands of juvenile justice.

Motivation

In addition to the emotional toll that working in a juvenile justice borderland took on the individuals I interviewed, they also described their motivation to work in the borderlands of juvenile justice and the emotional fulfillment they experienced from their work. The participants expressed a personal, emotional draw to the borderlands of juvenile justice. In the quote from Travis earlier, it was clear that his understanding of the emotional weaponization and colonization youth experienced was a motivation to offer a program that foiled that experience. The participants I interviewed were emotionally motivated to change that the landscape of the juvenile justice system to better serve youth. Nicholas, who works with youth on probation in a community-based non-profit, describes how he first became involved working with youth in the justice system.

> "Helping people is really why I wanted to go into law enforcement, or criminal justice in the first place. And then I thought, you know, why not? Why not try to work in the younger, with the younger crowd, and, you know, try to work in the juvenile justice system, because, you know, making change in young people, I think, you know, will

definitely pay off for when they become older, and they become, you know, my age, and they want to start making changes themselves for their, for themselves and for their community… And just being able to, to get that kind of response from the youth themselves, is really like, it's really rewarding. As you know, a member of the team."

Nicholas talks about his initial draw to working with youth in the justice system as a desire to help people and communities which provides an opportunity for emotional fulfillment. The relationships adults built with youth are also a motivating force for adults.

> "now I'm in a position where I have the authority and ability to change the system to acknowledge the truth of where the kids come from. And so it's easy for me to move through this because the kids deserve it."

Race was also tied to the theme of emotions by connecting participants with youth who shared the same racial background and the need to resist against retraumatizing youth that was occurring in order to improve the system. Courtney, a Black woman in a small Midwestern state, described a conversation that took place with the state Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) Coordinator.

> "I need some Black ladies, who know juvenile justice, you know, who work in juvenile justice to come together. I don't care if there's four of us to really sit down and go, what the fuck is happening? Like what's really happening? Let's see what questions are we not asking because these girls are languishing in the system too long, they're being transferred to adult court, their lives are being ruined here. And nobody seems to give a damn. So they're like, 'Courtney, okay, you know,' (shows handwringing). I don't give a fuck. Like, stop. I'm here. We not doing this. Like, I need you to write up some goals."

As evidenced from this example with Courtney, emotions play a role in the motivation for employment and the changes she viewed as needing to be addressed within the juvenile justice system. Her experience and perspective as a Black woman was distinct and created an emotional connection to the work that was tied to her personal identity. Lisa, an executive in a juvenile justice system, is a white woman with over 20 years of experience in youth and adult corrections recalled when she began working at a youth facility,

> "And I began to quickly realize that, and I worked with girls, that every one of these girls was actually a victim. And the system did not acknowledge them as victims, in fact, blamed them for being victims of sexual assault, trafficking. I had one particular girl whom I cared greatly for, and she came out as gay. And another staff brought her into the youth group, the Bible study that she did with the other girls and of course, wanting to fit in, she says, 'I'm not gay, because it's against God, and I'm part of this group.' And then she realizes that she is in fact gay and makes one of the most serious suicide attempts that I've ever experienced. And, and met in conjunction with another girl who was just a real victim of sexual assault by her dad who trafficked her. Like the girl that was gay, she was kicked out of her home, her family home because she was gay, she's living on the streets of Seattle, she's sexually assaulted on the streets, pretty violently, she finds a man to take care of her this man offers her drugs, and she has to pay off the drug debt and the rent debt by sleeping with his friends, like just those stories. I was unable to metabolize that. I would drive home in tears, powerless. And that's when I decided I needed an easier job."

Lisa identifies the emotional turmoil of the youth she had built relationships with and saw the violence she experienced within the system. The emotional trauma of youth was transferred to Lisa via her personal relationships with youth, and eventually motivated her to her exit from

the juvenile justice system. Lisa and Courtney each described a personal connection to the youth, but their investment was markedly different. As a Black woman, the identities of Black girls resonated with Courtney on the intersections of race and gender, whereas Lisa could relate as a woman working with girls, but race was not a motivation in the same way that is was for Courtney. Courtney's identity was tied to her work and resulted in a sense of obligation beyond motivation. For Courtney, she experienced the same dismissal and invisibility within the juvenile justice system as a professional as the Black girls she was advocating for who did not have her same institutional power because of her age and formal position of authority. Lisa did not disclose whether she had been a victim of the same traumas as the girls she was working with and she did describe feeling powerless, however Lisa eventually chose to leave working in juvenile corrections for ten years. Courtney's role did shift and she cited personal health reasons, however the experience of trauma was not just secondary or vicarious, rather it was compound trauma for Courtney because her status as an adult did not protect her from the trauma of being in the juvenile justice system as a Black woman.

Courtney, as a Black woman working and advocating for Black girls in the juvenile justice system described her experiences of compounded trauma (West, 1999), however, all of the adults I interviewed described the secondary or vicarious trauma they experienced from their work in the juvenile justice system. In the quote below, Greg describes the dichotomy of emotions associated with working in the juvenile justice field, saying,

> "It was probably the most rewarding thing that I've ever done. But it was like the most stressful thing that we were done also. And like, by the end of it, I was totally done."

Lisa and Greg each highlight the traumatic, emotional consequences that are a part of working with youth in the juvenile justice system. The contrast between Greg, a white male, and

Courtney, a Black woman, revealed that white and male privilege is not a protection against secondary trauma for those who work in the borderlands of juvenile justice and build relationships with youth. Further, Greg's recollection demonstrates the experience of dichotomous emotions, and challenges the efficacy of dualistic paradigms, especially in the borderlands. By understanding the juvenile justice system as a borderland, there is space for the contradicting emotions. The borderlands accept that an individual can experience multiple, contradictory emotions at once and embraces the entire human experience.

In Social Justice Youth Development, the development of a critical consciousness is contingent upon self-awareness, which requires emotional awareness (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Pryor & Outley, 2014). As adults who are charged with providing youth programs that support their own development, the staff must be emotionally healthy, otherwise they are likely to leave like Lisa and Greg or transition to another role like Courtney. Working within the borderlands of juvenile justice is an emotional experience, and the adults must be able to be honest about the emotional toll the work takes to reduce turnover among staff working with youth, particularly because consistency in working with youth is key (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Pryor & Outley, 2014). Further, staff have to be socially aware, the second phase of critical consciousness, of their interactions with youth and the emotional experience they are creating for the youth they work with.

Given the staff's position within the system as one with power, they have the ability to perpetuate emotional colonization and use fear as a manipulation strategy or to resist and challenge those patterns by offering spaces where youth are not penalized for having emotions or for having specific emotions that staff consider problematic. Allowing youth to experience their own range of emotions gives youth the power to freely choose what emotions they want to

demonstrate and communicate instead of being manipulated to only exhibit certain emotions. By not telling or forcing youth to feel certain emotions, youth are able to reflect and develop self-awareness and critical consciousness, like the youth in Travis' poetry program. Youth then have the agency to express themselves authentically, a characteristic of SJYD programming.

Identity Impact on Access to Social Capital

The nature of the borderlands requires that there is more than one individual or parties in the space. This interaction provides the opportunity for an exchange between different groups or individuals from different groups. In my interviews with adults who provided programs in the juvenile justice borderland, exchanges of social capital emerged as a result of the interactions within the borderlands. The understanding of social capital I use in this study comes from Robert Putnam (2001, p. 1), who contends that social capital is multidimensional in nature and is the idea that "networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value." Further, social capital is necessary for establishing relationships that support social mobility and general social advancement (Putnam, 2001). Within the borderlands of the juvenile justice system, social capital is transferred between members of different groups that are occupying the borderlands, including adults and gender groups.

Building social capital is a response and challenge to power, particularly because it contrasts the social and institutional design of separateness between individuals in the juvenile justice system and the rest of the general public. Lisa described the history of corrections as "out of sight, out of mind." Therefore, building relationships that make the youth justice system visible not only challenges the existing power structure that renders system-involved youth as invisible, but provides youth opportunities to move out of their socialized domains. Understanding social capital as a theme is important because it highlights the types of significant

developmental outcomes that social capital networks result in through providing connections for youth. Connection is more than encouraging meaningful relationships with other program participants that foster a supportive environment and promote program participation. Too often in youth development literature, these types of relationships are reduced to connection that supports an individual's sense of self and feeling supported. This dismisses the reality that connections are consequential for individuals as they enter the workforce, higher education, and navigate social institutions like the juvenile and criminal justice system. Connections are also significant at an organizational level in the procurement of resources and establishment of partnerships. These relationships were specifically identified as a significant factor to obtain resources and advance SJYD program reach, a concept commonly known as social capital.

The borderlands are the location of exchange and transfer of power between socially separated groups. The borderlands can best be understood through examples of distinct groups converging and interacting with each other; the borderlands are where the "mixing" occurs. The programs represented by the participants in this study paint a picture of who is in the borderlands of juvenile justice by describing who is involved in the program. With respect to the ecological model, the borderlands transcend each level and in effect highlight the interactions between the macro, exo, meso, and microsystems. For example, Travis described successes of the program he is involved in and highlighted the connections between individuals who typically do not come into contact with one another.

> "And I think that might be right now one of our biggest successes, because we, at first, we were just making a local impact, you know, and, and that was a huge success, like having young people from (the) South (side), (the) East (side), the West side, like, even sometimes (wealthy neighborhood), like, come together and, and build community. And

> there was even like, mentorship that started to happen where like, you know, older, older folks that had money, were like meeting kids from the hood and like, be like, 'hey, if you need a ride, like I'll pick you up next week,' and things like that…"

Travis articulates that having individuals from different neighborhoods is a success, insinuating that the goal of the program is connection and it is a challenge to the local design of the city. The program itself has become a borderland where individuals from different geographic areas mix with each other. Further, Travis refers to the socioeconomic background of the participants, implying that the neighborhood from which one comes from is a reflection of one's socioeconomic status, and the design of the city is to maintain separation of neighborhoods of different socioeconomic status.

As has been discussed, the ability to build relationships is tied to social capital. The immutable personal characteristics of a person that influence their ability to build relationships is therefore connected to their ability to build social capital. The following section includes sub-themes that came from the data, each representing a borderland within the juvenile justice system, and how the factors impacted the participants ability to implement their programs. The sub-themes include Age, Race, Gender, and Intersectionality. While each of the sub-themes represents its own borderland, Intersectionality emerged as a theme because of the ways in which these factors interacted with one another in the borderlands and is an important concept to understand the implementation of SJYD in the juvenile justice landscape.

Age

One of the sub-themes that emerged from the data was age. This borderland is seen in the previous quote from Travis, where he describes the program as a space for folks of different ages to come together and "build community." One of the outcomes from recognizing age as a

borderland is the mentoring relationships that occurred. The significance of age is reflected in the separation of services and institutions, in education, schools are distinguished based on age, restaurants offer “kids meals” and senior discounts, and there are specific hospitals designated for children. The use of age as a demarcation of development is grounded in science and the understanding of human development over the life course. Recognition of the changes that take place between childhood and adulthood is what led to the birth of adolescence as a concept, the establishment of the juvenile court system and subsequent calls for legislation that reflect the age of youth. However, on a social level, differences in stages of life have translated into differences in value of individuals based on their stage of life. This is the idea behind the term “ageism.” Recognizing the value placed on individuals that is associated with their age illustrates the borderland of juvenile justice, where youth and adults make up two distinct groups and interact. Using the borderlands presents a context to examine the juvenile justice system and understand power associated with age.

Earlier, Travis used language that alluded to the significance of age in relationships, referring to “older adults” and “ kids.” In the quote from Travis, the impact of having a relationship with someone older impacts access to programs, in addition to long-term outcomes like jobs and higher education. In the borderland of age, adults acted as mentors for youth, providing transportation, opportunities to practice interpersonal skills, and knowledge.

Mentoring in the borderlands of juvenile justice is an act of resistance as it requires intentionality that challenges the social construction and separation between youth and adults. Adults in the juvenile justice system who act as mentors help encourage the skills youth will need to build a network that will benefit them across the course of their life.

> "Their athletic director who I see as a very like dynamic, really strong kind of mentor to a lot of the kids in the facility. He really tries to model respect for them in terms of like if he's talking with another student and someone comes up and interrupts he'll say, like, you know, 'please just respect me like, let me have this second. I'll be right with you.' And then if he messes up, he will apologize. And like, and he's, it's interesting because like he's very intentional… That's what he's modeling like saying, 'I respect you, I want you to respect me. I apologize for that. I know I messed up.' "

Mentoring provides an opportunity to gain soft skills, or social skills that are part of the development of youth into adulthood. In the account given by Heidi, she describes the particular skill of apologizing as a component of respect that one of the staff in the facility demonstrates through modeling within a mentoring context. In addition to teaching the youth in the facility the idea of respect, the athletic director is also describing how he engages youth in the borderland of age and resists the superiority he is given by colonization and patriarchy by treating youth with respect and apologizing to youth. As he apologizes, the athletic director is recognizing the relationship between himself and the youth and takes accountability and responsibility for his actions and/or attitude towards young people. This is a posture that centers young people, within an institution built for young people, but since this attitude and type of relationship is attributed to an individual, like the athletic director, it cannot be guaranteed. In essence, the nature of juvenile justice creates the borderland of age, and it is up to the individuals, specifically the adults, to decide how they use their position of power to engage with youth.

The athletic director from the previous example verbally communicates how respect is exchanged in a juvenile correctional facility. Within the borderland of age, respect is a form of capital. The nature of the juvenile justice system restricts the resources that youth have access to

and renders them virtually powerless. In my interview with Heidi, she described youth participation in sport in a juvenile justice setting as vulnerable.

> "It's very vulnerable, like you're putting yourself out there. Especially in a facility. And I know that you already know this, where like respect is so huge, because, and oftentimes like my kids have said like, that's all I have, like respect is all I have."

The implication from this perspective is that receiving respect is tied to performance. Participating in sports or recreation programs within a facility provides an opportunity for youth to showcase their talents and abilities, while competition inherently presents the risk of failure. Participating in sports as a means to earn the respect of others, specifically peers, highlights the values and priorities of youth in the juvenile justice system. Success in sports is an avenue for youth to gain the recognition and respect from their peers because of the limited autonomy and agency they experience elsewhere the juvenile justice system.

The interactions between youth and adults in the borderlands can challenge the existing hierarchy where adults are positioned as superior over young people simply because of the difference in age. SJYD programs are built with the ages and stages of youth in mind and are facilitated by caring adults who provide structure and nurturance for youth participants. Programs where adults challenge the natural power structure demonstrate Principle 1 where power within social relationships is critically assessed. Further, the borderland of age highlights Principle 2, the identity of youth, because the division of power is premised foundationally on the identity of youth as young people; however, SJYD does not problematize the age of youth. The examples provided show how adults resisted and challenge the idea of their inherent superiority by treating youth with respect and helping youth build skills that will help them build a network that will propel their trajectory in life beyond the juvenile justice system.

Race

The racial identity of the adults I interviewed impacted how they delivered programming and navigated the juvenile justice system. In order to move forward discussing race as a subtheme as it relates to social capital, it is imperative to offer a reminder from my literature review of the role and function of whiteness. Whiteness affords certain privileges and protections through institutional design and systematic processes which can be seen through critical theories like Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1995; Delgado et al., 2012). Whiteness has also proven to be a protective factor for youth, as white youth have less contact with the juvenile justice system, have avoided contact with the juvenile justice system altogether, and face less harsh sentences and punishments that Black, Latino and Indigenous youth (Bell, 2015; Zane 2021).

Across the globe and within the United States, race is tied to power. Given that Mestiza is an idea where an individual embraces the mixing of races, the space where individuals and racial groups interact within juvenile justice becomes a borderland. Consequently, where individuals of different racial identities interact or "mix," there is a borderland and whiteness is positioned as the superior race. SJYD however provides opportunities for groups and individuals of different races to work together for a common goal, Principles 2 and 4, making identity central and encouraging collective action, respectively.

The borderlands are recognized for the ability to promote healthy identity development (Nasser, 2021). SJYD programs encourage the identity development of youth by hiring adults with the same racial identity as youth. In Candice and Greg's program, part of the hiring process for the program is recruiting graduate students at the local university who have the same racial identity of the youth in the facility where they run the program. Candice and Greg demonstrate self and social awareness as white individuals who are aware they cannot relate to youth based

on their racial identity and need to provide youth with caring staff who can. In talking about their process for hiring graduate students, Candice says,

> "We were pretty intentional about selecting graduate students that would be well received mentors for the kids. And we knew one of the factors would be race."

The racial background of an individual is going to impact how they move through and experience the world, including youth who are in the juvenile justice system. Candice's quote emphasizes the importance of providing youth with adults who experience the world, including the borderland, in a similar way. In addition to the relationships between youth and adults, the racial identity of adults impacted the relationship between the staff and parents of youth. When asked about whether his Latino racial identity had an impact on his work with youth, Nicholas said:

> "I don't think for me just being like a Latino male. But I could see kids act differently if they had a probation officer that, like, if it was an African American kid, and they had a white PO (probation officer), I could see their interaction was different than maybe if they were to have a PO of the same race. And even even the appeal of the same sex, like I had different interactions with some of the girls that I work with, as opposed to some of the boys that I worked with. But I don't think race really came in came as a factor. I know that some of the Caucasian parents that I worked with, they would call me by my first name. And none of the, none of the kids that came from communities of color ever called me by my first name. And I think that was just kind of like, I don't know, like a respect thing."

The physical appearance of Nicholas as a Latino not only impacted his relationships with youth, but also with adults. More specifically, Nicholas identifies that his racial identity changed

the way that he was treated by white parents. Nicholas attributes this difference to a lack of respect for him held by white parents. There may be other factors at play that cause adults from communities of color to refer to staff who are system actors with a level of deference or fear tied to an awareness of the history of youth of color in the juvenile justice system that presents as respect. Ultimately, the absence of respect among white parents is indicative of the power, superiority, and comfortability referring to official actors that comes from whiteness.

William is another individual that I interviewed for this study who runs a Literacy program in a juvenile detention center that started in schools. He does not explicitly cite a lack of respect as part of his experience as an African American man, however he does describe the sense of feeling boxed in and his skills ignored because of his racial identity.

> "That's one of the things that I struggled with when I first started going into schools, is because of who I look like, and they always try to lump me in with this group of kids, and I just felt as if I was doing a disservice to what all I bring to the table."

In the borderland of race, William does not have the power as an African American to define his role. In fact, he has limited autonomy and agency to choose which students to work with because of his racial identity and the expectations of him that were assumed. Whereas lack of respect manifests as a dismissal, the hyper-focus on William's racial identity prevents him from doing his job. Not providing William a choice is an act of colonialism and infantilization where he is not respected as an adult male who is able to exercise choice over his own life. The treatment of Nicholas and William are both grounded in a lack of respect for people of color. This contrasts the experience of Heidi, a white woman who helps run a sports program in a small state facility who benefits from an inherited superiority as a white person. When asked how her identity influences the implementation of the program and relationships with youth, she said:

“I've seen that the players will sometimes offer me more respect and they might like a person who works in the institution who might be of color. And I, and I don't know if that's because of our different races or because they work in the institution and they see them all the time and maybe there's more of a familiarity with them. So I can't, I don't want to just assume and jump to that. Um, but I also think by like what I've read and that I know that these things are at play, even if I can't quite put my finger on them.”

Heidi’s response highlights the power that comes from whiteness, and how whiteness can compensate for other characteristics that are less favorable in the juvenile justice system (gender and outsider status). There also is a hesitancy in Heidi’s response to attribute the respect she experiences in the facility to her whiteness. She offers immediate justifications for why she may be treated differently than the staff of color who work in the facility and are insiders. While she acknowledges the possibility of race as a factor, she cites it as an assumption and expresses that she would rather explore and attribute the difference in the level of respect she receives to a factor other than race. Heidi’s concession that race may be a factor vacillates and reflects an individual who is growing in self and social awareness.

Similarly, Candice and Greg are two white adults who run a program in a state juvenile justice facility. Candice is a few years older than Heidi, but both are white women. In talking about one of the reasons they try to hire graduate assistants who are people of color and reflect the racial identity of the youth in the facility, Candice said:

“But we (Candice & Greg, co-directors) do know they interact with us and take to us much differently than them. And I think how I would characterize that is we have to be a lot more patient. Cause I think, they don’t have a lot of positive relationships in their lives oftentimes with white people. Like in fact, one of my favorite quotes I get from most of

> them is like ‘We hate white people.’ And I’m like, ‘Guys, I’m white do you know that?’ And they’re like, ‘Well, you’re not white-white,’ and I’m like ‘No, I’m white-white,’ (laughs) and they’re like, ‘Well, you’re not like them’ (with emphasis). And I’m like well maybe they’re not like me, or just sorta trying to plant the seed that there are good white people out there, and there are really bad white people out there. Um, so that’s been a huge factor I would say. They talk differently. They definitely code switch with me. I think that could be because I’m a female, because I’m an authority figure. They know I’m the graduate student’s boss. And then also cause I’m white.”

The quote from Candice reveals a tension that white adults and staff implementing programs experience as white individuals in a borderland where they hold the most power, yet in the borderland of juvenile justice, are a racial minority. Candice demonstrates self-awareness through her candor, identifying herself as white and using the term code-switch appropriately indicates social-awareness. While she does account for personal characteristics that may mitigate the relationship she has with youth, ultimately, she does recognize the social power that comes from being white as predominant and superseding her gender and authority. This is a contrast to Heidi who demonstrated hesitancy and a bit more discomfort talking about race. In another portion of the interview, Heidi said:

> “You know, I've had kids say to me things like well, like, like ‘You wouldn't get shot because you're white.” You know, so I think like like their understanding of race have implications for race. I think is incredibly insightful and I think much more insightful than like when I was their age like. Like the privilege like white privilege and like this invisible backpack, but like these weren't things that I was necessarily understanding at their age. So I think, and not that not that statement’s accurate that I can't get shot

because I'm white, but there's implications, I think saying that like white people are not shot as much in Delaware as black people are and and you know they don't face the same type of discrimination or violence from law enforcement that people of color do so , um, I think that like there's too is a real opportunity and there's been so many times where I've left being like, I wish that I had either handle that better or been better educated to hold a discussion about that because like I want and maybe us as researchers will hopefully like, give me that and be able to help them but like really piece that out a like I mean, and I just kind of having that conversation because I think like, I don't want them to get like shushed or or right to not think through that because they're identifying like really critical, insightful, important things. Hopefully, like they will work on in the future and that we will work on because they're just as important for us to hear as them."

In this excerpt, Heidi mentions the invisible backpack, a reference to Peggy McIntosh's 1988 article *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible White Knapsack*. The way she integrates this information as she is communicating is performatory in nature rather than a demonstration of nuanced understanding that comes from self and social awareness. In the past two quotes from Heidi, she has provided caveats when she makes a statement regarding race, where she recognizes and validates the youth perspectives of race, yet immediately provides a disclaimer.

Another distinguishable difference between the perspectives of youth regarding race and Heidi's is that she is learning about race and the implications of race as she puts it, through education, and the youth have an understanding through their experience. The understanding of race is not an academic or educational exercise for them, rather it has been an outcome of oppression and a key to survival. Using the SJYD model of self-awareness to global awareness, Heidi could still be classified as being in the self and social awareness stages.

Gender[1]

The sub-theme of gender came up in 9 of the 11 interviews and can be understood as another borderland within juvenile justice. The power that is associated with gender outside of the borderlands of juvenile justice remained influential even within the juvenile justice system as the study participants implemented SJYD programs. Within the sub-theme of gender, paternalism did not show up. More salient was the general theme of patriarchy as it relates to gender-based violence, cognitive and emotional labor, and the "threat" women pose in a male-dominated institution.

In this study, four of the six women who were interviewed brought up gender in relation to their work. What became clear through the interviews is that gender, specifically being a woman, added cognitive and emotional labor for the staff implementing SJYD, and in one instance was weaponized by others. The fact that gender came up as a salient sub-theme reinforces the validity of SJYD programs that "make identity central." In this study, it was clear that the challenges associated with gender did not come from the SJYD programs, rather the macro-level influences that shape gender dynamics within the borderland. In discussing identity dynamics with Candice, she said,

> "They're all men, so that is a factor… it's much more gender. And I already mentioned the bro-out, like I'm always the only female in there. And they're always talking like just doing their bro-talk. And I'm just like, that's fine, I'll just go along. I gotta play the game."

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[1] A quick note on gender: In the interviews, gender was sometimes conflated with sex (male/ female), which I believe is reflective of the organization of programs and institutions that are designated as male or female. While this was not explored, it does allude to the level of systemic understanding of gender and sex within U.S. institutions, although this specific topic is outside the scope of this study but should be considered in future research.

Her recollection of interactions describes her cognizance of gender in those spaces, the gendered speech that happens, and the compulsion to "play the game" in order to secure funding for her program and remain in good standing with the department. The idea that she is the lone female in the room and that she has to take a passive role in the setting points to an exclusionary and patriarchal environment where it is more beneficial to be a man. Candice's statements point out that within the borderlands, men remain dominant and there are presumably negative consequences if she does not "go along."

Candice also talked about the preparation she undergoes prior to going to the facility to deliver programming.

> "I'm sure this is overkill now, but I always do with my husband, before I leave the house for the day, I'm like, 'Ok, boob check, butt check, how we looking?' and he's like, 'Can't see anything,' and I'm like, 'great.'"

Candice's description of the awareness she has of her body is a reflection of the ways that the female body is problematized and teenage boys are assumed and expected to respond to the female body in an inappropriate way. The training within juvenile justice systems demonstrates an acknowledgement of the gender borderland and places the burden of female objectification on females, as Candice recalls, "our orientation was really strict about like jewelry, like female dress." The gender borderland within juvenile justice raises an important question regarding the responsibility of the women who work with youth, especially as it relates to age and the power that comes from being an adult in the facility versus a youth, and what it means as an adult woman who works with young men and boys. I will discuss this more in depth in a future section.

The sub-theme of gender also manifested, albeit less frequently and differently, with the men I interviewed. For many of the men in this study, their identity as a man provided them common ground to build on, even across racial lines. For the men that I interviewed in this study, working with girls presented a challenge primarily because of the girls' past experiences with men. Greg and Nicholas both cited girls' past experiences with men as a factor they had to consider when working with the girls but did not completely eliminate their ability to work with the girls.

> "The relationships are a little bit harder for me with females. And it was for males just like I'm just typically a little better with male and male interactions. But like, it was fine. Like, I had really strong relationships with some of the girls, but other than, like, some of the girls had issues with, like, older men in their life. So like, they're just completely just like, 'nope,' so I struggled with that."

Nicholas describes his strategy working with youth in general and how his approach is impacted by gender.

> "And, and, you know, create that positive rapport with them, and really kind of tweak it to each individual kid, because what worked for one kid wouldn't work for another kid just based on, you know, their, their background, or their previous experience. And, you know, some of the young ladies I worked with had, you know, negative experience working with men, you know, from their past, and they could have been victims in the past."

In contrast, the men expressed that it was easier for them to work with boys. It is noteworthy that none of the women I interviewed described working with girls as "easier." This may be explained by a number of different factors. One hypothesis might be that women are

hypersexualized in all settings, another is that regardless of the youth population, men were in charge and therefore the power of the male gaze remained intact, or that the women in this study did not find it difficult to build relationships with the youth boys, and practiced self-awareness and were cognizant of their personal boundaries with youth. In my interview with Lisa, a Director in one of the largest juvenile justice systems in the United States, she said

> "Corrections can be in general, tough for women. I sat in an adult prison with a roomful of 80 corrections officers, and a handful of them stand up and tell me we don't think you should be here because you put us at risk because you're a woman and women should not work in a prison."

These statements point out a culture of machismo, a concept derived from Latino literature to describe an attitude among men that is chauvinistic and demeaning towards others, particularly women. Lisa's experience is an example of an explicit way that her gender was weaponized against her and considered a liability. This interaction and the concept of machismo is a manifestation of patriarchy that exists within the borderland space.

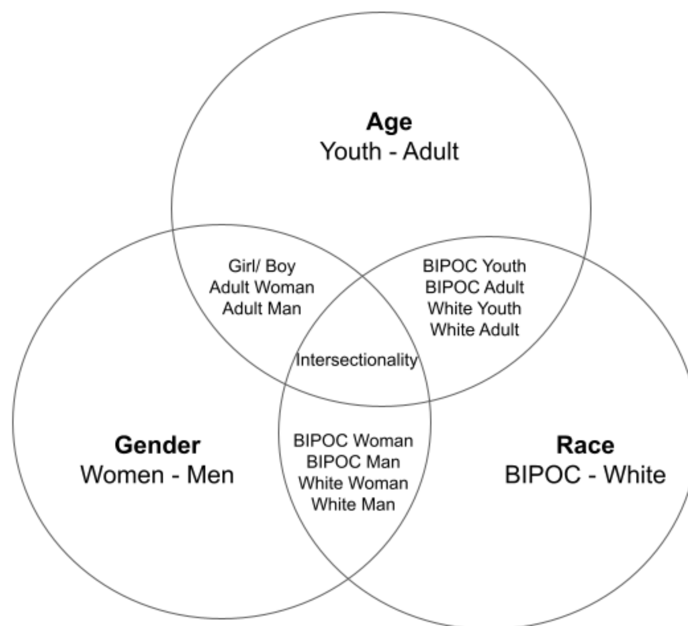
Intersectionality

Of the four women who brought up gender, two Black women brought up their identity as a Black woman and their experience in implementing working in the youth justice context. This idea of intersecting identities is called "intersectionality" and Patricia Hill Collins (2019, p. 245) identifies the borderlands as a valuable conceptualization to visualize the hybridity of individuals whose identities are a cross of gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, age, sexual orientation, religion, etc. Arredondo and Hurtado (2003) further emphasize that the Mestizas are the product of the borderlands because of the with mixed or hybrid identities individuals have and embrace. Like Mestiza, Collins (2019) describes that the intersections between identities is

always evolving and changing based on the context, and Courtney and Diane both described that their identity as Black women is used against them, while their racial identity proves to be an asset in their ability to build supportive relationships with youth of color. In addition, the result of individuals who have multiple intersecting marginalized identities is further decreased social and political power because these individuals do not fit into the larger, pure categories (Collins, 2020, p.26). Figure 5 below shows how each of three aforementioned identity categories intersected and interacted in this study to shape the experience of the individuals I interviewed in this study, as well as their perception of the experiences of the youth they work with.

Figure 5

Intersection of Age, Race and Gender



Along the intersection of gender and age, Candice pointed out the challenges she has experienced given that they are running a relationship-based program. Within the borderlands of juvenile justice, adults inherently have more power. Candice is aware of this and considers it her

responsibility to ensure that the relationships she has with youth are appropriate. The nature of the program she is running is an SJYD relationship-based sports program. On a personal level she described the challenges as an adult woman in demonstrating authenticity with the youth.

> C: So I think like, being authentic is a thing. The being a female one. To give the short version of this, and I'm still trying to figure this out. I don't think they have positive relationships with authority who are female in their life, other than their mother, so, or a grandmother or a matriarchal figure, so a lot of times they perceive my caring as like a romantic feeling, so like I still am trying to navigate that. So like, our program is all about building relationships, but for me, it's like, there's a barrier. I can't act the same as my partner does, cause like, it will, just, (long pause)
>
> M: Be perceived as inappropriate?
>
> C: Exactly.

The challenge Candice describes exists at the intersection of age and gender, communicating self-awareness of her own personal characteristics and social awareness of how others may perceive her behaviors. The situation as Candice describes it captures the abuse of power by adults within the facility to exploit youth for entertainment and personal pleasure. Further, Candice shows awareness and recognition of the chronosystem of the facility where the program is implemented, noting the history of inappropriate relationships staff had with youth.

> "And this facility is not without a jaded past, and present, like there's like often sort of um, maybe corruption is a strong word. But um recently there's a huge investigation right now because there were was like romantic relationships between female staff and the young men, or like there's a couple years ago before we came, there was like, they would run underground fighting rings, and like staff would do, and there would be constant

assaults, kids to staff and staff to kids. And so like, I totally understand them being protective of the people who want to capture what's going on in its current form."

Candice is describing the current state of an investigation at the facility where her program takes place. As a reminder, Greg is Candice's co-director who runs the program in the same facility, however Greg did not mention the past and current state of affairs in the facility, highlighting one of the ways that men and women experience the same situation differently. Her account further demonstrates the power and interest of insider adults in the juvenile justice system to control the narrative surrounding the treatment and experiences of youth while they are incarcerated in the facility. Candice is describing conflict within the borderland between youth and adults manifesting in physical and emotional ways, including violence. Candice's description portrays abuses of power by adults within the borderlands and compounds the initial abuse of power with controlling the current narrative.

At the intersection of gender and race, Robert, an African American man describes his identity as an asset in his experience working with youth in an all-male facility. He works in a state where African American youth make up 40% of the youth in the justice system compared to only 12% in the state (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). Robert said,

> "I think one of the biggest things I'll say this, I think the fact that I was African American male and even so, so many African American male staff there. The fact that I was there and I was leading it. I think that made the youth feel more comfortable. You know, and, and plus I did do things that I knew that they enjoyed."

Intersectionality results in emotional and cognitive labor, and as you can see, the results of this study demonstrate that emotional and cognitive labor associated with working in the juvenile justice context is not distributed equally, with women, specifically Black women in this

study, bearing the greatest load. Two of the women I interviewed described their experiences as Black women trying to implement SJYD in their respective states. Courtney described the challenges she faced to gain the attention of the rest of board members and state officials to the experiences of Black girls in her state. She recalls,

> "So it was just like, constantly putting pressure on them. And I mean, I had to guilt these people. I have to start you know, pulling out data and like, pulling other national studies like, 'Y'all treat these girls like they're invincible, like you don't see them and y'all act like y'all don't see me. Y'all see me.' So you know what I started doing? This is so stupid. I started wearing bright colors to every meeting. I'm like since you act like you don't see me I'm wearing a bright ass red sweater. POW! I mean, seriously, it was intentional, I wore bright colors to those meetings every time. Like you gone see and hear me, damn it. And I just went on and on and on to the to the point where the whole agency, they were like, 'Oh, like Courtney is here."

Courtney describes the extent she had to go to simply to gain the attention of her colleagues. Her actions are a response to the invisibility of Black women in her professional setting that is also reflective of the invisibility of Black women on a larger social scale. Courtney's actions indicate just that- action, or labor, that is required for her presence to be at a minimum, acknowledged. She also describes the additional work that she went to in gathering additional research to validate her opinions. Her quote conveys a calculated approach to gain the visual and cognitive attention of her colleagues.

Courtney also calls out the notion that Black girls are invincible, centering the borderland of age, race, and gender. Courtney addresses the invisibility of Black girls and the dehumanizing perspective that Black girls are invincible. This is a narrative that is harmful because it neglects

the emotional and developmental needs of Black girls in the juvenile justice system. If it were not for Courtney, a Black woman in their state, the needs of Black girls would likely go unaddressed because they do not share an identity with the white, male adults who are largely in control. The example of Courtney elevates the importance of representation at the administrative level, particularly for Black girls in the state. I asked Courtney about the demographic makeup of her colleagues in the state who are the administrators and board members for their juvenile justice system. She replied:

> "That demographic is mostly is mostly male, mostly white. But when I'm in a DMC committee, we're talking some some people of color. Yes, some of them are definitely connected to juvenile justice. But we're also looking, at the (State) Taskforce for young women, all white women. All white women. Like they can't keep up a woman of color on there, because we be like, 'Nah sis. It ain't for us.'"

Courtney describes the racial and gender makeup of her colleagues who are system insiders with status as predominantly white men. Her final sentence captures the emotion and understanding that women of color do not feel like they belong in the space specifically designed to address the experiences of youth of color. That the State Taskforce is made up of primarily white women and women of color do not stay on the taskforce is attributable to the power structure of the task force and procedures that favor white women. The language Courtney uses in the last sentence of the excerpt presents a familiarity and camaraderie among women of color. The phrase "sis" as a shortened version of "sister" alludes to sisterhood specifically among Black women and the fictive kinship that they share (Neal-Barnett et al., 2011). It is a word that Dr. Nicole Holliday describes as "(representative of) kinship and power among most marginalized groups (Rocque, 2019). Courtney uses the word "us," communicating further solidarity between

the women of color who have decided not to participate on the task force. There is a mutual understanding of the meaning of each of the six words between women of color who are exchanging that statement. The brevity of the statement communicates the emotional toll and exhaustion of trying to fit into white spaces, and the intentional decision to not participate on the task force. The use of familial and casual language like "nah," and "ain't," foils the institutional, white setting of the task force. Courtney's statement can be considered an act of resistance because of the language she chooses to use and by not taking the blame for not participating. Her choice of words rejects the white institutional setting and the ownness of non-participation is placed on the structure, procedures, and practices of the task force that create a culture exclusive to white women. While on paper women of color are allowed to participate on the task force on paper, there is a culture that does not welcome or foster active and equal participation.

Intersectionality in this study is most clearly seen in the accounts of the Black women I interviewed as the intersection of race and gender is highlighted in Courtney's quote. Whereas the white women who participated in the study could attest to their experience being marginalized working in the juvenile justice system because of their gender, Courtney and Diane communicate the compounded adversity they face as a result of their racial and gender identities. Diane described her experience as a Black woman who is the leader of an advocacy organization.

> "So I guess, being a woman like being a woman is one thing because you always have to be really mindful about how you present but I am a fearless leader who doesn't bite my tongue and I don't hide anything that I've been through. I'm very transparent about everything and sometimes that's threatening and then for other people is like a breath of fresh air because they don't have a lot of people that lead that way. They they're used to advocacy organizations that kind of temper, what's going to be said and what's going to

be shared. And I don't do that. But like, if you think about the historical context, we as Black women have always kind of led the way, like we've gotten the least amount of credit, we get the least amount of pay in this country, but we've always maintained how so home, run the family, we've done everything. Like if we have a husband that has a business, we typically are in the background, doing the accounting, you know, doing customer service, and the marketing. So it's not a new thing that Black women lead, but it's always been overshadowed by other egos. It's that a way to say it?... So you know, people just people don't give women in general, not, not just Black women, they don't give women in general the same respect and the same amount of leverage as men. But hey, I am here for the fight. I'm here for that."

Diane's account provides context beyond the juvenile justice system that describes the experience of women, and Black women, more specifically as marked by a lack of respect and credit for work and contributions. Diane emphasizes the significant role and impact of women, and Black women, within communities without receiving compensation or appreciation. The concept of respect emerged again in this excerpt, like in Heidi's, and Diane describes the attainment of respect as a "fight." This is indicative of a struggle and tension that is a marker of the borderlands. The tension is the result of a difference in power between each of the identities represented by Diane, including race and gender. The juvenile justice borderland is informed by the broader social dynamics outside the juvenile justice system, and in fact, the juvenile justice system amplifies these existing phenomena and becomes a microcosm of U.S. society. One participant, Candice, says that the juvenile justice context is

"literally like a simulated petri dish of all the most heightened things going on. Like you have hyper-masculinity, and you have this highest trauma backgrounds, and the poorest

of the poor, and all of it is happening right at once, and I sort of just think everything is blown up and under the microscope in that regard."

Provided that the juvenile justice system is a microcosm of the greater United States allows for the results of scientific research conducted within the juvenile justice system to be extrapolated and generalized to the broader context. Up to this point, I have described specific factors that impact the implementation of programs that promote SJYD principles within the juvenile justice system. I have also discussed how the individual factors like race, gender, and age impact one's access to social capital and is tied to power and influence the interactions within the borderlands. In one of the earlier sections, I discussed paternalism and colonialism, and made mention of future discussions regarding the subject and end goal of paternalism and colonialism, specifically that access and funding emerged as themes tied to paternalism. At this point, it is important to explicitly state that social capital leads to financial capital. The results presented thus far are illustrative of the rules shaping the dynamics within the borderlands. The borderlands is the antithesis of maintaining social segregation and provides an avenue to challenge the power structure that maintains social segregation. Social capital is required to navigate the borderlands, specifically to gain access and funding in order to implement programs promoting SJYD principles within the juvenile justice context.

Control of Access to Program Delivery

The borderlands of juvenile justice includes the administration, facility staff, community organizations, families, volunteers, and of course, youth. The activities that take place within the borderlands of juvenile justice are dependent on the approval of those with power. In this setting, those with power are those who control access to the youth and facilities, and those who control the funding to finance programs. As I just discussed, interpersonal and intrapersonal factors

impact the amount of social capital that outsiders have and therefore impact their ability to move throughout the borderlands. The relationships with key insiders were previously identified as significant to navigating the borderlands and resulted in paternalism of these relationships. One of the manifestations of patriarchy is access to institutions or access to power within institutions (Lerner, 1986). In this section, I discuss access within the juvenile justice system. Access emerged as a theme that can be identified in two ways, on paper and in practice.

On-Paper Access

Access on paper refers to the approval by the administration of the juvenile justice facility or system to be allowed entrance into the juvenile justice facility or to the program working with youth. For the programs represented by the study participants, on-paper access was determined largely through informal relationships with juvenile justice insiders. As a reminder, only three of the eleven individuals I interviewed were located within the juvenile justice system and were considered insiders with on-paper access.

For those outside of the juvenile justice system, informal relationships with insiders emerged as critical in order to obtain in-person access. Many study participants were able to obtain and maintain their access through various communication avenues (i.e., texts, calls and face-to-face conversations).

Candice and Greg are program partners, employed by local universities, who run a sports-based leadership program in a secure juvenile correctional facility. Both Candice and Greg emphasized that their personal relationship with key insiders was significant to their program success. Greg said,

> “So we have Derek (pseudonym) who's in there. And he's, I think about to get a huge promotion. He's gonna be I think they're testing him to be the number two in the

facility… which would be really good for us… And we're like, we text with them, like and the person that I think that would step for him. Like we're also super close with him. He does a pretty good job, but that would be nice."

Additionally, Candice describes a texting conversation she had with their program partner inside the juvenile justice facility where they run their sports program. She was talking about an incident saying, "then our partner texted us, like "you guys are in some hot shit, you're in some deep shit right now." Candice's recount of the text message she and her outsider partner received indicates a level of comfort between them and their insider partner. It also highlights the informal mechanisms of communication (i.e., text messaging) used within the relationship to maintain their access with insiders of the formal institution.

In another example, William described how his previous involvement as a volunteer in the detention center provided him an avenue to gain on-paper access into the juvenile detention center. His relationship as an existing volunteer and with insiders with institutional status provided him formal access to the institution from a programmatic standpoint. William's existing relationship and reputation running the program at the local adult detention provided the social capital necessary to gain entry into the youth facility. In this example, informal factors impacted the mobility and access the individuals I interviewed had within the juvenile justice system. Through his volunteering, he built a relationship with the Dean of the facility, a key insider with institutional status and power, helping to support the start of the literacy program. He said,

"The Dean and I we got a great relationship where I can just ask some things and he can tell me yes and no. And I remember when it first started, when I first bought it, my deal was I so fast, it was like (snaps)... He was like, 'Okay, what book you want to read?' ... So we picked the book, and then like, very next week, they were already ordered... some

of these other facilities you know, you can't even get into unless you have like, I don't I got, I have a nonprofit but you know, I don't have a website, I don't have you know, getting to that point. But it's like, you know, not bringing I'm not I'm not coming in as the Boys and Girls Club or as, they got one organization that's huge I think (Regional) Care Coalition or something like that (Regional) ministry or something like that… I didn't even ask for an order to books. It was, Dean was just like, Oh, we got the books… And like I said, it just kind of just happened, like I already have a heart to get into the juvenile detention center… I've been volunteering with them through Sunday worship."

In addition to gaining on-paper access, the relationship and social capital that William had established with the Dean resulted in resources for the program. The Dean's status within the institution provided William with the capital to make progress quickly in regards to the program approval and implementation, whereas other outsiders who did not have a prior relationship with key insiders with institutional status took much longer.. Moving within the borderlands, in this case, a bureaucratic institution that is part of a larger system requires social capital. In this case, social capital dictates how quickly outsiders are able to move within the borderlands to deliver programming. William also notes that he does not have the same capital as larger nonprofits to gain access into the juvenile justice facilities, increasing the necessity and value of relationships with key insiders.

In another interview, Michelle described the methods they have to take in order to gain access to youth who are currently incarcerated. She uses her experience and knowledge as a mother who has gone through the juvenile justice system as a parent as capital to gain access. This knowledge is utilized as social capital for the implementation and recruitment of the program.

> “And we would get their names and information from the Department of Corrections website. And then we would reach out to the kids that took you know, like a decade. Right? And actually, we continued like every year and, right now we're still doing that. And we reach out to them and ask them to become part of our program.”

Michelle describes a process that eliminates the need for on-paper access, which is unique to the program she is running. In order to gain access, however, she still relied on the collective capital of the program staff who have firsthand knowledge and experience of the juvenile justice system and information sharing. This example of access is unique because it leads directly to the second type of access that was identified, in-person access.

In-Person Access

The second type of access that emerged in the data is what I termed “in-practice.” In practice access is a reference to the front-line, direct-care service staff that manage the day-to-day operations of programs and youth activities. In-person access was a significant factor for outsiders running programs within facilities. The sub-theme of in-person access illuminates the location of power within the borderlands of juvenile justice and shows that the front-line staff hold power in this sense. The front-line and direct service staff act as gatekeepers to the youth for the program staff to go through. The difference between in-person and on-paper access raises the issues of fidelity and accountability of the implementation and delivery of services, including programs that promote SJYD to youth.

In my interview with Travis, he described the range of responsiveness from facility staff and the impact it had on the programming they were able to provide to youth. In addition, once in-person access was gained, there is a consistent awareness of the reality that in-person access

can be rescinded at any moment. Travis described the implementation of a poetry program saying,

> "It really depends on the on, like, the staff member or them depend, like, I think, I think there was definitely staff that that would empower us and saw us as you know, they saw the work that we did… and they would witness what would happen, they would see it, and they would see the work that was being done. And so I think they, those, those staff would oftentimes like, you know, they'll support us. And then there's, there's also staff that I think would be in those workshops and would would sometimes, like, be listening, I think they would get triggered honestly… they would in a way that would interfere. And we had to learn how to like, work with that. Because, yeah, it's like, they would like be like, 'Oh, yeah, you guys can come in and run the workshop,' but then they would like kind of jump in and, and when we didn't need them to necessarily, they would get triggered . And you know what I mean? You know, it is challenging, it has been challenging to work with staff. But sometimes you'll get a staff member that, that understands the work or kind of sees what's happening and kind of sits back and will come in when we ask them to come in, or you know what I mean? That's, I think the best, the best kind of staff that we had in there… I've definitely worked with staff that have been like, I don't know, if it's that they, like, they think we're taking their jobs, or they see us as a threat, but I feel like they make it complicated for us to kind of like get to the kids, you know, like, or sometimes we'll be waiting and waiting and waiting and waiting. And it's just like, or like we'll be stuck, like, in between locked doors, you know? Like, can someone like help us? Literally, like incarcerated, you know, we'll just have to wait it out. But um, it's a mix. It depends. It really depends on on who you're dealing with."

Travis describes that even though the program has on-paper access to work inside the facility, they still have to navigate the relationships with the front-line staff to be able to have contact with youth and deliver programming. The existence and quality of program content is contingent on the individual staff insider. For example, we see here that the emotional component of working with youth in the borderlands of juvenile justice is apparent and impacts the ability for program staff who are outsiders to facilitate the program. This creates a subjective reality in what is considered an objective institution where the assumption is that all youth have the same opportunities and access to services. The account from Travis however provides evidence that this is not the case.

Travis likens the experience of waiting for the staff to respond and allow them to move throughout the facility as being literally incarcerated. This interaction presents the distribution of power clearly where the staff are holding power and control of the situation and freedoms of the program staff. The fact that there is tension between the insiders and outsiders again speaks to the legitimacy of conceptualizing the juvenile justice system as a borderland. Another participant, William, described his awareness of the facility schedule and his dependence on facility staff in order to be able to run his literacy program.

> "And do they have a staff that's going to be willing to be able to say, I guess, going back to the other question, that that's a challenge, in a sense to of like, their staff, and so, you know, they accommodate me, you know, I come in at 9am, at seven and nine, yeah. So, you know, that's good for me, but sometimes you can tell the stresses that they have of like, having to shift their staff order to be able to fully accommodate me."

William conveys an understanding of the logistical impact that his SJYD program has on the facility staff. William recognizes the power that the front line staff have in allowing his

literacy program to operate, calling it an "accommodation" on the part of the facility staff. His statements reflect the distinction between the approval of the administrator on-paper and the staff who provide access in-person. William demonstrates personal and social awareness of the impact that scheduling can have and that there are differences between his personal availability and what may be the optimal time for staff who work at the facility. The relationship with the Dean, a key insider with status, perhaps mitigates this challenge although the on-paper access is not sufficient to eliminate concern William has regarding in-person access. William's account and concern echoes the awareness of Travis that his in-person access can be easily revoked.

Robert, who oversaw the recreation programming within a state juvenile justice system described the challenges the frontline recreation staff faced with accessing the youth in the facility to deliver programming. He said the recreation staff was used throughout the facility to fill in other positions and complete responsibilities outside of their assigned recreation duties.

> "They needed somebody to cover anything, 'Oh, call the recreation staff, get the recreation staff,' you know, 'do this, cover this… .you know, we want to do this and this and they're trying to call us' and like especially like you said, what we talked about the practice. When they wanted to practice, "we really didn't have time to do go out and spend time with the kids or do this," because you're getting pulled in all this, you know, you know, all these, you know, different directions because hey, when all else fails, call the recreation staff."

Recreation staff were pulled throughout the facility to ensure that staff to youth ratios were met in addition to making sure that other programs were implemented. Recreation programs in a correctional facility were contingent upon the status of security within the facility

and other programmatic events. It is helpful to examine in-person access through an ecological lens, where the facility, or the context of the youth is understood as an ecosystem.

Nicholas, who is part of a program for youth who are on probation in the community describes his approach to connect with youth and gain in-person access in the community. He describes the significance of building trust with youth in order to promote involvement, saying,

> "Because a lot of the times from my experience, you know, building a relationship and a rapport with them is key. And becoming someone that they can trust is super key, just because within their own communities and family ecosystem, they may not have anybody that they can trust."

Understanding the ecosystem surrounding youth is essential in gaining in-person access to youth whether they are in a juvenile justice facility or in their community. In-person access results in access to the borderlands between youth and adults, race, and gender which were discussed in the last section. The interactions within the borderlands of juvenile justice are always shaped by power, specifically power as it relates to age, race and gender.

Social capital is useful not only for gaining access, but funding emerged as a theme that was connected to social capital and influenced by the sub-themes of age, race, and gender within the borderlands of juvenile justice.

Program Funding

Funding within the borderlands of juvenile justice provides the financial capital for purchasing supplies and materials and hiring staff to run programs. Funding is a result that is indicative of a formal relationship or partnership between the funder and funded. Internal funding is the provision of financial capital and delivery of services by the same entity. External funding is the provision of financial capital by one entity to a different entity that provides the

delivery of services. In the programs that were represented in this study, funding was provided by both internal and external entities. In this section, I will discuss the funding relationship between internal and external funding entities for inside and outside programs.

Heidi runs a sports program within a juvenile justice facility that has internal and external funding sources. She and the coaches who run the program are outsiders to the juvenile justice facility. They are an example of an outside program receiving internal and external funding. I asked Heidi if the facility was funding the program, and she said,

> “They, they mainly are. Yeah, we have like, we get funding from U.S. Lacrosse for the equipment and additional equipment. But no, they, they really fund it. And I will say like I feel like my tone has been negative. We have had really good experiences here and there.”

The immediacy in which she emphasized the positive experiences the external program has with the funder is indicative of the power that funders hold over programs. This was partially discussed in the section on paternalism, however this quote clearly shows the association of paternalism with funding. Heidi did not explicitly say that is why she wanted to go on record and ensure the institution was represented favorably, however, this emerged as a pattern among the programs who received funding from internal partners that controlled access and funding. Funding is necessary and although the program receives funding from a national body for specific equipment, the program Heidi runs includes multiple sports that are not covered by the external funder.

External funding by nature involved more entities. Using the ecological model to place the funders helps illustrate the breadth of investment in programs. For example, William does not receive funding, however the internal body, the facility, purchases the books and provides the

sports equipment needed to run the literacy program. In addition, the local community library provided books on tape at no cost to the program. This relationship, although there is no monetary transaction, was a partnership and sponsorship of sorts because of the value of the contributions to the program that fulfilled what would otherwise be a program cost. William says,

> "Yeah, I mean, as far as the books, they (detention center) purchase the books. Then, like I said, the audio book came from the library. Well, I mean, bringing snacks and stuff like that, that's just something I'm doing. Just because I know, the kids will, I know it's a lot easier to kind of sit there if I got some chocolate and candy. I've never really asked I think what they bring to me is the access and they allow me to do that access and free will then that's enough."

William describes the reciprocity within the relationship between the literacy program and the detention center, in addition to the contributions from the local city library, as the support for the literacy program. William describes the personal financial investment he is willing to make to support youth engagement in the program as well. His explanation also reaffirms the value access has for programs run by individuals outside of the institution, in addition to the financial support. William's program includes the local library that is based in the community. This resource is a type of community investment that has the potential to support youth as they return home in addition to alleviating the financial cost of programming on the juvenile detention center. The diversification of funding reduces the perceived control that a juvenile justice facility has over the program, however, the facility still has the ability to control in-person access, as discussed previously.

Justification

Further, William's program supported the educational goals of the detention center which incentivized the detention center to allow William to run the literacy program. He recalled the Dean's enthusiasm for the program,

> "So like, like, you know, like summer reading programs and things of that nature. It was kind of like, you know, that's what he thought it was, I think in his head, he was like, 'Alright, this is another summer reading program. That's good that he's willing to come in and talk to the kids about reading.'"

The perception of the literacy program as educational helped William gain the financial support needed to operate from the detention center. The reinforcement of facility goals that programs offered provided an additional incentive for funding programs. Similarly, Candice told me that she believed one of the reasons that their sports-based leadership program received internal funding was because it could be tied to health benefits. She said that,

> "so there's another program that's like a dog training program that's at our university that's not getting paid and has been doing work for quite a while. And we're like we don't know what the difference is so… I would say that, I don't know. Maybe they don't view it as much of a priority because it's like dog walking. I think that since we can connect to health outcomes more, maybe that's a thing. But also she's like not a super likeable person."

In addition to this account, funding is presumably tied to the ability to the acceptability of outcomes of the program presented to the funder as well as the personal characteristics of the individual running the program. Candice recognized how interpersonal factors were an asset to gain funding or could be a barrier, and funding decisions were not objective or based solely on benefits the program could offer youth.

Even in circumstances where the program was internally funded, programs were not ensured protection and therefore were not sustainable. Robert, who was an insider and oversaw recreation programming that was internally funded, described the challenge of communicating the value of recreation programs. Ultimately, his position was eliminated and much of the program he had implemented had stopped because there was no longer coordination of recreation programming across the agency facilities. He said,

> "R: Sometimes it's hard for people, sometimes it's hard for people to understand like the true impact of what's going on, but I'm like, if you were to talk to those kids because I remember even months after you know those things stopped happening, the staff used to tell me, "The kids are still asking about the field day."
>
> M: Did they ever give you a reason (for being dismissed)?
>
> R: Oh, I think they just like were you know, they're really focused on like trauma informed care really trauma informed care is really just about like you know relationship building… Things like that. So like for me like I was like, yeah, you are building a relationship, you're connecting with the kid, you know, using all like the different components of TBRI, you're just not doing it in the way that they wanted"

Robert's experience being let go is indicative of the impact that misunderstanding can have on the structure and provision of programming for youth in the juvenile justice system. The ability to communicate the program as vital directly impacted the existence of the program and positions of staff who implemented them. Robert's experience also highlighted the challenge of demonstrating the significance of programs that promote SJYD outside of the clinical setting to funders.

Affordability

Another factor that played into whether or not programs received funding was the general cost to the facility. While William did not explicitly mention the cost of the literacy program, the start-up and operating program costs were relatively low, and Greg noted the affordability of programs as an incentive to provide access. Greg, who runs the sports leadership program with Candice noted, “they're really open, they're pretty much like the Yes-us to death… And we're not, it doesn't cost them a ton.” Candice told me that their key insider told them about funding opportunities from within the facility, and said, “and so we’re like contracted as partners with the facility. And it’s like, well for us, it’s an exciting amount, but for them, apparently it’s like, we’re not being paid that much. Which is fine.” The sports-based leadership program is viewed as a low cost, high impact opportunity for youth, which serves as an incentive for the institution to fund the program.

Gender

I previously discussed gender as a borderland in the juvenile justice context, however gender also emerged as a variable in the procurement of funding. Gender played a role in mitigating the informal relationship that was necessary to secure the direct funding. In the second instance of direct funding, the program was in-house, and still faced practical access challenges. For example, Greg described his understanding of the dynamics of the administrators who make decisions regarding contracts and funding for outside programs. While his SJYD program partner, a woman, referred to the group as a “boy’s club,” Greg responded by saying,

> “I wouldn't consider that a boy’s club. I can definitely see (Candice) saying that though. The number, like the person who is giving us the contract is another male, like that might be more of who she's talking to or talking about… But I think we both, you know, I wouldn't consider it a boy’s club, but if she does, I definitely

know what I need to do to try to, like play into that. Because, again, I'm not against playing into it if it's going to get us money for the program."

Greg demonstrated a conscious willingness to use his gender to his advantage, perpetuating the influence of the patriarchy. In this instance, the norms dictating the interactions and power dynamics within the borderland of gender are being reinforced wit for the purpose of funding. Greg's response reveals the extent to which the patriarchy and capitalism are related and embedded in the juvenile justice system. Instead of resisting, Greg embraces his identity as a white man and does not resist the inherent power dynamics and privileges associated with his identity. This account also reveals that the procurement of funding is not an objective process and is dependent on the relationships and identities of the program staff.

Bridging

The complex, subjective nature of funding and access contrast the objective image of a correctional institution or system where there is an inherent assumption that all youth are receiving the same opportunities, type and quality of programs or services. Applying the ideas of social capital is possible when examining the correctional landscape as an ecosystem. This perspective highlights the bonding and bridging that results in opportunities for youth. Bridging appeared more frequently at the program/ community/ institutional level, however at the individual level, bonding occurs, specifically in regards to race and gender. Bonding between men or between individuals of the same race at the individual level provided the informal relationship that allowed and supported the formal bridging between sectors and programs.

In the case of Candice and Greg, the funding relationships reinforced bridging the relationships between their external programs and the internal funder. Bridging was established

and reinforced as Candice and Greg's key insider provided knowledge of the existence of funds as well as how to obtain funding. Candice told me,

> "We were just finding our own funding and finding our own grants, making it work, but then we heard from our partner, who shoots it straight to us, that like, 'Oh no, people are contracted here.' And I'm like, 'Oh, how much?' and I remember he was like, 'around 70-80 or so a year,' and I'm thinking like, I don't know what I heard, but I was like, '7-8 thousand, that's pretty decent. We could do a lot with that.' And he's like 'No, (Candice), 70 or 80 thousand a year.' And I was like, 'holy shit.'"

The relationship with the key actor is a significant factor in the knowledge of and procurement of financial resources. The bridging relationship that exists between academics Candice and Greg and their key insider of the juvenile justice system is maintained and strengthened through the exchange of information and exchange of funds for services. Bridging in this example is occurring between two separate institutions, the university and the juvenile justice system.

Another example of bridging relationships that result in funding comes from Diane. Diane runs a program that supports individuals when they return back to their communities and also runs a Youth Advisory Board. Diane is supported through grants and private contributions from individuals and community groups. In this respect, bridging is occurring at the micro level where individuals are connected with others in the community outside their social location and is occurring at the social and institutional level between community groups and government agencies. I have known Diane for a few years after meeting in the same professional network, and I have seen periodic updates regarding donations and fundraisers that were happening to support her program. She told me about a few non-advocacy and system-adjacent groups that

have been supporting her organization over the past year in light of the Black Lives Matter protests in the summer of 2020. One is a group of bakers in the city who hosted bake sales and donated the proceeds to her organization.

> "So the girl, the two who started it, (Jane) and (Kaitlyn), have always been working in the community, they do this... And they just wanted to kind of step it up and involve other people, once it, you know, got crazy, and we started doing all the marching and things. And so they they bring together a bunch of, you know, professional bakers, and people who work in restaurants to support like, small grassroots organizations… Yeah, we're marching to free all these people, but who does the support after the fact?... basically, we had a conversation with with (Jane) and (Kaitlyn), you know, some of the other bakers and they just were like, Look, we're going to do what we can to make sure that you have what you need, because a lot of people don't think about they donate to the easy thing, like, you know, the bail funds is taken off all over the country. And that's the easy thing to donate to… So, you know, there's some groups that are very intentional, and they're interested and they're genuinely interested in making sure that people are good."

The bridging relationship with the group of hobbyists and food industry provides Diane's organization the ability to provide programming to those impacted by the juvenile justice system. The relationship between Diane, Jane and Kaitlyn includes critical dialogue that demonstrates global and social awareness. Diane also has established bridging relationships with restaurant owners across the community that have led to financial support. I asked how these relationships with bakers and restaurateurs came to be, and she said,

"Honestly, they just heard about it and pop that one day and was like, 'hey, do you mind if we do this thing for you?' And I was like, sure, you know what? Yeah… (Kendrick) (restaurant owner) and I actually became good friends, and we never met… like, I have a ton of new friends who I have never met in person. But they're like, really good friends. And, you know, they just heard about the work through a different like, organization, they may have been doing a fundraiser."

The maintenance of bridging relationships have provided social benefits for Diane beyond the financial contributions made to her organization. Similarly, Diane has a relationship with John, who owns a new taco restaurant, that is mutually beneficial.

"And so the crazy thing about (John) is like this, this is a new business. And he was like, 'Look,' you know, he struggled, like he didn't know if we were gonna make payroll. 'But I have to give back because, you know, I'm really passionate about this.' He's a second chance employer. He hires people who have records. He doesn't act about, there's no background check question on his employment application. It is what it is. If you are a good worker, and you come to work, he will hire you. So that's how we connected. And, you know, that's my homie."

The bridging relationships with local businesses is an opportunity for Diane to secure funding and community support, and for the local businesses to fulfill their personal passions. These connections allow Diane to move about the borderlands of juvenile justice because they provide financial and social capital that is not always accessible to grassroots organizations. She gave the example of work they were doing with families experiencing houselessness after being released from a correctional facility, saying,

"So Biden has just signed a bill today that reimburses at 100% local government. And it is it's inclusive of people who are staying in hotels, motels and rooming houses. But the problem is, if you're a grassroots organization, you're not considered a local government organization. So we don't get reimbursed. But are we gonna leave somebody out on the street if we have the funding for it? No, we're not, you know, so."

This example emphasizes the need for accessible funding for grassroots organizations that are precluded from financial support. Michelle, who runs a program in another state, described her previous experience receiving grants and funding from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). She said,

"Mi: Maria, Bob Listenbee, who was the head of OJJDP.

Ma: Yes, I met him once, at a conference where it was one of his last events.

Mi: I gotta tell you, like, Maria, he was amazing. And he emailed me and thanked us for all the work that we were doing. And yeah, and I'll never forget, I saved that email, because I responded back to him. And I said to him, it is because of the funding that we received, that we were able to start the (State) Justice Initiative program. And we were able to sort of look into, we were able to look into waivers in our state. Now, what was interesting, too, is that that funding opportunity was never offered again, after a year we received it. Yeah. And that happens quite a bit. Because what they do is what happens is that the state's rush in in the states will say, Oh, no, this shouldn't have gone to them. Like because they reached out to us after we received the funding, because it was, yeah, and so that was a big deal. Three quarters of a million dollars going to this nonprofit organization. And we as the state don't even know what, but the part of it was because I did not know, Maria, that you had to let them know. And it never dawned on me. And

plus, the other thing is, I wouldn't let them know because I knew in the midst of that as true advocates, you know, we were going to be uncovering things that clearly the state doesn’t want uncovered.”

This account from Michelle demonstrates the implications for organizations that receive funding from the State, and the ways in which grassroots organizations are at a systemic disadvantage. Although Michelle describes a connection to an insider with status, the head of the federal agency (at the time), her story also highlights the bias against advocacy organizations that are not part of the State system. Michelle’s organization is not demonstrating paternalism for the State and as a result did not receive funding subsequent funding from the state or federal government. This example reiterates and gives credence to the fears held by outside organizations who act in paternalistic ways in order to secure funding and access. Organizations, like Michelle’s, who are unwilling to compromise the integrity of their work and/or shift their priorities to align with the State funding entity are consequently excluded from funding opportunities. In addition, Michelle admits that she did not know the procedures and stipulations associated with that particular funding, highlighting the knowledge needed to access and utilize particular funding as another potential barrier for programs and organizations.

The quote from Michelle locates power with the State, who intervenes and restricts the funding stream, forcing the program to identify other funding sources. Knowledge of funding bodies and opportunities is tied to the relationships and social capital that one has, which is tied to the quantity and quality of bridging relationships that an individual and organization has. Social capital is impacted by factors like race and gender, which therefore impact the ability to access funding, as well as factors like previous involvement with the adult and juvenile justice system. Grassroots organizations are often led by individuals who have been through the juvenile

justice system or are directly impacted, which in the case of the juvenile justice system. Previous involvement and being a local, grassroots organization emerged as a barrier in the ability to secure funding from certain agencies, including the State. Diane describes some of the bureaucratic challenges she faces as someone who has a previous felony conviction and is now leading a nonprofit, which requires financial capital. She says,

> "Being a Smaller nonprofit, and not necessarily having the, the relationship built with larger institutions, like a lot of times people are so used to going to certain governmental entities to say that, you know, they do things that they're resistant to grassroots organizations coming in and saying, okay, we've been doing this for years, and it's been failing our communities. Now it's time for a change. So going through like all of the structural like, paperwork and changes, and being somebody who has a record, sometimes that is a barrier. Sometimes, the challenge is getting people to understand that we're the most, we're the most equipped to work with people that have been through these systems."

This reality demonstrates how the funding system perpetuates colonialism and capitalism by limiting access to funding outside of the State. By limiting access to financial capital, grassroots organizations who provide programming are forced to identify alternate funding sources. This limits the extent to which those with previous justice system involvement are able to participate in providing services to youth who are currently in the system, and those who have direct experience are arguably those who should be leading changes and identifying ways institutions can better support youth.

The challenge of being a grassroots organization was familiar to William, who runs a literacy program. He told me that he has to remind himself that he is a "jazz musician, not a pop

star.” This was a reference to the popularity and recognition of major youth development programs and organizations that are the “pop stars,” compared to smaller programs that are “jazz musicians.” Jazz musicians utilize techniques like improvisation, innovation and are made of distinctive voices or sounds (Dummies, 2021), traits that are also attributable to grassroots organizations that are responding to and reflective of the local needs of the community. William and Diane both are the “jazz musicians” of SJYD programs in juvenile justice, each doing impactful and meaningful work, yet having to do so with restricted financial opportunities. In these instances, bridging relationships prove to be essential for the “jazz musicians” to be able to operate financially. Collins (2019, p. 246) uses jazz as a metaphor to explain how the product, jazz music, is the result of collaboration between unique actors and every performance is distinct. The community, or audience, plays a critical role in co-creating the musical experience, much like Diane and William are delivering their program based on the needs of the youth in their community using the resources that are available to them in their community.

Ultimately, funding is a by-product of social capital that enables individuals to implement programs in the juvenile justice borderlands. The data from this study show that social capital is necessary in order to procure funding to deliver programming to youth in the borderland of the juvenile justice system. In the data regarding the theme of funding, factors like race continue to be salient as individuals navigate the borderlands and try to secure financial resources. This can be seen in the fact that both William and Diane are Black/ African American operating small grassroots non-profit organizations, compared to the white interview participants that were able to access internal funding with the help of key insider relationships.

The ability of the individuals in this study to gather the resources needed to implement and deliver programming is an illustration of bricolage, the third component of Mestiza

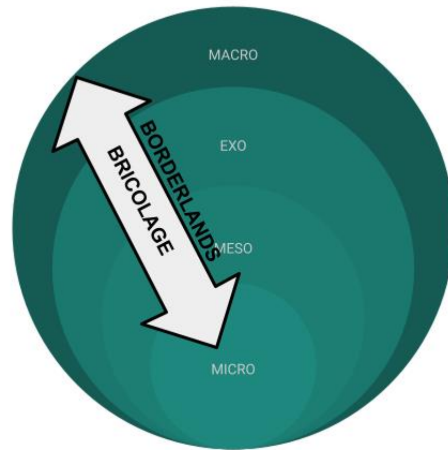
methodology. Funding and access were the two primary themes that emerged in the data as the by-products of social capital, and social capital is what allows programs to be successfully delivered within the borderlands of the juvenile justice system. Sub-themes within the borderlands included race, gender, age, and intersectionality, as each of the sub-themes impacted the exchange and transfer of social capital within the borderlands.

Bricolage

I previously discussed how I used bricolage to complete this study. As I conducted this study, it became apparent that the participants in the study who facilitated SJYD programs are also bricoleurs. The process of developing and implementing programs to support youth beyond the program and institutional setting prioritizes youth liberation and independence. Focusing on the future of youth as free people in society while they are currently in a carceral setting or under state control (i.e. probation or parole) is a radical pivot from the hyper focus on youth's "criminal" past. As I present the results from this study, I will showcase the ways in which the participants acted as bricoleurs to develop and implement SJYD principles by using the resources available to them in the borderlands. Figure 6 illustrates that bricolage takes place within the borderlands.

Figure 6

Bricolage within the Borderlands



In this section, I will discuss the primary themes that emerged as ways that the staff I interviewed applied SJYD principles within the context of the borderlands of the juvenile justice system. I will first discuss authentic adult engagement and the different ways that the staff did this, then I will discuss how adults centered youth in the juvenile justice system. The third theme I will discuss is youth choice, and the opportunities that youth were given to exercise agency, before discussing youth voice and how adults ensured youth voices were integrated and respected. The final theme I will discuss as a strategy that emerged for implementing SJYD within the juvenile justice system is embracing a future orientation.

Authentic Engagement

Engagement is one of the primary ways that staff bricoleurs promoted SJYD in their respective programs. Authentic engagement was demonstrated by recognizing youth as partners in the program rather than simply receivers of treatment, as well as demonstrating explicit dignity and respect for youth in the program. I will first begin by discussing ways that the interview participants demonstrated authentic engagement in their programs with youth.

Bricoleurs are naturally engaging the resources around them, and in the individuals in the study exhibited this by recognizing the youth as a valuable resource to program and youth success. From the position of authentic youth engagement, the adults I interviewed were able to implement SJYD practices in each of their respective programs.

Agency

Authentic youth engagement facilitates Positive Youth Development, particularly for youth in marginalized communities, and acts as a catalyst for system change (Iwasaki, 2016). Youth engagement is characterized by mutual respect and collaboration between adults and youth towards a common goal (National League of Cities, 2010). In the context of this study, two of the formalized the roles of youth within their programs institutionalized youth engagement. Michelle's program currently involves 132 youth in a youth caucus, some of whom are currently incarcerated, and there are seven youth who are back out in the community who are Youth Advocate Leaders. Michelle told me that the Youth Advocate Leaders,

> "participate in meetings, they develop their zoom series. They speak to parents whose kids are, are separated, like, for example, in our parent's coalition, we have one parent whose son was put in solitary, and she didn't understand the process. So then she was connected with (Ray). And also (Chris). And they could say to her, 'this is what he should do right now, he needs to ask for this form, fill out this information, because they need to know that, that he is appealing this decision.' So the wealth information that they're able to provide, that's one of the things that they do in addition to that, and then they write a piece for the newsletter that goes into the newsletter. And they participate in all of the coalition's and campaigns."

Michelle's description of the work that the Youth Advocate Leaders show that youth are not simply mouth-pieces for the organization communicating messages and information derived from adults. Instead, the Youth Advocate Leaders create and implement their ideas independent and in collaboration with adults. To use Hart's Ladder of Participation (1992) as a reference, the Youth Advocate Leaders are demonstrating higher degrees of participation, where activities are youth-originated and directed, and decision-making power is shared with adults. In this program, youth are defining the priorities and focus areas for the organization. In doing so, they are informing what their experience will be.

In addition, Michelle provides an example of Ray and Chris (pseudonyms) acting as a resource for a parent who has a parent who is incarcerated. I will discuss the notion that the youth are using their "criminal" past as an asset more in a future section, however this example reveals how youth are identified as experts with valuable information to share. Michelle recognizes that she could offer her opinion or relay information she has gathered from youth experiences, but she says,

> "that's one of the things that's what people will say to me, 'Well, can you can you talk to us about? Can you talk to us about solitary confinement? Or, you know, the conditions of confinement or, or sentencing?' And I said, 'Yeah, I can.' I said, 'but really, you need to speak to our youth advocate leaders. Their voices are so much more authentic, you know, so."

Michelle's cognizant decision and willingness to let youth speak on topics of which they have first-hand experience opens an opportunity for youth to become more engaged in the program and in the community. In this instance, because the youth are engaging with the greater community, youth are gaining social capital as they interact and build a broader network.

Michelle recognizes that the incarceration experiences of youth are valuable and make youth experts with insider knowledge from their first-hand experience that can help parents and other young people in the same situation. Youth are engaged as experts and equal partners in Michelle's program.

Michelle also told me about a phone call she had with a Youth Caucus member earlier in the day, and the youth told her about a situation that had transpired and how she handled it, saying, "'because I already know, what I've heard you say consistently that we are in charge of this. This is, you always tell us. You're the captain of your ship.' I said, 'absolutely. This caucus is yours.'" This interaction reveals past communication Michelle has with the youth about the dynamics of power within the organization, and the agency that she encourages among the youth. The youth Michelle is speaking with is comfortable exercising autonomy and authority because of her understanding that she is an equal partner in the organization. Michelle reinforces the decision that the youth made and the agency the youth took. This reveals alignment between the adults and youth in practice, the youth making the decision, and outcome, the choice the youth made. At the organizational level, the youth in the program contribute to their personal development as they contribute to the program and organization.

Candice also described that engaging youth in the decision making process for program planning combats the institutional power structure that postulates adults over youth. She says that,

> "I would say we're working to kind of minimize that (power differential) in our program setting. So like putting everyone on an even playing field. So like, the approach, instructional model that we are trying to use is like an empowerment based model. And so we're trying to seek out like promoting their competencies and voice and expertise so

they're at like almost like a level playing field. Like we try to get rid of that authority as much as possible. And like we're very clear about like, 'we're not your guards, we're not going to snitch about stuff as long as you abide by our program policies. If I hear something that I know is against the rules, I don't have to tell them.' And so it comes with sort of like safety and culture of the facility but also like um program content. We often, we're not there yet, in the sense that if we gave them full control, we'd be playing basketball everyday. But we sort of want them to have input and then put them in leadership roles during the program as well to sort of minimize then that power differential… um we, we've been very deliberate about not making, not coming in with an agenda and then trying to fit it to the youth. But have the youth sort of drive the culture of the program. And so it shows up in small ways and sort of big ways. We'll do ice-breakers that will be super nerdy but they'll like hijack them and sort of make them more cool, which we're happy about and we're fine with. Even some of the things that other programs might not be comfortable with. We do welcome, I wouldn't say welcome, but we allow discussions of gangs and affiliations with gangs and pride in our program. As long as its not in a way that's violent towards other people. And then like, they pick the music of course, just things like that."

In this quote, Candice explicitly states that as a program, they employ practices and policies that engage youth in decision-making processes. There are opportunities embedded in the structure of the program for youth to use their "competencies and voice and expertise" to shape their experience in the program. The institutionalization of engagement results creates a cycle that promotes youth development in practice and outcome. As youth are engaged in the planning and decision making process of designing the program, they develop cognitive and

intrapersonal skills, and when youth participate in the program they have helped design, youth accumulate those benefits as well.

She too demonstrates the youth development strategy scaffolding. Her sports-based program would be placed at the highest level on Hart's Ladder of Participation (1992) because youth do not have complete control of the program, if they did, she says, "we'd be playing basketball everyday." The relationship with youth provides structure and support to guide youth as they collaborate together and design a program that will be of interest and benefit to youth. In addition, the practices of the adults is to allow youth to exercise control as they "hijack" the ice-breakers. This embracement of youth culture encourages engagement and further facilitates a sense of ownership of the program among youth. The titles and leadership opportunities youth have formalized the extent to which youth engagement is ingrained into the program. If applied to an ecological system, this would show youth engagement integrated into the macro system down to the micro system that involves the interactions between adults and youth.

From an SJYD perspective, two principles, analyzing power in social relationships and embracing youth culture can be identified in the excerpt from Heidi. The culture of the program, as she says, is driven by the youth, and she offers clarification that the role of adults in the program is not punitive. Candice's concession that they allow youth to talk about their gang affiliations exemplifies an additional way that the experiences of youth are not problematized or stigmatized. Gang affiliation is not taboo as the staff demonstrates social awareness of the community context that youth come from. Since youth are co-creators of the program culture, things like gang affiliation are not taboo and youth are able to discuss those parts of their life without negative repercussions.

The concept of co-creation as an avenue of engagement came up in another program. Nicholas, who works in a community-based organization with youth who are on probation, discussed his role in a program working with youth who have left the detention setting. He said,

> "We just kind of co-design goals, short, medium, and long term goals for them to reach, you know, while we work together, and I don't have like a time limit. To work with them. Like I'm not limited to just working with them for six months, like I was as a PO, which is kind of what drew me more to this position is, you know, I can work with them from when they're, you know, 18 until they're 25, or however long, they're willing to want to work with me,"

Nicholas' use of the term "co-design goals" is indicative of a shared endeavor that allows youth to be in control of their own future. The idea of setting different time-based goals is an example of scaffolding that is respectful of the stage of development youth are in, allowing them to build competence and mastery in a supportive environment. The excerpt from Nicholas also indicates that youth are in control of their participation and can choose how long they want to work with Nicholas and the program. The establishment of the position that offers Nicholas flexibility is "what drew (him)" to the position. Creating job positions like this was an example of programs and organizations that want to support youth involved in the juvenile justice system.

The premise of Nicholas' position rests upon the belief that youth are capable of communicating their desires and making their own decisions if they are provided with the necessary support. Engagement is embedded into the organization because the job positions for staff require youth engagement. This is another way that organizations can reinforce youth engagement within the organization. Another way this is done in Nicholas' organization is by integrating youth feedback into the program design and expectations for youth. He said, "we also

asked for buy-in from the youth because we want to hear, you know, have some additions, they may have to hold themselves accountable or hold their peers accountable throughout the program." Asking youth to contribute to the guidelines that shape participation within the program is another way that youth engagement was accomplished. Ownership and peer-accountability was also promoted because the youth have an understanding of the expectations since they helped create them. In the programs represented in this study, youth were engaged throughout the planning and design process as a valued member of the team whose contributions were integrated. Authentic engagement with youth is as a component where youth are a valued resource in successfully implementing SJYD.

Dignified Language

In this study, language emerged as an indicator of the regard adults held of youth in the juvenile justice system. The language that adults used influenced how youth were able to authentically engage in the program. For example, the language that Nicholas used to convey his work and relationship to youth in the SJYD program was distinct. He uses the word "with" rather than "for." This is a subtle, yet clear indication of the orientation that adults have towards youth in the juvenile justice system. The word "with" conveys a partnership and mutuality in activities. Candice shared a similar sentiment in her description of the initial meeting she and Greg had with their internal program partner, saying, "We kinda went in with here's our talent and our expertise, but let's co-create a program based on facility needs." This posture addressed the power disparity between the two parties that is being brought into the borderland and sets a foundation for collaboration and partnership. When adults and youth are working with one another, authentic engagement is promoted because youth are not being problematized. This type

of relationship emphasizes and elevates the competencies and strengths of each party, including youth, and facilitates engagement made of dignified interactions among adults and youth.

The impact of language setting the rules for engagement emerged in my interview with Diane. She said that “the most important thing with anything that I do is making sure that I lead with dignity, because I know that we have been left not without a voice, but muted.” The distinction that Diane makes between not having a voice and being muted, raised the implication that the choice to speak and be heard does not belong with youth in the juvenile justice system or those who have been previously incarcerated. Diane located power with those who have not been incarcerated and are the ones who control whether or not the voices of those directly affected are heard. She was also clear that incarceration does not take away the voice of individuals. Diane recognized the agency and autonomy of individuals, including youth who have been incarcerated. She goes on to say,

> “I know that people come first. And it has to be about centering people. So that's how I lead. That's how I encourage others to lead and I'm very, like, overprotective of bringing people into the space, who, you know, don't respect that these are people that we're dealing with, and it's not, you know, a numbers game. And it's not just for, like, non-violent offenders versus violent offenders. You know, language is always important. So we're very careful about not not worrying about what happened in the person's past.”

While it appears obvious that Diane’s perspective is about centering people, the result of this perspective was that the dignity and agency of individuals are prioritized. Consequently, engagement is based on mutuality and respect that is age-appropriate, accessible, and is concerned with fulfilling the needs of youth rather than the youth fitting the program. Candice

agreed, saying, “we’ve been very deliberate about not making, not coming in with an agenda and then trying to fit it to the youth. But have the youth sort of drive the culture of the program.” .

Another way that the dignity of youth was communicated was through the representations and physical depictions of youth who were involved in the program. William talked about carefully using images that would not exploit the youth in the facility and were dignifying to the youth in the detention center where his literacy program took place. He said, “we will take a picture of the jail. But like, you know, we would do it in such a way that it looks gloom but bright. I don't know how to explain it.” William described the duality he aims to balance in images that he shares, communicating the dignity of the youth inside a carceral setting that imposes social stigma on the individuals inside. Diane described that the decision of what to post, or not post, is a conscious choice that is grounded in the organizational values of centering human dignity. She said that this has been a challenge with the volunteer base,

> “it's hard now, like I'm trying to figure out now, like, how do we train volunteers, because it's important when they come in to understand these are the principles that we live by. This is how we're represented in the community. This is why you don't see a lot of pictures of people that we serve. Because a lot of people like, ‘Oh, we don't see you posted.’ And I have to tell them, ‘just because you don't see it posted doesn't mean it's not happening.’ … so I have, having people like, we have to have real conversations about not taking pictures of people that we serve, like if I have to take a coat to somebody or I have to take food to somebody, don't stop that person and say, ‘Hey, can I take a picture for Facebook or Instagram?’ You know, and some people don't, some people don't understand that. So just the basic guiding principles. And people kind of weed themselves out.”

Diane's quote presents challenges that is perhaps reflective of an increasingly online digital social world where individuals feel compelled to share their activities online. Her response to folks who have an inclination to ask for a picture implies that seemingly trivial actions are indicators as to whether or not the values of the individual and the organization are in alignment. Diane further recalled one of her volunteers, "when she first came in… she had like the Savior complex." The White Savior Complex is a term popularized by Cole (2012) that captures the desire to "make a difference" in communities that are in need of a hero, particularly in areas that have been colonized and filled with Black and Brown bodies, and in "helping," the White Savior derives emotional satisfaction. The digital space has introduced a new medium that volunteers can use to fulfill their emotional needs with limited accountability, raising the importance of the conversations that Diane is referring to. Connecting back to an earlier theme, this is another instance of maternalism where Diane is extending care for the individuals that are involved with her organization in a manner that recognizes their individual agency. Choosing not to publicize images that depict an individual being helped is a rejection of paternalism and colonialism. It is also a rejection of capitalism as the images could be used to solicit more funds for the organization. Diane's choice not to exploit youth in this manner is a marker of SJYD and a critical awareness of power and how it is used in all areas of organizations and programs, including marketing and digital media.

In the same way that the language used to describe youth in the juvenile justice system revealed the values an organization holds, the digital images do as well. These images shape the landscape, or borderland of juvenile justice, by reflecting the division and dynamics of power, and how a program engages youth. Setting boundaries and expectations that youth will be treated

fairly and with respect, including how youth are portrayed is a key factor to promote authentic youth engagement in SJYD programs in the juvenile justice system.

Financial Compensation

Engagement was further promoted formally through financial compensation. In both Michelle and Nicholas' programs, youth are compensated for their work. Each of them emphasized this was central to their position that youth are equal partners and contributors in the program. When I asked Nicholas how they make their program appeal to youth who are on probation, he said,

> "I'd say, number one, is we actually pay them for their time there… And this also gives them, you know, that job accountability and experience as if, as if it were a real job, so we do treat it as a real job for them. But at the end, you know, seeing them get their, their paychecks at the end is, is definitely something they look forward to."

The incentive to participate in the program because of the promised paycheck at the end is used as a tool by the staff to set norms and rules with the youth that shape their engagement. The financial component offered a structure for youth to understand the rules of engagement that included positive reinforcement. The built-in reward system from compensation frames the relationship as bi-lateral. Nicholas also described that staff dialogued with youth regarding program expectations in order to support healthy, successful youth engagement. In a future section, I will discuss financial compensation for youth further. In addition to supporting youth through monetary compensation, Travis described the significance of youth engagement in his poetry program as building a network with supportive adults in the community. He talked about what the organization considered in its programmatic decisions, saying,

> "everything is from a need of like, what we see young people are asking for, you know, we even do surveys at the end of all our programming, and at the beginning of it to kind of get an idea of like, where they're at, and where, where they're at when they leave, and what they get out of it… But in the larger picture, it feels like we're all we're all kind of benefiting from all this, because we're learning so much from it. And, you know, we have programs specifically for young people, but we also have like… a program that's open to everybody, like you can be someone's Grandma, you could be a grandma, you could be a young kid, like you're welcome to this workshop. And I think that's, that's part of the power that it holds is like these, all these different generations kind of sometimes end up in the same space and share poetry. And we all learn from each other through that poetry. And so it's really, it's really powerful. Because the, the network, the community is so kind of like, broad. I mean, we have like, filmmakers, we have producers, we have like, millionaires, sometimes, you know, that, that are there. And then we have like kids that are, you know, from the foster system, like, don't have parents, you know, and you bring these people together, and it's just like, there's so much learning and so much that can happen there. Resource wise, you know, what I mean, learning wise. It's really, it's really like, I think everybody in our communities is is benefiting from it in one way or another, you know?"

Travis' account detailed how authentic engagement shaped the experience of participants who built beneficial connections. In addition to building a strong network, the other participants also benefitted from the contributions of youth in the program. Participant engagement revealed the interconnectedness between the participants, which promoted social awareness among program participants, an outcome of SJYD.

One of the programs Travis described is open to individuals outside of the juvenile justice system and provides a space for individuals from different social classes to interact with one another. Travis said that there is learning occurring in a bilateral manner among these groups, a shift in the traditional power dynamics that would suggest learning is coming from the wealthy, higher status individuals in the group. However, programs are dependent on the engagement of all individuals regardless of social status. While Travis described resources being shared within the program, he celebrates that the interactions and outcomes are a-typical and reject social norms. The inclusive nature of programs promote authentic engagement of youth, another trademark of SJYD. This example also shows that engagement with the program leads to an increase in social capital as participants build a stronger network that will likely benefit them in the future.

Appealing to Youth Interests

In addition to recognizing the agency of youth to promote authentic engagement, the individuals I interviewed talked about intentionally designing their programs around youth interests. William described that he chose the reading material for his literacy program based on what would be of interest to the youth in the program. He said,

> “But like I said, though, the articles in the smaller reading stuff were kind of like I felt like it will help them, like build them up first. So when we come in here, we will talk about, like, you know, just shooting shoot the crap. And then we'll get into like, ‘I got two articles for y'all today. This one particular article is about, you know, what happened in DC yesterday at the Capitol building, and blah, blah, blah, I know y'all saw the news. But, you know, this article from the Associated Press, kind of speaks to it in this angle, read this other article, you know, Steph Curry score 62 points the other night.’ So it's like

read this, and, and, you know, you'll find out like that, you know, so we spent a couple minutes to read one or the other articles and, 'he's like, what did you take from it?' And then, 'I didn't know you know, cuz then you watch the highlights, you don't get the interview. You just get the score.' And it's like, 'Alright, well he dedicated that 62 points to (a reporter) cuz, the night before this, the commentator said he can't carry the team.' You know, I mean, you start reading things and how he responded to I think, is a much more personal thing. But it also lets them know that they're reading, but they don't even realize that they actually reading."

William talked about scaffolding reading material that he used with youth and choosing relevant articles that appealed to youth interests to promote engagement. He described the benefits of reading stories with youth that provided discussion materials. The examples that William provided were relevant to the time that we had our interview, just two days after the U.S. Capital Insurrection on January 6th, 2021, and Steph Curry, an NBA player, scored a career-high 62 points and was being covered heavily by the national sports media.

While William promoted literacy through reading in his program, he also promoted critical consciousness, and social and global awareness by having youth read multiple perspectives of the same event. By doing this, William encouraged youth to consider the intention and biases of the author as well as the experiences of the subject of the article. For example, he said that reading the articles about Steph Curry provided a more personal account of Curry's record setting night. Reading articles about people in this way encouraged self and social awareness, and empathy among the youth who are considered the experiences of Curry as they read and discussed.

Robert described how his identity as an African American man was an asset to understand the interests of youth. He said, “I did do things that I knew that they enjoyed. You know, so I, you know, I would include basketball drills and things like that.” Robert made program decisions that would appeal to the interests of youth because he saw it as,

> “an opportunity to like compete, learn camaraderie, teamwork and all of those like different like positive youth development life skills. That also one of the biggest things like sometimes during recreation is the kid, if the didn't want to play basketball or football or something like that, they ended up not participating at all. You know what I mean? So what you know, what my curriculum did, you know it allowed for kids who wanted to be active and like be athletic but didn't necessarily want to play basketball or football or soccer or any of those major sports, you can still like engaging be active and and have fun and still like, you know, utilize those competitive juices that they have like”

In addition to appealing to the explicit interests of youth, Robert designed programming to be inclusive to youth regardless of their interest in traditional sports like football and basketball. Robert cited his background in public health as one of the primary reasons that he pushed for youth engagement that was tied to physical activity. The program Robert designed does not problematize competition or youth interest in competing, one way to embrace youth culture.

> “Oh the biggest thing is, is the maximum amount of participation. So I think many kids as possible. So I think right now in terms of like, you know, with the public health background. You know that I have. I think the biggest thing, I think, you know, kids that age, you know, I think maybe one out of four kids like meet their physical activity recommendations, you know, and just from my observations. Whenever I would go I'm

> like, I mean, probably less than half of the kids. A lot of times, engaged. You know, or like participating in that a full hour, you know. So a lot of times they would sit out. Or they was just kind of like playing around, but there wasn't any really like true movement. So my biggest thing to get as many people moving from start to finish, you know, and like enjoy doing it, not just like, Oh, we're gonna do push-ups and sit ups and run laps, I'm going out. I think those things are cool also, but at the end, I wanted them to enjoy doing to me and I want to do this tomorrow or you know what new game can we learn, you know, sort of, exposing, you know expose them to some new activities they have never done before."

Engaging youth in a physical activity program like Robert's is similar to the approach that William took to promote literacy, by first planning familiar activities to gain initial engagement. Competition is innate to sport and is an attractive element for youth within the juvenile justice system, this was identified by Heidi and Robert who both run sport and recreation programs with youth. Competition is a contested element in the value it adds to sport-based youth development programs, although there are scholars who cite competition as effective in encouraging behavior modification and emotional regulation because of the intensity levels youth experience (Camiré, 2015). There is broader consensus however that sports are a valuable context for the development of social, life and leadership skills (Camiré, 2015). The individuals I interviewed who represented three sport-based programs each emphasized the importance of teaching life skills that would extend beyond the program. Thus, instead of problematizing competition within their sport programs, each of the individuals acted as bricoleurs and used competition as a mechanism to promote engagement in the program. As a result of their engagement, youth were then introduced to life skills and had opportunities to

practice inter and intrapersonal skills like teamwork, cooperation, and self-control. I asked Heidi what opportunities she saw for youth development to occur in her sports-based program, and she responded,

> "I don't mean to make it so like sports specific but it's just more, so like with with our guys like a lot of them, although they're interested in sports, they've either never played organized sports because they get cut from their teams. And some of their behaviors like a coach who's trying to win game is like, 'look, if you don't want to show up for practice or you want to throw fit, like I got 25 other guys we're gonna play, so like, I'm not going to deal with that.' Whereas you know we're like. That's why we're there here is like, okay. Like you're having an issue. Let's deal with it. I can take this time but at the same I'm trying to prepare them so that they can go back and and be involved in these programs."

In addition to expanding upon the benefits that come from participating in the sport-based program, Heidi conveyed how she used the detention facility to their advantage. She says that the setting allowed the staff to engage the youth differently and to support youth in ways that would not otherwise be possible. Heidi explained that the response of the organization is not to problematize a young person and put them on the bench, but to bring them in, engage them, and work together through whatever the youth is experiencing. Heidi's interpretation of the situation allowed youth to make mistakes and struggle through things without facing negative repercussions. The understanding that youth are still developing frees youth from the expectation of perfection, and promotes two SJYD principles, making identity central and embracing youth culture.

Lisa expressed the importance of holding realistic expectations for youth. As an administrator, she is responsible for setting criteria for youth to move through the system. Part of this is outlining the expectations for youth that staff should consider in their interactions with youth. She emphasized that safety is the primary concern that would keep a young person from progressing into less restrictive settings, saying "I do not in any way expect these kids to be perfect. And so cussing out a staff is not a reason to stay in prison. Right?" This understanding shapes the engagement between staff and youth to be reasonable and accommodating of the youths' experience, again demonstrating how adults can make identity central in programs.

The idea that engagement does not require perfection makes identity central and is dignifying and humane. The staff I interviewed described how authentic engagement was facilitated within their program, and the explicit dignity and respect for youth shaped how staff engaged youth. The staff as bricoleurs and used youth interests as a resource to create engaging programs with youth.

Utilizing Personal Experiences

Another sub-theme that emerged in the data from this study as evidence of bricolage was the use of personal experiences. The programs represented in this study utilized personal experiences as a strategy and valuable resource to promote engagement with youth. In this study, staff and adults acted as bricoleurs and used their own "incriminating" stories as capital. These personal narratives were used by adults to build relationships and gain credibility with youth. Four of the individuals I interviewed had previous contact with the juvenile justice system in some capacity. Diane described that prior involvement with the justice system is often an additional barrier or challenge, including in her experience establishing a nonprofit organization running programs for youth in the juvenile justice system. She said,

> "Being a Smaller nonprofit, and not necessarily having the, the relationship built with larger institutions, like a lot of times people are so used to going to certain governmental entities. You know, they do things that, they're resistant to grassroots organizations coming in and saying, 'Okay, we've been doing this for years, and it's been failing our communities. Now it's time for a change.' So going through like all of the structural like, paperwork and changes, and being somebody who has a record, sometimes that is a barrier. Sometimes, the challenge is getting people to understand that we're the most, we're the most equipped to work with people that have been through these systems. You know, but different different entities are different challenges. But typically, the the most challenging is being able to cut through the structure of the same old system. We are always at a disadvantage, because people say, 'Oh, you know, well if you want federal grant money, you have to, you know, be in line with the police department.' Well, that's not always the best thing for young people or you know, any person who's younger, been in the carceral system."

Diane's criminal record precluded her from participation in various aspects of social life that are designed to exclude people like her. She pointed out however, that the system is consequently excluding the people who are most equipped to work with youth who are currently in the juvenile justice system. Diane's account illustrated the structural barriers folks who do not have the financial or social capital and who are legally barred from certain civic and social processes encounter. This perspective is the other side of the discussion regarding social capital and access to the juvenile justice system, where certain factors cause access to be denied to folks who want to provide SYJD programming to youth in the juvenile justice system. She described the resistance to grassroots organizations, emphasizing the absence of a bridging relationship

between the insider institutions and the outside organizers. However, even with all of the challenges, Diane's statement that those with personal experience in the juvenile justice system are best equipped to help was reiterated by the other participants who had previous system involvement. William, who runs a literacy program in a juvenile detention center talked about his ability to build relationships with the youth in part because of his experience with the juvenile justice system. One of the ways he does this is through his honesty about his past involvement, he said,

> "I think that I'm transparent about my experiences, and I'm honest about my experiences, and I'm also honest about where I want to go. And so I think that's what kind of gives them a hold on to, you know, obviously, yeah, you know, I, you know, I had a situation where, you know, I was in juvenile detention, so, I can speak to them on that level."

In the literacy program, William's past experience was leveraged as an asset. What is typically a disqualifying factor, William used to advance his relationships with youth and promote engagement in the literacy program. William's example provided youth with an opportunity to interact with a credible resource. In the context of this study, credibility is not drawn from academic credentials or second hand knowledge, instead, credibility emerged as an outcome of lived experience. In another example, Travis described how he used his personal experience as a formerly incarcerated individual as an asset in a poetry program.

> "And, you know, we like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through, like, I'm gonna tell you a lot of what I've been through in one poem, and you're gonna know, you're gonna know more than I can tell you, like, if I went up and was like, 'Hey, my name is (Travis). And I'm

from (City).' And you know what I mean? Like, so we kind of like go into these rooms, we, we open up with that. And then oftentimes, like, there's a lot of questions that pop up, like, 'Wow, like, where'd you learn to write? When you said this? Like, did you really go through that? Is that a true story? Like, how did you get through that, like, you know, or you'll have kids will be like, you know, what, I when you said that line about, you know, being incarcerated, like I resonated with that, because I've been incarcerated or my brother is incarcerated, or my dad is incarcerated,' you know. And, and, and those invitations are kind of made in that way. Where the person's then like, Alright, well, now we want to hear from you guys."

Travis described that through poetry as the vehicle, he is able to share his past experiences as a tool to engage youth. Travis acted as a bricoleur in this instance as he used the resource of his past involvement as a tool to connect with young people in the justice system. The SJYD context provides a space, even within the borderlands of juvenile justice, for personal experiences to be leveraged instead of weaponized. The use of poetry as the mechanism to share his personal experience as a tool for creating an atmosphere of freedom is a foil and transformation of the punitive sentence he received. Sharing his experience in a poem is a product of creating something new out of his past incarceration experience, which is in itself an act of decolonization and resistance. Further, Travis regained control of his personal narrative and decided how to share his story and who gets to hear. As he did this, he is set an example for youth who are currently incarcerated and demonstrated how they can turn reclaim control of their incarceration status. Travis is using his personal experience to create opportunities for youth to engage and process their personal experience being incarcerated or having a family member. The adults and youth in the SJYD program co-create a space where the stigma of incarceration is now

the capital needed to be part of the experience. The portion of Travis' program that was in the community were not exclusive to individuals who have had involvement in the justice system, but the SJYD program did not impose additional barriers to those with previous incarceration experiences to participate in the program.

Understanding that lived-experienced is an asset is why Michelle's program turned to youth to provide expertise on navigating the juvenile justice system to parents and other stakeholders. They were the ones with firsthand experience and the most relevant information that would be of use to the young people currently incarcerated and their families. In Michelle's program, first-hand experience is so valued that it is a prerequisite for serving in certain executive positions. She said,

> "In order for me to be the executive director, I would have had to have been ,which I am, the parent of the child that's involved in a system, though, my son was involved in the children's mental health and the juvenile justice system… Because and I think that's part of the reason why the organization, because it's also their governance, their board is 75% parents, family members and youth."

Michelle and the Board's credibility comes from lived-experience. Within SJYD programs, the most important audience is not necessarily the agencies who provide funding or access. SJYD programs and staff take seriously the perceptions and opinions of the youth they serve, including youth in the juvenile justice facility. Michelle's experience as a mother who has gone through the juvenile justice system is a credential instead of a disqualification. Further, she is able to bring that past personal experience into her work, she does not have to separate her personal experience from her work. All aspects of her identity, including previous experiences that are not socially considered an asset, are able to be integrated. This is the work of a bricoleur

and a Mestiza, and in many ways is opposite Western conceptions of research and knowledge where objectivity is idealized although it is an impossibility. SJYD programs provide the context for decolonial knowledge and methods of operation, specifically as the work concerns addressing issues rooted in patriarchy and colonialism.

One of the outcomes related to the positive valuation of youth experience Michelle's program is that youth were able to expand their network. Since youth who had been previously incarcerated were viewed as experts, they were introduced to legislators, journalists, attorneys, and activists interested in improving the juvenile justice system. Michelle elevated their voices by providing supportive opportunities to publish their own work and speak at events. Further, the organizational practices affirmed the value of youth sharing their perspective by compensating youth for their work. As Michelle recognized the value of youth sharing their personal experiences, she also demonstrated maternalism. She recalled a series of conversations that took place with a journalist and another case with the ACLU, who were not willing to pay the youth for their contributions to the work.

> "She wanted to write a book around the solitary confinement piece, and I said, I said, Well, what what? What would the, you know, I can I can ask the youth caucus members, I can have the advocates ask them, and what would they get in return? Right? 'No, we don't do that.' Well, then I'm not even going to ask them because, you know, I feel ridiculous. I can't even give them $20 or $10 on their commissary. And what else was interesting, too, was the ACLU was the same. They were like, 'Oh, we don't do that.' I said, 'So in other words, you're going to sue them (Department of Corrections) in federal court. And they're (youth) not going to get a dime?'… the ACLU said that's not their practice for any litigation. Isn't that something? Isn't that it? I've learned, I've learned so

much in this work. I'm like, wow. So for example, I'm like, really? Yeah, no, they that's not. That's not their practice. They said it's for the greater good. So we went back and forth without they we push so hard, and probably embarrassed them, because everybody that talked to me from the New York Times on down, I mentioned that, and what they did."

Michelle's dismissal of their request and refusal to allow youth to be exploited in that way was an act of maternalism grounded in her understanding the value that their first-hand experience is worth. Michelle and her organization have standards that require all organizations who interact with youth to treat youth and their perspective with a minimum level of respect. Requiring youth be compensated for their contributions challenges organizations to examine their own practices and ensure that the lived experience is valued as much as outsider perspectives. This is another example of a decolonial practice that elevates the voices of those with direct experience as reputable, valid knowledge.

The idea that involvement in the juvenile justice system was a prerequisite for SJYD program participation did come up in my conversation with Nicholas. He described the conversations staff have had with youth where they said, "why did I have to get in trouble before I got to do a program like this?" This question points to a larger issue surrounding accessibility of SJYD programs that ultimately was outside the scope of this study because access is largely determined by involvement in the juvenile justice system. However, the young person's question does point to their enjoyment of the program and perspective that it is a valuable experience.

Within the programs in this study, personal experience in the juvenile justice system translated into expertise. The "incriminating" narratives are understood to be a valuable source of capital. This perspective respects the knowledge that youth have gained from their experiences

and appreciates their insight. Adults that delivered programs were able to embrace all aspects of their past and used it to leverage their work and gain credibility with youth. Valuing the input of individuals who have been incarcerated also separated worthiness from "prosocial" behavior. This is possible because of a social understanding of crime that attributes crime to a range of potential factors versus an individual understanding of crime that assumes crime is the product of an individual's deficit or moral flaw. It also rejects the assumption that the juvenile justice system is operating effectively and does not need to be improved. SJYD programs provide individuals who have been incarcerated a space to use their incarceration experiences to support youth in the juvenile justice system.

Adults Centering Youth in Borderlands

Within the borderland of juvenile justice, one of the themes of implementation of SJYD principles was the centering of youth by adults and staff. Prioritizing young people in this setting stood out, particularly because youth have the least amount of power within the space. There were features of the adults I interviewed that were the manifestation of youth-centeredness. These attributes were curiosity and self-awareness.

The first features that marked adults who centered youth in the program was curiosity. Curiosity looked like the staff asking questions about young people's experiences, their home life, personal interests, and asking their perspective without judgement. William demonstrated this by asking youth about their interests, including music, saying, "I'm curious to know, you know, what the new music is and things of that nature." William's intrigue is genuine and is not out of a desire to change the minds of youth, rather to learn and get to know the young people in the program. Travis also described curiosity as the origin of his organization. He told me the program began when,

> “a screenwriter visited one day and realized that there was there was a part of his purpose that he felt was tied to, to the work that he saw you know, these young people were asking for, when he came and did a writing workshop with them, there was a lot of, there was a lot of young people that were interested in it. So he began to keep going and realized that, you know, these young people have stories beyond their crimes that nobody was listening to. Nobody was asking, nobody really cared.”

The screenwriter who started the organization had curiosity that led him to initiate opportunities to hear and learn from the young people in the juvenile justice system. The program was not a way for him to advance his own agenda or professional career and the program design and content was centered upon listening to youth. The act of creating space and providing adults who listen to youth without trying to fix youth or impose their own experiences emerged in the data from interviews. Greg, who runs a sports-based leadership program, said,

> “when we go to the facility, it's the same thing, like we're, or, like, I'll try to really, like, I just want to like learn because I stuff like that stuff to me is so interesting, like, gang life, like, I know nothing about that, you know what I mean? Like, every single kid in there is in a gang and like, I like where I grew up, you know, like, literally, I went to a school where like, every single person in my graduating class went to the college, like, like, it's really high SES and like, you know, like, it's just, it's such a different world. And that stuff is like super, super interesting. So you know, I like to read like books about like gang life. And so it's really cool to hear the kid’s perspective and like, just hear about it and like sometimes, like, especially with the ones, I don't know that well, they'll be like, “why do you want to know all this stuff?” Like thinking that I'm trying to like get them in trouble, like no, like, this is just like, so cool to me, you know, I mean, it's just like such

> a different lifestyle. And it's just something that we try to or I want to try to learn because it helps me relate to them. It's such a like, whether I agree with the decisions they make or agree with that lifestyle. Like, that's their lifestyle . Like, that's how they have to survive. Unfortunately, a lot of them, like, those are like, it's not right or wrong. It's just like the way their life is. And you know what I mean? Like, so like, you can't judge them for choosing certain things."

The reason that I do not interpret Greg's questions and interests in the youth's experiences strictly as a white gaze, is because of the mitigating relationship he has with the young people, his self-awareness, and the intentionality he expressed that he is not in a position to judge the youth for their choices. Greg demonstrated self and social awareness, although he does not implicate the specific policies and structural decisions for the social conditions that youth experience, which would be a higher level of social awareness.

Self-Awareness

Self-awareness emerged as a subtheme of adults centering youth as a marker of staff who applied SJYD in the juvenile justice borderlands. Two components emerged that make up self-awareness, self-acceptance and self-assurance. Transparency is key with self-acceptance and self-assurance, and mutually reinforced one another. Greg was used as an example earlier in his demonstration of curiosity, and his curiosity was made possible because he accepted his personal history growing up in a "high (socioeconomic status)" community where higher education was a realistic, attainable, and expected next step for high school students. Greg, a white man, was forthright and admitted, "You know, going into it, I kind of know that there's going to be things about me that are going to make it hard to relate to them." Greg expressed an awareness that his personal identity was tied to his lived experiences which were different from the youth in the

program. Self-acceptance looked like adult willingness to be open with their personal experience, and the ability to articulate how their life experiences have been shaped by privilege. Candice, Greg's program partner, talked about her identity as a white woman and her experience growing up in an urban neighborhood in such a way that reflected her self-awareness. Candice recalled, "one of my favorite quotes I get from most of them is like, 'we hate white people.' And I'm like, 'guys, I'm white do you know that?' And they're like, 'Well you're not white-white,' and I'm like, 'No, I'm white-white (white emphasis, laughs)." Candice emphasized that she is a white person regardless of her upbringing, where she said she "grew up with all people of color, most of the time I was a racial minority in situations I grew up in." Her insistence on her white identity is an example of self-acceptance and self-assurance.

Candice's self-acceptance and self-assurance set the pretext for her to center youth in the program. She did not argue that her experience growing up in a neighborhood familiar to the youth qualified her to work with youth in the juvenile justice system, rather, she was able to bring that into conversation with the young people while recognizing her experience was different because of her skin color. Candice accepted this and was able to operate from a space of self-assurance where the focus of the program and her energy is spent towards supporting youth.

Self-awareness also looked like knowing one's own triggers and past history of trauma. In the previous section on access, Travis described how insider facility staff would react when his program staff would go into the facility and work with youth. He said,

> "there's also staff that I think would be in those workshops and would would sometimes, like, be listening, I think they would get triggered honestly, if I'm, you know, I think they would like, they would be like 'Oh shit, like, I'm not ready to be (here).' I'm sorry to curse."

This example illustrates the negative impact that a lack of self-awareness within adults can have working with youth. When an adult staff member is triggered and unprepared, the attention and focus of the program was taken off the youth and shifted to the adults. Self-awareness within adult staff members allows staff to engage with youth and discuss their experiences without becoming the center of attention. Travis provided an example of being able to relate to youth, even having the same experiences that youth bring up, and operating from a place of self-awareness so that the youth remains the center.

> "So I think, as a formerly incarcerated young person, myself, when I was younger, I think a lot of a lot of young people I think, I think a lot of young people are unseen, oftentimes, in their youth, like, there's a lot of young people that, that, that, you know, we like to say that young people would not not only young people, but we all everybody has a story, you know, everybody's gone through a journey, everyone, you know, from when you were little to the age you are now there's, there's stuff that happened, right, and sometimes, you know, we go through hardships, and sometimes traumatic events. And, and oftentimes, if we do go through traumatic events, we tend to kind of like, kind of go through it, and then kind of push it in the back of our minds and forget, try to forget about it and move on. And what we thought what we found with with a lot of, you know, young people that that we were working with, in in juvenile detention centers, and places like that, or even in the hood, just in general, like kids that are born in poverty, or kids that are born in underserved communities. You know, there's oftentimes, like a lot of trauma that that they're carrying, that is unprocessed. And writing has been a way where I think young people, we make those invitations to young people to, to write about these things, to explore those things, if they're ready and want to, and we also try to sort of showcase

what that looks like, you know, so, you know, when we go into like, a classroom, for example, and we, we meet young people, for the first time, we're in front of the classroom. And, you know, we like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through, like, I'm gonna tell you a lot of what I've been through in one poem, and you're gonna know, you're gonna know more than I can tell you, like, if I went up and was like, 'Hey, my name is (Travis). And I'm from (City).' And you know what I mean? Like, so we kind of like go into these classrooms, we, we open up with that. And then oftentimes, like, there's a lot of questions that pop up, like, 'Wow, like, where'd you learn to write? When you said this? Like, did you really go through that? Is that a true story? Like, how did you get through that?' Like, you know, or you'll have kids will be like, you know, 'when you said that line about, you know, being incarcerated, like I resonated with that, because I've been incarcerated or my brother is incarcerated, or my dad is incarcerated,' you know. And, and, and those invitations are kind of made in that way. Where the person's then like, 'Alright, well, now we want to hear from you guys.'"

This block quotation from Travis provides an illustration of how program staff demonstrated self-awareness and prioritizing youth. Travis showed how the staff are able to share parts of their personal stories with youth in such a way that creates a space where youth feel safe to accept the "invitation" to share. I will discuss the idea of an invitation to participate in greater detail in a future section, but the ability of staff to continue facilitating the program while traumatic experiences are being discussed is an indication that the facilitator has a certain level of self-awareness that is necessary to facilitate SJYD programs in the juvenile justice

context. The staff, or SJYD bricoleurs, assess the landscape of the situation and build a program even within a context that is filled with trauma. They are able to do this in part because of their deep understanding of themselves, knowing their strengths and potential triggers. With this knowledge, SJYD bricoleurs create a successful program for youth engagement by setting themselves up for success by doing the internal work to reach self-acceptance and self-assurance. Like in Travis' program, young engagement was contingent upon the adult staff having self-acceptance and self-assurance to be able to handle the trauma that comes up with the youth. The impetus for youth to process and heal through the program is the staff allowing that to happen and not letting their personal triggers interfere.

The juvenile justice context is extreme, as Candice said, it is a "simulated petri dish of all the most heightened things going on… you have this highest trauma backgrounds, and the poorest of the poor, and all of it is happening right at once." SJYD bricoleurs then are charged with the task of their own personal development so they have the capacity to provide a youth-centered program. SJYD bricoleurs have to acknowledge that they will be working with youth who have experienced trauma and in some cases, have inflicted pain and been the cause of trauma for others. To be an SJYD bricoleur requires a lens that sees the humanity of youth in the juvenile justice system and can hold the complex stories of youth without inserting themselves. In my interview with Greg, he told me a recent story and demonstrated the balance, or the art, of hearing extreme stories that are filled with trauma and violence without reacting in an extreme manner. He said,

> "So this is like the other day and I was like talking to a kid on a bench and we're just like talking and you know, or just like have like a verbal conversation and he like looks over and I've never seen this guy before, he looks over the kid next to him and he points to me

and goes, ‘this guy's talking to me like, he doesn't know I’m a mass murderer.’ And I'm like, ‘Whatever (throws hands up),’ like, and it's like, those are the things that like when people like say like, oh, you're going to jail I got like, no, like we're legitimately, it’s crazy. Like, it's nuts in there.”

Greg’s “whatever” is not a minimization of the loss of human life or even condoning actions that cause harm, his response was a conscious choice and demonstration of self-control to ensure that the young person felt like they are not disqualified from the program or a relationship with others. Greg’s nonchalant response matched the casual manner that the youth shared that he was a mass-murderer. Greg’s “whatever” was grounded in self-awareness, knowing that the youth he was speaking with was trying to test him and see if he could garner a reaction using the shock value of admitting to being a mass-murderer, a status that typically ostracizes others and draws a response of disgust and fear. In order to have the response he did, Greg had to have previously accepted that he is running a program in a facility that houses youth who have committed heinous crimes and ultimately maintained the resolve to engage these young people, invest in their current circumstances, and their future. His admittance that the circumstances in which he works are “crazy” and “nuts” described his awareness that he is working in an extreme environment. Greg’s resolve allows him to continue working with youth in correctional facilities in a dignified manner that is focused on their engagement and experience. In my interview with Lisa, the theme of self-awareness came up in a different way, where she actually had to leave the field because she was not at a point in her life where she could handle the high levels of trauma that were inherent to the job. She told me when she started,

“I was responsible for the direct supervision of the youth in the cottage, as well as providing some version of individual and group sessions. And I, I was young, I had just

graduated with my bachelor's and I was certainly closer in age to some of the kids than some of the adults in the system, right? Like you're, you're 22 years old, and you're responsible for a 17 year old, that's not a big gap. And I began to quickly realize that, and I worked with girls, that every one of these girls was actually a victim. And the system did not acknowledge them as victims, in fact, blamed them for being victims of sexual assault, trafficking. I had one particular girl whom I cared greatly for, and she came out as gay. And another staff brought her into the youth group, the Bible study that she did with the other girls and of course, wanting to fit in, she says, 'I'm not gay, because it's against God, and I'm part of this group.' And then she realizes that she is in fact gay and makes one of the most serious suicide attempts that I've ever experienced. And, and met in conjunction with another girl who was just a real victim of sexual assault by her dad who trafficked her. Like the girl that was gay, she was kicked out of her home, her family home because she was gay, she's living on the streets of Seattle, she's sexually assaulted on the streets, pretty violently, she finds a man to take care of her this man offers her drugs, and she has to pay off the drug debt and the rent debt by sleeping with his friends, like just those stories. I was unable to metabolize that. I would drive home in tears, powerless. And that's when I decided I needed an easier job."

At the time when Lisa began in juvenile justice, she did not have the self-acceptance of her virtual powerlessness over the trauma the youth had sustained and were experiencing in the carceral system. This led to her initial exit of the juvenile justice field until she was able to come back in a position where she did not feel like she was powerless and had "the authority and ability to change the system to acknowledge the truth of where the kids come from" as an administrator. Lisa remembered her past experiences working with youth and how the second-

hand and vicarious trauma she experienced shaped the ethic of care she now employs in her administrative role.

The understanding that the majority of youth who are in the juvenile justice system are victims provides a basis for compassion that SJYD bricoleurs work from. This is where understanding the borderland of age within the juvenile justice system is helpful to identify how the staff I interviewed are mindful of their status as adults and in a position of power. For SJYD bricoleurs, self-acceptance and self-assurance included the establishment and maintenance of healthy boundaries. Self-assured staff did not require the youth to provide them personal fulfillment. Staff are responsible for ensuring their personal needs are met outside of their work with youth in addition to being prepared for any possible triggers while they are delivering programming. This came up in my interview with Candice, who runs a relationship based sports-leadership program with youth at an all-male facility. In the interview, Candice described her cognizance of how youth might interpret her actions and intentions because of her gender, so she is constantly thinking about the boundaries she sets with youth that are a safeguard to her and the youth.

> "I'm still trying to figure this out. I don't think they have positive relationships with authority who are female in their life, other than their mother, so, or a grandmother or a matriarchal figure, so a lot of times they perceive my caring as like a romantic feeling, so like I still am trying to navigate that. So like, our program is all about building relationships, but for me, it's like, there's a barrier. I can't act the same as my partner (Greg) does."

As Candice demonstrated, the responsibility for establishing boundaries to protect the youth is not with the youth. Part of SJYD is the safe, supportive environment for youth, and

while SJYD recognizes the impact that youth have on co-creating the culture, the responsibility lies with the adults (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). If Candice was not operating from a place of self-acceptance and self-assurance, her relationships with youth that would be marked with carelessness and potentially be inappropriate where she derived some type of personal fulfillment. However, it is because of her self-acceptance and self-assurance that she was proactive in ensuring the protection of youth, a maternal act, and meeting their needs in an appropriate way. Candice's self-acceptance and self-assurance is a contrast to the account from Diane in the last section where she said one of the volunteers got involved with the work having the White Savior Complex. Candice did not begin working with youth in the juvenile justice context for self-gratification, therefore, her self-acceptance and self-assurance enable her to center the youth in the SJYD program.

The results of the data suggest that in order for SJYD to be implemented in the juvenile justice context, adult staff must be curious and maintain self-acceptance and self-assurance so as to keep youth at the center of the program. Centering youth in the borderlands of juvenile justice was also accomplished by supporting the holistic development of youth.

Holistic Development

The holistic development of youth is a sub-theme that emerged in the data of this study to indicate another feature of SJYD programs in the juvenile justice context. Holistic development refers to the concern and promotion of healthy practices in all aspects of youths' lives. The areas of holistic development that were identified in the data from this study include physical, emotional, cognitive, and social. The concern for these areas of development manifest in ways that relate to other themes of bricolage, including future orientation and engagement. I will first

discuss how physical health is promoted within the programs represented in this study, then mental health, and social-emotional health.

Physical Health

The physical development of youth through SJYD programs is perhaps one of the most obvious benefits to youth in the juvenile justice system. Physical health is important in any stage of life, and it is particularly important during adolescence because it increases the likelihood that individuals will adopt healthy behaviors throughout their life and the reduce the likelihood of developing chronic health issues like obesity, hypertension, type two diabetes and osteoporosis (Hallal et al., 2006). The correctional setting naturally poses a challenge to physical activity because it is based on controlling the physical environment and limiting the freedom youth have to be physically active. Two of the individuals I interviewed who run sports-based programs in the juvenile justice context described the lack of physical activity among the youth they work with. Robert said, “you know, kids that age, you know, I think maybe one out of four kids like meet their physical activity recommendations.” Greg shared this perspective and described one of the primary goals of their sports-based program is “to get them physically active, because again, like they're so sedentary, like their lifestyle is completely sedentary.” Robert described how he would promote physical development through traditional sports and other physical movements so that all youth would have the opportunity to participate and be physically active. As an SJYD bricoleur, Robert used the sometimes limited materials and equipment available to create engaging physical activities for youth. He said,

> “Sometimes during recreation, the kid, if they didn't want to play basketball or football or something like that, they ended up not participating at all. You know what I mean? So what you know, what my curriculum did, you know it allowed for kids who wanted to be

active and like be athletic but didn't necessarily want to play basketball or football or soccer or any of those major sports, you can still like engaging be active and and have fun."

Robert did not problematize the interests, or lack of interest, youth had in certain activities. Instead, he centered the development of youth by creating opportunities that were of interest to youth and were appropriate for their level of skill. He went on to say, that "innovation" was critical for him to be successful and create programs where

> "everybody could find a place to participate in whatever activity that like, you know, met their skills set… I always talked about inclusion. You know what I mean? And that's what I wanted to do was the inclusion. You know I wanted everybody to feel like, 'hey, I can contribute something,' so I made like all the games, that's why I had a variety of games, for different skill sets. So there might be some kids who are really good at doing tug of war. There are the kids who have really good head and eye coordination, so like when it comes to the beanbag games, they want to participate in that."

Getting youth active and engaged was common among the SJYD sport-based programs. The benefits of physical health were understood to the point that it provided a justification for Greg and Candice to receive funding for their sports-based leadership SJYD program. Another benefit of physical activity for youth was the ability to exert their energy in a safe way. Candice said that

> "at the very least, on the worst days of our programming, where our GAs are not in it, where things are not going right, at the very least, they're getting a couple hours of safe space time a week, where they can sweat or even just sit on the sidelines. I do know that our program is the one program that's never had a physical altercation, which to us is a

huge achievement, cause there are fights everyday… so I think at the very least they're benefiting with a safe space, they're benefitting with some physical activity."

Providing youth the space to be physically active not only improves youth physical health and the potential to develop long-term healthy habits. The opportunity youth had to be physically engaged improved the overall safety of the facility as Candice pointed out that they have not had any physical altercations in their program. Further, the implication that reduced physical altercations occurred is a critical opportunity for youth who must prove they are not a safety threat to themselves and others. Heidi described that one of the reasons her sport-based program was brought into the juvenile justice facility was because "the staff identified through institutional reports that there were increases in restraints and violent incidents in springtime. So they decided they felt like it was related to kind of having a lack of physical activity."

Heidi and Candice each pointed out that the value of physical activity has the ability to improve the physical health and development of youth, and in the context of juvenile justice, there are positive outcomes beyond physical health. Engaging youth in physical activity limits the opportunity for youth to get into altercations that could have a negative impact on their progress through the juvenile justice system. Robert told me how he would encourage the staff to find ways to engage youth because when youth are "sitting out, you know, issues and arguments and things occur." Part of centering youth is setting them up for success and creating programs that are physically engaging promotes healthy physical development and improves their standing in the juvenile justice system. Another outcome of physical activity for youth is improved mental health (Hallal et al., 2016).

Mental Health

The mental health of youth in the juvenile justice system has become of increased concern in the juvenile justice world. This is in part due to growing understanding of the impact of trauma on the adolescent brain and the mental well-being of youth. All of the study participants recognized the previous trauma of the youth they worked with in the juvenile justice context. The data from this study showed that programs provided youth space to process trauma in a non-clinical setting. Travis was clear that healing was a primary focus and outcome of his poetry-based program. He said,

> "it's all it's almost like, like, sometimes it's like, we're like weaving a quilt, like, like, someone will share a story. And then it'll create an invitation for someone else to be like, wow, like, like, what you said resonated with me. And then they'll share, like, a story that, you know, of trauma or pain. And it's like, we start creating this, this quilt that, that people just start sharing these stories. And then there's like, this, trust that that is created and communities built. And in the process, there's healing that happens, because people are being heard, and listened to and seen in ways that they've never, never been seen if that makes sense."

Travis explained how participating in the poetry programs allowed youth to share their trauma in a safe, supportive environment that they reinforced through their participation. As youth participated and realized they are not alone in their past experiences, they gained the bravery to be vulnerable and were met with support. The poetry program occurred outside of the clinical setting, where youth were able to disclose experiences that would perhaps come up or be discussed in a clinical setting, and SJYD programs allow youth the opportunity to heal outside the clinical setting.

Further, SJYD programs provide youth opportunities to learn about mindfulness practices that can be used in a range of settings, even outside of the program. Heidi talks about how they implemented mindfulness in their sports-based SJYD program. She said,

> "We would do meditation, mindfulness with the guys, which was always an experience (laughing). They're like, I'm like, I would like, another new kid would come in like, 'What are we doing?' And this kid would be like, "You just sit in silence. It's good for you, just sit down.'"

Heidi described the challenge that can come from introducing new concepts to youth, and how youth may not be able to articulate the specifics surrounding practices like mindfulness, but they did recognize the benefits of mindfulness regardless of the simplistic explanation they offer. In allowing youth to describe the activities to one another, Heidi is further centering youth and promoting their engagement in advancing their own mental health practices.

Social-Emotional Development

The data from this study showed that the relationship between social and emotional development were connected, particularly because the emotional health of the staff and youth described in this study impacted how they would engage with others. In this sense, intrapersonal development corresponds with emotional development whereas social development is concerned more with interpersonal skills. Based on the background and expertise of the individuals I interviewed, each person had a different perspective on what social-emotional development looks like in the juvenile justice setting. For example, Lisa, an administrator of juvenile justice facilities, described the importance of promoting the emotional development of youth, saying that,

> “if we can give the kids any gift at all, it is the gift of self-regulation… if I can help kids learn to recognize when they are about to flip their lid, right, when their frontal lobe goes offline, and they are in that downstairs primitive brain, if they can learn to recognize when that's coming and learn to calm themselves and regulate and keep that that frontal lobe online, and make better decisions, rather than completely flipping their lid and losing their shit and making poor choices.”

Lisa’s analysis of social-emotional development is grounded in an understanding of adolescent brain development. This perspective is an individualized assessment that connects behavior with emotional development and the ability to identify their own brain processes and then respond in an appropriate manner. Lisa said that social-emotional skills, with an emphasis on self-regulation, “gives them (youth) their power back.” Lisa’s understanding of emotional development was unique from the data gathered from the other participants in this study because the focus was on the individual youth behavior as opposed to a confluence of factors outside of youth control that contributed to youth behavior.

Travis discussed emotional development with liberation and healing as the goal, specifically freedom from the social construction and assumptions tied to the expression of emotions. This understanding of social-emotional development is cognizant of the impact that the environment youth inhabit can have on a young person's ability to process events and respond. Programs like Travis’ acknowledge that experiencing emotions is healthy and a critical component of youth development. He said, “there's a lot of healing that can happen if we allow ourselves to just kind of like, you know, feel that and cry and process that pain, you know?” Travis discussed social-emotional development in regards to expressing authentic emotions rather than through anger and rage, the manifestation that Lisa described with a neurological

perspective. Travis emphasized the internal freedom youth gain in regards to feeling free to express their emotions, whereas Lisa emphasized the power that youth have in demonstrating discernment and self-regulation. Travis' understanding of social-emotional development included the influence of others whereas Lisa looked at the impact that youth have on others in their demonstration of emotions. Travis recognized that youth expression of emotions can encourage other youth to be vulnerable and share their emotions, but his evaluation of emotional development was not for the purposes of assessing youth for treatment progress. Instead, Travis was focused on supporting youth to be honest with themselves and willing to express their true feelings that often manifest as anger. Both Travis and Lisa desired to help youth in their social-emotional development, however one approach emphasized individual responsibility as it relates to brain development and another emphasized addressing the social conditioning youth have experienced. Through SJYD programs, youth are provided the support and space to explore their emotions that are otherwise considered taboo, particularly for male youth. SJYD programs are an appropriate context within juvenile justice to address social-emotional development because of the emotional nature of activities like sports and recreation. Heidi described how emotions play a prominent role in the sports-based SJYD program she runs, saying,

> “there's oftentimes a lot of kind of guarding against like who they are, that they're tough, they're respected… And (sport) oftentimes brings emotions immediately to the surface… and maybe sometimes they can't handle it. So I think we in sport, we see that happen very, very quickly. And so then we're trying to kind of, which it can be a positive, like that can be a real opportunity to work through that with them on the field.”

Heidi described that because of the capital associated with sport success, the stakes for youth in that environment are high and “bring emotions immediately to the surface.” Heidi

centered the youth by not problematizing this pattern, rather, she operated as a bricoleur and saw the manifestation of emotions as an opportunity to work with youth in this regard. Her language of collaboration again centered youth and reaffirmed their capacity to develop emotional maturity through participating in a sports program. This example from Heidi also highlighted that sport programs provided a realistic setting for youth to demonstrate their social-emotional skills. This is of particular value in settings where youth are assessed for their performance and demonstration of prosocial behaviors.

In another sports-based program, Candice talked about encouraging social-emotional development through hypothetical situations with youth in preparation for potential future interactions. She told me about one aspect of the program is that youth are able to visit the university that she and her program partner, Greg, work at. She said,

> "sort of leading up to that trip, we do orientation sessions, where we're really just working through like basic social and emotional skills. Like you're gonna have to meet my boss, which you're gonna probably have to talk differently to my boss than you're like gonna talk to the pretty looking lady that you're gonna talk to in the dining hall. You know, like having self-awareness, social awareness, you know, things like that."

Youth in Candice and Greg's program were provided opportunities to participate in the program in settings outside of the prison institution. The benefit to this is similar to the benefits I discussed in relation to Heidi's program, youth have the opportunity to practice these skills in a realistic setting. This aspect of the program is not available to all youth, it is an incentive for youth and is an example of scaffolding in a program. Candice and Greg introduced scenarios that warrant different responses and thus require a level of self and social awareness to recognize what is and is not appropriate in the situation. This is another way staff scaffolded opportunities

for these interactions to occur in a supportive environment. In another example, Robert described how recreation is a vehicle for promoting social-emotional development of young people. He said he found facility staff were supportive of the recreation events he coordinated because,

> "you want to have the you want to have the kids doing something positive, you know? You wanted you wanted to see the kids enjoying themselves having a good time, which is working on some of those, you know, social, emotional skills, you know, positive youth development, teamwork, leadership, you know, all those things."

Robert's understanding of social-emotional skills was similar to those identified in sports programs although the program he ran was broader, being recreation. Sport and recreation programs, as described by Robert and Heidi, created an environment that included the element of stress, the stimuli often being competition, where youth then must respond to that stress. The development of social-emotional skills enabled youth to respond in a manner that was conducive to building healthy relationships with others.

In the literacy program run by William, empathy was one of the social-emotional skills that came up as a result of the youth reading Monster by Walter Dean Myers. The premise of the story is about a 16-year old accused of murder and is written as a screenplay, providing opportunities for youth to reflect on their own experiences in court and to develop empathy for the characters. As the book was read on tape, William told me he paused to ask youth, "what did you think about this?" as a way to make sure youth were reading, and to promote conversation and reflection. Through this iterative process, youth were able to explore their own feelings in relation to all of the characters and apply that empathetic understanding to others in the real world. William's youth-centered approach of choosing a relevant book allowed young people to easily connect with the content and grow their social-emotional skills.

Another aspect of social-emotional development that was embedded into the context of programs in the juvenile justice context were opportunities for youth to interact with individuals of other races in an environment that recognizes racial differences. While the majority of youth in the SYJD programs were Black and Brown youth as described by Travis, Michelle, Diane, Candice, Greg, and Heidi, the staff and adults in these facilities were not all Black and Brown. Given that the staff identified the racial demographics of the youth and staff, SJYD programs in the juvenile justice context do not adopt a colorblind philosophy. Interpersonal skills were built and practiced with individuals of different races. This was important as youth were able to practice self-awareness through self-acceptance and self-assurance in their own racial identity, as modeled by the staff,

The findings from this study supported the existing body of youth development research that recognizes the connectedness of all domains of development. SJYD programs promote healthy development by centering youth, understanding their physiological stage and needs, and responding to them in a developmentally appropriate fashion. Supporting the holistic development in programs implemented by adults who are self-aware was key to ensuring that youth are the focus and priority of SJYD programs in the juvenile justice context.

Youth Choice

The theme of youth choice established youth as bricoleurs of their own lives. Youth has been discussed up to this point as it relates to subthemes like maternalism, the borderland of age, and engagement, however, because of its relationship to bricolage and SJYD, youth choice emerged as its own theme. In this study, programs provided opportunities for youth to exercise agency and promotes self-efficacy as decision-makers of their own futures.

In this study, youth choice manifested as "opportunity." Choices were given to youth and provided an opportunity to exercise agency. Nicholas, who worked for a community-based SJYD program for youth on probation, has the title of "Opportunity Advisor." His position was designed specifically to support "youth that are aging out of programming." Nicholas' role as an advisor places the decision-making power with the youth. His purpose is to support youth as they make decisions that will shape their present and future.

In another example, Travis described that one of the SJYD programs offered by his organization hosts weekly meetings for youth where they "have an opportunity to… share whatever they've been working on… And we'll give feedback or, you know, we'll just kind of listen. But it's really an opportunity to kind of share, like, what you've been working on creatively." The activity that Travis described is premised upon youth choice. Youth had the opportunity to decide for themselves if they would like to participate. Once there, youth chose if they wanted to share with the group and decided what they wanted to share. Then, youth decided if they wanted to receive feedback or not. As youth moved throughout the program, they demonstrated agency and co-created the experience for themselves and others.

Lisa described another example designed for youth to practice making decisions about their personal boundaries and encouraged confidence in their choices. She said,

> "For example, we had a team member come up with this fun idea of, you know, feeding is very much giving and receiving care, and how do you practice that when you're regulated? And so they were tossing marshmallows into each other's mouth. And it was fun, and they're getting along with their peers. But they're, they're allowed to say, 'No, I don't want to do this,' right? They're allowed to set boundaries and those things. And so consistently being creative, and what seems maybe trivial or or childish, it has to be at its

most simple level in order for them to practice it, because these are complicated behaviors."

This activity that is being described by Lisa includes opportunities for youth choice at every level. Programs like this scaffolded activities because they build the confidence of youth to make their own choices, starting at a basic level. At the highest level, youth are advocating for themselves and decided how they would like to be cared for and communicated that preference. Youth were able to make the choice for themselves, and since the options were neutral, there was no stigma associated with either option. The stakes in this example are low, and the simplicity and fun nature of the game promoted engagement by reducing intrapersonal barriers to participate.

One of the features of the borderlands of juvenile justice was that youth are largely relinquished powerless over the length of time they are incarcerated. While length of stay is generally based upon "good behavior," it is a subjective determination. The program run by Greg and Candice is an optional program, however the decision to participate can contribute to reducing time in the juvenile justice facility. This instance of youth choice had more tangible outcomes that also provides youth a mechanism to change their status of incarceration. These were choices that give youth some semblance of agency while they are incarcerated. Greg told me,

> "that they're (state officials) starting to work towards giving certain programs like if youth participate and are engaged, they'll get cut time. So that's something that the state started to do. And so our program is one of those programs, so the kids can retroactively get cut-time for their participation, they're going to continue to get cut time."

Therefore, the choice to participate in the program had different outcomes than tossing marshmallows, yet each were instances of youth choice where youth were presented opportunities to exercise agency. In Michelle's program, upon arrival in the juvenile justice facility, youth were presented with the opportunity to exercise agency and decide if they would like to participate. Like Candice and Greg's sports-based program, participation in Michelle's program had the potential to impact the youth's overall experience of incarceration. Throughout the program activities, there were also opportunities to exercise agency. Michelle described that even if youth chose not to participate in all aspects of the program, they were still provided information they could use to shape their future in the juvenile justice system.

> "If they go into a juvenile facility, prison, or a detention center, they are provided with our guide, Family Guide, to navigating the juvenile justice system, we wrote the first one… And we reach out to them and ask them to become part of our program. Because in the Youth Justice Initiative program, what they get is they get access to a pro bono attorney. So if they have an appeal or something that they want someone to look at, they have access to use our pro bono attorney. They have they can become a youth caucus member and they can be part of the youth caucus meetings via telephone. So what we do, and that is illegal, however, it's okay. Because what we do is we, when they will tell them when the meeting is. And when they call in, we'll try and three way down, sometimes we get disconnected. But at the end of the day, when they don't get disconnected, they can participate in the meetings that the youth caucus members have. And so all of this information is in the newsletter, they get once a quarter, plus they get information about bills that are being passed that are pertinent to them."

Since Michelle's contact with youth who are incarcerated was limited, youth participation was dependent upon their choice to participate. In this SJYD program, youth had continuous opportunity to exercise agency and participate in whatever capacity they would like. The resources made available to youth also showed appreciation for youth choice by allowing them to make the decisions for themselves. Youth could decide if they would like to access the resources and decide which resources they would like to utilize. These options provided youth opportunities to exercise their agency within the situation they were in to shape their current circumstances and future.

Youth choice in SJYD programs is best understood as opportunities to exercise agency. Youth choice allowed young people to have some sort of control over their current circumstances and shape their future. Opportunities for youth choice were provided on a small scale, like in activities where youth choose whether or not to participate and learn to practice setting boundaries. Opportunities for youth choice were also provided on a larger scale, where youth made decisions that directly impacted their status of incarceration. SJYD programs provided youth opportunities to exercise agency prior to participation and during participation in programs. Staff acted as bricoleurs to provide youth opportunities to also act as bricoleurs and exercise agency.

Youth Voice

Related to youth choice is youth voice. Youth voice was a theme that emerged that captured the various ways in which bricoleurs designed the program for youth to engage as active participants in their own individual development. In the data from this study, youth voice emerged as an opportunity for young people to communicate their personal perspective, preferences, interests and opinions.

Personal introductions were described as a significant method to promote youth voice in four of the SJYD programs. Introductions provided a context for the use of personal experiences, which were a valuable resource for bricoleurs in the juvenile justice context. I previously discussed how Travis used introductions as a time to build rapport and credibility with youth, and youth voice was the act of vocalizing the information they wish to have disclosed. This interaction, where youth have the space and attention to introduce themselves was a contrast to their experience moving through the juvenile justice system and their personal information was read aloud about them without being provided the opportunity to speak. These introductions were called check-ins in three of the SJYD programs. Checking in was an active process that was both an intrapersonal and interpersonal activity. Travis described the check-in portion of the poetry-based program as an intentional time to set the tone for the rest of the program with youth. He said,

> "so there's a component at the beginning where we, we call ourselves in everyone, everyone in the circle is acknowledged and has an opportunity to say their name. And the idea is that they say their name, and then we say back to them to kind of call them into the space. Because we believe that, that sometimes, like you'll arrive to a location or to a space, and you might be thinking about like what you just saw or what you just went through or, and so we try to like ground you and bring you into the space and and you know, presence is really important, I think. And so we try to be present, we try to help people become present."

In this example, youth had the autonomy to name themselves. This was a powerful statement that was an act of resistance in a system where youth were marked by a number. In addition to their name, youth had the ability to share their pronouns and any other identifiable

information they deem relevant to understanding and interacting with them. The language Travis used emphasizes the community aspect, first by using a circle that is utilized to communicate equality and reduce any differentials of power. This is particularly essential when a program is taking place in a context, like juvenile justice, where power is so prominent. The idea of "calling youth into the space" showed understanding that youth are affected by things outside of the SJYD program and provided an opportunity for all youth to start in the same space. This practice helped to promote equity as it gives each individual a moment to ground themselves in the present moment. Nicholas described a similar practice in his SJYD program where youth participated in,

> "a big check-in like a whole group check in where each one of the students can share… every day, we do a group check in, like a virtual group circle where you say, 'Hi, my name is (Nicholas), I'm feeling, you know, energized today I'm bringing, you know, my son's baby monitor to the class,' and, you know, then you pass it to someone else. And then we incorporated like a little dance move. So like, whatever dance move, I would do, the whole rest of the zoom session would have to copy the dance move that I did, just so we know, everyone's paying attention. And they just already start feeling like, less like, in their own shell from the beginning, just because if they have to come out of their shell, everyone's gonna have to come out of this show… just letting the kids know that this is a safe space, you know, the adults here are for you, they want to work with you, and help you with anything that you're going through."

Nicholas described how the program made adaptations to their check-in process during the Covid-19 pandemic that still allowed for youth to be in community with one another. Like Travis' poetry based program, the staff recognized that youth have other concerns in their life

that may be affecting them. He used the example of having his baby monitor with him, which provides context into his current circumstances that factors impacting him. Another aspect of the welcome that Nicholas described is the physical demonstration of an action that all participants do together to build camaraderie and reduce any barriers between participants. The goal of bringing youth out of their shell promoted engagement and simultaneously leveled the playing field by addressing power disparities related to age, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc. It also provided a physical action to show that the individual is present with the group. Making invisible phenomena visible or physical during introductions was a strategy used by at least three of the programs represented in this study.

Courtney described that during the introductions and welcome during the SJYD program, they used a candle to demarcate the opening of their time together and blow it out to end the session. She explained that there was an understanding among the group of what the candle meant, saying,

> “We would light a candle at the beginning. It's kind of like a ritual. And at the end, we would all blow it out. And so it was just kind of say that's like the conclusion it would burn the whole time. It was like a conclusion of like, we're in this space, when the candle’s out, I can't do anything about what happens outside of this, other than you contacting me. But while we're here, this candle burns, and that means that you're safe. So we did a lot of symbolism and different things like that.”

Symbolism was used in another program in relation to youth voice, Travis described that they used rocks in his poetry-based SJYD program. He said,

> “a tradition that we have in this workshop that was created by staff many years ago where rocks began to be collected from all over the world. So when folks who traveled they

> would, they would bring a rock from wherever they traveled. And even participants sometimes will, like, catch on and be like, 'Oh, I, you know, went to India, and I brought back this rock, like, to bring back to the circle.' And so we have this, this kind of pile of rocks in the middle of a circle, with a bowl of water. And we'll light a candle…And so, you know, folks will hold the rocks, and we'll kind of like, have an opportunity to check in about where everyone it is that, you know, is on their mind, if you know, they're about to graduate, or someone passed away, or, you know, they might be traveling or they're, you know, someone is dealing with a health issue, like you can put that rock in for anything. And it's an opportunity for the participant to share what's on their hearts, what's on their minds."

Travis described the use of natural elements as symbols to mark the space and welcome youth into the space. This was a helpful strategy to provide visual indicators of the state of the program. The use of symbols as it relates to youth voice is a powerful tool to physically mark the time together. This provided youth a concrete or tangible indicator to use as a point of reference and guided youth participation. In addition, much of the youth experience is invisible, and using physical objects provided youth with the ability to make the invisible, visible. In the same way, as Diane explained, youth voice is often "muted," and providing physical objects is another way that youth voice is still recognized and affirmed without depending on the physical voice of youth.

The checking-in and checking-out process that Courtney, Travis and Nicholas discussed provided youth with at least two opportunities to speak, if they chose to. This provided staff two opportunities to recognize the existence and humanity of youth participating in the program. These are moments designed for youth voice to be elevated without expectations and

contingencies placed upon youth. These check-ins and check-outs provided a space for tying up loose ends and connecting the group back together. Holding check-outs was an act that was especially valuable for youth in the juvenile justice system because of the transitory nature of the space, as was discussed previously in the borderlands. Given that youth may be transferred or released without notice, the process of checking-out at the end of every day is one way the negative effects of unexpected separation were mitigated by providing a space for intentionally saying good-bye to one another and preparing to go back to the facility, their community, or whatever engagements youth have after the SJYD program.

I mentioned previously that youth voice does not necessarily mean verbal communication, although that certainly is one form. In this study, youth voice was expressed through art and creative media. One of the features of youth voice in these mediums was that youth were not interrupted. These mediums were accessible to youth whose voices are not otherwise sought after in regards to global or even local events. Programs provided youth a space to communicate their ideas and thoughts in the language and mediums that feel most appropriate to them and the message they want to convey. The youth in the poetry-based program had poetry and music as available mediums to express themselves. Nicholas described that youth in his community-based probation program use mixed-media and mediums like paint and photography. These activities encouraged critical consciousness and social and global awareness.

Nicholas described to me the messages youth communicated through their art pieces. He said,

> "In the summer of 2019, there were four young Latino men that created a giant piece of work that focused on like the border wall, and like immigration was the topic. So we had a young man from Guatemala, from Honduras, from El Salvador, and Mexico, and they, they created this giant cardboard piece that had like a wall in the background and barbed

wire around the top that they had made out of out of actual metal. And then they had, you know, silhouettes of immigrants, like holding up signs of their country, and then you were able to talk to them about, you know, what, each piece of their their project, you know, represented in, and they wanted to address those issues. And we have, you know, other African American students that did, you know, really powerful pieces on African American culture, and just, you know, promoting systemic change, you know, in that way. And that's just some of the artwork that that we've seen in, and we, we have all that artwork at our headquarters, and we just have it posted up throughout. It's like art gallery when you walk we get to see it every day and just kind of relive, like those experiences that the students, you know, were wanting to put us through, you know, by creating this work."

Not only were youth given the opportunity to showcase their work at the art show that is open to the public at the end of the summer program, but youth work is displayed in the headquarters of the offices for the staff to be reminded of the voices and priorities of the youth they work with. These pieces of art served as physical reminders of the young people in the program that are especially valuable when youth were not physically present or able to communicate their sentiments verbally. In addition to serving as a reminder to the staff who work directly with youth, Michelle described how youth voice was codified into the legislation through and programmatic policies.

Five of the programs that were part of this study included opportunities for youth to have leadership roles or had processes in place for youth to make suggestions regarding the program content or practices. Michelle explained that youth have a formal role in the organization, some serving on the Board and carrying out functions like hiring. She said,

> "It's nothing in our organization for one of our youth caucus members or youth advocate leaders to, which happened before, to interview our pro bono attorney, so he was interviewed by two of them. And so when we say all levels of decision making, we truly mean that."

Michelle described that youth voice was integrated in every area of decision making throughout the organization. SJYD programs allow and ensure youth perspectives are elevated as a way to reinforce authenticity and minimize the power differential between all individuals involved in the program. The value of ensuring youth voice in a hiring process is that the individuals they select will likely be competent in their ability to work with youth. Allowing youth the opportunity to ask questions directly to candidates is multi-beneficial as young people are able to make sure their questions and/or concerns are addressed and to see how candidates interact with youth. The youth in Michelle's program also had opportunities to speak with legislators and advocates, thereby ensuring youth voice into recorded legal proceedings and decisions.

This practice of bricolage integrates youth voice as a valuable resource into the macro level of the ecological model. The data from this study showed the youth voice can also be elevated through the implementation of checking-in and checking-out and allowing youth to use different mediums to express their ideas. Physical objects or actions were used to symbolize the opening of space for youth voice without interruption and giving youth control of the narrative. Including youth voice as an institutional practice is essential in moving forward and informing the future of the juvenile justice system as a humane, youth-centered system.

Future Orientation

The final theme that emerged in the data of this study is future orientation. Staff acted as bricoleurs by encouraging a future orientation among youth within the borderlands and challenged the existing power dynamics and control of youth in a setting built upon a focus of past behavior. Youth who adopted a future orientation acted as bricoleurs as well. The following are strategies that were used in programs to instill agency and a future orientation within youth. All of the programs were concerned with preparing youth for returning back to their communities. Based on the background and expertise and background of staff, each program targeted a different level of the ecological model. The three domains of future orientation that were emphasized in the programs represented in this study were employment, higher education, soft skills.

Employment

The first sub-theme that emerged in the data under the theme of future orientation was employment. Employment included job training, mentoring, internships, and building social capital necessary to enter and move throughout into the workforce. In the literacy program in this study, future employment was addressed by having a career day. William said,

> "And so we would bring in different people, people who would be interested to volunteer, well, you know, I would just basically tell them talk about their jobs, really, and just kind of just like, 'hey, what got you started doing that? What do you like about your job? What do you hate about your job? And is this what you always wanted to do?' an hour kind of just like, interviewed them in front of the kids. And then the kids ask questions, you know, beautiful questions about any and everything."

Allowing the youth to ask questions of individuals about their jobs provided youth with interactive examples of career options. Providing youth with the space to ask questions ensured that their concerns relating to jobs are addressed. These events also provided youth with realistic expectations for navigating the workforce. The conversations with career professionals provided youth with insight into the necessary steps they need to take in order to achieve their goals. In many ways, these activities provide a structure for what scaffolding should look like, providing a big picture roadmap for youth that can be broken down into smaller steps. Another function of these types of events was that youth were able to build a network that will continue to grow and potentially produce job opportunities in the future. The result is increased social capital that will help support youth once they are back in their communities.

Travis and Nicholas both talked about the inclusion of professional artists, musicians, composers and producers within the program that provided youth with valuable insight and connections in the industry. Travis described that the program offered a fellowship that was the result of youth interest in learning about the music industry as a career, so the SJYD staff has "been partnering up with these different music production programs and organizations and companies.. (so youth) leave hopefully, more professionally as artists, knowing the ins and outs of the music business, and also like, the process of creating music." These are hard skills that will allow youth to pursue professional opportunities once they are back in the community. The SJYD program that Nicholas runs is "an arts workforce development program" where "(staff) do treat it as a real job for them." This type of program was designed to provide youth employment experience in a supportive environment.

Employment within SJYD programs provided immediate and long term benefits to youth. Paying youth provided an obvious incentive for youth participation, however in addition to

financial capital, youth were then able to list their participation in the program as employment experience. Providing youth with experiences that can be listed on a resume supports the long-term success of youth. These programs also provided opportunities for youth to build relationships with caring adults who can be listed as reputable references for jobs. These outcomes may seem trivial, however, they are necessary capital to participate in the workforce and society. Intentionally creating opportunities for youth to gain these skills highlights the future orientation that program staff hold for youth in the juvenile justice system. Michelle further emphasized the necessity of paying youth, saying,

> "That's the other thing, Maria. Everything that they do, we pay them for… even for the work that they do to prepare for their zoom events, when they come out, we pay them for the meeting just because you know what? It has to be like the way it is, with the real world. If you have a job and you have a position when you do the work, you get compensated."

Michelle described a social awareness of capitalism that surrounds youth. In addition, paying youth illustrated a level of respect so youth are not patronized their contributions. While financial literacy has not traditionally been a major area of focus for youth development, the known impacts of poverty reveals the significance of preparing youth in this domain. Further, the disproportionate population of youth in poverty in the juvenile justice system (Western & Pettit, 2010) suggests that SJYD programs that provide opportunities for youth to build wealth will address a barrier to participation that prevents youth who have to enter the workforce at an early age to support themselves or their families (Sanderson & Richards, 2010). The results of this study did not suggest that youth in poverty had a higher propensity to commit crime, that question and correlation was outside the scope of this study; however, preparing youth who are

more likely to be experiencing poverty and providing opportunities for them to earn an income is a way to implement SJYD and support youth. Nicholas also talked about the benefits of paying youth and the preparation they receive through the program.

> "I'd say, number one, is we actually pay them for their time there. So when I said it was an arts workforce development program, we we hold the students accountable, you know, for showing up late or missing days, you know, there's, there's deductions that we can give them if if, you know, they don't meet certain criteria, which we all review with the students, you know, the first couple of days, there in the program, so they know what's expected of them."

Workforce training programs provided opportunities for youth choice, an opportunity for youth to exercise agency, and be in control of their future with natural consequences embedded into the program. Michelle and Nicholas described how the youth in their program are compensated because of their understanding of the world in which youth live, a capitalist society where financial capital is essential. SJYD programs that provided financial compensation to youth allowed youth to engage in a program that does not force them to choose between investing in themselves and earning money. The money youth earn can help covers housing costs, food, transportation, etc., for themselves and their families, meeting an immediate and future need. For youth who are currently incarcerated, the opportunity to earn a wage allows youth to prepare for a successful transition back home. Diane told me that when asking youth in detention what would be of help to them when they go back home, they said employment.

> "We were talking to our young people who were in detention, and the most thing that stood out was they want to work, they want a job. Like, even if it's, you know, something minor, they said that they thought that that would keep them out of trouble. They thought

> that that would solve their problems with like, doing things like, you know, larceny, or robbery and different things like that. So we have been connecting with different groups and different organizations. And with the city, the city has the Mayor's Youth Academy, where they bring on young people who learn job skills, and different things like that. But making sure that they are employed, making sure that they're housed, making sure that they participate in the civil process, and making sure that they make it off of parole, well, probation, without reoffending. So those are our four, like the main things. And it's the same with the adults. But the important thing about young people is, if a young person doesn't have anywhere to go, there are not a lot of options for making sure that that young person is able to move out on their own. So we had to, we had to connect with the United Way and go through there. They have a program where, you know, you figure out how to get young people housed, because in our area, you can't run a hotel room, if you're under 21. There's only like one motel in the whole city where you can rent if you're 18. And that is an issue like housing has become like the crutch in the middle of this pandemic. And we all kind of work together to try to figure out if we can get a group home or we can figure out something for young people who are coming back, especially when their parents are told that they can't live there with them where they have to move because of whatever type of charge they have."

This quote from Diane connected the importance of addressing the basic needs at the bottom of Maslow's hierarchy for youth to be successful when they return home. Diane described the institutional barriers in place for youth when they get out of detention. In addition, when youth are released out of detention, they are still under state control on probation for a period of time. The terms of probation have the potential to limit the ability of youth to find

employment within a certain location, during certain hours of the day, in addition to going to school and other mandated activities like counseling. As a result, violations of probation are not an indication of criminal behavior, rather the outcome of a logistical improbability, if not impossibility. SJYD programs that are able to build bridging relationships with the juvenile justice system, local housing authorities, schools and offer youth employment allow young people to progress through and eventually leave the juvenile justice system with a fair chance at long-term, sustainable success.

Education

Education emerged as a sub-theme of future orientation because of the opportunities that were made available specifically through higher education. Candice and Greg have a sports-based leadership program as partners from a nearby university. As part of the program, youth have the opportunity to visit campus and learn about opportunities at the university. Greg told me that they "have done two of those college visits, (and) we've had three of the seven apply to (the university), which is pretty cool." Candice and Greg offered opportunities to youth not only to learn about higher education in a broad sense, but also to visit and gain a better understanding of what life on a college campus could be like. Candice told me, "we bring a group of kids from the facility to campus for a day. So they get to experience like a day in the life of college, sit in on a class, eat at the dorms, socialize." As youth participated in these programs, they were able to see if higher education is an option they would like to pursue before making a major financial decision. They were also able to build a network of individuals within higher education that can support them throughout the application and decision process if that is an avenue they would like to pursue. This is another function of social capital that is often encouraged in communities where higher education is expected but overlooked in the juvenile justice system. While the

realities of higher education make it a privilege, allowing youth to explore it as an option provides them the opportunity to make that decision for themselves instead of having it made for them.

Heidi told me how their sports-based program sought to build bridging relationships with high school coaches of the schools that youth would be returning to.

> "We've invited coaches to come in that were going that coach at the school that the young man was going back to. They would come in, just like you know, make contact. And also, I think, like, I would let that coach know like this can be overwhelming and intimidating for him, you know, can, can you just make sure when he gets into that school like can you just go and meet him at his first class and like say hi. You know, and let them know he's invited to come in. I wouldn't say this explicitly telling him what to do but like can you be that person that like is a bit of a link."

This example from Heidi showed how program staff aimed to build the social capital of youth because they recognized the value that it has. It is also telling that this exchange of social capital was not part of the institutional process for supporting youth and was the result of outsiders working together to support youth inside the system. Heidi also explained that this was not an easy feat, saying,

> "I wish it had been like a little bit more successful. We had one coach who was like all in. He also had, like, I think he got his master's in like therapy or social work, he already kind of had like a bent towards that. But he loved it."

The implication of Heidi's statement being that this opportunity for facilitated interaction between the ecological levels was contingent on individuals who had a prior disposition and personal interest in helping support youth. The actions Heidi took to initiate contact and build

these bridges was a proactive step done in advance to prepare youth to return home to their communities. It was also perceptive of Heidi to anticipate the intrapersonal barriers that a young person may encounter beyond the structural challenges they will undoubtedly face. Heidi was planning for youth to be successful and is seeking ways to create a positive, supportive environment for youth that encourages success.

William's literacy program is another program that had obvious educational benefits, but the outcomes also went beyond education. He described that improving literacy had personal benefits he recognized when he began reading more. He told me, "once I started reading my, my vocabulary got better. I've been able to start articulating myself better, my confidence improved, you know, so, you know, that, you know, those different things." Addressing aspects of education outside of the classroom setting enabled youth to navigate the world as more equipped individuals. These skills also provided youth with transferable skills that have value in the community beyond the juvenile justice context. William did identify that literacy is a skill that youth can actively work on and improve while they are incarcerated because the nature of the activity can be done alone and with minimal equipment. Reading is also associated with creativity, memory, critical thinking and imagination and literacy programs in juvenile justice facilities have shown to improve the reading scores of youth (Malgrem & Leone, 2000; O'Cummings, Bardack & Gonsoulin, 2010). Further, data on the youth in the juvenile justice system consistently show that youth have lower literacy rates and if not improved can lead to continued barriers to economic and social success (O'Cummings, Bardack & Gonsoulin, 2010).

The premise of the literacy program is that youth will not be incarcerated forever and will eventually be going back home. SJYD programs instill a future orientation within staff and youth which keeps the focus on the opportunities ahead for youth instead of a singular focus on the past

behaviors that led to youth involvement in the juvenile justice system. This perspective aligns with Positive Youth Development as a whole that emphasizes the importance of building youth assets rather than focusing on youth-deficits. A future orientation within a program also rejects the assumption that youth ended up in the juvenile justice system as a result of their own choices and actions. Programs with a future orientation recognized that the system is grounded in bias and provided programming to address the needs of youth, like literacy, that will be beneficial to youth when they leave the juvenile justice system. All of the staff that participated in this study demonstrated and communicated intentionality behind their actions. They each understood the dynamics surrounding youth within the ecological levels and the capital that youth would need to be successful in the community.

Staff acted as SJYD bricoleurs to create programs that set youth up for success beyond the juvenile justice system. Of the staff that participated in this program, only one emphasized past “criminal” behavior. The overwhelming future orientation of the other participants emphasized the unstated belief that staff believe in the potential of youth to make good choices when they are provided with the necessary skills, resources, and opportunities. The commitment to building bridging relationships and foster social capital among youth is a critical commentary of the ways in which social systems are set up to reinforce status and standing. Embracing a future orientation reflects the SJYD principles making identity central and embracing youth culture with the potential for developing youth who are critical of power in social relationships, seek to address systemic change and take part in collective action.

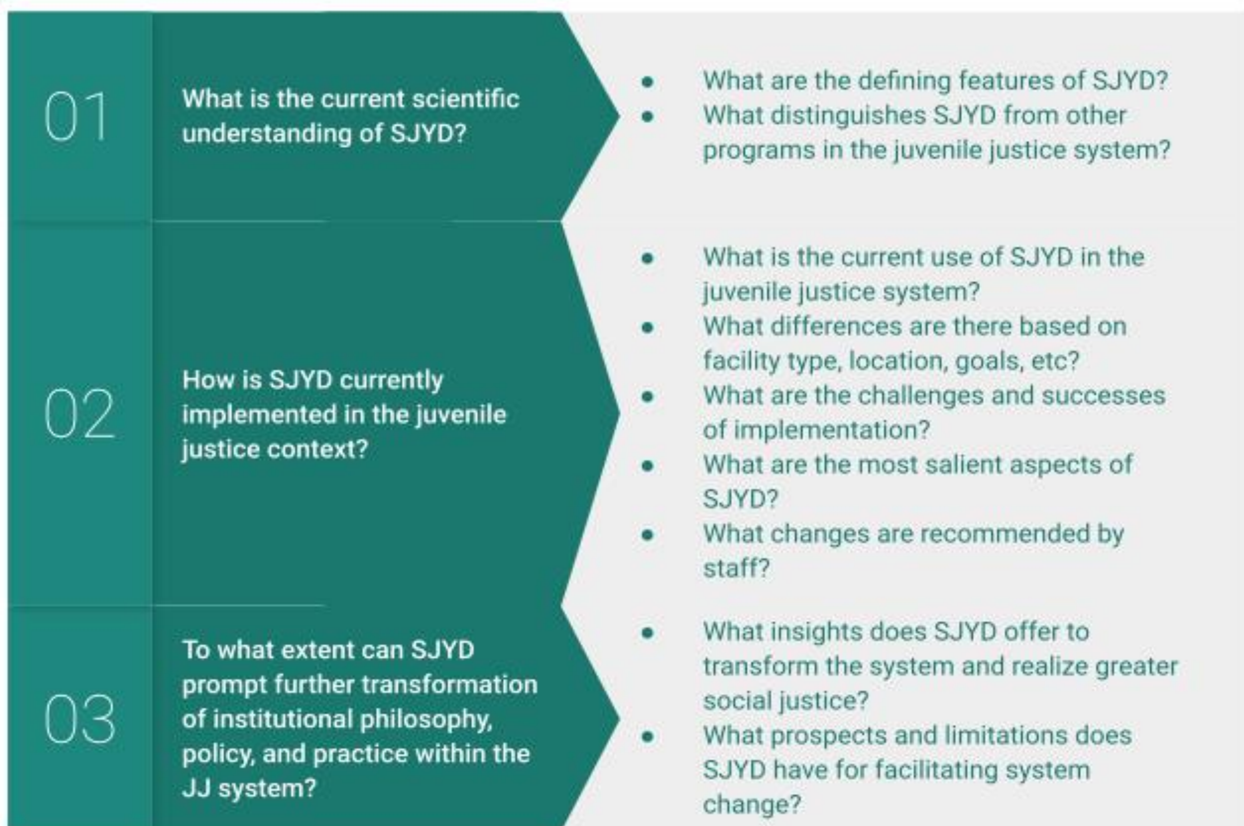
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The discussion from this study will be broken down into the research questions. To begin the Discussion section, I will review the original research questions that guided this study and how I answered each question. I will then provide conclusions for each question based on the evidence from this study. Following the discussion of the conclusions, I will move into a section regarding the implications and future directions for research, policy and practice based on the results of this study. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of using SJYD in the juvenile justice context before providing a final conclusion. The research questions are below in Figure 7.

Figure 7

Research Questions Revisited



Summary of Results by Research Questions

Research Question 1 Results: What is the Current Scientific Understanding of SJYD?

The purpose of Research Question One was to provide a current understanding of Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD). To answer this question, I conducted a literature review of the current body of knowledge and the findings were presented in Chapter II. These findings were presented in the literature review section. Social Justice Youth Development is a branch of Positive Youth Development (PYD) that is distinct from mainstream PYD because it centers youth of color and youth in low socio-economic communities (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002; Iwasaki, 2016; Pryor & Outley, 2014). SJYD was established as an orientation that considers the impact of the macro level socio-political and economic forces on the individual young person and communities of color. There are five principles of SJYD, 1) Analysis of Power in Social Relationships, 2) Making Identity Central, 3) Promoting Systemic Social Change, 4) Encouraging Collective Action, and 5) Embracing Youth Culture (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). SJYD recognizes that youth are capable of being active agents in their own development and can make contributions to their communities, including in efforts to challenge oppressive systems and policies (Ginwright, Cammarota & Noguera, 2005). According to SJYD, as these principles are implemented, youth develop a critical consciousness as they become more self, socially and globally aware of systems and structures of oppression. In this study, three of the SJYD principles emerged as salient, *Analyzing Power in Social Relationships, Making Identity Central, and Embracing Youth Culture*. Elements of Advancing Systemic

Change and Encouraging Collective Action were found in this study, however not to the extent that the three aforementioned principles were.

SJYD is based on the ecological systems model, and previous research has shown that interventions in the juvenile justice system based on the ecological model have higher rates of success (Schwalbe et al., 2012). This is supported by the results of this study, as programs were designed based on the "ecology of the youth," as one participant said. In addition, the SJYD programs in this study focused less on developing critical consciousness of youth towards social and global awareness, and instead emphasized the importance of self-awareness and interpersonal interactions. Cammarota (2011) described that addressing community conditions that contribute to the oppression of youth is both a process and outcome of SJYD, and the results of this study provide examples of how SJYD programs encourage youth to use their lived experiences as a catalyst for system change, although supporting individual youth outcomes was more prominent in this study.

The results of this study confirmed that the implementation of the three principles, *Analyzing Power in Social Relationships, Making Identity Central and Embracing Youth Culture* were facilitated by authentic youth engagement and youth voice (Ersing, 2009; Yohalem & Martin, 2007). The mechanisms by which SJYD was implemented are what distinguished the SJYD programs from the other programs in the juvenile justice context.

One of the distinguishing factors of SJYD programs in the juvenile justice system that emerged in this study was the nature of engagement between SJYD adult staff and youth. This aligns with the type of authentic engagement that challenges the hierarchy of power that Iwasaki (2015) suggests marks SJYD from other PYD programs. Iwasaki (2015) contends that youth leadership is a key mechanism for facilitating SJYD programs, and the results suggest that

opportunities for authentic engagement is contingent upon staff ensuring youth are recognized as equal partners (Alicea et al., 2012; Blanchet-Cohen & Salazar, 2009). In this study, the staff I interviewed communicated that providing formal and informal leadership opportunities for youth was a central component to their programs, and the staff and volunteers were trained to see youth as co-creators of the program instead of just receivers. The idea of co-creation with youth is found in experience design literature generally, however it aligns more with youth engagement literature that includes youth-participatory research and youth-adult partnerships because of the unique challenges inherent in youth work (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Iwasaki, 2016, Iwasaki et al., 2014).

The SJYD staff in this study described that their type of engagement was distinct from the facility staff who delivered other programs. The mandatory presence of facility staff alleviated SJYD staff from enforcing the facility rules and regulations, therefore monitoring and policing youth behavior was not a priority in the program. As a result, the staff were able to build authentic relationships with youth and provide opportunities for leadership that were not based on the same criteria as the rest of the facility. Since the majority of SJYD staff in this study were considered outsiders to the juvenile justice system, the youth were able to discuss topics like gangs and police brutality without facing negative repercussions. All of the participants identified safety as the primary concern of the facility staff, whereas the SJYD wanted to promote engagement in a safe way. The difference is subtle yet significant and reflects the orientation towards youth esteemed by PYD, that youth are not problems to be solved but assets in their personal and collective development (Benson et al., 2007). As a result, SJYD programs were designed to allow youth to determine how they would engage in the activities (inclusion lit). The emphasis on youth engagement within the juvenile justice system reflects the calls of

Efuribe et al. (2020) to include youth in decisions that directly impact their own lives, saying, "Young people are not solely beneficiaries of programs and policies-- they are essential partners" (p. 16), and that the necessary compliance of youth is increased as youth are a part of creating the programs and boundaries (Brown & Gabriel, 2019; Mitra, 2004; Mitra, Serriere, & Kirshner, 2014; Schoenfeld, Bennett, Manganella, & Kemp, 2018).

Research Question 2: How is SJYD currently implemented in the juvenile justice context?

The results of this study demonstrated that the implementation of SJYD in the juvenile justice system was largely dependent on individual rather than institutional factors. The implementation of SJYD was determined by the access individuals had based on their identity and the staff becoming bricoleurs to the design and delivery of programming.

Identity Determines Access

The current understanding of SJYD has assumed that the adults will have the ability to teach SJYD and facilitate programs with youth that develop youth's critical consciousness (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). However, access emerged as a theme that many of the adults I interviewed were restricted by the same systems as the youth in the juvenile justice system. The adults I interviewed did not have equal access or autonomy to provide programming to youth, in fact, the identity and intersectionality (Collins, 2019), or Mestiza hybridity (Anzaldúa, 1987), of individuals impacted their ability to implement programming. The accessibility that adults have within the juvenile justice system is a caveat to SJYD that has not yet been discussed or considered.

Adult access to provide programming within the juvenile justice system was determined by the intersectional identities of the adults I interviewed. In this study, the evidence demonstrated that access into the facilities or to funding was not equally accessible. In this way,

the structure of the juvenile justice system perpetuates inequity by elevating the goals and outcomes of programs that are proximal to those with existing institutional power. Even once intersectional individuals had access to the juvenile justice system, like Courtney, she still faced interpersonal barriers from the other adults who held power and were able to use their collective power to ignore her. Her age did not preclude her from the same dismissal and invisibility that Black girls face in the juvenile justice system, severely limiting Courtney's ability to apply SJYD principles in the juvenile justice system.

Unless the structure of the system is changed to be accessible to all individuals, particularly those with intersectional identities, SJYD, or any other program will not be implemented on a large scale.

Becoming Bricoleurs to Implement SJYD Principles

While the staff I interviewed described challenges to access and the ability to implement SJYD, the individuals I interviewed acted as bricoleurs in their programs. Bricoleurs use whatever resources are available to them to fulfill a range of tasks (Lévi-Strauss, 1966), and in this study, were the strategies staff used to implement SJYD principles. The group of themes within bricolage were strategies that adults used to implement SJYD authentic engagement, adults centering youth, youth choice, youth voice and embracing a future orientation. There were similarities across the programs represented in this study as to how these features were implemented, however because the bricoleurs were limited to the resources accessible to them within their context, no two programs applied these strategies the exact same way.

This study was the first to examine the implementation of Social Justice Youth Development in the juvenile justice system and describe its current use in the juvenile justice context. As such, this study was aimed to address that gap in the literature. Given the constraints

imposed by the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, this study was conducted virtually with adults who work with youth in the juvenile justice system and had internet access to participate in the study. The results of the study provide examples of how each SJYD principle is implemented in the juvenile justice context. Table 5 below shows the provided an overview of the programs represented in this study, including the different types of activities, setting of the program, the region of the country that the program is in, the status of the program staff within the juvenile justice system, and the primary SJYD principles that were implemented in each program. The programs that were represented in this study demonstrate that SJYD is implemented in a range of activities, supporting previous research that has described the implementation of SJYD in programs based on art, sports, research, technology, and recreation (Brown, Outley & Pinckney, 2018; Ersing, 2009; Fei, 2018; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Pryor & Outley, 2014; Wilson et al., 2006). As you can see, all of the programs implemented the second SJYD, Making Identity Central, and all but one program implemented the fifth principle, Embracing Youth Culture. While all of the programs implemented at least one of the principles, the extent to which they implemented the principle and how they did so varied, however the differences of SJYD application were not based on geographic location.

Table 5

Program Demographics Revisited

Program	Setting	U.S. Region	Insider/ outsider status	SJYD Principles
Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Outsider	2, 5
Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Outsider	2, 5
Sport	Long-term detention	Northeast	Outsider	2, 5

Program	Setting	U.S. Region	Insider/ outsider status	SJYD Principles
Grassroots advocacy	Community/ Probation	East	Outsider	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Poetry, music	Long-term detention	West	Outsider	1, 2, 5
Arts	Community/ Probation	South	Outsider	1, 2, 5
Leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Insider	2, 3, 5
Recreation	Long-term detention	South	Insider	2, 5
Grassroots advocacy	Long-term detention/ Community	Northeast	Outsider	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
State system	Long-term detention	South	Insider	2
Literacy	Local detention	East	Outsider	2, 5

SJYD Principles: 1: Analyzing Power in Social Relationships, 2: Making Identity Central, 3: Advancing Systemic Change, 4: Encouraging Collective Action, 5: Embracing Youth Culture

Most Salient Aspects of SJYD

The SJYD principles were covered by each of the SJYD programs in the study. All of the programs implemented the second SJYD, *Making Identity Central*, and all but one program implemented the fifth principle, *Embracing Youth Culture*. While all of the programs implemented at least one of the principles, the extent to which they implemented the principle and how they did so varied, however the differences of SJYD application were not based on geographic location. The results of this study suggest that the most salient aspects of SJYD include three of the five principles, Analyzing Power in Social Relationships, Making Identity

Central and Embracing Youth Culture. A deeper look into the study results by principle provides a better understanding of the study's contribution to the literature.

Principle 1: Analyzing Power in Social Relationships

The first principle of SJYD emphasizes the analysis of the location and use of power in social relationships (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). The results of this study support the critical analysis of power within social relationships in the juvenile justice context. Ginwright and Cammarota (2002), Ginwright and James (2002) respectively, discuss that critically analyzing the location and use of power reveals patterns of exclusion and decisions that contribute to disproportionate marginalization of communities, specifically youth of color and youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds. All of the participants in this study identified this theme as pertinent to their work, especially in the sense of restoring power to the youth through participation in the SJYD programs. This outcome aligns with what Christens, Collura & Tahir (2013) termed critical hopefulness, or the belief that youth have the ability to impact the sociopolitical context around them. Another feature of critical hopefulness is critical awareness, an outcome that the SJYD programs in this study aimed to develop among the youth in their programs (Christens, Collura & Tahir, 2013; Christens et al., 2018). The resulting critical hopefulness is related to empowerment, a concept used to describe an individual gaining control over their life with increasing rights and reducing their own marginalization (Maton, 2008). The SJYD programs in this study actively sought to provide youth opportunities to exercise autonomy, contributing to their empowerment.

In the SJYD programs, power emerged in regards to institutional status, or those who had power to allow SJYD programs to occur. Previous literature discussing institutions and SJYD describes that public service institutions have used their power to influence youth, as a service to

the greater community (Kelly Pryor and Outley, 2017), however, institutions have also been a part of controlling youth and restricting the opportunities available to them (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Gabriel et al., 2020; Snyder et al., 2016). The results of this study suggest that SJYD must be expanded to explicitly include the formal power that institutions hold in carceral settings, where the influence of the institution has immediate effects and can have lasting effects when youth leave their residence in the institution.

Principle 2: Makes Identity Central

The second principle of Social Justice Youth Development, Making Identity Central, emerged as salient in the results of this study. The Borderlands, as conceptualized by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), provided a way to understand the interactions based on power within the ecological model. Previous literature regarding this principle suggests that identities are associated with social power (Ginwright & James, 2002; Ginwright & Cammarota; Cammarota, 2015). Existing literature surrounding critical hopefulness also contends that youth of color are more likely to demonstrate critical hopefulness because of their awareness of the ways in which their identity is connected to social power (Christens, Collura & Tahir, 2013; Christens et al., 2018). The results of this study support the previous literature and highlight three specific identities that emerged as being associated with power, age, race, and gender.

Social Justice Youth Development is a liberatory approach to youth development and Mestiza is a liberatory methodology that emphasizes the identity of the individuals. As such, centralizing and embracing the identity of youth in the juvenile justice system is tied to their figurative, and literal, liberation. The individuals in this study described how their personal identities impacted their work with youth in the justice system as they navigated the Borderlands based on their race, age and gender.

Further, recognizing that the developmental stage of adolescence as an identity of youth emerged in the data as a manifestation of SJYD programs within the juvenile justice system. Adolescent development is characterized as a period of growth across all domains of development and SJYD programs in the juvenile justice system supported the holistic development of young people, including their physical, mental, emotional, and social health (Delgado, 2002; Ersing, 2009). The physical needs of youth were met through active activities like sport and recreation, the social needs were met through engaging programs that promoted prosocial interaction. Competition and empathy exercises in the SJYD programs promoted the emotional development of youth, and mindfulness activities promoted mental health. Each domain of development overlaps and reinforces with one another, much like the principles of SJYD. As youth participate in a physical activity program, evidence supports that their mental and socio-emotional health is also improved (Iwasaki, 2016; Ross, 2011).

The contextualized nature of youth within SJYD provides a clearer understanding of these developmental outcomes as they are directly related to access and opportunities determined by factors such as race, location, socioeconomic status, religion, educational opportunity, and ability (Hallal et al., 2006). Within the context of a juvenile correctional facility, opportunities for holistic development is also contingent upon external factors that impact the presence of SJYD programs. The results of this study determined that the provision of SJYD programs are determined by access and funding of the SJYD staff, highlighting the value of social capital even within the juvenile justice system. Previous research on social capital suggests that it is a key factor in producing disparities and reinforcing social inequality. Consequently, opportunities for holistic development are tied to the identity and power of adults running SJYD programs and are not equally accessible for all youth in the juvenile justice system.

Principle 5: Embracing Youth Culture

The third theme of SJYD that emerged in the results of this study was Embracing Youth Culture. Ginwright and James (2002) outline that the application of this principle includes the language, staff and recruitment strategies. The results of this study confirm what has been found in previous studies, that providing leadership opportunities for youth, and word of mouth among youth are the best recruitment methods (Cammarota, 2011; Fox et al., 2010; Iwasaki, 2016). Previous research and this study present youth engagement and youth culture as cyclical, where youth engagement produces a culture that embraces youth, and a culture that embraces youth, increases engagement. Marks' (2008) description of co-production captures the idea that youth play an active role in shaping the experience, and the relationship between youth and the staff is reciprocal. This dynamic was seen in the results of this study, where youth and adults were partners in creating a program and youth were able to drive the culture as adults responded to youth with an asset-based perspective.

Success and Challenges of Program Implementation

Given that the SJYD staff that participated in the study had not previously heard of SJYD, they did not provide specific recommendations to SJYD as a framework for working with youth in the juvenile justice system. However, the recommendations for the juvenile justice system that staff provided did align with the principles of SJYD, as the staff made recommendations targeted at the juvenile justice system to move away from a punitive approach and addressing contextual factors.

The results of this study revealed both successes and challenges resulting from the implementation of SJYD in the juvenile justice system. In regards to the successes, youth engagement was the primary theme that emerged, which is in line with the previous research

regarding SJYD. As I mentioned earlier, SJYD allows for adults to use whatever resources are available to youth to promote engagement, making the staff bricoleurs. In addition to the staff using bricolage to provide SJYD programming, the youth were co-creators in the program. This finding supports the engagement literature that encourages staff to look at youth with an asset-based perspective to identify youths' capacity that can aid in their development as program participants as opposed to a traditional deficit perspective (Fulbright-Anderson et al., 2005). Marks (2008) uses the term "co-production" to describe the nature of the relationship between social workers and their clients in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. Engagement and co-production literature are supported by the findings in this study, where youth are viewed as assets and partners in creating the SJYD program.

In addition to the successful promotion of engagement, SJYD programs' reliance on relationships strengthened the bridging relationships between the youth, program staff, juvenile justice facility and the greater community. In previous literature, Bazemore and Erbe (2003) discussed the need for a reintegration approach that was less focused on building the individual capacities of youth and more focused on building a supportive network for youth within the community to promote youth reintegration. Similarly, Gerkin (2012) described how restorative justice practices are designed with the community as a participant in reintegration, however the community is not always a present and active member in the restorative justice process. Based on the results of this study, SJYD may provide opportunities to advance restorative justice practices in communities since the results show that bridging relationships are strengthened.

One of the features of SJYD that perhaps strengthened the bridging relationship between SJYD program staff and the facility/ institutional staff was the affordability of the programs. The

SJYD programs in this study came at a low or no not cost to the facility, presenting an obvious incentive for the facility.

The challenges of SJYD that emerged in the results of this study included identification of training resources that could be used to train SJYD staff and volunteers. Kennedy et al. (2020) identified this as a challenge for public health and social service workers who were increasingly encouraged to engage youth in initiatives and programs. As a result, Kennedy et al. (2020) developed and tested an online training with promising results based on the qualitative and quantitative measures.

Another challenge that emerged was the variability of circumstances external to the SJYD program that would impact youth participation. These challenges largely included scheduling with the other programs offered in the facility, many that were court-mandated. These are challenges all out-of-school time youth programs face and must address (Little & Lauver, 2005). This challenge is likely not unique to SJYD, rather it is a condition of any program in the juvenile justice system where circumstances are often evolving because the nature of the system is transient, as all borderlands are (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Research Question 3: To what extent can SJYD prompt further transformation of the institutional philosophy, policy, and practice within the juvenile justice system?

The results of the study suggest that SJYD can provide two distinct opportunities to transform the current juvenile justice system by building bridging relationships across sectors and within the community to support youth, and considering youth as partners in programming, not problems.

Building Bridges

Existing literature suggests that building connections between community entities supports the positive development of youth (Gerkin, 2012; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2012; Lerner et al., 2005). At the individual level, SJYD programs aimed to expand youth networks that would their opportunities for a successful transition back home (Settles, 2009). The results of this study affirm that social capital has value at the organizational and individual level. In this study, social capital showed up among adults as a way for organizations to gain access to juvenile justice facilities to deliver programming to youth. In addition, the participants used their relationships with folks inside the justice system and the community to meet the needs of youth and obtain the necessary resources to deliver their program, acting as bricoleurs. To transform the system, there must be communication between everyone involved in the juvenile justice system, including the community. Restorative justice practices that build social capital (Settles, 2009) are contingent upon the community being included as an engaged partner (Gerkin, 2012), which will require bridging relationships that are beneficial to the organizations and ultimately, the youth (Putnam, 2001).

Further, building bridges between youth and the community can be a protective factor for youth returning home. Witt and Caldwell (2018) identify that communities can provide youth with supports, opportunities, programs and services to promote healthy development. The programs in this study aimed to do that by asking members from the community to visit the correctional facility and meet youth to begin building a relationship. Heidi even identified her job was to build bridges where possible because of the protective factor that would be for youth.

Youth are Partners, Not Problems

In order to actualize system change, the perception of youth in the juvenile justice system as deficient must be put away (Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013). Applying lessons from youth adult partnerships allow young people to be viewed as experts on their lived experience (Zeldin, Christens & Powers, 2013), and engaging with youth as experts creates a partnership that resists the underlying power dynamics within the juvenile justice system. The results from this study demonstrated how SJYD programs can provide a context for partnering with youth at the organizational level, even within the confines of a carceral setting. The results of this study make it clear that it is the commitment of adults that determines the extent to which youth will be considered partners.

Efuribe et al. (2020, p. 16) emphatically reaffirm the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989, 2009) and state that youth have a "fundamental human right for youth and young adults to participate in designing the programs and policies aiming to serve them." The results of this study reveal that the SJYD programs in the juvenile justice system agree with this sentiment and provide opportunities for youth to be a part of shaping the policies and programs. Previous literature also points out that youth in any social service system are more likely to be cross-over youth, or youth who are in multiple social services (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018). Therefore, to realize greater social justice, the needs of youth in all social service systems must be considered and addressed in a way that youth identify as helpful (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Fulbright-Anderson, 2005; Gabriel et al., 2020; Snyder et al., 2016; Wagaman, 2016).

Building bridges and partnering with youth prioritizes young people in the juvenile justice system and elevates the possibilities of their futures. Like Efuribe et al. (2020) posit, youth have a right to help shape the programs and policies that directly impact their lives. The

emphasis on engagement of youth that was seen in this study suggests that SJYD programs provide an effective context for youth to be a part of enacting system change. Including youth and their ideas in SJYD programs and as leaders of initiatives is critical to achieve a sustainable and effective transformation of the juvenile justice system.

Despite the offering of two opportunities for system wide change, the prospects for SJYD programming are largely contingent upon individual approval that leads to institutional access. The adoption of SJYD practices and programs requires adult staff buy-in and facilitation. Relatedly, the results of this study suggest that the success of SJYD programs in the juvenile justice context requires that adults and staff maintain a level of self-awareness, mental and emotional health. Therefore, the prospects for the success of SJYD programming is dependent upon the mental health support that the staff receives for the secondhand and vicarious trauma they experience as a result of implementing SJYD programs in the juvenile justice context. The results from this study support the current research regarding secondhand trauma that suggests staff who work with youth in the juvenile justice system are more likely to develop secondhand trauma (Hatcher et al., 2011; Rhineberger-Dunn & Mack, 2020). While this was not a primary aim of the study, the emergence of maternalism and paternalism and its related impact, and the significance of relationships and use of sharing personal stories in SJYD programs indicates that SJYD programs may also provide a context for supportive relationships among staff. Rhineberger-Dunn & Mack (2020) suggest that supportive relationships with co-workers, especially with supervisors, can be a mitigating factor in reducing the impact of secondary-trauma and lead to successful implementation and sustainability.

Limitations of SJYD Transformation in the Juvenile Justice Setting

The findings from this study highlight the value of using an SJYD approach within the juvenile justice system, but like all theories, frameworks and models, there are limitations that serve as barriers to transformational change within systems. These challenges of using SJYD in the juvenile justice system includes the decentralization of power, program fidelity and lack of SJYD knowledge.

Decentralization of Power

The results of this study describe how SJYD programs implement a more democratic approach to decision making that includes all of the stakeholders and youth themselves, and the participants identified how this can slow the process of developing and implementing a program. The results of this study suggested that key partnerships that are necessary to deliver SJYD programming were identified as a way to increase the speed of implementation. The bureaucratic procedures inherent to outside SJYD procedures in a juvenile justice facility can elongate the process of program development and implementation. In a setting that is defined by age, like the juvenile justice system, the implications of time are more severe, evidenced by the negative impact that longer durations of incarceration have shown to have on youth and the transfer to the adult criminal justice system in some cases (Gonzalez, 2017). This reality demonstrates the need for healthy bridging relationships with institutional and community actors that will encourage the implementation of SJYD programs in the facility.

SJYD Program Fidelity

In an institutional setting, there are also practical barriers that must be considered in the planning and preparation, especially for outside programs that will be delivering the SJYD program in a correctional setting. Evans-Chase and Zhou (2014) identified fidelity as a top issue

in their review of juvenile justice interventions, suggesting that including the facility program staff and youth from the outset of program development may increase fidelity of SJYD programs. Slatten et al. (2016) also described the challenge in identifying programs and interventions that are appropriate for youth who marginalized. This decreases the likelihood that programs will be implemented with fidelity because they simply do not fit or meet the needs of youth. SJYD programs that are designed with a Mestiza methodology could provide the flexibility necessary to be adapted to the needs of the youth and the context as the staff act as bricoleurs.

Lack of SJYD Knowledge

Another limitation of SJYD being applied in the juvenile justice system is that explicit SJYD programs have not been implemented thus far. This presents a challenge to programs seeking funding and requiring evidence to prove its effectiveness. In addition, SJYD is not a clinical program or activity specific, and is largely based on the resources and context of the program (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). This makes it difficult to package as a program to be replicated. This study aims to increase the body of knowledge and add to the literature providing evidence that SJYD can be used by programs in the juvenile justice system.

To promote widespread knowledge of SJYD, accessible research briefs and trainings for practitioners that include major and minor steps that can be taken to promote SJYD within programs and organizations. SJYD training will be premised upon the understanding that youth are equal partners and have valuable input to provide as contributors to their own development and collective efforts. Future trainings should expand upon the implications for practice that will be discussed in the next section.

Implications & Future Directions

The results of this study present implications for research, policy and practice. In this section, I will discuss these implications and offer suggestions for the future directions in each of these domains. I will begin with discussing the implications and future directions for research, then policy and finally practice. Then I will discuss the limitations for the use of SJYD based upon the findings from this study, and end with concluding remarks.

Research

The results of this study raise implications for research regarding Social Justice Youth Development as a theoretical framework and the utilization of Mestiza methodology. Mestiza provides a more comprehensive examination of critical consciousness by emphasizing the connection between the self, others, the ancestors, and the land.

By using a Mestiza methodology, I was able to analyze the interactions within the juvenile justice system beyond the structures and systems that are emphasized in SJYD. This allowed me to consciously consider how the interactions within the Borderlands were shaped by the individual characteristics such as age, gender, race, and intersectionality. Further, Mestiza is a rejection of absolutes (Feghali, 2011) and recognition that individuals can be both oppressors and oppressed (Anzaldúa, 1987; Nasser, 2021) allowed me to identify the ways that the participants in this study maintained or reinforced the hierarchy or power and resisted them.

The combination of using a Mestiza methodology to examine SJYD within the juvenile justice context highlighted the nuances of SJYD that are within its original conception. Where SJYD is focused on youth liberation as a systemically oppressed group, particularly within sociopolitical and economic domains, the results of this study showed that although adults are considered the group with more sociopolitical and economic power, the juvenile justice system

was not more accessible to adults of color or to women. Mestiza embraces the identity hybridity, or intersectionality, of individuals (Collins, 2019; McNeill, 2013) and encourages individuals to continually reflect on the power they hold in relation to those around them. This offers SJYD an opportunity to consider the intersectional identity of adults who work with youth within institutional settings like the juvenile justice system that have been shaped by oppression. Furthermore, the results of this study provide a unique opportunity to explore the development of an SJYD quantitative scale that examines SJYD from a systematic approach.

In addition, Mestiza extends the understanding critical consciousness of put forth by SJYD that suggests a linear development of awareness from self-awareness to social awareness and eventually global awareness, and instead offers that the development of a critical consciousness is constantly evolving and cyclical. As individuals move through different social spaces and their personal identity changes, their consciousness evolves since they are constantly "taking inventory" of the sources of all aspects of their identity within the borderlands they currently occupy (Wilson, 2010, p. 32).

Whereas SJYD describes the analysis of power as a Principle, the Mestiza consciousness that is developed is constantly aware of the various forms of power, where it is located, and how it is used. Mestiza allows for individuals to explore the overlaps and intertwining nature of one's personal identity, embracing intersectionality and suggesting that an individual is the sum of their identities, not just one (Nasser, 2021). Extending the conversation of critical consciousness within SJYD using Mestiza will prove to have value for future conceptualizations, especially in regards to communities that have been marginalized in multiple ways.

Emancipatory & Interdisciplinary Approaches Forward

Utilization of Interdisciplinary Approaches

Mestiza also demands an interdisciplinary approach as it is a rejection of the research silos that have been derived from Western thinking and connects the individual to their community and broader society, with respect to the historical background that shapes present realities. SJYD encourages thought and analysis across the ecological level and over time in the chronosphere, however it remains easy to examine just one level of the ecological level and disregard the connection between all of them. Using the Borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987) provides a context to understand the interactions across the ecological levels and emphasizes the role of power within these interactions. The Borderlands reveal how particular identities are an asset or a hindrance. This also means that as youth are able to grow within and because of their identities, not in spite of them. Ignoring the identity of youth or staff implementing SJYD programs is a color-blind approach that automatically positions the identities of those in power as normative because that is the perspective they are operating from without explicitly saying so.

Embracing of Participatory Research Methods

Researchers should also embrace participatory research methods that engage youth in the juvenile justice system as partners. Pryor and Outley (2014) describe how participatory research methods like photovoice can be used with young people to promote engagement and ensure that youth voices are integrated into the body of knowledge that is used to shape policies and programs they are a part of. Efuribe et al. (2020) advocate that youth have a right to help inform the policies that shape their world, and this same sentiment applies to research, especially research that is about youth (Anyon et al., 2018; Cammarota & Fine, 2008).

Humanizing research. Future research regarding SJYD within the juvenile justice system should be done with youth using youth participatory methods that ensures youth voices are included in the research that is about them (Iwasaki, 2014). Aviles and Grigalunes (2018)

stressed the right that youth have to provide input on matters that concern them, as does Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child that was adopted in 2009. Researchers should adopt this position instead of operating in adultist and elitist manners that can hinder youth participatory research (Bettencourt, 2020; MacNeil, 2006). Using strategies like photovoice, art, and performance that youth design and collect data are data collection methods that should be explored and utilized in the future to study the implementation of SJYD in the juvenile justice context (Delgado, 2015; Harper et al., 2017; Lush, 2020; Pryor & Outley, 2014). Utilizing indigenous and emancipatory methodologies like Mestiza provide the framework and freedom through bricolage to use a range of data collection methods. Further, physical depictions and art exhibits provide a contrast and challenge to the ways that youth in the juvenile justice system have been criminalized and dehumanized in depictions of them, like Diane and William pointed out in my interviews with each of them. Researchers have an obligation to the youth in the justice system to end the exploitation of their stories and to ensure that their dignity is unquestioned in all of our inquiry and communication.

Consider All Actors and Interactions in the Surrounding Community

Revisiting the Ecological Model

Relatedly, future inquiry must include analysis of the ecological model and social systems that contribute to the experiences of youth in the juvenile justice system. Future inquiry must consider the connection between the individual young person and the environments surrounding them. To continue developing SJYD as a viable theoretical framework to ground work with youth in the juvenile justice system, scholars must critically consider the role of staff who deliver SJYD in this setting and the qualities and skills adults need to possess to successfully implement SJYD. Investigators should take an interdisciplinary approach because as

Mestiza contends, an individual is connected to the people and places around them (Anzaldúa, 1987; Nasser, 2021; Ortiz, 2020). Further, all research done in the United States must be critical of the impact that colonization has had on the phenomena being studied, and research within the juvenile justice system should be cognizant of the ways in which we as academics, particularly from Predominantly White Institutions, may be reinforcing colonialism through our work.

Inclusion of Community

Youth development research that has sought to understand community connection has not thoroughly explored the structural factors that inhibit or facilitate this relationship (Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013). Looking at connection to the end that youth feel supported and engaged in a program is an individualistic approach that negates the importance of community context on youth (Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Lerner et al., 2005). Future study of juvenile justice should include critical analysis of the ecological levels surrounding young people, with particular regard for the macro and chronosystems because of the impact that sociopolitical and economic forces have on youth (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002). Gerkin (2012) suggests focusing on the community as a variable in interventions in an effort to build a stronger, supportive network for youth when they return back to the communities. The community should be considered an asset and partner in supporting youth in the juvenile justice system, and the community should be assessed for supports, opportunities, programs and services (Witt & Caldwell, 2018).

The role of Social Capital in SJYD

Social capital must be introduced into the literature regarding juvenile justice. SJYD concentrates on the formal sociopolitical and economic institutions and systems that contribute to marginalization, however the results from this study highlight the significant role that informal

relationships have in maintaining the systems and formal power structures. Zeldin, Christens and Powers (2013) discuss how youth-adult partnerships foster social capital among youth as they build a network working with adults. Dominguez and Artford (2010, p. 114) discuss how social capital within communities impacts health outcomes, and that access to quality health care is contingent upon one's network and "who you know." In discussions regarding youth development, social capital must be included because of the impact that it has on young people and entire communities. Wright and Fitzpatrick (2006) found that social capital was a mitigating factor in reducing youth violence that led to contact with the juvenile justice system. For youth of color, youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds and youth with prior contact with the juvenile justice system, social capital may promote equity given that affluent, White youth receive shorter, less severe sentences (Lowery and Smith, 2020). Further, Settles (2009) contends that restorative justices have success because of the social capital that individuals develop as a result of participation. Social capital should be considered as a resource and strategy within programs within juvenile justice to promote equity.

Policy

The results of this study present implications for policy in addition to research and practice, which will be discussed in the next section.

Integration of Youth Voice in Policymaking

The most poignant takeaway from this study is the integration of youth voice into policy. Article 12 of The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) was added in 2009 to include that, "the right of every child to freely express her or his views, in all matters affecting her or him, and the subsequent right for those views to be given due weight, according to the child's age and maturity." United States ratification of the CRC would be a first step, as it is only one of

three countries that have yet to do so. In addition, automatic voter registration is another step that adults can take to ensure youth have the opportunity to participate in civil society. Regardless of national initiatives, programs, organizations and agencies that seek to implement SJYD should make every effort to ensure that youth have an equitable opportunity to develop and shape the programs, policies and procedures that influence them. As adults write policy, they must evaluate themselves for bias that would manifest as adultism or adultification and ensure they consider youth as equal partners is necessary to craft dignifying and effective programs (Efuribe, 2020; Flanagan, Syvetsen, & Wray-Lake, 2007; Hart, 2008; Zeldin, Christens, & Power, 2013). Tools like the Youth Equity Assessment (León, Outley, & Brown, 2021) to examine policies, procedures and practices across twelve domains of equity relevant to youth development, and Montgomery County's Bill 44-20 that requires Racial Equity and Social Justice Impact Statements for all proposed bills prior to being voted on should be used to preemptively predict the impact that of policies and programs before decisions are made. Advocates should request assessments such as these in order to promote transparency and accountability.

Funding Research

An additional implication that emerged from this study is ensuring equitable access to funding. Policy makers, and funders, should critically assess the requirements and exclusion criteria that prohibits the individuals who are most qualified, grassroots organizations and those who have previous involvement in the juvenile justice system, to provide programming from being qualified. The monopoly of funding by youth development organizations is a function of colonization and capitalism and will not lead to more just and equitable opportunities for youth. The stipulations surrounding the management of funds should also be considered, particularly whether or not funds can be used to pay youth for their participation.

Address Youth Context & Environment

Further, attempts to reform the juvenile justice system must include aims to address issues that contribute to youth contact with the juvenile justice system, specifically where youth are criminalized for status offenses. In addition, equitable investments must be made so that youth trajectories are not predictable based on zip code, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, ability, religion, or any other identity. The results from this study suggest that what youth in the juvenile justice system desire and say would help them succeed is employment, housing, and an accessible quality of life.

Practice

The results from this study suggest that the successful implementation of SJYD within the juvenile justice system is contingent upon the staff who are implementing the program. Currently, Kennedy et al. (2020) has provided the only training to address this gap and it is an online training designed for public health and social service workers, this is an area that future practitioners and researchers should address together. Kennedy et al. (2020) conducted an analysis of an online training for social service and public health professionals, finding sustained, significant improvement among the staff who took the training. This pilot test shows promise for the effectiveness of SJYD trainings for staff in specific sectors that is grounded in youth development, and the results of this study illustrate the need for such training. Christensen and Rubin (2020) found that cost was a factor that was associated with the adoption of training programs. Training cost did not come up in this study, however, it is reasonable to assume that any training with a fee will be cost-prohibitive to some organizations.

Below are ten best practices, grounded in previous research and the findings from the current study, that practitioners can implement in their programs with youth in the juvenile justice context.

1. **Youth are centered.** The second principle of SJYD is Making Identity Central, which emerged as a salient principle in this study. Cammarota (2011) described how SJYD provides opportunities to explore their identities through activities that promote self-awareness encourage healthy self-identities. The Mestiza way (Anzaldúa, 1987) also encourages individuals to critically analyze their evolving identity with regard to the contexts around them, and especially the ways in which an individual is oppressed and the oppressor. Mestiza does not problematize any aspect of a young person's identity because all people are hybrids and Mestiza embraces all aspects and intersections of a young person, including their age (Anzaldúa, 1987; Collins, 2019). Therefore, programs should not only provide opportunities for youth to explore their personal and collective identity, but be appropriate for the developmental needs of youth (Cammarota, 2011; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Hamilton & Harris, 2018; Iwasaki et al., 2014; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013). This means using youth development strategies like scaffolding, where staff provide youth tasks and opportunities based on their abilities so they can gain mastery (Brown, 2016; Christensen & Rubin, 2020; Goessling, 2020).
2. **Connect youth with community.** SJYD literature has suggested that connections with caring adults are significant sources of support for youth as they develop (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Clemons, 2020; Hershberg et al., 2015; Iwasaki,

2016; Ross, 2011). Practitioners should encourage relationships with the community that support youth in various ways. Practitioners should aim to build a network that will lead to employment, housing, financial, and educational opportunities. Building the social capital of youth is a necessary component of programs that seek to increase the mobility and access young people have.

3. **Youth input.** Programs should allow young people to provide input in the program and organizational priorities and how priorities are met and evaluated (Acero, 2019; Goessling, 2020; Suyemoto, Day, & Schwartz, 2015; Zeldin et al., 2013). Research regarding youth adult partnerships and participatory research methods outlines the ways that youth should be included in all levels of decision making (Hershberg et al., 2015; Zeldin, Gurtner & Chapa, 2018).
4. **Provide opportunities for youth to exercise agency.** In the same way that programs should aim to include youth input, programs seeking to implement SJYD should create opportunities to exercise agency and make decisions (Perkins, 2009). Programs should scaffold opportunities for youth to exercise agency based on the abilities of youth (Brown, 2016; Christensen & Rubin, 2020; Goessling, 2020). Providing youth opportunities to make decisions out of an ethic of care is a maternal act because it demonstrates care and respects their autonomy (Koven & Michael, 1990).
5. **Incentivize and reward participation.** Zeldin, Bestul & Powers (2012) identified that programs and organizations seeking to establish youth adult partnerships should pay youth for their work as a way to maximize the diversity and voices of youth. In addition to financial compensation, the results from this

study suggest that providing youth in the juvenile justice system time off their sentence or access to opportunities like higher education and professional experience also incentivize program participation. As youth voices are integrated into the program, youth will have the opportunity to co-create programs that promote participation.

6. **Check-In & Check-Out.** Programs should implement checking-in and checking-out practices that are facilitated with all youth and adults at the start and end of the program to increase engagement (Iwasaki, 2015). In the juvenile justice system, this is a particularly valuable practice given the transitory nature of the juvenile justice system where youth may unexpectedly be moved or transferred without notice. The practice of checking-out also allows youth to say goodbye to everyone in the program, an important practice given research suggesting low levels of attachment and high levels of youth feeling abandoned in the juvenile justice population (Gibson, 2021).
7. **Embrace a Future Orientation.** Programs seeking to implement SJYD in the juvenile justice context should design activities with the future of youth in mind. Using scaffolding, (Brown, 2016; Christensen & Rubin, 2020; Goessling, 2020) practitioners should consider the interests and skills of youth that will be of use in their future (Aviles & Grigalunas, 2018; Brown, Outley & Pinckney, 2018; Cammarota, 2011). Activities that are designed with a future orientation allow youth to develop internal competencies, build their resume, build a network, and gain financial capital that will be transferable in the community when they are in the community. Focusing on the potential and future for youth outside of the

justice system is an asset-based approach to youth programming that resists pathologizing youth and considering youth deficient (Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013).

8. **Consider the community.** SJYD is grounded in an understanding that youth are impacted by their environment, (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002), and therefore programs should be designed with consideration for the community environment that youth are from and will be returning to. Programs should be aware of the sources of oppression and marginalization (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright & James, 2002) as well as sources of community support (Brown, 2016; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi 2013; Pryor & Outley, 2014). Taking account of the supports, opportunities, programs and services in communities before youth go home will help prepare youth and promote healthy engagement with their community (Gabriel et al., 2020; Witt & Caldwell, 2018). Carey et al. (2020) also described that SJYD programs provide opportunities for adults to pass along knowledge to youth that is not a part of institutions but is critical to their safety and positive identity development.
9. **Engage in advocacy.** Like Aviles and Grigalunas (2018) contend, programs concerned with the individual development of youth must also be concerned with addressing the social systems and conditions, in this case, that contribute to their involvement in the juvenile justice system. It is not enough for programs who are engaging youth in the juvenile justice system to ignore the realities that contribute to disproportionate minority contact and poor conditions of confinement (Armour & Hammond, 2009; Bonam et al., 2017; Johnston-Goodstar & Sethi, 2013; Zane,

2021). Programs should support youth who desire to address systemic change through collective action in order to address the sociopolitical and economic forces that have impacted young people (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012).

10. **Support the staff.** The staff working directly with youth in the juvenile justice department are exposed to youth who have complex trauma, especially as there is an increased movement to be trauma-informed (Dierkhising & Branson, 2016; Ford et al., 2012). As staff are trained to work with youth who have trauma, staff must be aware of their own triggers and be taking care of their own mental health because they are at a higher risk for developing a mental health disorder (Hatcher et al., 2011; Jaffe et al., 2003). If staff are not prepared to work with youth, there are multiple potential consequences, staff mental health is jeopardized, the program becomes about the adult and not the youth, and staff may leave the work prematurely, increasing turnover and posing a challenge for youth to build trusting relationships. Organizational and program leadership should support staff and volunteers by being open from the beginning about the emotional nature of the work, and providing staff with resources, including time and compensation, to take actionable steps to support their mental health.

A final consideration for advocates and professionals is that the success of SJYD within the juvenile justice system is not necessarily youth turning into advocates. True liberation and emancipation of youth is allowing youth to choose their own path and make choices with a critical consciousness and awareness of the impact their choices have on others, it does not mean that youth are obligated to give oneself to advocacy just because of past experiences. Although it is noble, it is not required of youth through SJYD. For this reason, the chance for youth to build

bridging relationships is vital as they open avenues and channels for young people to access the spaces they want to be a part of. This also emphasizes the value and need for SJYD programs that provide youth tangible skills that will equip them for the employment opportunities they desire to obtain.

Overall Study Limitations

Like any study, this study was limited in a number of ways. The first and most obvious limitation is that it was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic. Consequently, I was not able to travel to observe any of these programs and all of my interviews were conducted virtually. In addition, as a qualitative study, there was no quantitative element that captured the implementation of SJYD on a mass scale that would provide a better, broader understanding of the status of SJYD principles across the nation in different settings. One of the other limitations is that the individuals I interviewed did not have prior knowledge of SJYD, and their familiarity with it could have potentially changed their responses in the interviews. Also, this study did not examine a particular aspect of a program, type of program, or setting within juvenile justice, and while no major differences appeared, future inquiry that is concentrated on program characteristics would provide greater understanding of those nuances. Further, this study was conducted only with adults and not youth in the juvenile justice system. This focus may have led to adultification biases. Future research should be done with youth to integrate youth perspectives and advance the body of knowledge.

Conclusion

This study has provided a longitudinal perspective of the interactions between youth and the juvenile justice system to examine the implementation of Social Justice Youth Development using a Mestiza methodology. As issues involving race, gender and ageism continue to be

discussed in the social world, this knowledge will inform interventions and decisions to support equitable, thriving communities that reduces contact youth have with the justice system. It is my hope that this study encourages critical inquiry of the ways in which power shapes the experiences of young people with Indigenous and Emancipatory theories and methodologies. The findings of this study are reflective of Audre Lorde's statement,

> "For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us to temporarily beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (2003, p. 27).

As young people and those who have personally experienced the juvenile justice system are leading SJYD programs, the consequence will be the dismantling of a system that, according to the results of this study and critical literature, was intentionally premised upon fear and control of youth (Gabriel et al., 2020).

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

The following script will serve as a guide for conducting in-depth interviews with the leaders of juvenile justice organizations and facilities. Each interviewee will be provided with the results of their survey in addition to written copies of the consent form and study information sheet (drafted from IRB templates). Interviews will be conducted on Zoom or by phone and recorded with permission of participants.

After going through the consent protocol, the researcher will begin the interview with a brief introduction reviewing the purpose of the study and the design of the survey. The researcher will describe that the survey they completed is made up of five subscales, each measuring the extent to which that principle of Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) is implemented in their organization/ program/ facility. Prior to questions #11-16, the researcher will review the results of the survey subscale that correspond to the question, including further inquiry regarding any written responses the participant made in the survey.

After the interviews are completed, the researcher will conduct member checks with the participants to ensure that their ideas are being accurately represented and to allow the participants to retract any statements. The final question of the interview asks for permission to contact the participant after the interview if there are any follow-up questions that need to be asked to provide further clarification. It will be reiterated throughout the consent process and at the conclusion of the interview.

Semi-structured interview questions:

1. Tell me about your organization/ facility.
2. What is your position?
3. What type of educational or professional background does someone need to work in your organization?
4. What are the goals and mission of your organization?
5. Where type of training do your employees receive?
6. How does your organization select programs or curriculum?
7. How would you say that your organization characterizes young people?
8. Are there areas of your organization where young people are more involved?
9. After looking at the results of your survey, is there anything that sticks out to you?
10. Have you ever heard of the phrase "Social Justice Youth Development?" If so, how have you heard it used?
11. Can you tell me about an example of how your organization encourages youth to analyze power social relationships?
    1. What barriers, if any, do you think prevent your organization from doing this more?
12. Can you tell me about an example of how your organization makes youth identity central?
    a. What barriers, if any, do you think prevent your organization from doing this more?

13. Can you tell me about an example of how your organization promotes systemic change?
    1. What barriers, if any, do you think prevent your organization from doing this more?
14. Can you tell me about an example of how your organization encourages collective action?
    a. What barriers, if any, do you think prevent your organization from doing this more?
15. Can you tell me about an example of how your organization embraces youth culture?
    a. What barriers, if any, do you think prevent your organization from doing this more?
16. Are there any ways you think your organization could make steps to further implement SJYD?
17. Are there any other questions you have about your results?
18. Is this a helpful tool for you and your organization?
    a. How could it be improved to be useful for your organization?
19. Is there anything else you want to share?
20. Would it be okay if I contact you again for clarification if I have follow-up questions?

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1

SJYD Principles, Levels of Awareness & Outcomes

Principles	Practices	Awareness level 1	2	3	Outcomes
Analyzes power in social relationships	Political education		x		Social problematizing, critical thinking, asking and answering questions related to community and social problems Development of sociopolitical awareness Youth transforming arrangements in public and private institutions by sharing power with adults
	Political strategizing		x		
	Identifying power holders		x		
	Reflecting about power in one's own life		x		
Makes identity central	Joining support groups and organizations that support identity development	x			Development of pride regarding one's identity Awareness of how sociopolitical forces influence identity Feeling of being a part of something meaningful and productive The capacity to build solidarity with others who share common struggles and have shared interests
	Reading material where one's identity is central and celebrated	x			
	Critiquing stereotypes regarding one's identities	x			
Promotes systemic change	Working to end social inequality (such as racism and sexism)			x	Sense of life purpose, empathy for the suffering of others, optimism about social change Liberation by ending various forms of social oppression
	Refraining from activities and behaviors that are oppressive to others (for example, refusing to buy shoes made in sweatshops)			x	
Encourages collective action	Involving oneself in collective action and strategies that challenge and change local and national systems and institutions		x		Capacity to change personal, community, and social conditions Empowerment and positive orientation toward life circumstances and events Healing from personal trauma brought on from oppression
	Community organizing		x		
	Rallies and marches		x		
	Boycotts and hunger strikes		x		
	Walkouts		x		
	Electoral strategies		x		
Embraces youth culture	Celebrating youth culture in organizational culture		x		Authentic youth engagement Youth-run and youth-led organizations Effective recruitment strategies Effective external communications Engagement of extremely marginalized youth
	Language		x		
	Personnel		x		
	Recruitment strategies		x		

Table 2
Research Questions and Corresponding Methods

	Question
Question 1	*What are the defining features of SJYD ?* *What are the core components needed to develop an SJYD program?* *What distinguishes SJYD programs from other programs within the juvenile?*
Question 2	*What is the current use (within the past three years) of SJYD within the juvenile justice system?* *Are there differences in the application of SJYD and resulting levels of awareness according to facility type, geographic location, mission, funding, or developmental outcomes?* *To what extent do organizations apply SJYD principles to promote each level of awareness (self, social, and global)?* *What are the challenges and successes of implementing SJYD from the perspective of juvenile justice practitioners?* *Which dimensions of the model were perceived by JJ staff to be most salient to youth? To staff?* *What changes are recommended by JJ staff in regards to theory, practice, and policy?*
Question 3	*What insights does the use of SJYD in juvenile justice organizations offer to transform system logics and realize greater social justice?* *What are the prospects and limitations of the SJYD-based approach for facilitating system change?*

Table 3 Study Participants

Study Participants

Pseudonym	Program	Setting	Insider/ outsider status	Race/ ethnicity	Gender
Candice	Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Woman
Greg	Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Man
Heidi	Sport	Long-term detention	Outsider	White	Woman
Diane	Grassroots advocacy	Community/ Probation	Outsider	African American	Woman
Travis	Poetry, music	Long-term detention	Outsider	Latino	Man
Nicholas	Arts	Community/ Probation	Outsider	Latino	Man
Courtney	Leadership	Long-term detention	Insider	African American	Woman
Robert	Recreation	Long-term detention	Insider	African American	Man
Michelle	Grassroots advocacy	Long-term detention	Outsider	African American	Woman
Lisa	State system	Long-term detention	Insider	White	Woman
William	Literacy	Local detention	Outsider	African American	Man

Table 4

Table of themes

Group	Themes	Sub-themes	SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
Mestiza	Power		Power	
	Patriarchy		Power	
		Paternalism	Power	"And I will say like, I feel like my tone has been negative. We have had really good experiences here and there."
		Maternalism	Power	"I'm not a young person, this is your fight to fight. Now, I'm gonna be here. I'm going to stand up for you. But I want you all to learn how to use your voice. "
	Colonialism		Power	
Borderlands	Borderlands	Transitory	Youth culture	"Sometimes they're just like, gone, and it sucks, and we don't see (them)."
	Emotional nature of juvenile justice borderlands			
		Fear & emotional manipulation of youth	Identity, power	"Corrections is historically very compliance based, and is very centered in fear."
		Motivation for SJYD staff	Identity	"And just being able to, to get that kind of response from the youth themselves, is really like, it's really rewarding. As you know, a member of the team."
		Secondary trauma of SYJD staff	Power, identity	"I was unable to metabolize that. I would drive home in tears, powerless. And that's when I decided I needed an easier job."
	Identity impact on access to social capital			

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
		Age		Identity	"And there was even like, mentorship that started to happen where like, you know, older, older folks that had money, were like meeting kids from the hood and like, be like, 'hey, if you need a ride, like I'll pick you up next week,' and things like that"
			Mentoring	Identity	"Their athletic director who I see as a very like dynamic, really strong kind of mentor to a lot of the kids in the facility. He really tries to model respect for them"
		Race		Identity	"I know that some of the Caucasian parents that I worked with, they would call me by my first name. And none of the, none of the kids that came from communities of color ever called me by my first name. And I think that was just kind of like, I don't know, like a respect thing.""
		Gender		Identity	"I'm sure this is overkill now, but I always do with my husband, before I leave the house for the day, I'm like, 'Ok, boob check, butt check, how we looking?' and he's like, 'Can't see anything,' and I'm like, 'great.'"
		Intersectionality		Identity	"'Y'all treat these girls like they're invincible, like you don't see them and y'all act like y'all don't see me. Y'all see me.' So you know what I started doing? This is so stupid. I started wearing bright colors to every meeting. I'm like since you act like you don't see me I'm wearing a bright ass red sweater. POW! I mean, seriously, it was intentional, I wore bright colors to those meetings every time. Like you gone see and hear me, damn it."
	Control of access to deliver SJYD programming				
		On-Paper		Power	"So we have Derek (pseudonym) who's in there. And he's, I think about to get a huge promotion. He's gonna be I think they're testing him to be the

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					number two in the facility… which would be really good for us… And we're like, we text with them, like and the person that I think that would step for him. Like we're also super close with him. He does a pretty good job, but that would be nice.”
		In-Person		Power	"I've definitely worked with staff that have been like, I don't know, if it's that they, like, they think we're taking their jobs, or they see us as a threat, but I feel like they make it complicated for us to kind of like get to the kids, you know, like, or sometimes we'll be waiting and waiting and waiting and waiting. And it's just like, or like we'll be stuck, like, in between locked doors, you know? Like, can someone like help us? Literally, like incarcerated, you know, we'll just have to wait it out. But um, it's a mix. It depends. It really depends on on who you're dealing with.”
	Program funding				
		Justification		Power	"I think that since we can connect to health outcomes more, maybe that’s a thing."
		Affordability		Power	“they're really open, they're pretty much like the Yes-us to death… And we're not, it doesn't cost them a ton.”
		Gender		Identity	"I wouldn't consider it a boy’s club, but if she does, I definitely know what I need to do to try to, like play into that. Because, again, I'm not against playing into it if it’s going to get us money for the program.”
		Bridging		Power, collective action	“Honestly, they just heard about it and pop that one day and was like, ‘hey, do you mind if we do this thing for you?’ And I was like, sure, you know what? Yeah… (Kendrick) (restaurant owner) and I actually became good friends, and we never met…

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					like, I have a ton of new friends who I have never met in person. But they're like, really good friends. And, you know, they just heard about the work through a different like, organization, they may have been doing a fundraiser.”
Bricolage	Authentic staff engagement with youth				
		Agency		Youth culture	“(The youth) participate in meetings, they develop their zoom series. They speak to parents whose kids are, are separated, like, for example, in our parents coalition, we have one parent whose son was put in solitary, and she didn’t understand the process. So then she was connected with (Ray). And also (Chris). And they could say to her, ‘this is what he should do right now, he needs to ask for this form, fill out this information, because they need to know that, that he is appealing this decision.’ So the wealth information that they're able to provide, that's one of the things that they do in addition to that, and then they write a piece for the newsletter that goes into the newsletter. And they participate in all of the coalition's and campaigns.”
		Dignified language		Youth culture	"I know that people come first. And it has to be about centering people... And it's not just for, like, non-violent offenders versus violent offenders. You know, language is always important. "
		Financial compensation		Youth culture	“I'd say, number one, is we actually pay them for their time there… And this also gives them, you know, that job accountability and experience as if, as if it were a real job, so we do treat it as a real job for them. But at the end, you know, seeing them get their, their paychecks at the end is, is definitely something they look forward to.”

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
		Social capital		Identity, power, collective action	"...there's so much learning and so much that can happen there. Resource wise, you know, what I mean, learning wise. It's really, it's really like, I think everybody in our community is benefiting from it in one way or another."
		Appealing to youth interests		Youth culture	“But like I said, though, the articles in the smaller reading stuff were kind of like I felt like it will help them, like build them up first. So when we come in here, we will talk about, like, you know, just shooting shoot the crap. And then we'll get into like, ‘I got two articles for y'all today... But it also lets them know that they're reading, but they don't even realize that they actually reading.”
		Staff sharing personal experiences		Identity, power, collective action	"And, you know, we like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through... And then oftentimes, like, there's a lot of questions that pop up, like, ‘Wow, like, where'd you learn to write? When you said this? Like, did you really go through that? Is that a true story?' Like, 'how did you get through that?' like, you know, or you'll have kids will be like, you know, 'when you said that line about, you know, being incarcerated, like I resonated with that, because I've been incarcerated or my brother is incarcerated, or my dad is incarcerated,’ you know. And, and, and those invitations are kind of made in that way.”
	Adults centering youth				
		Staff self-awareness		Identity, power	

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
			Self- Acceptance	Identity, power	“One of my favorite quotes I get from most of them is like, ‘we hate white people.’ And I’m like, ‘guys, I’m white do you know that?’ And they’re like, ‘Well you’re not white-white,’ and I’m like, ‘No, I’m white-white (white emphasis, laughs).”
			Self-Assurance	Identity	"We like to introduce ourselves with our own poetry. And we do that because we want to show them like, you know, I can tell you about me in one poem, you know, and I'm gonna tell you like, what I've been through, like, I'm gonna tell you a lot of what I've been through in one poem,"
		Promoting holistic development		Youth culture	
			Physical health	Youth culture	"Everybody could find a place to participate in whatever activity that like, you know, met their skills set… I always talked about inclusion."
			Mental health	Youth culture	“We would do meditation, mindfulness with the guys, which was always an experience (laughing). They're like, I'm like, I would like, another new kid would come in like, ‘What are we doing?’ And this kid would be like, “You just sit in silence. It's good for you, just sit down.’”
			Social-emotional health	Youth culture	"(Sport) oftentimes brings emotions immediately to the surface… and maybe sometimes they can't handle it. So I think we in sport, we see that happen very, very quickly. And so then we're trying to kind of, which it can be a positive, like that can be a real opportunity to work through that with them on the field.”
	Youth choice			Youth culture, power	"And so they were tossing marshmallows into each other's mouth. And it was fun, and they're getting along with their peers. But they're, they're allowed

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		SJYD Principle	Example Quotation
					to say, 'No, I don't want to do this,' right? They're allowed to set boundaries and those things."
	Youth voice			Youth culture, identity, power	"It's nothing in our organization for one of our youth caucus members or youth advocate leaders to, which happened before, to interview our pro bono attorney, so he was interviewed by two of them. And so when we say all levels of decision making, we truly mean that."
	Future orientation				
		Employment		Youth culture	"Everything that they do, we pay them for… even for the work that they do to prepare for their zoom events, when they come out, we pay them for the meeting just because you know what? It has to be like the way it is, with the real world. If you have a job and you have a position when you do the work, you get compensated."
		Education		Youth culture	"We've invited coaches to come in that were going that coach at the school that the young man was going back to. They would come in, just like you know, make contact. And also, I think, like, I would let that coach know like this can be overwhelming and intimidating for him, you know, can, can you just make sure when he gets into that school like can you just go and meet him at his first class and like say hi. You know, and let them know he's invited to come in. I wouldn't say this explicitly telling him what to do but like can you be that person that like is a bit of a link."

Table 5

Participant & Program Demographics Revisited

Program	Setting	U.S. Region	Insider/ outsider status	SJYD Principles
Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Outsider	2, 5
Sport-based leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Outsider	2, 5
Sport	Long-term detention	Northeast	Outsider	2, 5
Grassroots advocacy	Community/ Probation	East	Outsider	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Poetry, music	Long-term detention	West	Outsider	1, 2, 5
Arts	Community/ Probation	South	Outsider	1, 2, 5
Leadership	Long-term detention	Midwest	Insider	2, 3, 5
Recreation	Long-term detention	South	Insider	2, 5
Grassroots advocacy	Long-term detention/ Community	Northeast	Outsider	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
State system	Long-term detention	South	Insider	2
Literacy	Local detention	East	Outsider	2, 5

SJYD Principles: 1: Analyzing Power in Social Relationships, 2: Making Identity Central, 3: Advancing Systemic Change, 4: Encouraging Collective Action, 5: Embracing Youth Culture

Table 6

Percent of Participants for Themes and Subthemes

Group	Themes	Sub-themes	% of Participants
Mestiza	Power		100%
	Patriarchy		100%
		Paternalism	100%
		Maternalism	100%
	Colonialism		100%
Borderlands		Transitory	100%
	Emotional nature of juvenile justice borderlands		100%
		Fear & emotional manipulation of youth	73%
		Motivation for SJYD staff	100%
		Secondary trauma of SYJD staff	82%
	Identity impact on access to social capital		100%
		Age	100%
		Mentoring	64%
		Race	100%
		Gender	82%
		Intersectionality	82%
	Control of access to deliver SJYD programming		100%
		On-Paper	100%
		In-Person	82%
		Program funding	82%
		Justification	64%
		Affordability	55%
		Gender	82%
		Bridging	73%
Bricolage	Authentic staff engagement with youth		100%
		Agency	100%
		Dignified language	91%
		Financial compensation	36%
		Social capital	91%

Group	Themes	Sub-themes		% of Participants
		Appealing to youth interests		100%
		Staff sharing personal experiences		82%
	Adults centering youth			100%
		Staff self-awareness		82%
			Self- Acceptance	82%
			Self-Assurance	82%
		Promoting holistic development		73%
			Physical health	36%
			Mental health	45%
			Social- emotional health	73%
	Youth choice			100%
	Youth voice			100%
	Future orientation			100%
		Employment		73%
		Education		73%

APPENDIX C

FIGURES

Figure 1

Participant Recruitment

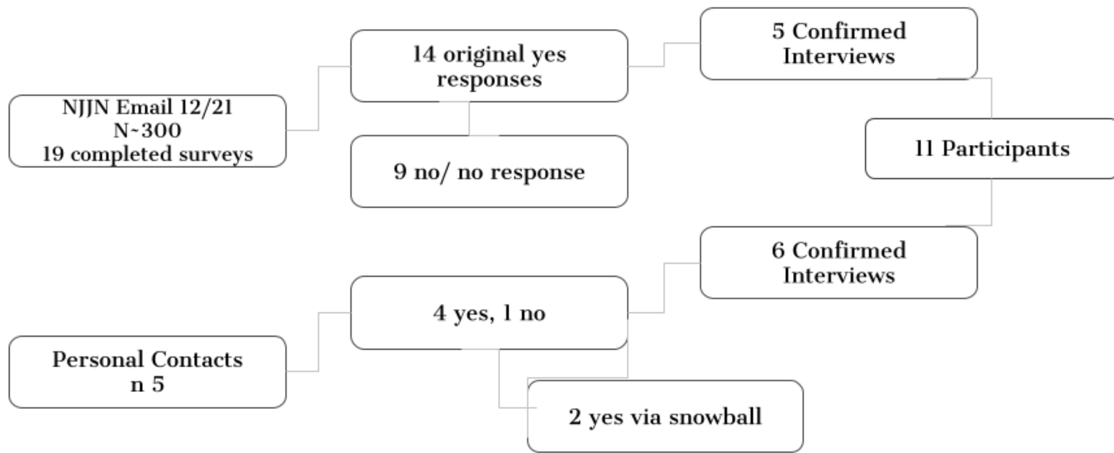

Figure 2

Conceptual framework of themes

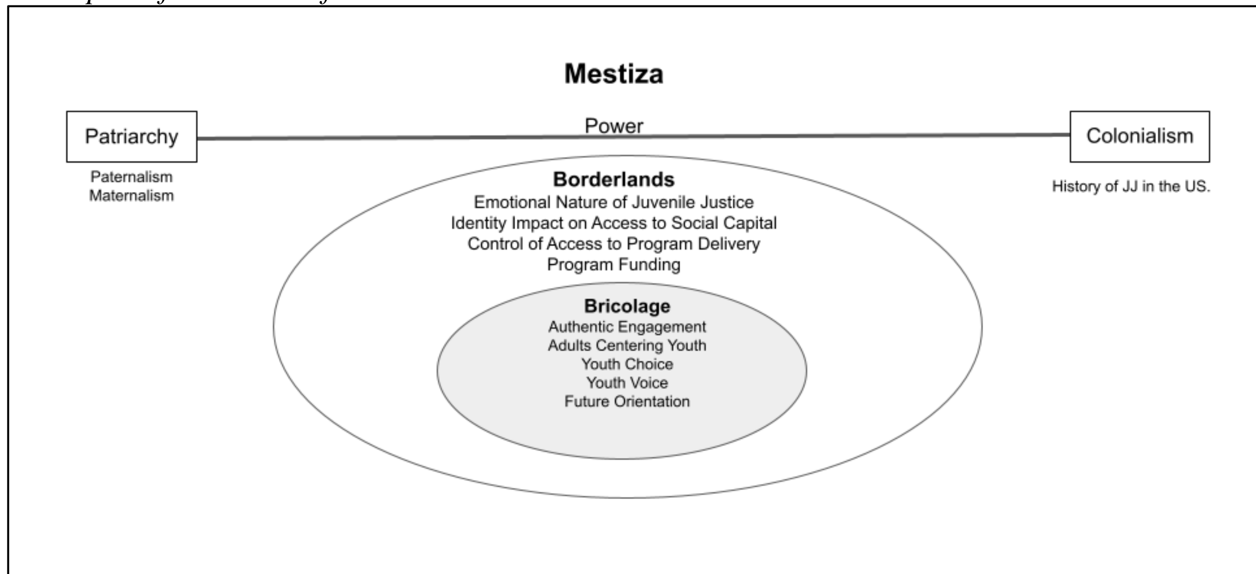

Figure 3

Visual Description of a Borderland Applied to the Ecological Model

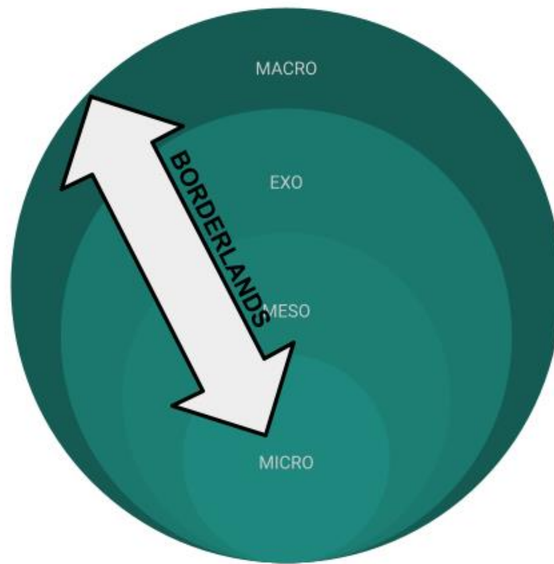

Figure 4

Visual Example of a Borderland

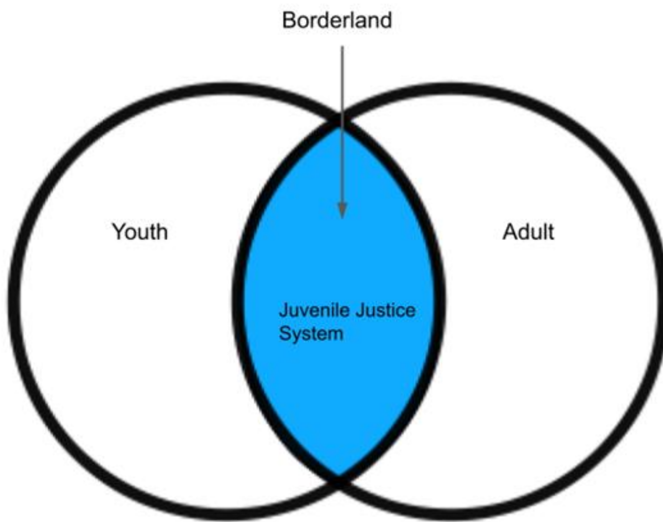

Figure 5

Intersection of Age, Race and Gender

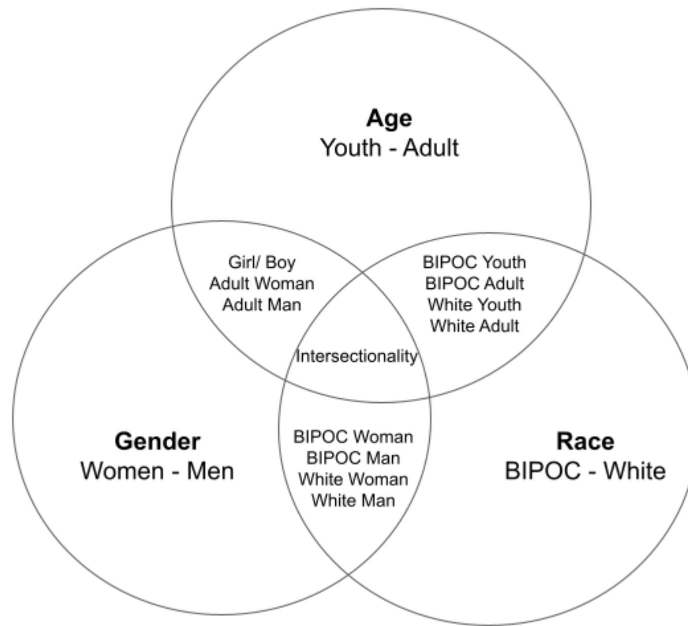

Figure 6

Bricolage within the Borderlands

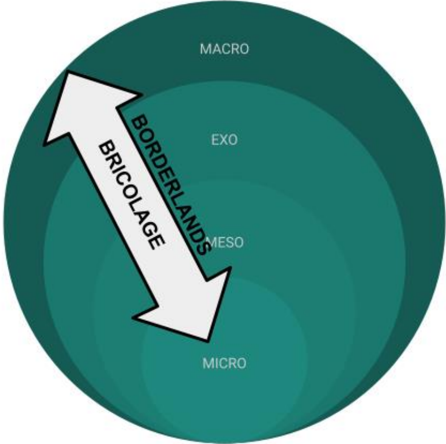

Figure 7

Research Questions Revisited