THE FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS' TRUST IN ADULT LEADERS
AT PROJECT-BASED YOUTH PROGRAMS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Adolescents in American society tend to have few strong, trusting relationships with non-familial adults. However, adolescents that *do* develop positive relationships with non-familial adults are at an advantage because such relationships contribute to their positive development and resilience in times of adversity (Luthar & Brown, 2007; Werner & Smith, 2001). Fortunately, youth programs appear to be fertile contexts for the formation of trusting youth-adult leader (Y-AL) relationships. The word "trust" appears throughout literature on youth programs, particularly in regards to relationships with adult leaders. However, very few studies have explored the process youth undergo when forming trust in an adult leader. This qualitative study used interview data to generate a model that illustrates how trust forms from the perspectives of youth and adult leaders. The study identified mechanisms that lead to the formation of trust like three catalysts: moments of connection, investments in youth's work, and observations of the adult leader's trustworthiness. The study also described the multidimensional trust-building that adult leaders in the sample employed. These findings have implications for programs serving adolescents.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Being able to trust an adult outside of one's family can be a powerful force in an adolescent's life, particularly in a context one voluntarily chooses such as a youth program. Unfortunately, there is frequently a lack of connection between adolescents and adults in American society. This can put youth at a disadvantage as they attempt to develop life skills and cope with the new expectations of adolescence and young adulthood. In contrast, an adolescent with a positive relationship with a non-familial adult is at an advantage because such relationships contribute to a youth's resilience in times of adversity (Luthar & Brown, 2007; Werner & Smith, 2001). Positive relationships with adult leaders at youth programs appear to positively impact youths' physical, emotional, social, and moral development (Grossman & Bulle, 2006; Mahoney, Schweder, & Stattin, 2002; National Institute on Out-of-School Time, 2009; Young, 1999). It has been theorized that trust is one key component in positive one-to-one mentoring relationships between youth and adults (Rhodes, 2002; 2005). This theory is consistent with research showing that adolescents value trust as crucial to *positive* relationships with friends, doctors, teachers, and mentors (Klostermann, Slap, Nebrig, Tivorsak, & Britto, 2005; Liang, Spencer, Brogan, & Corral, 2008; Murray & Zvoch, 2011; Way, 2011; Way, Gingold, Rotenberg, & Kuriakose, 2005). Hence, adolescents are likely to value being able to trust adult leaders. But what is the process for forming the type of trust that youth value?

Although trust between youth and adults is not a central theme in youth development research, positive youth-adult leader (Y-AL) relationships is an emphasis in the field. I conceptualize a positive Y-AL relationship to be a relationship that has a desirable outcome on the youth. Youth programs are out-of-school time activities that might have varying focuses based on their mission. For example, one program may focus on being a place to hang out, another on teaching technology. Supportive relationships with adults are considered key features of positive youth development programs and part of the mission shared by community based youth programs (Mahoney, Vandell, Simpkins, & Zarrett, 2009; National Resource Council, 2002). Many adult leaders see part of their professional role to be building relationships with youth, and some intentionally foster a connection with youth, including those who are in programs whose espoused mission of the program is not relationship-building (Blacker, 2010; Boccaro & Witt, 2005; Jones & Deutsch, 2010; Krueger, 2005; Messias, Fore, McLoughlin, & Parra-Medina, 2005). There is an indication that trust *may* be a key factor in positive youth-adult leader relationships (Halpern, Barker, & Mollard, 2000; Hirsch, Roffman, Deutsch, Flynn, Loder, & Pagano, 2000; Strobel, Kirshner, O'Donoghue, & McLaughlin, 2008). It should be noted that trust is not synonymous with an emotional connection. Older adolescents, for example, may build ties of trust by focusing on skill and career development (Rhodes, 2002). Rhodes' Model of Youth Mentoring proposes that the benefits of mentoring relationships are facilitated by a close bond which involves empathy,

mutuality, and trust (2002; 2005). She suggests that her model of mentoring could operate within the youth program context (Rhodes, 2004). Although trust is likely to be important for forming positive Y-AL relationships, it is currently unclear *how* participants go about deciding an adult leader at a program is someone that they can, should, and do trust.

The nature of the project-based program is likely to contribute to trust formation in the Y-AL relationship. In the project-based program youth develop life skills necessary for adulthood through short-term and/or long-term projects. What distinguishes such programs from other programs is that they are not focused on sports, tutoring, or just drop-in/hang out. At first one may assume that trust is unlikely to develop in a program that is not focused on building relationships. However, these programs may actually be a fertile context for trust. Because they are working on a project, these contexts may require that youth have frequent interactions with adult leaders on a joint task that develop or stimulate trust. A couple of studies suggest that such tasks minimize the type of youth-adult hierarchy that often exists in other settings or strengthen youth-adult relationships (Halpern, 2005; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007). Hence, adult leaders may utilize the nature of the project-based program to engage in trust-building interactions in addition to skill-building interactions.

Purpose and Significance of this Study

The word "trust" appears throughout literature on youth programs, particularly in regards to relationships with adult leaders. However, very few studies have explored what process youth undergo that leads to trusting an adult leader. The purpose of this study is to explore how trust forms in youth-adult leader (Y-AL) relationships in project-based youth programs. The main goal of the study is to generate a model of one or more trajectories that illustrates how trust forms in the Y-AL relationship from the perspectives of youth and adult leaders. The main research question is: *How does youth's trust in an adult leader grow within the Y-AL relationship in project-based youth programs?* This study is significant because the theory generated could provide adult leaders with steps to follow in order to create trusting relationships with participants. In turn, youth can benefit from the relationships they form with such adults.

Chapter Summary

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The next chapter, Chapter Two, contextualizes the purpose of the study and uses literature to speculate the way in which interpersonal trust between youth and adult leaders form within the context of the youth program. The Model of Youth Mentoring, the Bioecological Model, trust development theories, and times that youth development literature mentions positive Y-AL relationships guides this chapter. The Model of Youth Mentoring, as applied to literature on programs, suggests that youth are likely to reference how interactions with adult leaders foster, are triggered by, and/or reinforce trust. Youth development literature suggests factors that might

enter into the trust-building process including adult leaders' guiding philosophies, specific actions, and challenges that threaten trust. It concludes with a conceptual framework that preceded the study.

The current study is described in Chapters Three to Five. Chapter Three describes how interview data was analyzed from 71 youth and 16 adult leaders at nine project-based youth programs serving high school aged youth. Chapter Four describes what benefits youth reported from their trust in ALs, factors that influenced their initial level of trust, three catalysts that led to trust forming processes, and the most mentioned trajectory being a steady gradual movement from low trust to high trust. Chapter Five describes the approaches adult leaders used to build trust: (a) Respecting and being genuine toward youth; (b) Building a rapport with youth; (c) Being consistent and dependable; and (d) Occupying a nuanced adult role(s). Findings in Chapters Four and Five are used to develop a Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs.

Chapter Six discusses the implications of these findings for youth programs by interpreting how each aspect of the Model of Youth's Formation of Trust connects to literature. It concludes with a theoretical model of adolescents' formation of trust. Chapter Seven provides a short conclusion.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Pulling together current literature allows one to speculate on the ways interpersonal trust between youth and adult leaders might form within the context of the youth program. A youth is likely to experience "*uncertainty* of trustee's dependability; *vulnerability* of dependency; *expectation* of trustee's trustworthiness; and *willingness* [to trust]" as trust in an adult leader forms (Li, 2007, p.424). How might an adolescent form trust? What function might trust between adolescents and adults play in the program context? What role might the adult leader play in facilitating trust formation? To address these questions, I will first review models of interpersonal trust development, then discuss the role that trust plays in the youth program context, and finally describe the relationship building practices of adult leaders. I will conclude by describing the conceptual framework for this study. The purpose of this chapter is to provide background for the current study. I will begin by describing adolescent interpersonal trust and will then discuss trust development theories.

Models of Interpersonal Trust and Interpersonal Trust Development

  Interpersonal trust conceptualized in adolescence. Before considering trust development theories more generally, it is beneficial to explore how the construct of trust is conceptualized in the age period of adolescence. Rotenberg's (2010) BDT (base, domain, and target) framework describes an adolescent's interpersonal trust as multidimensional and constructed by a trustor's experiences with other people along three dimensions: 1) what one's trust is *based* on, 2) what the *domains* of trust are, and 3) the *target* of the trustee's qualities which, in the case of this study, is a specific adult leader. According to the BDT framework, trust can be *based* on reliability, emotional respect, and/or honesty. This framework helps one conceptualize interpersonal trust in adolescence, however, it does not provide information on trust development. Looking through the lens of this framework, a youth may base trust in an adult leader on: whether the leader is reliable in keeping a promise, whether the leader is a person who "refrain[s] from causing emotional harm, such as being receptive to disclosures, maintaining confidentiality of them, refraining from criticism, and avoiding acts that elicit embarrassment," and whether the leader is genuine (Rotenberg, 2010, p. 10). The BDT framework identifies the *domains* that trust may occur in as cognitive/affective, behavior-dependent, or behavior enacting. In the cognitive/affective domain, a youth may believe or feel that the leader exhibits the bases of trust. In the behavior-dependent domain, a youth may behave in a way that relies on the leader being a person who upholds the three bases of trust. In the behavior-enacting domain, a youth may engage in behavior that demonstrates the bases of trust that s/he holds for the leader. Although this framework is informative for conceptualizing trust as a construct in adolescence, it speaks less to *how* this interpersonal trust develops. There is theoretical literature on how trust develops in adult workplaces that can be used to speculate on trust formation for adolescents in project-based programs.

Initial trust. To understand the formation of interpersonal trust, one must conceptualize where trust begins when a youth walks into a program for the first time. Trust development theories used in literature on workplaces can be applied to the youth program context. Lewicki, Tomlinson, and Gillespie's (2006) review of different models of trust development and McKnight, Cummings, and Chervany's (1998) review of different conceptualizations of initial trust within relationships in organizations provide varying ways that people theorize the initial levels of trust. These include:

- trust starts at zero;
- trust and distrust both start at a low level;
- trust is swiftly formed early on when people are brought together to complete a task that requires teamwork and clearly defined roles;
- trust and distrust begin at a level based on an organization's and/or trustee's reputation;
- trust begins at a level based on a trustor's "faith in humanity" (e.g. belief that people are generally trustworthy) and "trusting stance" (e.g. belief that trusting people is beneficial);
- trust begins at a level calculated by a trustor weighing benefits and costs to trusting.

These conceptualizations suggest that initial levels of trust may vary for different youth. In addition, there may be various factors that influence a youth's initial trust such as a cost-benefit analysis or their trusting stance. Identifying where trust begins is important to understanding youth's growth of trust.

Theories of trust development. Although the actual process in which trust grows has less frequently been discussed, Lewicki et al.'s (2006) review of various models of trust development adds to literature that has an abundance of "snapshot [trust] studies…. [providing] limited insight into the dynamic and nature of the growth and decline of trust within…relationships" (p. 992). The three psychological approaches reviewed by the authors allow one to anticipate how a youth's perception of the leader influences the formation of trust. The authors categorize the reviewed trust development theories as the unidimensional psychological approach, the two-dimensional approach, and the transformational psychological approach.

Unidimensional psychological approach. The unidimensional approach sees trust and distrust as opposites on the same trust dimension. It posits that trust grows "with increased evidence of trustee's qualities, relationship history, communication processes, and relational type and structural factors" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p.994). The models that fall under this approach often discuss trust growth in terms of cognitive-based trust and/or affect-based trust. Cognition/cognitive-based trust is the idea that people trust because they believe someone is a reliable person on whom they can depend. They make a rational choice to trust such a person based on "cognitive cues or first impressions, as opposed to personal interactions" (McKnight et al., 1998, p.475). Affect-based trust is the concept that people trust because of "reciprocated interpersonal care and concern" and "emotional ties linking individuals" (McAllister, 1995,

p. 25). Some research suggests that cognitive-based trust develops before affect-based trust (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 996). When applying this approach to adolescents in youth programs, one could speculate that for some youth, first impressions may be key to forming trust in an adult leader as they see indications that the leader is reliable. Other youth may develop trust when they feel like the adult leader cares about them and vice versa. Regardless of whether these models discuss trust in general, cognitive-based trust, or affect-based trust, models prescribing to the unidimensional approach all identify variables that lead to trust growth.

One specific model that falls under the unidimensional approach is Mayer, Davis, and Shoorman's (1995) Proposed Model of Trust, which emphasizes the variable of perceived trustworthiness (see Figure 1). Mayer et al.'s (1995) model illustrates a process that begins with the trustor perceiving a trustee's trustworthiness, engaging in trusting behavior that includes taking risks in the relationship based on trustworthiness, and noting outcomes of these risks in order to continue to assess the trustee's trustworthiness. This process can then lead to a growth in trust or distrust.

According to Mayer et al. (1995), a trustor's ongoing and developing perception of the trustee's trustworthiness is based on three characteristics of the trustee--ability, benevolence, and integrity. These are defined as:

- Ability: "group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable [the trustee] to have influence within some specific domain" (p.717);
- Benevolence: "extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to *the trustor*, aside from an egocentric positive motive" (p.718);
- Integrity: "trustor's perception that the trustee adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable" (p.719).

It has been found that in some dyads (like virtual teams), one characteristic of trustworthiness can play more of a role than another (McGuire, 2011). Another variable that influences the process is the trustor's propensity/disposition to trust which is a person's "general willingness to trust" (Mayer et al., 1995, p.715) or "tendency to be willing to depend on others across a broad spectrum of situations and persons" (McKnight et al., 1998, p. 477). This influences the trustee's initial trust and their development of trust.

The project-based youth program may be a context in which one sees Mayer et al.'s model unfold. Within the program, it is likely that youth have various opportunities to evaluate a leader's ability, benevolence, and integrity because of the nature of the context not just being a place of work but also a more flexible setting than other contexts in which they interact with adults. The two antecedents to trust that lead to one taking risks in the relationship -- trustor's propensity to trust and perception of trustee's trustworthiness -- are important when one considers that taking risks in a relationship is critical to gaining the skills needed for completing a project. For example, one risk might include asking for help

on a task. Finally, Mayer et al.'s "feedback loop from the outcomes of trusting behavior back…[to] trustworthiness" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p.1002) is likely to occur within the program because it is a context that occurs over a period of time. Over time a youth may judge outcomes of the risks that they take in the Y-AL dyad to continue to determine the adult leader's ability, benevolence, and integrity. What criteria do youth use to determine an adult leader's ability or benevolence or integrity? Is one factor more important than others? This may be a critical piece to how trust forms.

Figure 1
Mayer, Davis, & Shoorman's (1995) Proposed Model of Trust

Factors of
Perceived
Trustworthiness

Ability

Benevolence

Integrity

Perceived Risk

Trust

Risk Taking in Relationship

Outcomes

Trustor's Propensity
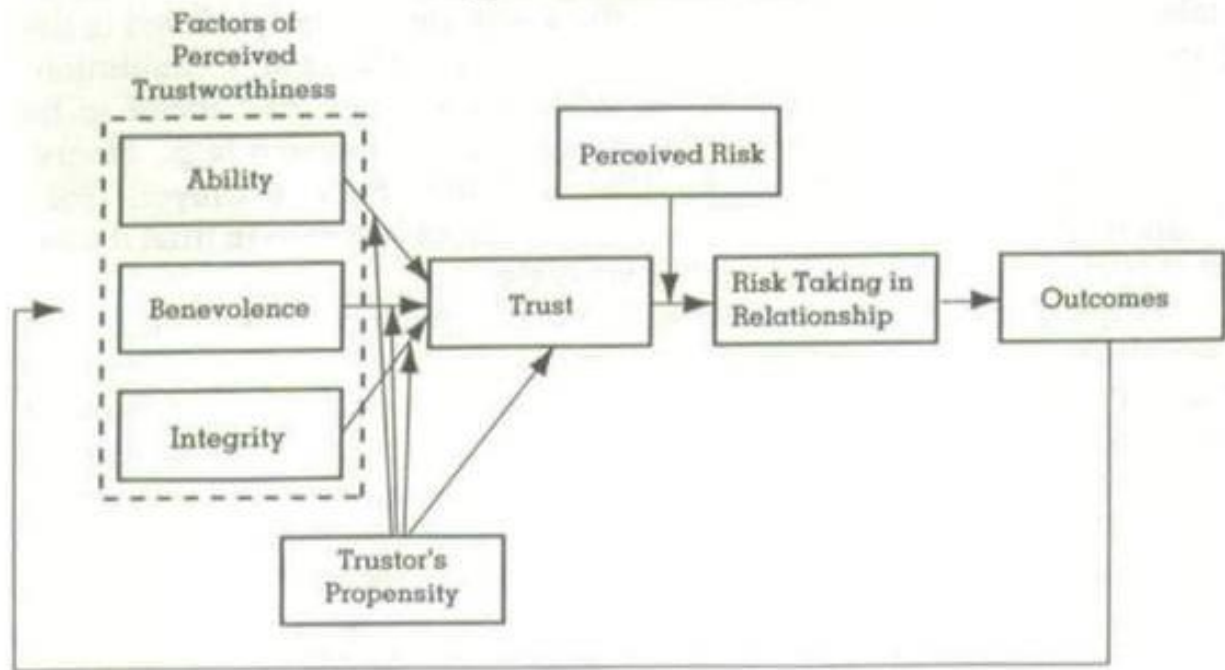
Two-dimensional psychological approach. Lewicki et al. (2006) categorize a theory under the two-dimensional approach when it argues that a trustor may trust the trustee in certain facets of the relationship and distrust them in other facets. For example, the youth may trust a leader to help them improve public speaking skills necessary for a project and trust the advice the leader provides in terms of navigating problems with peers. However, the youth may distrust the adult leader in terms of keeping problems they are having at home confidential. The two-dimensional approach posits that relationships begin at being low trust/low distrust but adjust over time "as a function of the frequency, duration, and diversity of experiences that either affirm confidence in positive expectations (trust) or confidence in negative expectations (distrust)" (p.1005). Particularly relevant to the project-based program, this approach argues that the most optimal relationship (high-trust/low-distrust) emerges once "both parties develop a pooled interdependence and actively pursue joint objectives [which] facilitate the expansion of the relationship to new facets and/or richer communication within facets" (p.1005). This would suggest

that over time a youth might form trust in more and more facets of their relationship with the adult leader. Therefore, the two-dimensional approach introduces the potential complexity of the Y-AL dyad as well as variety amongst dyads that consist of some mixture of trust and distrust across different facets of the relationship.

Transformational psychological approach. The final approach that Lewicki et al. (2006) mention in their review of multiple approaches to trust development is the transformational psychological approach. The transformational approach believes that trust grows "with positive relationship history and increased knowledge and predictability of the other, and further when parties come to develop an emotional bond and shared values" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p.994). This approach identifies many different types of trust and suggests that the type of trust may change over time. McKnight et al. (1998) and Lewicki et al. (2006) describe different types of trust such as:

- calculative/calculus-based trust which is the idea that people trust by weighing the costs and benefits of trusting;
- knowledge-based trust which is the idea that people trust because as time passes they learn more about a person's trustworthiness by interacting with the person;
- identification-based trust which is the idea that the trustor identifies with the trustee's "desires and intentions" or this has also been defined as "fully internalizing the other's preferences; making decisions in each other's interest." (Lewicki et al., 2006, p.1007)

One model that falls under the transformational approach is Lewicki and Bunker's Stages of Trust Development, which suggests that trust can develop from calculative/calculus-based trust to knowledge-based trust to identification-based trust over time (Lewicki et al., 2006). This model suggests that the starting point is always calculus-based trust, that many relationships eventually develop to be characterized as having knowledge-based trust, and that very few develop into being characterized as identification-based trust. This could be particularly relevant to project-based youth programs where some youth may experience a relationship with the adult leader that strengthens from being calculus-based trust to identification-based trust over time whereas others may only move from calculus-based trust to knowledge-based trust over time. One study applied this trust development model to the youth program context in terms of organizational trust (rather than interpersonal trust). Owens and Johnson (2009) found in their exploratory study of an academic-based Upward Bound program that youth's organizational trust began as calculus-based trust in terms of benefits they believed they would receive from participation based on comments from high school counselors and family members. However, many youth described a "courtship" with the program in which they actually received and then came to *expect* to receive benefits and supports in their relationships with Upward Bound, its adult leaders, and peers in the program (e.g. knowledge-based trust). For some, this then led to them beginning to

contribute to Upward Bound by giving advice to peers in the program, recruiting new participants, and providing constructive input to the program on how it might improve what it offers participants (e.g. suggesting identification-based trust). Although the study is on *organizational* trust development, the findings suggest that interpersonal trust development in the Y-AL relationship may be tied to trust in the program and an eventual outcome may be a youth's contribution to the program.

Models of interpersonal trust development suggest two things relevant to the current study. First, there is a lack of consensus on where trust begins and how it develops. Second, there is a vast amount of extant literature on adults' trust in the workplace context that can be consulted at latter stages of data analysis. The next section of the literature review describes the function of trust in programs.
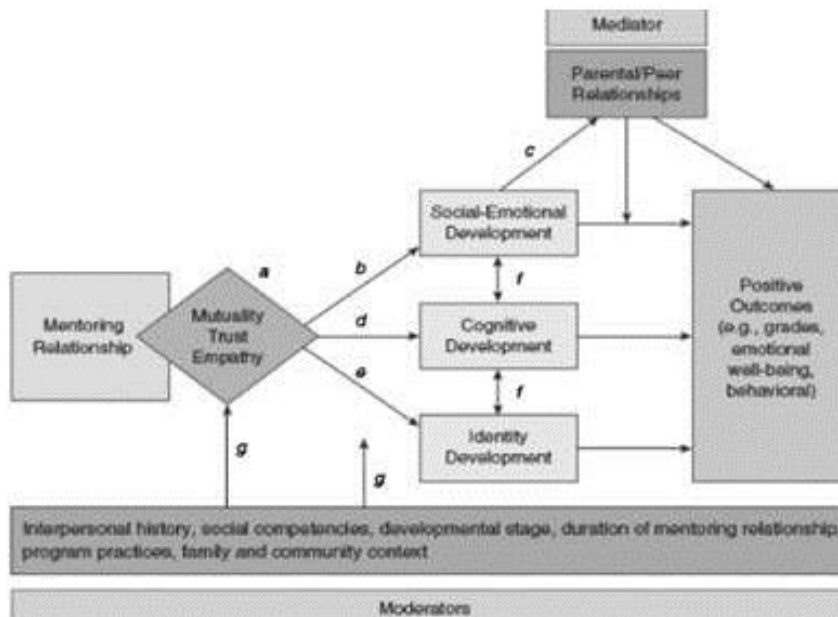
Y-AL Relationships Through the Model of Youth Mentoring and the Bioecological Model

Rhodes' Model of Youth Mentoring and Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model provide tools to interpret what current literature on programs says about how youth's trust in an adult leader operates in the project-based youth program. Relationships are considered key features of positive youth development programs and part of the mission shared by community based youth programs (Mahoney et al., 2009; National Research Council, 2002). Positive Y-AL relationships appear to positively impact a youth's physical, emotional, social, and moral development and serve as means for youth to develop skills or social capital (Grossman & Bulle, 2006; Halpern, 2005; Krueger, 2005; Mahoney et al. 2002; National Institute on Out-of-School Time, 2009; Young, 1999). Some researchers have found that when youth feel emotional support from *staff*, it can lead to positive feelings about the *program* (Grossman & Bulle, 2006; Halpern et al., 2000). In fact, older youth describe adults and the relationships they have with these leaders as reasons they choose to attend and stay in programs (Grossman, Campbell, & Raley, 2007; Roffman, Pagano, & Hirsch, 2001). The importance of these relationships calls for a closer look at the role of trust.

Model of youth mentoring. Rhodes' Model of Youth Mentoring allows one to understand how trust operates in relation to developmental processes in the domains of social-emotional, cognitive, and identity development. This model is applied to mentoring but has also been adapted to the youth program (Rhodes, 2004). It suggests that a relationship between an adult mentor and a youth protégé that is characterized by empathy, mutuality, and trust can be a catalyst for processes in these domains (see Figure 2) (Rhodes, 2005). First, trust can be a catalyst for a variety of social-emotional developmental processes. It leads a youth to regularly engage in warm interactions with the adult mentor that serve as a blueprint for positive relationships with others (Rhodes, 2002; 2005). Secondly, trust can cause a youth to utilize the mentor as a "sounding board" to discuss issues, particularly since trust is needed for a young person to open up to an adult (Rhodes, 2005). During such discussions, the mentor can help youth process and regulate emotions and as time goes on, youth more effectively communicate feelings and

manage stress (Rhodes, 2002; 2004). To a lesser extent, trust can serve as a catalyst for cognitive developmental processes because when youth *trust* adults, the adult "provides scaffolding onto which an adolescent can acquire and refine thinking skills" (Rhodes, 2002; 2004, p.152; 2005). Finally, trust can also be a catalyst for identity development, especially for older adolescents who often form trusting relationships around skill and career development (Rhodes, 2002). Focusing on trust in the model provides insight on how trust operates in a youth program.

Figure 2
Rhodes' (2005) Model of Youth Mentoring

Viewing current literature through the lens of the Model of Youth Mentoring illustrates how trust can play a role in dynamics in the Y-AL relationship. For example, it has been found that participants appreciate being able to share problems or "teenage secrets" with staff, value "confidential resources" in the program, and/or trust staff in such a way in which programs become a second family or home (Diversi & Mecham, 2005; Halpern et.al, 2000; Hirsch, Roffman, Deutsch, Flynn, Loder, & Pagano, 2000; Strobel et al., 2008). In terms of trust being a catalyst for social-emotional developmental processes, Strobel et al. (2008) reported participants describing how adult leaders "worked to create a space for youth to express their feelings" (p. 1690). Youth within this study discussed how they could regulate their emotions in this space and learned how to cope with stress. In terms of identity development, O'Donoghue and Strobel (2007) found in an activism program that "perceived trust in particular is related to youth's self-identification as activists" and that "youth described how these personal, caring relationships with adults changed them, making them more trusting and serving as motivation and a source of accountability in

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their public activism" (p. 472, p. 474). Therefore, the Model of Youth Mentoring, as applied to literature on programs, suggests that youth are likely to reference how interactions with adult leaders foster, are triggered by, and/or reinforce trust.

The bioecological model. Using pieces of the Bioecological Model to understand current literature can illustrate how trust may be interconnected to a setting shaped by project-based tasks. The *microsystem* is useful for stepping back to describe how setting level structures may influence Y-AL interactions and trust within Y-AL relationships. The microsystem is:

> the *pattern of activities, social roles,* and *interpersonal relations* experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face *setting with* particular physical, *social, and symbolic features* that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment (emphasis mine, Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

A related part of the microsystem that may foster trust are proximal processes. Developmentally effective proximal processes occur when youth are engaged in an activity over time; when reciprocal interactions around this activity become increasingly more complex; and when youth develop a strong, enduring attachment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Literature suggests that the program microsystem's pattern of activities, social roles, interpersonal relations, and features may influence the function which trust plays. First, a pattern of activities of project-based program tasks that are "meaningful, shared endeavors" between youth and adults may lead to youth trusting that adult leaders will consistently welcome youth's active contribution and provide more gentle guidance than what is expected in the distant relationships they tend to have with high-school teachers (Halpern, 2006; Kirshner, 2008; Noam & Fiore, 2004; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007).

Second, youth in programs have been found to perceive that adult leaders straddle multiple social roles including friend, mentor, teacher, and parent (Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005; McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994; Messias et al., 2005; Walker, 2010). Since youth value trust in their relationships with friends, mentors, teachers, parents, and other important adults, it is likely that perceiving adult leaders playing multiple roles indicate that they trust these leaders in many different facets of their lives (Ahrens et al., 2011; Cushman, 2005; Lee, 2007; Rhodes, 2002, 2004, 2005; Way, 2011; Way et al., 2005).

Third, forming trust in adult leaders may be tied to youth's perception of the role of the leaders within interpersonal relations with peers. It has been found that youth are aware of, observe, and/or evaluate leaders based on how they interact with their peers, manage group interactions, handle conflicts, or help them manage their own relations with peers (Deutsch, 2008; Halpern, 2006; Hirsch et al., 2000; Strobel et al., 2008).

Finally, youth may perceive features of programs that encourage them to initially trust that programs and adult leaders respect, value, and do not hold negative stereotypes about them; all of which

they might believe is different than the school institution as well as high-school teachers (Deutsch, 2008; Deutsch & Jones, 2008; Jones & Deutsch, 2010). Therefore, youth's experiences of the program microsystem may contribute to trust developing in the Y-AL dyad.

Literature on youth programs also suggests that developmentally effective proximal processes may foster trust. The link between trust and task-related activities is most clearly found in Hirsch, Deutsch, and DuBois' (2011) case studies of three Boys and Girls Clubs. The authors found that it was the presence of both supportive relationships and structured activities *together* that created the most positive developmental experiences for youth. For example, with one particular youth, they describe how an already close relationship with an adult leader grew even closer because he participated in a dance program that she led. The authors specifically cite trust as a key aspect of this relationship (p. 240). In addition, proximal processes around tasks may actually *lead* to affect-based trust, even when there is not already a close relationship. For example, in apprenticeship programs that were not at all focused on emotional closeness between youth and adults, a researcher "observed numerous discussions of personal issues, aspirations, and a range of matters not directly related to the work at hand, sometimes incidental, sometimes deliberate" (Halpern, 2006, p. 219). This may be particularly important for youth that come from disadvantaged communities because it is theorized that "hurts and insults are best addressed indirectly in the context of relationships that are about something else- that is, joint work on a task or project, or in a discipline- and are, in some respects, incidental" (Halpern, 2005, p.15). Therefore, trust is something likely to sprout from a program's proximal processes.

Current literature viewed through the lens of these two models show that trusting Y-AL relationships around a project provide youth with many developmental benefits. Obtaining benefits associated with such a relationship is likely to be key to the process of trust formation because it *reinforces* trust. The next section describes practices of leaders that build trust.

Relationship-building Practices of Adult Leaders

In many programs adult leaders are expected to foster relationships with youth that are embedded in activities that will maximize age-appropriate developmental outcomes (Krueger, 2005). The current study assumes trust-building practices are a significant piece of this relationship building. Prior literature suggests factors that might enter into the trust-building process: guiding philosophies, specific actions, and challenges that threaten trust.

Guiding philosophies. Some leaders espouse a philosophy that the focus of a program should be on youth before their own needs or the task at hand (Bocarro & Witt, 2005; McLaughlin et al., 1994). It has been noted that exceptional leaders are guided by a youth-centered[1] philosophy rather than an

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[1] I use "youth-centered" as an adjective to describe something that is dictated primarily by the needs, characteristics, or values of youth. This phrase can describe a space, activity, or relationship.

institution-centered philosophy (McLaughlin et al., 1994, p. 98). When guided by a youth-centered philosophy, adults focus on working with the youth based on youth's skills, personalities, and needs (Bocarro & Witt, 2005; Halpern, 2006). For some leaders, this type of philosophy leads to them working on relationship-building before anything else (Boccarro & Witt, 2005). A leader's guiding philosophy is likely to significantly impact the nature of relationships formed. For example, O'Donoghue and Strobel (2007) noted through their observations of an activism program that "when success for adult staff was measured by whether particular tasks got done and not by whether youth learned and were engaged in the process, relationships between youth and adults suffered" (480). The current study may find that leaders reference their philosophy when they discuss building trust with participants.

   Specific actions. Youth's perception of an adult leader is frequently shaped by the specific actions that leaders engage in. Below are some actions mentioned in current literature.

- Youth workers actively listen to youth *before* providing guidance (Messias et al., 2005).
- Youth workers try to create a space where "authentic conversations" can occur with practices like attempting to get to know youth by asking about their personal interests and how their day was; engaging in informal socializing; or consciously making the time to talk to youth through side conversation or times when it's incorporated in the rhythm of the day, e.g., spending the beginning of the session touching base (Baldridge, Lamont Hill, & Davis, 2011; Grossman et al., 2007; Halpern et al., 2000; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007).
- A few leaders create a way to interact outside of the program by telling youth to call them any time, going to the movies, and going out to eat (Hilfinger et al., 2005; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007).
- Leaders are aware of youth culture and engage in the language and gestures of youth because they are either already knowledgeable since they are close in age (Heath, 1998; Jones & Deutsch, 2010) or they try to learn about youth culture, with an adult leader in one study even making an effort to watch MTV once per week (Grossman et al., 2007).
- Leaders ask about youth's family members or teachers (Jones & Deutsch, 2010).
- Skillful adults "interact informally with youth, incorporate youth's desires and needs into deciding what they do; are skilled at helping youth accomplish tasks; have interests, culture or backgrounds in common with the participants, and treat the youth respectfully" (Grossman & Bulle, 2006, p.795).

Similar to how adult leaders recount actions they specifically take to build relationships with youth, they are likely to be able to recount vividly how they build a youth's trust.

Challenges faced. A challenge and focus of leader practices from the literature is how unplanned events may create threats to trust. An event in which youth disclose information can threaten the likelihood that the leader is perceived as trustworthy. Morgan and Banks (1999) state:

> Because youth workers work informally and often in a relaxed way…they may be perceived more as a 'friend' than a professional worker …[leading to] more room for misunderstanding about the nature of the relationship and the extent of confidentiality... It may more easily be assumed that…everything revealed [by the youth] is secret (p.151).

In addition, unplanned events may lead to adult leaders being challenged by how they can maintain both a professional and personal relationship (Walker & Larson, 2006). For example, Walker and Larson (2006) describe how one leader needed to decide whether she should fire a newly hired employee who was an expert in the content of the project yet did not treat the youth with the respect that they were accustomed to in the program. Ultimately, she chose to put the well being of youth first. One may *speculate* that this response is critical to maintaining youth's trust and is why youth "identified [the leader] as a role model who had influenced them" (p.116). Threats to trust, such as unplanned events like above, may present challenges leaders must navigate to maintain cognitive-based and affect-based trust.

Conclusion and Conceptual Framework

To guide this study, I developed The Conceptual Map of Youth's Formation of Trust (see Figure 3), which incorporates relevant themes discussed extensively in this chapter. The conceptual map provides a framework for the main research question: *How does youth's trust in an adult leader grow within the Y-AL relationship in project-based youth programs?* Based on this literature, I have created a map that has four key phases of trust formation. These are as follows:

- Phase One: Antecedents to trust formation and initial trust;
- Phase Two: Trust formation;
- Phase Three: Growth or maintenance of trust formed;
- Phase Four: Outcome and impact of trust formation which then feeds back into Phase One.

Figure 3
Conceptual Map of Youth's Formation of Trust in an AL Within the Project-Based Youth Program

PHASE 1: Antecedents to trust formation and initial trust

-Youth characteristics
-Adult leader characteristics and philosophy
-Youth's propensity to trust (e.g. faith in humanity or trusting stance)
-Youth-Adult Leader interactions
-Youth's perception of adult leader's trustworthiness in terms of ability, benevolence, & integrity
-In project based program (w/certain features, social roles, pattern of activities, & interpersonal relations)
-Youth's initial trust level in the program and/or adult leader

PHASE 2: Trust formation

-Youth's trust based on: affect, calculative, cognitive, knowledge, etc
-Youth's perception of adult leader's reliability, honesty, & likelihood to cause emotional harm
-In project based program (w/certain features, social roles, pattern of activities, & interpersonal relations)
-Adult leader relationship building practices

PHASE 3: Growth or Maintenance of trust formed

-Ongoing adult leader practices associated with interpersonal trust
-Reciprocal interactions between youth and adult leader
-Challenges faced by adult leader to maintain trust

PHASE 4: Outcome and impact of trust formation

-Trusting behaviors that youth engage in
-Impact that being able to trust the adult leader has on the youth
-When coupled with mutuality and empathy, identity developmental processes, cognitive developmental processes, and socio-emotional developmental processes
-Youth make positive contributions to the program

The conceptual map acknowledges that the youth program context and the youth-adult leader relationship is critical. Each phase pulls together both the idea of the dynamics within a mentoring relationship as well as the concept of proximal processes within the microsystem. In order to speculate what may happen at each phase, I was guided by the literature discussed earlier about adult leaders' relationship-building practices including issues of philosophy, practices, and challenges (e.g. Jones & Deutsch, 2010; McLaughlin et al., 1994; Walker & Larson, 2006; etc). I also based each phase on research and theory on trust including Rotenberg (2010)'s conceptualization of trust in adolescence, studies on varying initial levels of trust, the process-oriented nature of approaches to trust development, the characteristics of different types of trust, and the antecedents to trust. Therefore, the conceptual map allowed me to "have a perspective that will help [in abstracting] significant categories from the data" (Urquhart, Lehman, & Myers, 2010, p. 360), a process particularly important for the current study I describe in the next chapter.

<center>**Chapter Three: Methodology**</center>

Two research questions were used to explore my overarching question--how do youth's trust in an adult leader build within the Y-AL relationship in project-based youth programs? The research questions guiding the study were:

Research Question One: What types of interactions with adult leaders contribute to youth forming trust in an adult leader?

Research Question Two: What types of practices do adult leaders engage in to form trusting relationships with youth?

The current study was conducted within the Pathways Project, a longitudinal mixed-methods study on the developmental processes in project-based youth programs serving high-school aged youth, in their families, and between the family and youth program. Survey and interview data was collected at four time points. The larger study was conducted by Reed Larson and Marcela Raffaelli and funded by the WT Grant Foundation.

Methodological Approach

This study utilized a qualitative research design that incorporated strategies from Grounded Theory (GT) methodology. These strategies were appropriate to use because the purpose of GT is to explore a process or phenomenon from the perspective of the participants (Charmaz, 2006); in accordance the current study sought to explicate a model of how trust formed in the Y-AL relationship from the participants' perspectives. This study incorporated many of the most critical aspects of GT such as "openness, analyzing immediately, coding and comparing, memo writing (sometimes also drawing diagrams), theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation, and the production of a substantive theory" (Sbaraini, Carter, Evans, & Blinkhorn, 2011, p.3). The grounded theory strategies I used were most closely linked to Charmaz (2006), rather than Corbin and Strauss (2008) or Glaser (1992); however the study primarily used Birks and Mills (2011) as a guide because it is a straightforward text that has a flexible view of GT that made the analytic strategies more accessible.

Sample

The sample in this study included youth and adult leaders from nine project-based youth programs. See Appendix A for detailed information on the samples of programs, youth, and adult leaders. Six programs were studied over their natural program cycle in Year One (between August 2011 and July 2012) and three programs were studied in Year Two (between August 2012 and July 2013). Programs serving high-school aged youth were useful because youth at that age are more likely to be able to articulate and discuss the abstract and multidimensional nature of trust formation.

Sample of programs. All nine programs in the sample were project-based. As discussed earlier, project-based programs are spaces in which youth develop skills necessary for adulthood through short-

<center>16</center>

term and/or long-term projects. They are not focused on sports, tutoring, or just drop-in/hang out. In this study's sample of programs, the projects included those with a focus on producing tangible products (e.g. creating a film) and those focused on intangible products (e.g. designing and leading a summer camp). The larger study recruited programs that had a focus on (a) arts, technology, or science or on (b) leadership, service, or public activism. Table 1 provides information on the specific projects. Programs were from three locations -- central Illinois, Chicago, Illinois, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The criterion for selecting programs in the larger study were that programs had low youth and staff turn-over and that youth participated for at least 120 hours over the course of the program. Additionally, programs had to be mixed gender, serve low-income or working class high-school aged youth, and be open to all youth. Half of the programs had to serve predominantly Latino youth. This is because the larger study was concerned with differences in program and family experiences between Latino and non-Latino youth.

Table 1
Focus of Programs in Sample

Unified Youth, Central Illinois	Community-based program where youth produce PSAs on positive health behaviors and organize events to promote understanding among culturally diverse youth.
Nutrition Rocks, Central Illinois	Community-based program where youth plan a five-week long summer camp for children that is focused on promoting healthy diets.
Emerson Drama Club, Central Illinois	School-based program in which youth produce and act in plays and musicals.
Rising Leaders, Central Illinois	School-based program in which youth organize school events and community service activities.
High Definition, Chicago	Community-based program where youth carry out multimedia projects, including producing and online magazine and creating videos.
Reel Makers, Chicago	Community-based program in which youth learn video production skills through creating films.
Urban Farmers, Chicago	Community-based program where youth grow vegetables and sell them in the farmers market.
Youth in Action, Minneapolis	Community-based program where youth create culture-oriented arts (e.g., creating a mosaic mural).
The Station, Minneapolis	Community-based program where youth plan all logistics of music concerts (scheduling, budgets, publicity, etc.).

Samples of youth. The Pathways Project collected survey data from all youth in the programs and then purposively selected youth interviewed based on the goals of the larger study to comprise a prospective and retrospective sample. The prospective sample of youth included at least four youth at each program interviewed at four time points. Based on the goals of the larger study of the Pathways Project, half of those in the prospective sample of youth had high levels of parent support for program participation and half of this sample of youth had low levels of parent support for program participation as measured at Time One. The retrospective sample of youth included at least four youth at each program. Based on the goals of the larger study, these youth were chosen to reflect high and low rates of change in responsibility from the Time One to Time Three survey data.

The current study includes a total of 71 high-school aged youth ($n = 35$ females; $n = 36$ males; ages 14 - 18) from the prospective and retrospective samples. The diverse sample of youth included 30 Latino, 26 African American, 11 European American, and 4 Other youth. One youth in the prospective sample only completed a Time Point One interview, in contrast to youth in the prospective sample who completed Time Point One and Time Point Two interviews. Since the Time Point Two interview protocol contained the majority of substantive questions related to trust, this youth was excluded from the sample in regards to the majority of analyses.

Sample of adult leaders. The sample included the primary adult leaders from eight of the nine programs. I did not have interview data from the two adult leaders from Rising Leaders at the time of analysis so they are not included in the sample. The sample included 13 adult leaders from Year One and three adult leaders from Year Two. The 16 adult leaders in the sample were primarily white ($n = 11$) and female ($n = 10$). These adult leaders were an average of 37.4 years old (median $= 34$) ranging from 24 - 58 years old. They worked with youth an average of 12.6 years, ranging from 4 - 40 years. Within the sample, 75% had a college degree and 50% had formal training in or a degree in youth development.

Data Collection Procedures and Instruments

Data collection consisted of questions in the context of the larger Pathway Project's interview protocols. Youth in the prospective sample were interviewed at four time points across the program cycle and youth in the retrospective sample were interviewed one time at the end of the program cycle. The interview questions relevant to my study were around the youth's first impressions of the AL, whether the youth formed trust in an AL in the program, specifically what events or interactions led to them trusting the AL, and what role, if any, culture played in trust formation. All youth in the sample (except one who dropped out of the study after Time One) were asked the Core Youth Trust Questions (see Appendix B's Time Point Two and Retrospective Interview Protocols). Adult leaders were interviewed at four time points across the program cycle. The interview questions relevant to my study were around how the ALs

built trust with youth, their relationships with youth in the prospective sample, and what role -- if any-- that culture played. These questions were asked in Time Point Three and Time Point Four.

Youth interview questions provided the perspective of youth regarding their relationship with the ALs (see Appendix B). These questions were developed through ongoing analysis.

Pilot youth interviews. As a collaborator on the Pathways Project, I was involved in developing questions on the topic of Youth-Leader relationships for the Pathways Project Pilot Study conducted in 2011. Questions developed relevant to the current study included "Over the time you have been in [name of program], has there been a change in the trust or respect you feel for the leaders?" I did an analysis of interviews with 37 youth (20 female, 17 male), ages 12 - 18 in four project-based programs. This analysis suggested a few things that influenced the current study's interview protocol.

- Youth had varying relationships with different leaders with some being more instrumental with academics, others more with problems, and others with everything. As a result, the current study's interview protocol had youth describe their relationship with a specific leader, rather than using the term leaders in general.

- Some youth answered the question by mentioning that they always respected adults because they are adult figures and, as a result, there was no change in their respect. This data made it clear that the phrase of "trust or respect" was asking about two related but different things. As a result, "respect" was not used in the current study's interview protocol. Instead, the interview protocol relied on the youth discussing their relationship through their own conceptualization of trust.

- Even though multiple youth indicated they had a growth in trust in the leaders, the youth who discussed having a growth in trust described initially starting at different levels of trust. As a result, the current study's interview protocol focused on establishing how the youth changed from how they felt about the AL when they first met them.

- Some adolescents described how they "opened up" to the ALs about personal matters; talking to leaders about issues beyond the project. Data suggested three reasons for this that all appeared to be related to trust forming: (1) Youth experienced leaders as consistent and persistent in creating connections. (2) Youth reported gradually gathering evidence about leaders' trustworthiness through jointly working on projects. (3) Youth perceived leaders to be a mixture of an adult who could provide guidance and a friend who would keep their personal information confidential. Opening up was an outcome of trust for a few of the youth. As a result, the current study's interview protocol inquired about the outcome of trust formation even though the outcome of trust was not the primary research focus. The outcome seemed to be potentially a critical phase in the formation of trust.

Therefore, the current study's youth interview protocol was shaped by the pilot study as well as the review of literature in Chapter Two.

Year one and year two questions and charts for youth interviews. The youth interview protocol questions in the current study changed somewhat from Year One to Year Two as a result of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is the "process of identifying and pursuing clues that arise during analysis in a grounded theory study" (Birks & Mills, 2012). I made changes to the youth interview protocol in Year Two to explore unanticipated themes that emerged in my analysis of data from my initial sample. I will discuss this further in the section on data analysis.

Data from youth was collected at multiple time points (Figure 4). Year One Time Point One interview questions asked youth in the prospective sample about their general feelings about the adult leader. In Year Two, these questions probed specifically on initial impressions of the AL and whether the AL seemed like someone they could trust at that time. Time Point Two included interview questions that probed on whether a trusting relationship had formed; what events or interactions led to them trusting the adult; and the trajectory of this relationship. Time Point Two's protocol is exactly the same as the protocol for the retrospective sample of youth. In Year Two, a chart was added to prompt youth to give richer answers and provide a visual representation of the trust formation process. Time Point Four questions asked about what role culture played in the formation of youth's trust in the AL. However, initial analysis suggested patterns would not be clear unless I conducted analysis at the level of the dyad. Therefore, this data is not part of the current study's findings.

Figure 4
Primary Sources of Data for Youth

20
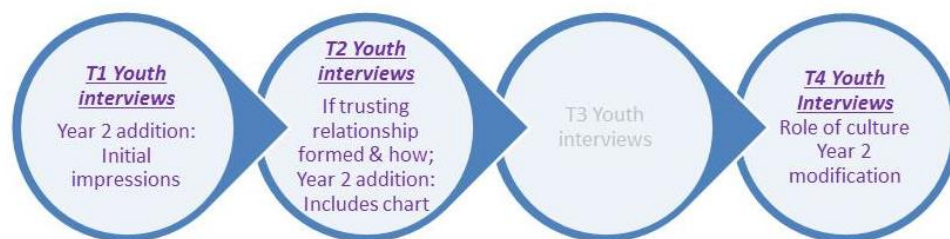
Adult leader interviews. Adult leaders were interviewed at four time points (Figure 5). Interview questions that asked specifically about trust were asked at two time points in the second half of the program cycle (see Appendix C). During Time Point Three ALs were asked about how their relationships with youth being interviewed in the prospective sample changed over time, particularly in terms of trust and to what extent trust is tied to supporting youth in different ways. During Time Point Four, leaders were asked how they foster trusting relationships with youth more generally and what role culture plays, if any. In addition, as will be discussed in the section on data analysis, data was mined from throughout all four interviews for references to trust.

Figure 5
Primary Sources of Data for Adult Leaders

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an iterative process organized around the two research questions. Throughout I engaged in constant comparison of data. This was important as a way to make sure analysis stayed true to the words of participants. Analysis for RQ1 and RQ2 both followed the stages outlined in Figure 6. I will discuss these analyses separately, however, because there was some variation based on the informant and the interview questions.

Figure 6
Stages of Data Analysis
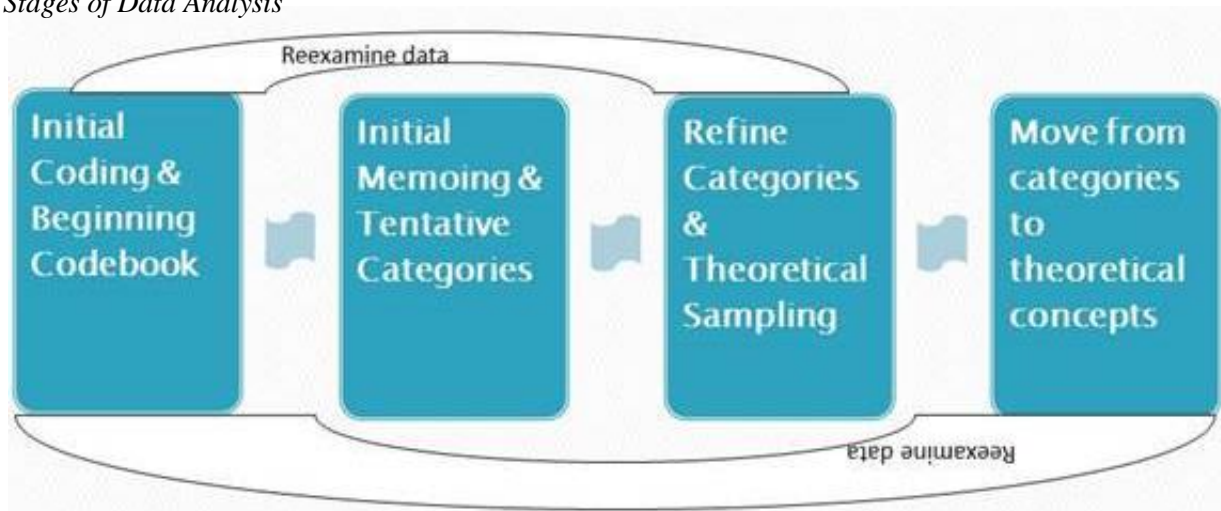
Research question one: What types of interactions with adult leaders contribute to youth forming trust in an adult leader? For RQ1, I used grounded theory and other qualitative methods of analysis (such as organizing data in a matrix) to develop a process model of one or more trajectories on how youth came to perceive an adult leader as trustworthy, particularly any events or interactions they saw as critical turning points or as facilitators of gradual growth in the trusting relationship. Since the overarching focus of this study is on how trust forms, creating a model of one or more trajectories was critical to understand the process of trust forming. The trajectory of trust captures the concept of trust as more than just one set point in time and, instead, something that builds through a process. Focusing on the trajectory, therefore, was key for understanding the process and whether this process differs for different youth. Below I describe details on what I did at each stage of data analysis.

Stage one: Initial coding and beginning codebook. First, I open coded transcripts, compared codes, developed more focused codes to capture similar ideas, and compared excerpts under each code to create tentative definitions (Charmaz, 2006). I began with coding of a small number of youth interviews (about 20 - 30), engaged in constant comparative analysis, and wrote short memos during this process. I then reviewed a summary of themes that I had come up with in previous memos on the pilot study and reflected on themes emerging from the current data.

I streamlined my focused codes into three overarching ideas that seemed to be emerging- Initial, Processes, and Outcomes. I discarded open codes that were not within these overarching categories. I started a matrix to keep track of which youth matched with which codes. I created a draft of a codebook for these focused codes that I returned to and modified throughout analysis. (See Appendix D for a version of my codebooks). An example of this is shown in Figure 7. I wrote a memo regarding youth interviews to make sure the codebook was theoretically relevant, process oriented, and remained grounded in the words of the youth.

Stage two: Initial memoing and tentative categories. I wrote memos to create tentative categories, revise codes, and review data to make sure the categories stayed true to the words of the interviewees. I then engaged in constant comparisons with new data (about 20 new interviews) and chose to frame initial as the bases for trust and worked on a new iteration of the codebook.

Figure 7
Stage One Examples

Focused code: "Forming Trust Program"

Definition:
Original: "When youth's trust forms in interactions relevant to and within context of program work"

Revised: "Project tasks prompting and facilitating interactions with the leader that form trust "

I continuously engaged in constant comparative analysis as I returned to previous interviews and new interviews as a way to redefine, recode, and discard codes. For example, one strategy for engaging in constant comparative analysis was putting all quotes from a focused code into an electronic file and moving around quotes within that file such that the ones that seemed similar were in the same place. Through this process emerged dimensions of the concept associated with a particular code. This analytic process led to the development of tentative categories as shown in Figure 8.

> Figure 8
> *Stage Two Examples of Tentative Categories*
>
> **Tentative Categories:**
> "Initial impression and trust"
>
> "Processes for how trust formed"
>
> "Forming trust in project tasks by the AL providing assistance, advice or feedback youth value within the context"

Stage three: Refining categories and theoretical sampling. I pulled together, dissected, and refined categories by writing memos. I then engaged in constant comparisons of various pieces of data, as well as other methods of analysis such as matrices, which allowed themes to emerge from the data (Charmaz, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Urquhart et al., 2010). Throughout this process, I engaged in memoing, especially advanced memos in which I explored how my focused codes could be brought together to form categories (Charmaz, 2006).

I also conducted theoretical sampling to explore themes that were emerging from the data (Birks & Mills, 2012). I made changes to the interview protocol based on my analyses. For example, because in the Year One sample, some youth spontaneously mentioned their trust level in the beginning, that turned into an interview question for Year Two as illustrated in Figure 9.

> Figure 9
> *Stage Three Example of Theoretical Sampling*
>
> **Theoretical Sampling:** In the Year One sample, some youth spontaneously mentioned their trust level in the beginning. To explore that further, this became an interview question and set of probes in Year 2 Time 1: "Who are the main adult leaders you have contact with in the program? Can you describe your *first* impression of the leader? At that time, did the leader seem like someone you could trust?

Similarly, some youth in Year One talked about the pace of their trust growth. This was noteworthy because the pace of trust growth is something relevant to the *process* of trust formation and could be useful information for those working at programs. In order to explore the pace of trust growth and elicit richer descriptions of the trust formation process, the sample of youth in Year Two were given the chart in Figure 10. Interviewers stated, "please draw a line on this chart to show how your trust changed since you first starting working with them in the program. The line may go up or down" (see Appendix B). The charts collected demonstrated how the youth's trust in the AL changed over time. I coded these 31 charts by giving the trajectory of the line that youth drew defining characteristics. I assigned numbers (0 - 5) to represent the level of trust at the beginning and end of the line (for example "in the middle" = 3). I then noted the numerical difference between the ending and beginning level of trust. I also wrote descriptions of the shape of the trajectories (e.g., "steady increase

with a slight curve that goes off the chart"). I came up with categories for the charts based on these codes and also the appearance of the chart. I memoed throughout.

Figure 10
Year Two Chart
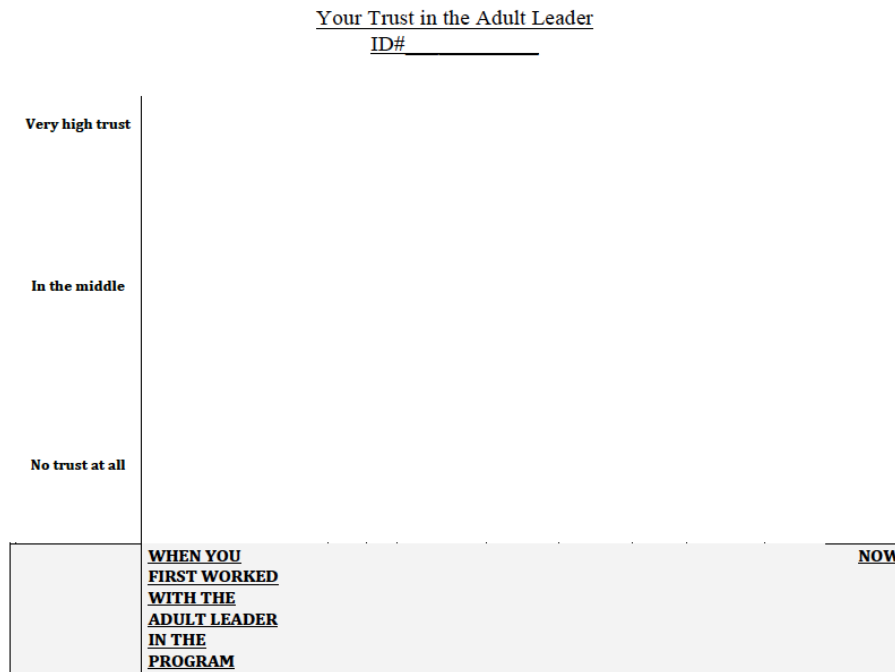
Stage four: Moving from categories to theoretical concepts. I continued analyzing coded data and wrote memos in order to revise the codebook and come up with more precise and more theoretical codes. I used theoretical codes to code the rest of the youth data. I did find a few additional themes (such as an additional Initial Basis and an additional Trust Benefit). However, this stage of analysis mainly led to me using the newly coded data to refine my theoretical codes (like more youth saying they formed trust in the AL because the AL trusted them with a task and more youth describing observing as a way their trust increased). I updated my matrix and revised my theoretical codebook a bit so that it reflected Year One and Year Two data. I went through my memos to engage in different strategies to move from categories to theoretical concepts, particularly exploring how such categories may be related to each other (Charmaz, 2006). I diagrammed concepts, wrote theoretical memos, sorted memos, and integrated memos. The above steps helped me move towards a process model of trust formation. Finally, I returned to extant literature to see how findings related to literature and incorporated theoretical connections.

Research question two: What types of practices do adult leaders engage in to form trusting relationships with youth? For RQ2, I used grounded theory methods of analysis on 60 interviews with 16 ALs to identify the categories of supportive practices that leaders report using to form and maintain a

trusting relationship with youth. These 60 interviews included data from times the ALs were asked the "trust questions" as well as interview data outside of these questions. The ultimate goal was to then incorporate these findings into the model generated from the youth data. The analysis of the AL data followed the same stages as the youth in terms of Initial Coding and Beginning Codebook, Initial Memoing and Tentative Categories, Refine Categories, and Move from Categories to Theoretical Concepts. Therefore, I will describe aspects of analysis that are unique to the AL data.

Mining for data. It was clear in the leader interviews that some leaders brought up the topic of trust at various times throughout the larger study's interviews. Therefore, I first mined the data by doing a word search for trust in my initial sample of leader interview transcripts. I searched for "trust" in 60 leader interviews with 16 leaders and put excerpts from those sections into an electronic file.

Narrowing down to relevant data. I then read these excerpts and excluded the ones that were not relevant to trust between youth and adult leaders. Upon reviewing these texts, I narrowed the file down to times that adult leaders discussed trust as relevant to trust within the youth-adult leader relationship. I then divided these excerpts by leader.

Coding. I put these second round of excerpts into a file organized by each leader and open coded incident-by-incident (Charmaz, 2006). There were a wide range of open codes. I tried to come up with more focused codes/categories in different ways at this point by putting things under categories and imagining what the story might look like. I used various methods to narrow down codes to the most relevant ones including diagramming and other strategies to move around initial codes.

I reviewed this coding to eventually identify focused codes and create a short codebook. During focused coding I paid close attention to leaders' philosophies, practices, and strategies around building relationships. I also was attuned to which codes seemed most relevant to what was emerging from the youth data. I did this because the purpose of analyzing the AL data was to enhance the process model that emerged from the youth data. Like the youth data, I engaged in the iterative-grounded theory analysis described under RQ1 including mining a new set of data.

Model and theory generation. The ultimate goal of the above analysis was to general a model for trust development. Throughout data analysis tied to each research question, I built and revised the trajectories of my model such that it remained tied to the data collected. At the end of data analysis, I re-examined earlier data to make sure my model was true to the data collected. I also referred to extant literature to develop a more theoretical model of the adolescent trust formation process.

Reliability, Validity, and Data Management

Reliability and validity of data was conducted by utilizing some of the strategies outlined by Creswell (2009). These included: checking my transcriptions to ensure that other transcribers and myself did not make errors; double checking that my codes (especially my focused and theoretical codes) were

consistent through the process of memoing about my codes, ensuring to keep a trail of any modifications in codes, and keep track of definitions of codes as they evolved during my data analysis. By the nature of GT, one repeatedly cycles back to the data such that your interpretation stays grounded in the data collected. In addition, I utilized my adviser to crosscheck my codes and review my codebooks as they evolved (Creswell, 2009). Finally, I was attuned to any negative cases, particularly in regards to analysis of youth data to answer RQ1.

Chapter Four: Findings on How Youth Formed Trust

The next two chapters present findings to address the overarching question of *How does youth's trust in an adult leader grow within the Y-AL relationship in project-based youth programs?* Research Question One ("*what types of interactions with ALs contribute to youth forming trust in an AL*") will be addressed in Chapter Four and Research Question Two ("*what types of practices do ALs engage in to form trusting relationships with youth")* will be addressed in Chapter Five. I present analyses of youth data and adult leader data in separate chapters to highlight the trust formation process from different points of view. All names used (youth, adult leaders, and programs) are pseudonyms.

Four key findings emerged from analysis of youth interview and chart data.

(1) The trust that the youth formed in the AL had a positive impact on them inside and outside of the program.

(2) Youth formed an initial level of trust and general impression of the adult leader based on various factors. Generally, this initial state of trust changed as they spent time in the program.

(3) The processes associated with forming trusted included three catalysts.

(4) The overall trajectory of forming trust varied. However, the three catalysts were often facilitated by time spent in the program. The most frequently mentioned trajectory was a steady gradual movement from low trust to high trust.

Prior to presenting the findings that directly answer RQ1, the chapter first will show why trust was important for youth in the sample. The chapter then describes how trust was formed by outlining factors around youth's initial level of trust, zooming in on the processes that led to trust growth, and stepping back to look at the overarching trajectory of trust formation. The findings are most focused on what the youth described about ALs, regardless of program. However, I frequently reference the program to situate youth's comments into a context.

Trust Matters: The Benefits of Trusting an AL

The great majority of youth in the sample trusted at least one adult leader at the program at the time of the interview. Only two out of the 70 youth asked about trust formation gave the indication that they did not trust or only sort of trusted an AL in the program. In addition, of the 31 trajectories collected from youth in the Year Two sample, 30 trajectories indicated that youth had high ($n = 3$), very high ($n = 16$), or higher than very high trust in the AL ($n = 11$) at the time of the interview (represented by the end of the trajectories that the youth drew) (See Figure 11). As a result, the youth in the sample provided detailed information on the impact that trusting an AL had on them.

Figure 11

Ending Level of Youth's Trust Examples
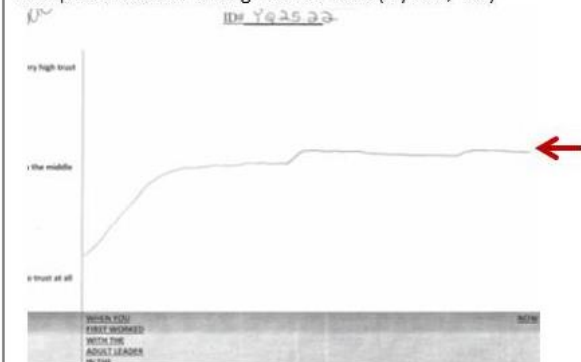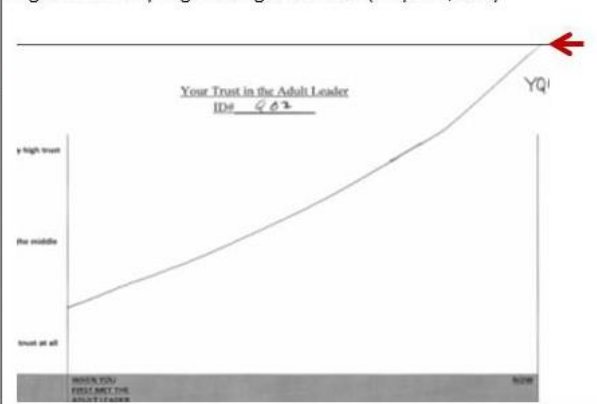
Interviewers asked youth how the trust they formed in the AL helped them with their work and learning in the program, how it helped them with other things in t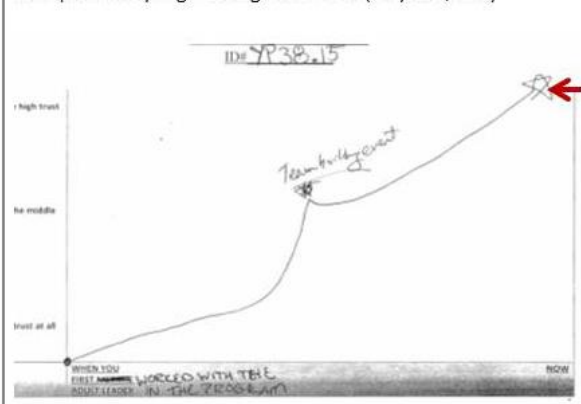heir life, and how their experiences in the program would be different if they did not trust that AL. While youth were asked about both inside and outside of the program, several interviewees made it clear when trust in the AL had no impact in a particular domain or was irrelevant. For example, when asked how trust helped with work and learning, Reina said "Well, no creo [I don't think so], not with my work. Cause it's more like personal life stuff…" When asked whether trust helped with other things in his life, Payton said, "Here, it just seems to be the most relevant thing. In class I care about class" and "not really." Only three youth said that trusting the AL did not help them in any way. For the majority of youth, trust mattered. Constant comparison of data from youth showed that trust mediated five primary benefits.

Trust increased motivation and perseverance. Twenty-two youth described how trust in the AL increased their motivation and perseverance within the project tasks. Youth described how trust in the AL made them feel a desire to do the work, care more about the work, and enjoy the work. Geoff at Reel Makers, a program in which youth created films, explained: "If I didn't trust him, if he wasn't who he was, then [I] probably wouldn't be as motivated to work hard. I really wouldn't care as much. He

really cares about it all and I wouldn't want to let anybody down." Many youth mentioned how trusting the AL motivated them to work harder because they did not want to let the leader down or disappoint them. When asked whether her experience at the program would have been different if she did not trust the AL, Rosana at High Definition-- a program where youth made multimedia projects-- said:

> I don't think I would take it as seriously. I think our bond helped. Helped me be more responsible because it's like I guess I didn't want to disappoint her in a way because like of our *bond* so it helped me, like it pushed me a little.

Charity at Nutrition Rocks, a program where youth plan a summer camp, also described how trusting the AL motivated her by saying "it makes me work harder so that I will know that Miss Pamela wouldn't be mad, and she'll be happy." Participants worked harder on project tasks so as not to disappoint the adult leader they trusted yet also described how work felt easier because they had such trust.

Generally, youth felt that trusting the AL made project tasks easier and made them feel more capable. When asked how his trust in the adult leaders helped his work or learning, Brice at Reel Makers said, "I feel like I can do this, I feel like I can accomplish something." To some extent project tasks felt easier because youth believed the AL understood their capabilities and accepted them even if they made mistakes. Jaimin, another youth at Reel Makers, felt trusting the adult leader helped him because: "If I need help with something it's like Tyler will know if I can do it or if I can't so he wouldn't put something on me that I couldn't do like have me stressed out and him like aggravated." Noah at Rising Leaders, a program where youth organized various activities, felt "being able to trust the leaders in it, you're just-you're able to-I guess you're able to work towards what you wanna do [easier] because you're not constantly wondering what's gonna happen like if you mess up or something." Overall, the presence of trust made youth more motivated in the program.

Some said that trust in the AL made them motivated to attend the program. In fact, a few youth suggested they would not be motivated to continue the program if they had not formed trust in the AL. For example, Lorena said, "If I didn't trust [Lora] I think I wouldn't like coming to [High Definition] and I would've never joined it again if I didn't trust her and I probably be out in the streets doing stuff." Prashant, a senior at Emerson Drama Club, explained: "I would say my experiences would have ended somewhere in or at the end of sophomore [year] actually if I didn't trust her. That would have been a deal breaker for me." For other youth, however, the absence of the trust they had would not be a "deal breaker" for attendance but an experience changer. As Reina at Youth in Action, a culture-oriented arts program, pointed out: "if the students are cool and they're like, they talk to me, I would come. 'Cause even though the staff is like 'eh,' I just would say hi to the staff and just like let them be." While youth differed in whether or not they would be motivated to attend the program, trust in the AL clearly increased motivation and perseverance within project tasks.

Trust increased confidence in AL's guidance and help with program activities. Nineteen youth described how trust in the AL made them more confident in the AL's guidance and help. They were more likely to listen to the AL, ask for help, and implement advice given. Youth reported that trust made them more likely to listen to and believe the leaders, something that had a clear implication on how much or how quickly they learned. Santiago at Urban Farmers said forming trust helped him because: "now I don't question when she's showing us how to do something specifically. I know she's right. I don't need to ask her if it's wrong or right, because I know she's more experienced." Riley at Rising Leaders described how a lack of trust could undermine learning:

> If you don't trust somebody you're not really gonna listen to them sometimes. I mean sometimes you have to listen to them and you know it's right, but you're less likely to, "Oh, what did you say?" Like miss out on something just because you're not completely focused in on that mistrustful person.

Youth felt they were gaining knowledge because they trusted the AL and in turn listened more carefully and had greater faith in the ALs' expertise.

Trust in the AL also made youth recognize help was available and allowed them to be more comfortable asking for the AL's help. Airelyn at Unified Youth, a leadership program, explained that trusting the AL helped because "I feel confident because I know if I do something wrong I can trust on them, be able to tell them 'could you help me now I did wrong' and stuff like that." Similarly, Vivien at Nutrition Rocks explained that her trust in the adult leaders "helped me know that if there is ever a problem, I could go talk to them about it and they'll handle it" and that if she did not trust the AL, "I would feel like if something happened I couldn't go to anybody and tell them what happened." By having someone they felt they could ask for help, it is likely that the youth were able to learn more from their work.

Additionally, trusting the AL and the confidence that developed from that trust had a positive impact on the final product of the project. Xavier at High Definition described how this trust helped them make a better film: "if we didn't trust him, we probably wouldn't have taken his advice. So, then if we didn't take his advice, we probably still would've done it our way, but it wouldn't have come out as good as it did." Frankie at Emerson Drama Club felt particularly strongly about the role trust played in producing quality productions:

> I would probably not always listen to what she has to say. And with one of the shows that we did last year she had a very interesting interpretation of how we were going to do a show. And if I hadn't trusted her in that show with the part that I had in that show, I would've done a horrible job. And if the other people in the show hadn't trust her it would have been a disaster.

The increased confidence youth had in the AL impacted both their learning and the quality of the products they created.

        Trust provided a resource to rely on for issues external to the program. Twenty youth described how trust in the AL gave them a resource they knew they could always rely on for issues external to the program. Youth's trust in the AL meant they were comfortable asking an adult leader for a letter of recommendation for work or college. Many youth appreciated being able to vent to the AL. Jamie at Urban Farmers described it as "just having someone to talk to if I'm upset." Adriana said that trusting the adult leaders helped because "I know that if I'm having trouble with anything they'll help me. Cuz I know there are some teachers that aren't really open with students and they [the ALs at Youth in Action] are…they are really cool about stuff." In these instances, the AL served more as a sounding board (Rhodes, 2002).

        At times the adult leader became a source of helpful advice on ways to navigate life issues. For example, Katie at Rising Leaders explained "because I have trust with him, because I can talk to him he gives me advice, it helps me deal with problems and stuff that I have and you know, he tells me stuff and makes things better and stuff like that." Aurelia at The Station, a program where youth planned concerts, said the AL she trusted most:

> helped me be more social, because when I had talked to her about how I always keep everything in, and I never really express my feelings, she tells me to express them more, and I always find a right time to talk to people when I'm feeling sad or whatever I'm feeling, and she tells me to express my feelings more and I think I've done that. Because I think about her and I think about all of the advice she gives me.

A couple of times the AL went beyond advising to being an advocate for a youth. For example, William talked to the AL at Emerson Drama Club (a school-based program) about someone who was bullying him and the AL talked to the person and the principal, which ultimately stopped the situation. Therefore, trusting the AL helped youth because they had a resource.

        Trust positively impacted youth's attitudes and skills regarding relationships. Eleven youth described how trust positively impacted their attitudes and skills regarding relationships. Youth described being more optimistic about others, especially other adults. Enrique at High Definition stated that trusting the adult leader helped because of "knowing that you can trust older people…because you can trust Lora." Youth at school-based youth programs mentioned it helping them think more highly of teachers. Jordan, who attended Emerson Drama Club, said trust in the AL:

> showed that there are good teachers and good people out there. Because sometimes you just feel like all the teachers are the same, they don't care. But I think she, I think it taught me that there

are people that are out there looking for your best interests at heart. And I think she's one of those people.

The experience of forming trust with the AL made these youth have a more optimistic view of others and also helped them better understand how to build new relationships or navigate pre-existing relationships. Ryan at Nutrition Rocks explained that trusting the AL helped him because: "it teaches me that I can be more trust open to people 'cause normally I'm just a conserved, sheltered type of guy, but I can let my guard down for a little bit and let someone help me for once in a while." Youth described how trust in the AL taught them: "how to open up to people more," "how to get close to people," and "don't judge nobody because you don't know that person."

Additionally, a couple of youth described how trust in the AL improved pre-existing relationships with friends or parents. Aerris at Urban Farmers described how trust in the AL helped her open up to and trust a couple of her close friends more: "Probably took me a month to start talking to Melissa [the AL], and after that month a couple weeks later I just began to trust them [her friends] because we've been friends for a while." Alexis at Rising Leaders felt trusting the AL helped her work hard to have a positive relationship with her parents. For these youth, forming a trusting relationship with the AL may have actually led to greater developmental benefits within their pre-existing relationships.

Trust improved program climate, cohesiveness, and integration. Six youth described how trust improved the program, including its climate, how cohesive the program was, and youth's ability to integrate themselves into the group. Youth speculated that the feeling of the program would be different if they did not trust the AL such as the program may have more tension or the program might be less upbeat and fun. Youth also described how the group cohesiveness would suffer if they did not have trust in the AL. Youth discussed how trusting the AL allowed them to feel part of a group. Katie felt that if she did not have trust in the AL, Rising Leaders would not feel like a family. She would not work the same way with other youth "'cause he's like the one in charge and knowing that I didn't have a relationship with him, it just wouldn't feel right."

At times, trust in the AL improved youth's ability to communicate with other program participants which, in turn, helped them feel part of the group. Alexis stated: "if it wasn't for him [the AL] easing me up a little bit, you know, I would probably be a hard-shelled, kind of communication with others." A couple of youth described how having trust in the AL brought them out of their shell, which spurred their interactions with peers. Roberto felt that if he had not formed trust in the AL, "I would probably still be shy and all types of stuff like that, not really interacting with people and stuff."

Clearly, trust in the AL mediated many benefits for youth. However, youth did not start the program with the high degree of trust in the AL that led to such benefits. How did such trust begin and grow?

The Bases for Youth's Initial Impression and Trust Level

When youth first entered the program, they formed an initial impression of the AL and a certain level of trust in the AL. Generally, this was a temporary impression and tended to be a low level of trust (if at all). In fact, 19 out of 31 trajectories from the Year Two sample indicated that youth initially had no trust in the AL ($n = 10$) or low trust in the AL ($n = 9$), with the rest reporting initially having a medium level of trust (see Figure 12). This section of the chapter describes youth's initial impression of the AL and what they based their level of trust on in the beginning of participating in the program.

Figure 12
Initial Level of Youth's Trust Examples
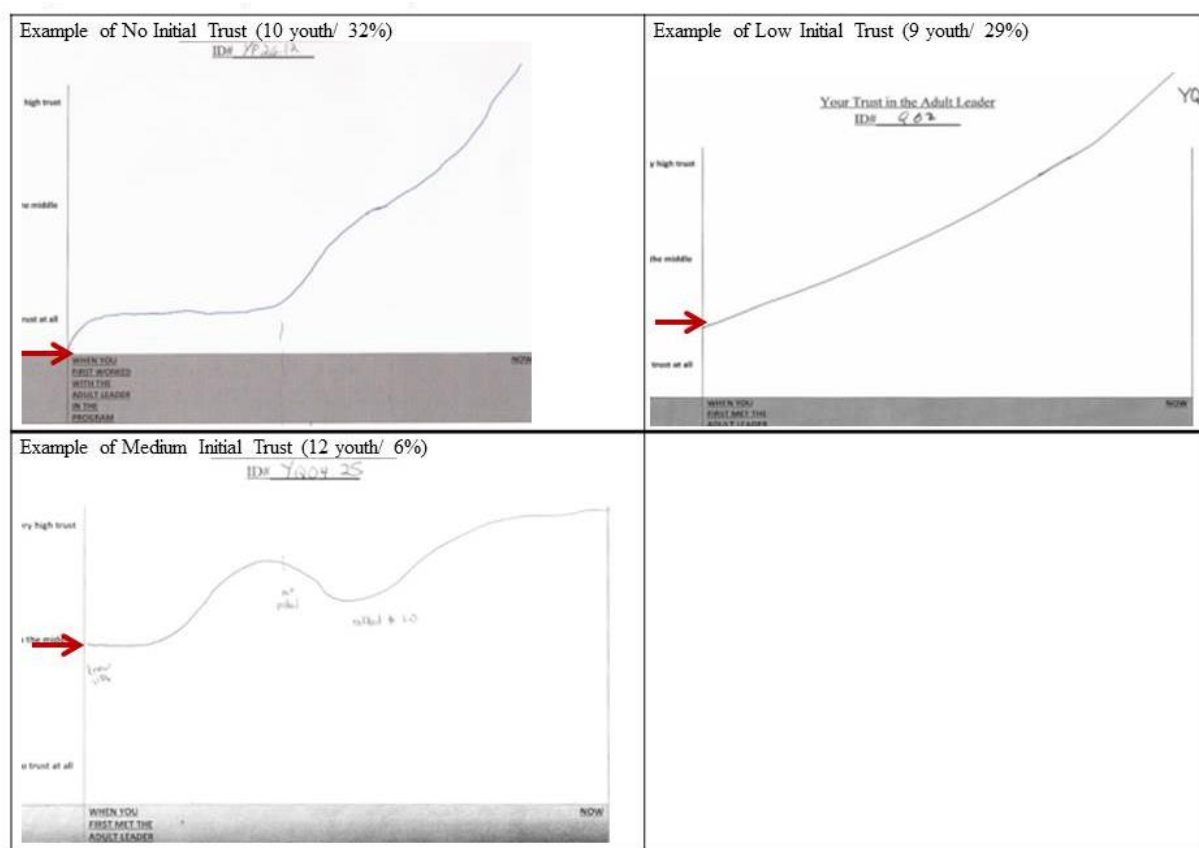
Youth's initial level of trust and/or first impression was a concept that first arose from Year One data analysis. Some youth in the Year One sample vividly recalled an impression they had of the leader when they first met them. Others discussed how their trust in the AL was lower in the beginning. These comments from Year One led to a focused code called "Initial Impression and Trust." Theoretical sampling was employed by creating a new iteration of questions for youth interviewed in Year Two to explore this concept further, as shown in Appendix B (Birks & Mills, 2011, p.69). Youth in the Year

Two prospective sample were asked at Time Point One about their first impressions of the adult leader and to what extent the AL seemed liked someone they could trust. Additionally, youth in the Year Two sample alluded to their initial impressions and level of trust in the AL when referring to the chart they drew at Time Point Two. Data from these two sources were coded for "Initial Impression and Trust." After a few iterations of analysis, I developed a group of sub-codes that included "initial previous knowledge- context," "initial previous knowledge- family," "initial- don't know," "initial- feel," and "initial- events." An additional category emerged in a later round of analysis called "initial-trusting nature."

The following section will describe what youth based their first impressions and initial level of trust: (1) the presence or absence of previous knowledge about the AL, (2) their gut feelings about the AL, (3) early events that occurred towards the beginning of their participation in the program, and (4) whether or not they were generally a trusting person.

Previous knowledge. Previous knowledge of the AL was an important initial basis for trust. Youth based their initial impression and level of trust on whether they did or did not have any previous knowledge about the AL. When they did have previous knowledge, it could be direct or indirect knowledge.

A few youth based their initial impression or trust on knowing the AL from interacting with or seeing them in previous contexts, like the same church, school, or a previous youth program. Carly, a youth at Nutrition Rocks, described her trust in the adult leader originating before participating in the program. She explained that Miss Nancy was "in charge of watching me at church so that got me to know her and I obviously respected her from that because that's when I was really little. And then we just grew more of a trusting bond over time." Previous knowledge was particularly relevant to youth at school-based youth programs who may have seen the adult in the hallway or taken a class with them before starting the program. For example, Riley said the line on his chart started in between "no trust" and "in the middle" because the AL at Rising Leaders worked at the school and, as a result, he "thought, 'well, maybe he could be pretty trusting.'…So it's a little bit of trust just because of the respect factor, but not like enough to be like, 'Oh, hey what's up' in the hallway or anything." Amanda, a youth at a different school-based youth program explained how observing the adult leader in the context of school was what she based her initial trust on:

> I feel like because I've seen her in the [subject] department and I know I can trust her because other people trust her. Because I know some people who trust her quite a bit, and talk to her quite a bit. And I don't talk to her quite enough. So I don't know her quite as well. So they know her better than I do, I feel that I could trust her.

However, knowing the adult leader from a previous context did not automatically mean youth had trust in the AL when starting the program. Frankie, a youth at the same youth program, recalled how his interaction with the AL prior to starting the youth program in the context of school led to a negative view of this adult:

> When I met [the AL] I just didn't really know how to, what to think of her…'Cause I thought she was just mean, and I thought she was just one of those mean teachers. So no I don't really think that I would've thought that I could trust [the AL] back when I met her.

Therefore, youth often based their initial trust level in the AL at the start of the program on whether there was previous knowledge from earlier contexts in which they knew or interacted with the AL.

Some youth had second-hand knowledge about the AL from family members. This previous knowledge from family members made youth see the adult leader in a positive light. Within the sample many youth who reported having family members that told them about the AL were located in towns rather than large cities. Liliana, a young lady at Unified Youth, said "my grandma was the one who introduced us really. And so I figured if they're friends, he's probably a good friend for me, too. So I guess that's what started it off." Farid at Emerson Drama Club explained how his older siblings had worked with the AL previously: "So I already kind of knew her and they've told me to trust her and stuff like that. So I already kind of trusted her, I just didn't know her very well." Family members provided a seal of approval. Previous knowledge--first-hand from a context or second-hand from a relative-- became a basis for these youth's initial level of trust.

Indeed, youth *without* previous knowledge sometimes reported that they were more hesitant about initially trusting the AL. (Aside: Later in this chapter it will be discussed how this changed over time.) Aurelia described only seeing the ALs at The Station in their official role at first because she did not know them:

> At first I didn't come that often and I just met them, and I'm like, "Oh yeah, he's a manager: Cliff. And that's Danielle, the social worker." And I didn't really take importance in them, you know because I didn't really know them.

Payton at Reel Makers felt he could somewhat rely on the adult leaders, but only in terms of project tasks. He reported that he could rely on the ALs because they were skilled in filmmaking and helped the youth out with this. However, when asked if he could rely on them for other things *outside* of the project tasks he wavered: "I don't know. I don't know them that well yet. But so far I like them." Minimal knowledge about the adult leader could create positive impressions, but it also could create a sense of uncertainty about whether the leader was someone they could have a high level of trust in. Analysis identified three other bases for youth's initial trust, gut feelings, early events in the program, and the youth's personality.

Gut feelings. Some youth based their initial impression on their gut feelings about the leader including the AL's appearance or simply how they felt around them. As Bria at Urban Farmers put it, "From the beginning, I trusted her face....She has a pretty cool face." (She went on to explain how her trust grew from there over time). Adriana, a youth at Youth in Action said "I met Mr. Ochoa this year and I don't know-- he seems like as soon as you look at him, he just looks so friendly" whereas another youth, Pasqual said, "At first Mr. Ochoa looked mean, and I was like, 'Oh, he's going to be screaming at me.'" Note that these two youth are describing the same adult leader! A few youth based their initial impression or level of trust on emotions. Samantha at Emerson Drama Club explained why she thought the adult leader seemed like someone she could trust: "she just has this atmosphere [laughs] of trust. I mean like you go next to her and just, 'that's like somebody I can trust.'" Roberto at Urban Farmers thought that the AL seemed like someone he could trust because he "just instantly felt comfortable with her." Evelyn at Nutrition Rocks described this atmosphere as a vibe: "Miss Nancy, I just, we just clicked. I liked the vibe off of her and she's just a very kind person." Youth who based initial trust on feelings did not always feel like Evelyn who "just clicked" with the AL. For example, Alexis said the AL seemed "creepy" and that "when I first met him, I didn't think of him as someone I could trust. I thought him more like a jokester. But that was, of course, you have to get to know the person." These gut feelings were something that youth could base their level of trust on when they started participating in the program, but other youth based their initial impression and level of trust on something a bit more substantial--events that occurred early on in the program.

Early events. When there was no previous knowledge, some youth assessed early events as the initial basis for their impression or trust in the AL. These were occurrences the youth referenced that were toward the beginning of participation in the program and that provided evidence for the youth that they could trust the leaders. For example, Michael at High Definition explained why he felt that he could definitely rely on Lora, the AL. He referenced an early event:

> From my first few impressions of her, she seems overall like an understanding person. For example, my first day being absent, I couldn't come because I had a lot of homework and afterwards, I had to get help out in school. And she called the next day to check in and make sure everything's okay. And I explained to her, and she's like, "Oh, okay, will you be here tomorrow?" Like that.

Sofia at Unified Youth also described an early event that made her have a good initial impression of the adult leaders, Bill and Juanita: "I remember the first time I came I didn't know what to expect, but they seemed really welcoming and they wanted to find out what type of person I was and try to incorporate that into their group." Similarly, Delfina described how her experience at Reel Makers the first day gave her a clue that she could trust the adult leaders because they put a paper on the wall and

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asked the youth to determine the rules of the program. Delfina stated that "we, everybody had an idea for it. Everybody spoke for their own rule. And it wasn't like they were like, 'oh you can't do this, you can't do that.' They made us decide what we wanted to do." The interviewer followed up by asking Delfina whether she had ever experienced a time when adults included youth in this way, and she said no. This may be why this early event was so significant to her. Santiago at Urban Farmers told the interviewer that the AL, Melissa, "right away said you can trust me."

Early events included group activities like icebreakers and determining rules as well as one-on-one moments between the AL and the youth. All were something that occurred toward the beginning of participating in the program and cited as significant to the youth's level of trust or impression at first. Some youth saw early events as important indications of an adult leader's trustworthiness and, therefore, a basis for their initial impression and level of trust.

Trusting nature. A fourth category that emerged at a later stage of analysis was youth's general level of trust in people. A small number of youth said their initial basis of trust was based on whether or not the youth saw themselves as generally a trusting or open person. They tied this to their own personality, philosophy, or upbringing. Ethan at Rising Leaders explained that his chart began around a medium level of trust "because I'm a very trusting person." One youth discussed how his grandmother said he should have respect for adults, and this respect sprouted some degree of initial trust.

Amanda at Emerson Drama Club described the chart she drew by saying: "It starts in the middle because in my household you're innocent until proven guilty. In my case it's, 'You're trustworthy until I find out that you're really not trustworthy.'" She said she initially thought the AL was "intimidating," but her trust began at the medium level of trust because of the youth's personality. She explained:

I try to trust most of my teachers and most of them will start in the middle. If I really don't trust

them it will just drop down. But most of the teachers I try and give the benefit of the doubt.

Even if a youth was generally a trusting person, their trust still could grow over time.

Regardless of how youth determined their initial impression and trust-- on previous knowledge, early events, gut feelings, or a trusting demeanor-- they all were discussing a temporary state. Even if youth did trust the AL at this stage, it was low or medium trust that evolved from this initial stage and level. This beginning point is important but says little about the substantive processes involved in trust formation and growth. The next section of the chapter will describe the actual processes that move youth beyond this temporary state.

The Processes that Grow Trust

Upon stating which leader they trusted most, interviewees were asked a variation of: "When you first met this leader you probably didn't know or trust them like you do now. What happened that made you trust them?" This question and various probes around it encouraged youth to discuss in detail how

their trust increased in the adult leaders. 67 of the 70 youth who were asked these set of questions reported forming trust in the AL in the program. (Two youth reported having little or no trust in the AL and one youth discussed processes that fostered high trust in the AL that occurred before beginning the program.)

Grounded theory analysis of data from these 67 youth identified three catalysts that ignited trust-forming interactions. Processes that formed trust were concepts that first arose in data analysis as formation of trust codes ("form trust"). The "form trust" code captured issues that led to youth forming trust. Initially, these codes included "form trust program," "form trust beyond program," and "form trust observation & knowledge." After a number of iterations of data analysis and memoing, I redefined the formation of trust codes to be "form trust project tasks," "form trust connection," and "form trust observation." I also identified "time" as a "contributing factor" to trust formation processes early on in data analysis. Different youth mentioned "time" in terms of the pace of their trust growth, the length of the time they knew the AL, or that the AL "always" did something. Ultimately, I conceptualized time as the length of time youth knew the AL, the frequency of interactions, the pace of trust growth, and the slope/trajectory of chart data.

I categorized the "form trust" codes as being "catalysts" because each represented issues that produced trust-forming processes. Through constant comparison of excerpts of data under each code, I developed sub-codes that captured the dimensions of each catalyst. "Time," however, never appeared to be a separate catalyst for trust-forming processes, rather it was the medium in which these processes occurred. Data excerpts coded as time were often double-coded as one of the three catalysts. I continued to identify "time" as a significant code in my memos and subsequent analyses. In addition, during Year Two I coded the slope of the charts as "time" as well. After multiple iterations of analysis it was clear that for the great majority of youth, time was a medium for trust to gradually grow and a medium in which youth could change their initial impression of the AL.

What follows is a breakdown and additional information regarding the three catalysts and the role of time. A description of each catalyst will be given, the dimensions of each catalyst will be outlined, and the trust-forming interactions that followed the catalyst will be described through the use of examples from the data. I will then describe the important role that time played in the trust formation process.

Catalyst one: Moments when youth felt a connection with the AL (that fostered trust). The first catalyst consisted of moments when the youth felt a connection with the adult leader, particularly in terms of the youth's life in other domains or the youth being a unique individual. Youth described feeling a connection with the adult leader as something that sparked the formation of trust. Feeling a connection occurred in four ways: (a) sharing interests or experiences; (b) receiving help from the adult leader for issues beyond the program; (c) benefiting from the adult leader's empathy; and (d) having the adult leader

clearly communicate they cared about the youth and the youth's presence in the program. One or more of these aspects of Catalyst One formed trust for these youth.

First, some youth formed trust as the adult leader *connected with them through sharing or exchanging interests or experiences*. At times this trust began to form because the youth and adult leader discussed a shared interest or when the adult leader tried to learn about the youth's interest. For example, Lorena described her interactions with Lora at High Definition by saying:

> I don't know, for me, there's something about her I can really trust and like I go to her and talk to her…I guess it started when like we started talking about art 'cause I'm really interested in art and she is too. And I guess like that's when we started talking about like every day and like everyday life I guess.

Another youth, Rosana, said Lora tried to relate to the program participants when she googled and starting listening to the music of a band the youth liked. Sharing interests made youth feel connected to the AL.

In addition to sharing interests, youth also reported the importance that sharing and exchanging experiences played in fostering trust. For example, Ethan at Rising Leaders explained: "I knew I could trust her when she started concerning herself with me more. Like asking me more about myself and just getting to know me is when I got to know her, and started to trust her more." Akeem at Nutrition Rocks also implied this when the interviewer asked how he knew the AL was someone he could trust, count on, and care about:

> 'Cause I would tell her some stuff that was real personal and she talked to me and helped me and helped me go through it. And she would tell me stuff too….About why she was gone [the adult leader had lost a relative]. And she would tell me a story about when she was little and all that. And I would tell her about my grandma and all that. And like you tell some people about your dead relatives and they wouldn't care, they would just sit there and listen and change on the subject. But Miss Pamela, she ain't like that, she's a whole different person.

The young man continued to allude to a connection with the AL when saying, "She understands me. I think before she even talked to me, she knew what kind of person I was like." Both Ethan and Akeem describe a process in which the youth shared an experience with the AL and the AL shared an experience with them. This exchange of experiences sealed a connection for these youth.

Secondly, trust sprouted through *a connection in which the adult leader provided or offered to provide instrumental help to the youth*. Youth describing this connection mentioned various domains including how the AL provided or offered instrumental help for their family, succeeding in school, or in making plans for their future. Santiago at Urban Farmers described how the AL offered to provide instrumental help on his future:

> Interviewer: What happened that made you trust her more? Is there any specific events or situations that increased your trust?
>
> Santiago: Hmmm…just being able to help me like 'cause she told me if I needed any help like [on a] resume or anything, she can help me out with that. Like finding a job, whatever.
>
> Interviewer: Was it something that you initiated to talk to her about? Or was it something that she--
>
> Santiago: Not really, like they just ask me, "do you need any help with something?" 'Cause college, there's it, 'cause I haven't talked to them about college and then they're worried about that so now they're asking, "What am I thinking? Do I want to work or something or do I want to go to college?" They're asking, "can we help you with anything?" So that.

Many youth mentioned something the AL did for them to help, but Santiago just appreciated the AL simply inquiring about his future and offering assistance. The AL formed a connection with him that was critical to his formation of trust.

A third dimension of Catalyst One was *a connection that formed when the youth benefited from the AL's empathy*. Although the programs were focused on project tasks, there were times when youth came to the program feeling sick, dealing with something happening at school, or upset about a situation going on at home. Youth recalled ALs' empathy at such times as significant to trust formation. Rosana at High Definition described how:

> One day I was like really sad 'cause something happened at school and I came in here really sad, and I tried not to show it but she saw it. And she sent me a text message saying, "Are you ok?" And I thought that was like the sweetest thing ever. So then, yeh, like we just, I feel like we had a bond and stuff so yeh, I trust her.

Many youth described how the leader helped them get through a situation by listening or saying kind words. Jamie at Urban Farmers described such a moment as key to a point in which her trust in the adult leader increased dramatically. She talked to the adult leader, Melissa, about her sick cousin who had been in and out of the hospital and remembered how:

> [Melissa] told me, "it's gonna be ok, he's gonna get better." And I would tell her how he loves going to church, you know, he go to church every Sunday, he cry when he can't go to church. And she was just sayin that shows, you know, God's on his side, and he's gonna get through it. I was like, "Thank you, I needed that."

Jordan at Emerson Drama Club described the first time she formed a connection around the AL's empathy. She attended a school-based program and confided in the AL during the school day.

My mom had made me cry for some reason and I was crying and then I left during the final. And then I came up to her room and talked to her. And she was just like, "Do you want some chocolate?" [Laughs]. It was just, I think that's kinda what shot it up.

Jordan discussed how from that point on she continued to confide in the AL because "I needed somebody just to talk to me and tell me everything was gonna be ok. And just give me hugs. I think that's why [that made me trust her more]." Being empathetic when the youth had a problem formed an important connection that fostered trust.

Finally, *a connection arose at moments when the adult leader clearly communicated how much they cared about the youth as well as the youth being at the program*. Youth stated that the AL "showed they cared." The youth described adult leaders saying they'd be there to help with "everything we need," "anything we need," and "if I need anything." Adult leaders communicated that they valued youth's presence in the program. They noticed when youth didn't show up to the program and encouraged them to come again. Youth formed trust in the adult leader because of moments when they communicated that they wanted them to be there. Reina described growing more trust in the adult leader because Mr. Ochoa clearly wanted her, specifically, to be at Youth in Action:

Interviewer: Was there any other event or situation or anything else that he said that made you trust him or that trust grow?

Reina: Well he would always say, "Hi!" or "Hi Reina" or like, "Why didn't you come last week?" or "Blah blah blah." He would like always notice when I wasn't there. And he would like always like be like, "Oh, how are you today?" or "How was school?"

Others echoed this acknowledgement of the youth's contribution as well as the inquiry about how the youth was doing as moments that helped facilitate trust growth. For example, Delfina explained that she trusted the adult leaders because "they always ask me if I'm ok. And like if I miss a day or if I miss a day and I don't call, they call me and they're like, 'oh, are you going to be able to come?'" Youth recognized that the adult leaders were connecting with them through these actions and, consequently, increased their level of trust in these adult leaders.

Catalyst One suggests there were a variety of ways youth could connect with an adult leader and when youth felt that connection, trust-forming interactions followed. Perhaps one could argue that sharing an experience, receiving help, benefiting from an empathetic adult, or hearing sincere concern formed connections with adult leaders that made youth feel as if their unique experiences and lives mattered. Catalyst One is the more typical and expected understanding of how trust might form in a relationship between a youth and non-familial adult. However, this was not how trust formed for half of the current study's sample. There were two other catalysts described, one of which was closely tied to the nature of project-based programming.

Catalyst two: Project tasks that provided opportunities for trust growth. The second catalyst consisted of project tasks that provided opportunities for forming trust. Youth described experiencing trust-forming interactions with adult leaders that were associated with their project tasks. Occasionally the structure and nature of a task or activity fostered trust in the AL. At times project tasks or activities were structured in such a way that led to Catalyst One. For example, two youth in Rising Leaders both mentioned how a team building retreat helped them form trust in the ALs because the event required that the youth and leaders share their experiences. Most frequently, however, project tasks created two opportunities for forming trust: (a) times during the project when youth felt adult leaders had confidence in their abilities and skills and (b) times during the project when youth valued critical support from the adult leaders in the form of assistance, advice, or feedback. These two opportunities served as a context for trust to form.

First, project tasks created trust-forming *opportunities at the times in which the adult leaders demonstrated confidence in the youth's abilities and skills*. The adult leaders' confidence made the youth feel confidence in the AL and/or made them feel good about themselves. The adult leaders demonstrated confidence through their encouraging words, behavior, or commentary. Receiving encouragement regarding one's abilities made youth feel confident about themselves and, consequently, formed trust. Liliana at Unified Youth said what led to her trusting the adult leader, Bill, more was that: "He's so proud of me, and it just helps so much to hear that. It's really nice to hear that from someone…that's not your family… it's got a nice meaning to it when it's not someone in your family."

Some youth recognized an adult leader's confidence by the fact that s/he entrusted in them certain tasks. Since the adult leader showed faith in their abilities or input, the youth, in turn, had faith in the adult leader. For example, Gabriel at The Station described his development of trust being related to "I guess that fact that [Cliff] trusted me right off the bat. He has kind of entrusted me with a lot of these positions that he hasn't given other new [participants] quite so quick." When youth felt the AL trusted them with a task, their trust in the AL increased. For example, Ethan explained how his trust increased when the AL at Rising Leaders assigned him a specific role in the program that matched his interests:

> Umm, just the fact that he trusted me to be the quote unquote historian. That he supported that I want to do this so getting some experience in. I want to do photography, and video and graphics for a living and that he recognized that and is letting me do that. So that's when I really started trusting him.

Project tasks provided opportunities for youth to value the confidence in their abilities that adult leaders demonstrated and, in turn, for trust to grow. Project tasks also created another opportunity for trust development.

The second opportunity that project tasks created for fostering trust occurred when challenges arose. As with any project, there were moments when tasks became challenging. Youth reported *trust increasing after they received critical support from the adult leaders in these moments in the form of significant assistance, useful advice, or nonjudgmental feedback*. Adult leaders would take a peer's place to assist a youth when their partner did not show up to the program to complete a task or be someone the youth could lean on if a task became too hard for them to do.

ALs gave constructive feedback that allowed youth to see that the AL had high expectations for their work, expected changes to improve their project, and cared about their work. Payton described how the suggestions that the AL at Reel Makers gave helped him recognize that Tyler "cares about the final product of my video" and that "he's actually trying to teach me how to do something." When asked how this creates trust the young man said, "It just does. I don't really know how. It shows me that he actually cares about what I'm doing." Similarly, Preston's trust increased because the AL at High Definition showed interest in giving feedback for his work. He stated:

> He always showed interest in our video and when we were finished he, he wanted to see it. He's all like, "Can I see it first before you put it out so you know I'll give you feedback" so just that kind of like made me think like, "Man he really cares about teams and our video" and so that's how I gained trust for him.

Some youth mentioned that they appreciated that the AL was honest when giving constructive feedback. For example, Prashant at Emerson Drama Club said "when she [the AL] gives honest assessments especially at the stuff I'm not good at or not as good, those are when I trust her most." And Adalyn said "I know that she's not going to blatantly lie to me."

Youth not only appreciated the type of critical support the adult leaders provided but also the manner in which the ALs provided it. The adult leaders gave advice by not putting down the youth's ideas, being patient, and talking calmly. For example, Xavier explained his growth of trust being related to how the AL would give the youth at High Definition advice:

> When he would give us advice, like maybe if we wanted to do something, he wouldn't necessarily put our ideas down like he be like, "No you can't do that." But [instead] he would try and like he would lead us in a different way so that we could see it from maybe a different way. And then we could make our own decision on whether we still wanted to do our thing or if we wanted to take the advice that he was giving us.

Support and the manner in which that support was given within project tasks was important to youth.

Catalyst Two suggests that being in a voluntary project-based youth program can set the stage for trust forming in adults. It is likely that when young people are working on challenging tasks they enjoy, it is beneficial to be acknowledged for their capabilities and receive extra support when they go astray;

especially by those who are experienced in the task at hand. Project tasks presented opportunities to receive acknowledgment and feedback in manners that made their relationship with the AL stronger. In turn, these youth pointed to these as significant reasons for their growth in trust. Both Catalyst One and Catalyst Two were related to interactions youth had with the adult leader. Less frequently mentioned was trust ignited by a catalyst that had little to do with the youth's personal interactions with the ALs.

Catalyst three: Observations of the adult leaders that suggests s/he is trustworthy. The third catalyst was youth's observations of the adult leader, rather than how the adult leader interacted with them. Youth observed (a) how the adult leader interacted with those outside of the program, (b) the AL's connection with program participants, and (c) how the AL carried themselves as a leader and as a person.

Youth's *observations of the adult leaders' interactions with those outside of the program* could lead to trust growth. Youth specifically noted how leaders interacted with the community and their family members. Javier at Unified Youth said, "I would see how he would help so many people in our community and I was like, 'Those people trust him so he must be a good man.'" Sophia at The Station felt that one of the things that increased her trust was "she started talking to my mom too and if my mom likes her that is a really good thing."

Youth also *observed the type of connection that other program participants had with the adult leader.* Airelyn at Unified Youth explained:

> I noticed the president having a lot of trust in them so I would find it interesting that she trusted them a lot and I wanted to take the risk of getting to know them and see if I could trust them as much as she could so getting to meet them getting to know them a little bit more was what made me know I could trust them.

Alexis from Rising Leaders recalled observing the AL with another participant who did not have a father. She said, **"**I think this is the most touching thing I have ever heard within our group, he told her 'you'll always have a father as long as I'm around.'" Roberto at Urban Farmers said his trust increased because "other people trust her and stuff like that. Like they give her money and stuff and she never took it or nothing like that. That never happened." Therefore, observing connections with other program participants could show how the AL might be someone that they could trust.

Finally, youth *observed how the AL carried himself or herself as a leader and as a person.* In terms of leadership style Jesus said:

> I trust her more now that I see how she could be, how strict, how helpful, pretty much orderly and I've seen more than that in this program than I've seen before. I mean I've always been coming here but this is the first time I've ever had to actually pay attention to her.

Although Jesus knew Lora from the larger organization (which served youth of all ages), his trust increased only because he observed the adult leader's management style when he began participating in

the High Definition program that she led.

Interestingly, William stated that observations were most important when developing his trust in the AL who was the theater director at Emerson Drama Club. He said, "I got to know her when things were-when I had less time to talk to her." He explained how his trust increased by observing, "how she handles the good and the bad situations" rather than any specific interaction. He described when he got to know her:

> When she was busier, when she had 50 different kids trying to talk to her at once, it's a week before the show and all of these costumes just came in and they don't quite work and she has to coordinate the kids and get them to calm down and get everything working again. When-that's when I get to know her best I guess, see how she truly is.

Multiple youth at Emerson Drama Club said observations helped them trust the AL, particularly observing to note the outcome of situations and decisions made by the AL and how certain personal struggles she went through in the midst of serving as the AL indicated the type of person she was. When asked what happened to make him trust the AL, Farid said: "Just to be in plays and musicals with her. You get pretty close with everybody and you learn to trust how she does things 'cause it always ends up working at the end. Usually."

Some youth made general observations of the AL to deduce their character. Ethan at Rising Leaders pointed out that his trust was tied to "just his general attitude, just his personality, the way he presents himself and presents himself to others no matter the situation." Observations also helped youth see whether there was anything to discount an AL's trustworthiness. For example, Noah, at the same program, said regarding observing the AL: "There's nothing that he's said that made me think like, 'wait a second, should I trust this guy or is this a good guy?' It's always been like this, 'he sounds like a good guy.'" Adalyn at Emerson Drama Club stated that her trust formation was tied to the AL's character in terms of "just seeing all the hard things that she's gone through this year kind of says a lot that she's a really individually strong person."

Catalyst Three suggests that some youth are in the background watching and measuring the AL's trustworthiness. It appears that once they observe the right action, trust-forming processes are sparked. More than the other two catalysts, dimensions of Catalyst Three were often linked to the larger context such as the type of organization that housed the youth program. Although less frequently reported, it is still an important trust-forming ingredient.

All three catalysts were linked to the factor I discuss next-- time. Time was a medium for trust to grow for the moment of connection catalyst, the project task catalyst, and the observation catalyst.

Time: A medium for trust to grow. Most frequently, time was a medium for trust to grow gradually. Youth reported that time fostered important relationship processes that led to trust growth. It

allowed youth to get to know the AL, the AL to get to know them, or them to feel comfortable with the AL. Lorena at High Definition explained that "the more I talked to them and the more I got to know them and the more I opened up to them I guess the more trust I felt towards them." Ryan at Nutrition Rocks explained that his trust increased because "I got more comfortable around her. And I saw her more often."

It was as if trust growth was tied to an accumulation of trust forming processes triggered by the three catalysts. Connections with the adult leader that fostered trust, project tasks that provided opportunities for trust growth, and observations of the adult leader that made them seem like someone the youth could trust were frequently described as connected to time. For example, Aurelia at The Station alluded to time being a medium for Catalyst One based on the ALs' consistency across time, as indicated by her used of the word "always." She said she trusted the adult leader because:

> They're always there, whenever I feel like--I look sad or anything, they always come up to me, so I get that they care about me, so I just want to trust them and I know that it's always gonna stay between us, and they're not gonna go on telling other people.

In terms of Catalyst Two--project tasks, Valeria at Unified Youth said, "So as time goes by, the things you have to do in there, she helps out and she gives a lot of advice on how to make your work better." Time also mediated an accumulation of trust processes around Catalyst Three. Liliana said "when [the youth program] started I got to spend even more time with Bill and just got to see more of him, how he acted to people and how hard he worked." Time was an important medium because it allowed for the accumulation of trust-forming processes.

Charts collected in Year Two also suggested that, for most youth, trust gradually grew across time. Twenty-two of thirty-one charts (71%) collected showed youth had a steady growth in trust. This gradual growth started either at no, low, or medium trust and was at high (or higher) trust by the time of the interview. At times these trajectories were straight lines and at times they were more so bumpy. Visually, some of these appeared to be straight lines with slopes of one (e.g. the length of time increased by the same quantity as the level of trust increased). Regardless of the initial level of trust or the slope, all trajectories in this category grew gradually and steady. Two examples of this type of trajectory are shown in Figure 13.

Jamie at Urban Farmers (the first chart) explained, "As days passed, you know, I realized Melissa wasn't a mean person. I could trust her, I could talk to her…The more we talked, the more I was like, 'Oh I trust her, she's cool.'" Jamie described how "our conversations always made me trust her." The young lady pointed out:

Whenever I would have a problem, she would ask me what's wrong and I'm like, "Nothing," and she's like, "I know something's wrong, what's wrong Jamie?" and then I'd talk to her and she would give me her thoughts on what I should do.

Figure 13

Gradual Trust Growth Examples
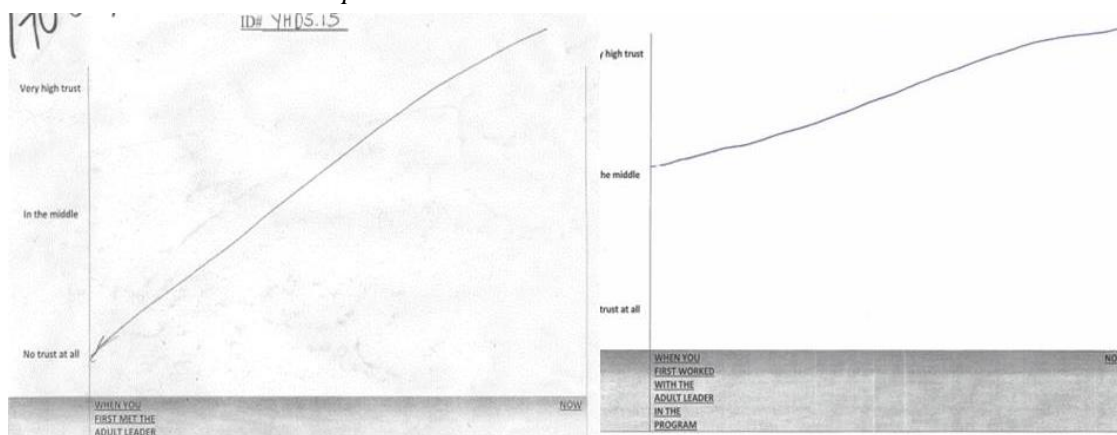
Along with her chart, Jamie used phrases like "whenever I would…," "always," and "as days passed" which indicate her trust in the AL gradually grew over time with the accumulation of trust-forming processes.

For the great majority of youth, time mediated trust formation gradually through an accumulation of trust-forming processes. However, there were two exceptions.

Exception one to gradual trust growth: Critical point/s that spur trust growth. Some youth had critical events that spurred trust growth at a faster pace at some point in their trust formation trajectory. These were events or moments that were turning points or times when youth's trust rose drastically. For most, there was one critical point, but for others it included more than one event or experience. Five charts (16%) showed this trajectory. One example of this category is Katie (see Figure 14) who began Rising Leaders not knowing the AL and, hence having no trust in him.

Figure 14

Example of Critical Point/s that Spur Trust Growth
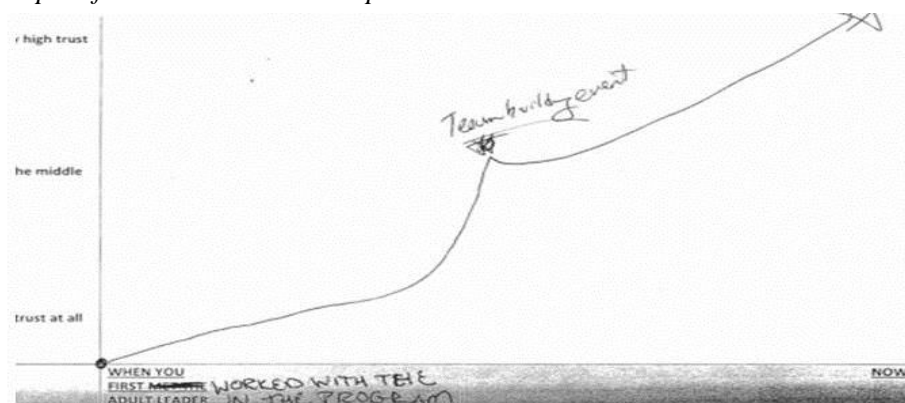
A team-building event in which participants engaged in triggered a sharp growth in this youth's trust. At the event staff shared their stories, including a story from the AL that was touching. This event made her feel like she could relate to others and the AL. She mentioned how this became the first of many times that she confided in the AL which increased trust:

> I opened up to him about stuff and then you know after that he'd always tell me like "I'm here for you. If you need to talk, you can come talk to me." And I think that just kinda led to it [my trust] going up.

She also stated, "after the teambuilding and I opened up to him, I think it just became so much easier to open up to him and talk and stuff." Hence, some youth reflected on specific situations that increased their trust at a fast pace (for example, one youth described how their trust grew because the AL consoled them after an argument with a parent; another youth described growing trust because the AL remembered their birthday even though no one in their family remembered).

Exception two to gradual trust growth: Dips along the way or trust growth stops. The second exception to gradual trust growth was when there were dips in trust across time. Four youth (13%) created trajectories that showed their trust decreased at some point/s or flattened out altogether across time. These dips could be tied to the program, but in one case it dealt with other issues the youth was facing. Adalyn at Emerson Drama Club (see Figure 15) described one of these trust formation trajectories.

Figure 15
Example of Dips Along the Way
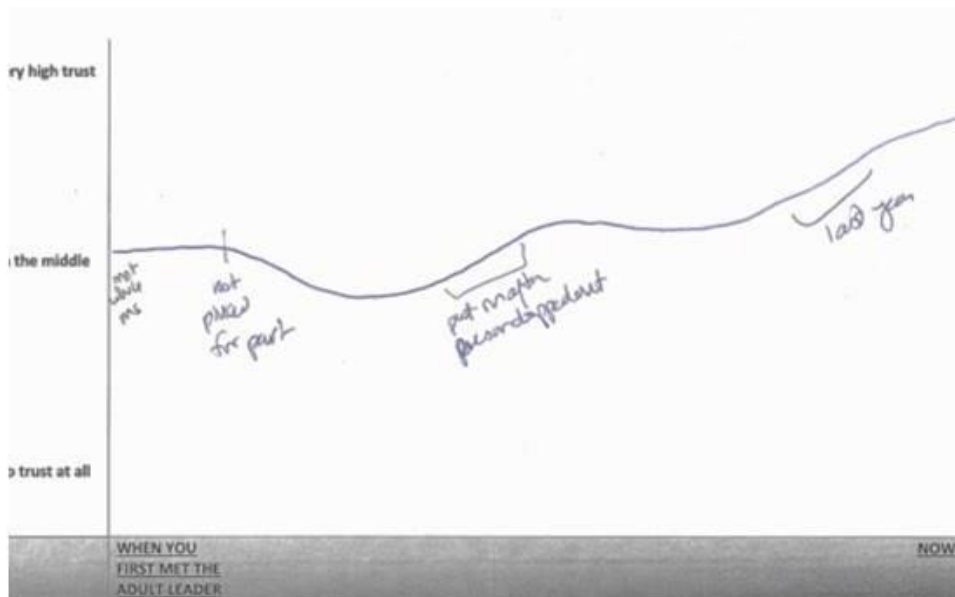
Adalyn's trust began in "in the middle" but then dipped when she did not get a part in a play that she felt she deserved. However, her trust again increased when the AL ended up choosing her, a sophomore rather than a senior, to play a particular character that needed to be filled. She stated: "I think that that decision and her just laying all this on me really showed that she trusted me. And so I had to give that back to her." Although there were such exceptions, time generally was a medium for a gradual increase in trust.

       Time as a medium to change initial impression. Regardless of the pace of trust formation, time spent in the program gave youth the opportunity to change their initial impression of the AL. For example, Aubrey at Urban Farmers pointed out that the adult leader "seemed mean at first. But then I just started talking to her more and more and she became…or she is a nice person." One youth at Emerson Drama Club reflected on this change by saying "it's kinda funny just thinking of how now this person, this adult figure that I have, that I look up to and respect a lot in my life; how the first time I met her she just totally blew me off." Time could give them a greater understanding of the AL which, in turn, made them evolve their impression. For example, Trevor saw that his initial impression of the AL as being intimidating did not capture whom the AL was. He said:

       I guess you could say as I get older and as I spend more time with her I kind of see that she's not so much intimidating as she is driven. And I learned that this year pretty much. That she has a drive and it can be scary, but it's not so much meant to be.

For the few youth who had a negative initial impression of the AL, time was very critical to the formation of trust. The frequency of seeing the AL and the amount of time they saw the AL was a medium for the trajectory of trust formation.

Conclusion

       Findings from the 67 youth in the sample who reported forming trust in the AL show that the formation of trust is a complex process that can have enormous benefits. I organized these findings into a model to illustrate the process of forming trust.

       A model from the youth's perspective. I integrated the prior findings into a model that summarizes the unfolding of trust development over time, shown in Figure 16. The model has time in the background because it is a medium for trust formation. Although slanted upward to indicate the increase in trust, the angle of this arrow (or pace of trust formation) can vary and the overall trajectory of trust growth can vary. However, the vast majority of youth experienced a steady, gradual increase of trust represented by the angle of the diagram. At the beginning of time spent in the program, the diagram shows how youth form an initial impression or level of trust based on various issues and informed by any previous knowledge they may have. At this point most youth have spent little time with the AL. Some, however, have previous knowledge that will inform their perception of the AL. This perception can

change as time mediates the three catalysts for trust formation processes. The center of the model then features the three catalysts. Finally, the model includes a final box to acknowledge the five benefits that emerge from the formation of trust. Forming trust amplified the program experience and overall positive development.

Figure 16

Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs (from Youth's Perspective)
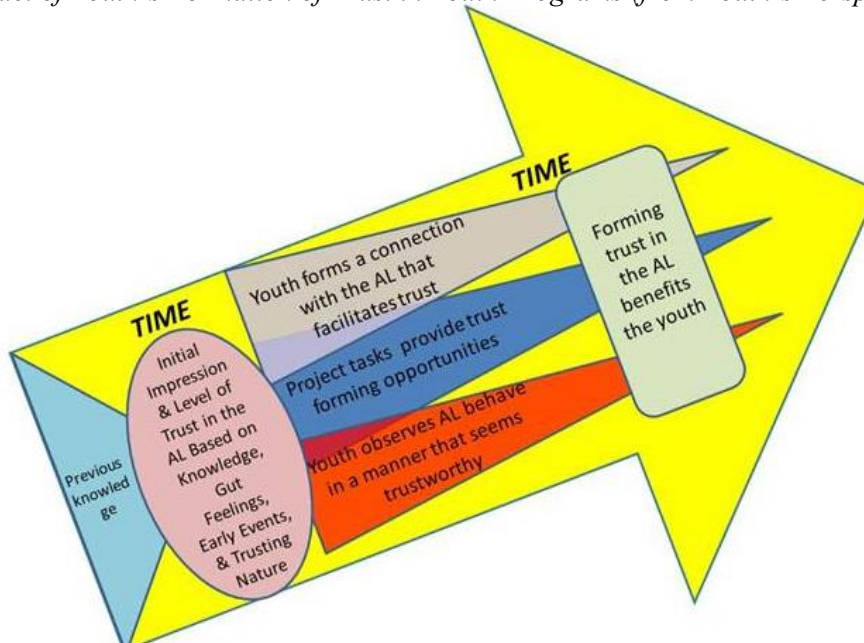
Patterns in the three catalysts for trust formation processes are shown in Table 2. Of the 67 youth who reported that their trust in the AL increased, five did not describe in detail what led to such trust forming. Out of the remaining 62 youth, 34 youth reported a singular catalyst leading to trust forming whereas 28 youth reported multiple catalysts. Project tasks played a key role in the formation of trust with 40 youth reporting project tasks as at least one of the catalysts that led to trust forming. The next chapter will present findings from the ALs' perspective to explore what they did to build youth's trust.

Table 2
Frequency of Catalysts Mentioned

	Only Catalyst Mentioned	Mentioned in Addition to Another Catalyst	Total Mentions
Catalyst One- Connection	11	19	30
Catalyst Two- Project Tasks	16	24	40
Catalyst Three- Observation	7	15	22

Chapter Five: Findings on How Adult Leaders Built Trust

This chapter will build on the model in the previous chapter by answering RQ2: *What types of practices do the adult leaders engage in to form trusting relationships with youth?* The 60 interviews with 16 ALs provide a complex picture of what the process of building trust looks like. Various themes were present, but I focus my analysis on two themes that were most salient and provide insight for the analysis of the youth data-- the primary approaches adult leaders used to build trust and how ALs knew they had successfully built trust.

Primary Approaches for Building Youth's Trust

ALs described playing a deliberate role in the process of building youth's trust. After a number of iterations of analysis, four primary approaches to trust building were identified by the researcher of this dissertation. These include: (a) Respecting and being genuine toward youth (*n* = 8 ALs); (b) Building rapport with youth (*n* = 7 ALs); (c) Being consistent and dependable (*n* = 10 ALs); and (d) Occupying a nuanced adult role(s) (*n* = 5 ALs).

Approach one: Respecting and being genuine toward youth. The first approach that leaders discussed was respecting and being genuine toward youth. Respect was at the core of *Approach One* and mentioned a number of times yet had different meanings for different ALs. Jessie at The Station described respect as talking to the youth as if they were adults. She explained:

A huge thing is respect, and I always try and talk to kids like they are someone my own age and that they are totally capable and if some reason they're really young and they can't quite be at that level, then I'll take it down, but I always start with very high respect and communication that we're right here. I think respect is just such a huge thing and youth respond to that very strongly.

Bill at Unified Youth defined "respect" differently. He mentioned how part of building trust is being "respectful of what they [youth] bring to the table," embracing the youth's skills, and giving youth ownership of activities. Tyler at Reel Makers described the importance of mutual respect, which prompted the leader to ask few personal questions of a particular youth even though the AL did have many questions about this youth's personal life. Tyler explained:

I have a lot of questions about what he actually experiences outside of the program because I-- my utmost concern is that he feels that this is a safe space, that he understands that sort of that I have that sort of that mutual respect for him. That I don't want to create a situation where he feels uncomfortable because of the nature of, kind of personal questions that I'd be asking about.

No matter what way respect was defined, all of the ALs would likely agree with the sentiment of Jason at Youth in Action to "respect them and they'll respect you."

Being genuine and honest was an action that was frequently tied to respect. In the midst of describing a multitude of techniques used, Jade at Reel Makers pointed out the importance of "being

respectful, being very honest and just…conveying that this is a safe space and this is an area of trust and you can trust me and that's just how it is." Silvano (Mr. Ochoa) at Youth in Action described it as, "As always, speak the truth, be genuine and desire for them their growth." When asked to what extent being from a different or similar background or culture made a difference, Melissa at Urban Farmers mentioned her coworker, Chase, who was a different background than the youth, and argued that this was not important "if their intent is honest and open." Therefore, although respect was critical to *Approach One*, being genuine was also important and closely tied to being respectful.

Approach two: Building rapport with youth. The second approach involved creating a connection with youth by building a rapport. This consisted of many dimensions including: making themselves approachable, forming a less hierarchical relationship with youth, getting to know youth, and youth getting to know them.

ALs tried to make themselves approachable and establish a more horizontal relationship with youth. ALs described the importance of being friendly, learning peoples' names, and checking in with the youth. For example, Nancy at Nutrition Rocks explained, "I think something that's very important in building trust is learning names and calling them by name." She felt this allowed youth to feel accepted into the group. Mary Kate at The Station stated, "I just introduce them to me and I let them know if they ever have any questions, where my office is, what I do, especially if they're new, I'll check in with them." Beyond this, ALs made an effort to build a less hierarchical relationship with youth. Melissa at Urban Farmers described how participating in icebreaker games with participants can eliminate the barriers that exist between the youth and her as an older adult. She described the function of such games:

> I feel that they work. Because you have to put yourself out there. You're just as vulnerable of dropping the ball or losing the Frisbee or "I got it" or falling just as much as they are. And then you laugh. They help pick you up. They realize that you enjoy them and that you're having fun. It totally breaks all the barriers completely. Like after that they don't even think of you as this older person that is this person--they don't even look at you like that anymore. Yes, I'm the boss, yes I do this, whatever, whatever, but they don't when it comes to certain things, like there's ways that they can talk to you differently. They'll say things to you that they probably wouldn't say to some of their friends. Certain things that you know are really vulnerable because they know that they can trust you with that. But at the same time you're cool.

Melissa emphasized how the process of becoming vulnerable during such games ultimately led to a break down in barriers that may lead to youth being more trusting and vulnerable. Other strategies to diminish the typical youth-adult hierarchy was 'meeting youth on their level' and imagining the youth's perspective. Not only did ALs seek to make themselves more approachable, they also sought to create a connection with youth by getting to know one another.

ALs described how it was important to get to know the youth. For example, Chase at Urban Farmers explained that building trust involved: "being friendly and getting to know them." Tyler at Reel Makers described how he wanted to leave open the idea that youth could share with him, but it was not an expectation. He said:

> I try to make it clear to the students that they absolutely--that I'm not expecting them to tell me everything and that they're--what they want to tell me, I'm open to hearing. And in the very beginning we talked about I'm a mandated reporter, and what I would have to share outside the space and break confidentiality about. But other than that, they can trust that what they tell me is confidential and we can have a conversation that is absolutely just between the two of us.

Bill from Unified Youth pointed out how he felt a particular youth had developed trust in him when she recognized that he knew her well enough to help her compose an essay for an application that was about her life. One AL, Silvano at Youth in Action, was more uncomfortable with the exchange of personal information, but attempted to still have a connection:

> There are times when kids share personal stuff and I generally try to just lend the listening ear but not take it beyond that…. sometimes that's all they want. So from their vantage point it looks like "Oh yeah, okay, so I'm getting personal with [the leader]" and they are but you know what I'm saying we['re] keeping it professional.

Therefore, for this leader, getting to know the youth was more of a response to youth initiating a conversation about personal matters. Getting to know could, however, at times go both ways.

Some ALs thought it was also important for youth to get to know them. Chase at Urban Farmers described this as: "having one-to-one conversations and feeling like they know me is the way that I did it…. it's pretty basic just to be an open communicator, somebody they feel like they know." Chase describes this action as basic, but for other adult leaders, this action was somewhat more complex. Jade at Reel Makers recommended that novice leaders "be open and be prepared to share because it's not really fair for you to expect a lot of trust from someone and they don't really know who you are." However, she made a point to continue this recommendation with a caveat when saying:

> and that doesn't mean you should tell them like your whole background, what you think about every single issue in the world and in life. But it means like you'd have to be prepared to give up a little bit of yourself in order to have a trusting relationship.

So, while some leaders saw this dimension of *Approach Two* cut and dry, others saw it as fairly complex.

Approach three: Being consistent and dependable. A third approach ALs engaged in was being consistent and dependable to youth. ALs frequently mentioned the importance of consistency. "Consistent" and "constant" were words ALs commonly used. Chase at Urban Farmers said, "Just being consistent, hopefully that builds trust." Being consistent meant being a constant force in a youth's life.

When asked what made one youth trust the AL, Tyler at Reel Makers pointed out that for some youth being a constant presence could be more significant than getting to know the youth. The AL explained how one young man developed trust in he and his co-AL, Jade:

> It's not based on, "Oh, I know this about his life." And so, I would say that we're a constant presence. He can count on us to be here from four to seven and four to six. That if he shows up here, we're here. He recently has expressed dismay that we're not gonna be meeting over Spring Break. During the time of Spring Break, there's no programming scheduled. That was an issue for him. I think part of it is constancy.

Being consistent also meant that the AL was "not wavering." Additionally, being consistent involved ensuring fairness. Pamela at Nutrition Rocks explained:

> If you say this is what I want, this is what I need, you have to be consistent. 'Cause if I say this – and you have to be consistent with everyone – I can't treat you different than I treat Mary (hypothetical person) and let Mary get away with more stuff because if I – they watch that. If I say I love you, I gotta say I love you to every one of them.

Similarly, Linda from Emerson Drama Club pointed out that she had to ensure that the actors who were "leads aren't any more important than the person who is only on stage to stand." ALs who were consistent made youth feel they knew what to expect from them.

Another important dimension of *Approach Three* was being someone youth knew was dependable by "being there" for youth. ALs told youth they were there for them and would provide youth with encouragement. Bill at Unified Youth explained, "they know that I would do anything for them." Danielle from The Station would let a youth know that if something was occurring in her life that "that's what I'm here for." Juanita made sure to be an ongoing encouraging force in the lives of youth. Linda at Emerson Drama Club felt one youth's trust in her increased because she "helped [the youth] believe in herself." Being consistent and dependable are both closely related to ALs' descriptions of "being there."

Approach four: Occupying a nuanced adult role(s). The fourth approach was occupying a nuanced adult role or multiple adult roles. Tyler at Reel Makers described how:

> [the youth] need to be able to fit me into a matrix and network, a kind of mental model where they have these different adults in their lives. So I'm not a teacher in school, I'm not your relative, I'm not a coach, but there's some aspect of- there's guiding and support.

Data from the ALs suggest that the adult leaders were also creating mental models of their role for themselves. They then sought to faithfully occupy such roles.

Frequently, ALs described the role(s) they played in a very nuanced way. Lora from High Definition pointed out the complexity of being an "adult friend."

I try to be a real person to them and not necessarily an adult. I mean, yeah I want to be an adult but I want to be a caring adult and sort of an adult friend in a way that they feel like they can trust and have a conversation with or like share things with.

Lora qualifies what it means to be an adult friend. At times, ALs envisioned their role by merging many different roles familiar to youth such as teacher, parent, coach, etc. For example, Tyler said he was "maybe somewhat between a teacher and a coach…. [with] a sort of a third component, which is like school social worker." Bill at Unified Youth said, "what role we play is kinda both parent and teacher but maybe in a little less restrictive way is probably the best way to describe it. But still that adult component that they need in their lives." Jade at Reel Makers saw herself as a boss, a guide, and an ally. She explained:

Just like talking to them as a person and still saying you know "I am still your boss. You still have to respect me in that sense but I'm still going to hear you out and talk to you like an adult." …And then also like kind of being a guide or just provider of any type of support that they need, but just in our rules. So, like if you need help with something I can help connect you to other people you can talk to, you know. If you need help finding a job because you know you need to get money to help your family out then you know let's try and find you a job. That's what we are here for also. So, kind of just like literally being an ally and proving and consistently showing that you are an ally. That helps the trust situation as well.

Like Jade, some ALs sought to explain how occupying certain roles led to trust building, but it took them a bit of time to describe characteristics of the roles they were occupying. Indeed multiple roles have been found to be integral to youth programs (Walker, 2010).

Combining approaches. Using the trust-building approaches was complex. As discussed above, analysis of the AL data identified the approaches to building trust to be: a) Respecting and being genuine toward youth; b) Building rapport with youth; c) Being consistent and dependable; and d) Occupying a nuanced adult role(s). It is tempting to conceptualize the four approaches as isolated "practices" as referenced in the original research question (*what types of practices do the adult leaders engage in to form trusting relationships with youth?*). But it is much more likely that these approaches are interrelated. For example, building rapport is likely to involve being respectful. And occupying a nuanced adult role may require one to be both consistent and to be genuine to youth. Hence, one could speculate that ALs engage in or are guided by multiple approaches simultaneously. This suggests that building trust is not made up of different practices one can pull out of a toolbox; but is, instead, a multidimensional process, a code of principles, or a set of standards.

Data suggests that this multidimensional trust-building process was ongoing, rather than a one-time event. Half of the ALs (*n* = 8) mentioned obstacles they faced when building trust such as trying to break through a youth's guardedness or trying to redevelop trust that was lost. Based on the fact that such obstacles can arise at any time, this author speculates that ALs are engaging in the multidimensional trust-building process *across time*. Ongoing engagement in trusting-building would not only foster trust but also maintain or repair it when obstacles arose. The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust (Figure 17) is shown below with the primary approaches to building trust added under "Multidimensional Trust-Building." The arrows indicate that ALs were engaging in trust-building beginning with the youth's

Figure 17
Model with Multidimensional Trust-Building
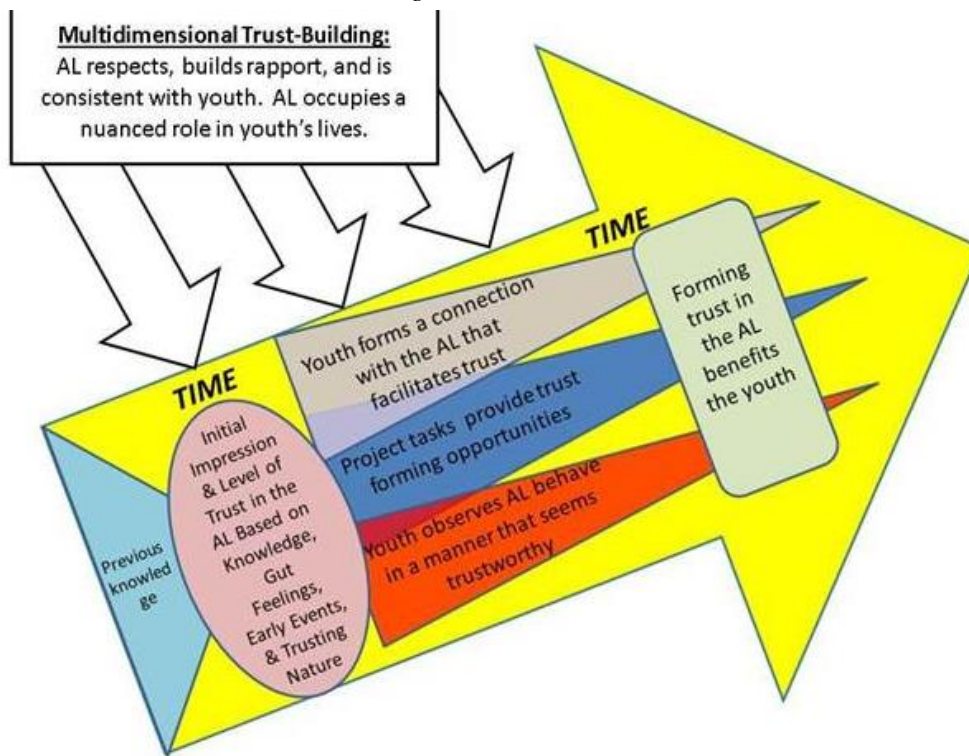
initial impression of them and continuing on from there. The arrows also suggest that such approaches also facilitate the catalysts youth reported were key to trust formation processes.

Perceiving Trust through Youth's Actions

Data from the ALs suggest that they were indeed building trust. ALs reported noticing that youth engaged in certain actions when it appeared that trust was formed. Three actions were commonly discussed as signs of youth's trust-- the youth were "asking," "sharing," and "willing to do for the good of the program." Two of these align with the benefits of trust youth described in Chapter Four.

The first sign ALs noticed was when youth increasingly engaged in "asking" something of the adult leader. ALs felt that when youth began asking for assistance and feedback from the AL on their work, there was a clear indication of trust formation. Jade at Reel Makers described "asking" as:

> So there is still trust to be gained in this type of working relationship. But overall I think they do trust me because they will come up and ask questions, say "What do you think about this honestly what is your opinion? Do you think it stinks?" And they trust that me and [Tyler] will give an honest opinion. In a respectful way and a way that helps them grow and it's beneficial and actually positive.

This type of asking overlaps with the trust benefit youth reported of having increased confidence in the trusted AL's guidance and help with program activities. In addition to asking for help on work, ALs also recognized that youth who formed trust often begin asking for guidance or help on other areas of life. This type of asking is similar to youth reporting the trust benefit of having a resource to rely on for issues external to the program.

Second, ALs believed that youth had formed trust with them when they saw youth "sharing" their opinions, thoughts, and/or feelings. For example, ALs described how youth had formed trust when they were more comfortable sharing ideas or critiques regarding the project with the AL. For example, Pamela at Nutrition Rocks described how she knew one young lady developed trust in her: "Yeah 'cause she comes to me [and says:] 'Miss Pamela, I think that we should do this.' Or 'Miss Pamela, so-and-so is doing this, and I don't think that should be done 'cause it's not the way we do things.'" This type of sharing of ideas or critiques regarding the project was not mentioned by the youth. However, the second type of sharing ALs noticed as a sign of trust involved relaying information beyond the project; this action also aligns with the trust benefit of having a resource to rely on for issues external to the program. For example, Juanita at Unified Youth discussed how her relationship changed with one youth:

> I think just as an adult, you know, asking my advice on just different areas of her life and guidance. And, so, that's…and sharing with me, you know, some pretty, you know, issues as far as that she's struggling with at this point and transitioning. So, that's huge trust, and it's a huge shift in the relationship of just going to the meeting and just on surface, having a meeting, then getting to the point where, you know, "Hey could I talk to you?"

In this case, the young lady that Juanita discussed engaged in both "sharing" and "asking."

The third change that ALs noted was not discussed in the youth data. ALs felt it was a sign of trust when youth were "willing to help with activities that benefit the program." For example, ALs described some youth who were willing to volunteer to complete tasks or favors around the project. Nancy at Nutrition Rocks explained her relationship with a youth in the program that she felt trusted her:

Even though we haven't necessarily been one-on-one, we have been together. And she is one that

if we need three volunteers for something she will respond back right away if she can do it. Umm,

and she will respond back if she cannot do it which a lot of kids won't even take the time to do

that. So umm, definitely.

Youth's contributions to the program were noteworthy for the ALs.

Therefore, the AL data confirms some of the processes reported by youth but also adds to the

outcomes of forming trust. Not only did youth report experiencing benefits from trust, ALs noticed youth

engaging in actions that they believed were signs trust had formed. An updated model is shown in Figure

18 that includes the outcomes mentioned by the ALs.

Figure 18

Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs (from Youth and AL Perspectives)
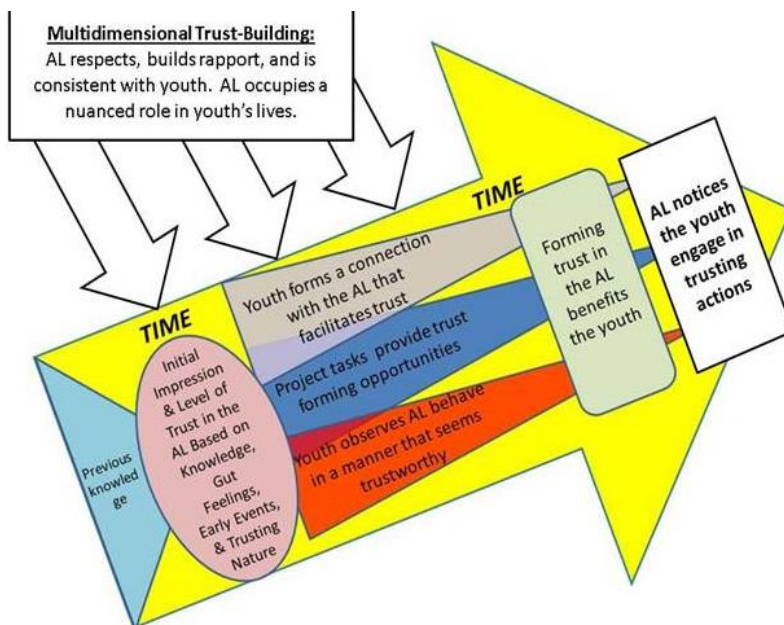
Conclusion

Tyler at Reel Makers reflected on building youth's trust by saying, "It's not an easy process, but

it certainly is pretty integral to have a functioning program where the students trust the leader."

Interviewers had to probe in some interviews to prompt ALs to discuss trust formation in detail.

However, once the ALs described trust formation, it was clear that as a whole they viewed their role in

building trust as essential. ALs in the current study were active contributors to the process of youth's

trust formation. As youth experienced catalysts sparking trust-forming processes across time, ALs

engaged in multidimensional trust-building. As ALs noted youth engaging in certain actions that were

signs of trust, youth were reaping the benefits of engaging in these trusting actions. The next chapter will discuss this integrated model within extant literature.

Chapter Six: Discussion

The youth program setting presents an opportunity for adolescent trust to grow that is not found in many other contexts in American society. Adolescents are often "isolated from … adults—spatially, socially, and psychologically" (Zeldin, Larson, Camino, & O'Connor, 2005, p.1). This leaves youth with limited opportunities to develop the types of trusting relationships with non-familial adults that are associated with beneficial developmental outcomes (Luthar & Brown, 2007; Werner & Smith, 2001). The current study is important because it explores processes that underlie the development of trusting youth-adult relationships, specifically in the project-based youth program. These research findings have practical implications for practitioners doing important work with youth.

The overarching question for the study was: *How does youth's trust in an adult leader grow?* The findings suggest a model for how youth's trust forms. This chapter uses extant literature to discuss the Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs based on my findings. It begins by discussing leaders' perspectives on how they facilitated trust-building over time through multiple approaches. The chapter then discusses the youth's perspectives by describing how adolescents' trust began and how it grew over time. The discussion of the model ends by addressing the outcomes of trust growth as noted by the ALs and as noted by the youth. The chapter then addresses implications for practitioners. Finally, I propose a more general model of what adolescent trust formation in non-familial adults might look like.

Multidimensional Trust-Building by Adult Leaders

ALs in this study engaged in multidimensional trust-building that consisted of interconnected approaches. These included: (a) respecting and being genuine toward youth; (b) building rapport with youth; (c) being consistent and dependable; and (d) playing a nuanced adult role in youth's lives. Each approach may have influenced how program participants perceived the AL.

The first approach ALs used to build trust was being respectful and genuine. ALs in the sample used the word "respect" in different ways. Definitions of respect included talking to youth like they were adults, giving youth ownership of activities, embracing the youth's skills, and acknowledging youth's privacy. ALs in the study frequently linked respecting youth to being genuine. All of the varying definitions centered around the fact that the ALs were cognizant of how they treated the youth and how youth perceived such treatment. This is important because Deutsch and Jones (2008) found that adolescents are particularly attuned to the ways in which adults in authority treat them and an adult's level of respect.

The second approach, building rapport with youth, included many dimensions. ALs described: making themselves approachable, forming a less hierarchical relationship with youth, getting to know youth, and youth getting to know them. Central to all of these dimensions is what Jones and Deutch (2010) categorize as "minimizing relational distance" (p.10). ALs in the current study described

minimizing relational distance when they reported building rapport by "learning [youth's] names and calling them by name," using icebreaker activities to "break all the barriers completely," and being "prepared to give up a little bit of yourself to have a trusting relationship."

The third trust-building approach--being consistent and dependable-- arose in both AL data and youth data (and will be returned to later in the chapter). The ALs often used the words "consistent" and "constant." They described this as being important because youth would then know what to expect from them. As in the act of caring, ALs' continuity and constancy were ways to show youth that the ALs were not "haphazard and unreliable" (Rauner, 2000, p.23). Being consistent meant that ALs in the current study's sample worked hard to build trust throughout the time of program participation.

The final approach the ALs reported was that they were occupying a nuanced adult role in youth's lives. Frequently, this would be a combination of roles--ALs reported being both a parent and teacher; a boss, guide, and an ally; or a teacher, coach, and social worker. This finding is consistent with research that has found that youth programs are characterized by ALs playing multiple roles (Walker, 2010). The ALs in this study's sample described adopting specific roles because of the needs of youth. For example, the ALs stated that they:

- made sure to "still [be] that adult component they need;"
- tried "being an adult friend in a way that they feel like they can trust and have a conversation;"
- served as "a guide or just provider of any type of support they need;"
- considered how youth "need to be able to fit me into a matrix and network [of adults]."

This approach involves what Rauner (2000) called attentiveness--"actively seeking awareness of others and their needs and points of view" (p.7). Attentiveness is key to Rauner's model of caring and also appeared to be important for the ALs in the current study. One could speculate that attentiveness is key to knowing which adult role/s youth needed. At a given moment, one youth may need an adult friend whereas another may need a coach.

Occupying a nuanced adult role is somewhat tied to processes associated with the second approach, building rapport. Although the ALs in the sample described building rapport by minimizing relational distance, research has also found leaders play the role of both being an authority figure and a friend (Walker & Larson, 2006). Therefore, this author speculates that the ALs in the current study may have been minimizing relational distance while also maintaining enough distance to be seen as an adult friend rather than a peer who is a friend. Minimizing relational distance may have been an underlying process critical for both building rapport and occupying a nuanced role in youth's lives.

The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs suggests that ALs followed these four approaches throughout youth's program participation. The ALs in this study had to be skillful if they

were using these multiple approaches with multiple youth across time. Like the act of caring, facilitating trust formation across time involves competence. Rauner (2000) states that:

> Caring is not usually considered a skill, but many of the processes involved in caring rely on capabilities that come naturally to some and require effort by others….If attentiveness suggests awareness and appreciation for the other as an other, competence suggests knowledge of the other, and the context of his needs, capabilities, and situation that are derived from experience and thought. (p. 22)

Similarly, multidimensional trust-building is likely to be a skill that can develop over time. Perhaps some ALs are more skillful at building trust through opportunities around project tasks whereas others are better at building it through moments of connecting with the youth. Once ALs have a clear understanding of the area in which they are particularly adept at facilitating trust, they can develop skills to build trust in other areas.

The Evolution of Youth's Trust

The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs (Figure 19) can be considered in two phases. First, I will discuss where and how trust began. Then I will discuss how it develops over time. The data shows that youth are active agents in the Y-AL relationship engaging in a process that shapes whether they view ALs as trustworthy.

Figure 19
Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs

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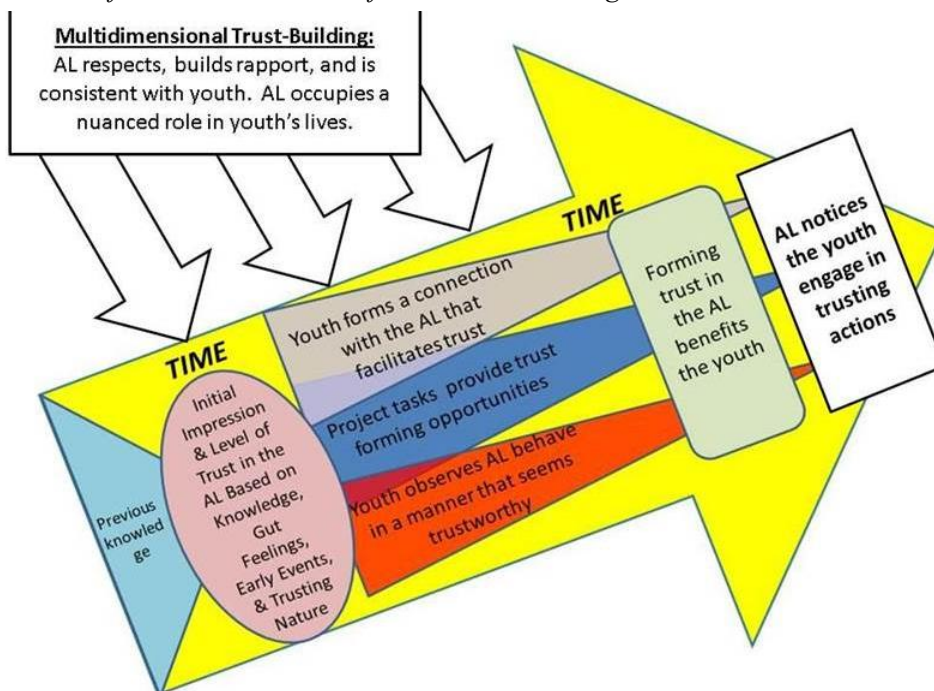
Phase one: Where youth's trust begins. In this study youth's initial impression and level of trust in the AL was based on previous knowledge, gut feelings, early events, and generally how trusting the youth were. Frequently, youth's initial trust was based on a perception. When describing their initial trust level youth said things like: "I trusted her face…She has a pretty cool face;" "I didn't think of him as someone I could trust. I thought [he was] more like a jokester;" "I figured if they're friends [referring to the youth's grandmother and the AL], he's probably a good friend for me;" and "they seemed really welcoming." Initial trust for most youth in the current study was subjective and temporary but is important because literature has found that youth report relationships with adult staff as something that keeps them returning to a program (Grossman et al., 2007; Roffman et al., 2001).

At times, perception was something that the ALs could not influence, leaving some youth to view the same AL in very different ways. For example, when discussing trust, Pasqual said "at first Mr. Ochoa looked mean," but Adriana said of the same leader "as soon as you look at him, he just looks so friendly." In addition, ALs cannot shape whether a youth is generally a trusting person. Youth in the current study who described their initial trust level being based on this appeared to be referencing their propensity to trust (Mayer et al., 1995). This propensity to trust is likely to be connected to a youth's early trust and attachment as an infant (Bowlby, 1988; Erikson, 1963), something ALs have no control over.

Fortunately, youth also described some initial bases of trust that ALs can address. For example, some youth reported having second-hand knowledge of the AL based on what family members told them about the AL and, in turn, second-hand trust. This situation is captured by the young man in the current study's sample who said: "So I already kind of knew her [the AL] and they've [older siblings] told me to trust her and stuff like that. So I already kind of trusted her, I just didn't know her very well." If youth do not know the AL personally, it can be advantageous for ALs to have some type of relationship with parents or siblings because their family members can vouch for the AL, which can facilitate second-hand trust. If an AL does not have a prior relationship with parents or siblings, perhaps an AL can facilitate second-hand trust by engaging parents in the beginning of a program. This could provide that extra vouching from a parent about an AL that, in turn, leads to higher initial trust. In addition, ALs can influence the initial basis of early events by establishing foundation-building activities or interactions.

Phase two: The growth of trust. The development of interpersonal trust in the project-based program can be cultivated by different catalysts-- moments of connection, trust-forming opportunities embedded within project tasks, or observations of the AL. However, the catalyst or catalysts most meaningful to trust formation varies by youth.

Moments of connection (catalyst one). Youth who described Catalyst One, moments when youth felt a connection with the AL, leading to trust formation described the types of experiences that one might report in a mentor-mentee relationship. These youth experienced a Moment of Connection with the

AL when they shared interests or experiences; received help from the adult for issues beyond the program; benefited from the adult leader's empathy; or had the AL clearly communicate that they cared about the youth and the youth's presence in the program. In the sample of youth who clearly described how their trust formed, 48% mentioned forming trust through Moments of Connection. And 18% (within this 48% of youth) described this as the *only* catalyst that led to their trust forming. It appears that youth who found this catalyst meaningful for trust formation valued having an AL show interest and concern in their interests, experiences, and needs.

Processes associated with Moments of Connection appear to be about the affective nature of the Y-AL relationship. Youth described moments in which their trust grew that indicated they had an emotional connection to the ALs: "I knew I could trust her when she started concerning herself with me more;" "I needed someone to talk to me and tell me everything was gonna be ok;" "He would like always notice when I wasn't there;" and "I haven't talked to them about college and they're worried about that." Wentzel (2010) describes how the affective quality of teacher-student relationships can be viewed in terms of social support perspectives or in terms of attachment theory. These two lenses may also be relevant to Y-AL relationships. Y-AL trusting relationships sparked by Moments of Connection may operate most often as an emotional support given the short timeframe of many of these relationships. However, some of these youth might see the ALs as "alternative or secondary attachment figures" (Rhodes, 2004, p. 151). One might expect this to be most likely in programs youth were involved in over many years.

Investments in youth's work (catalyst two). Other youth reported Catalyst Two, project tasks that provided opportunities for trust growth, as leading to trust formation. These opportunities included times when the youth felt ALs had confidence in their abilities and skills and times during the project when youth valued critical support from the ALs in the form of assistance, advice, or feedback. As I will describe below, youth appeared to view these opportunities as times the AL demonstrated that they were invested in youth's work and skills. Hence, I refer to Catalyst Two as Investments in Youth Work (rather than, for example, Opportunities Within Project Tasks). In the sample of youth who clearly described how their trust formed, 64% of youth reported that Investments in Youth's Work fostered their trust in the AL. And 26% (within this 64% of youth) of youth reported this as the singular catalyst that led to their trust to form.

It appears that youth who found this catalyst meaningful appreciated that the ALs showed they were invested in the youth's work, abilities, and skill development. Youth felt ALs showed this investment in the youth's abilities when they gave youth tasks they could learn from and complimented them when excelling at the tasks. For example, youth in the sample described the trust they formed in relation to Investments in Youth's Work by saying: "I want to do photography…for a living and he

recognized that and is letting me do that" and "He has kind of entrusted me with a lot of these positions." Youth also saw how ALs were invested in the youth's work and skill development when they provided feedback. When describing how trust grew, some youth said things like: "He's actually trying to teach me how to do something;" "When she gives honest assessments especially at the stuff I'm not good at…those are when I trust her most;" and "'Man, he really cares about…our video' and so that's how I gained trust for him." Youth may have seen this investment in their work, abilities, and skill development as a sign that the ALs valued what they did in regards to the project as much as and similar to the way youth valued it for themselves.

   Observations of trustworthiness (catalyst three). Catalyst Three, observations of the adult leaders that suggests s/he is trustworthy, differed from the other catalysts because these youth were more in the background assessing the AL. Youth reported observing the ALs' interactions with others and how the ALs carried themselves. This was reported by a small group of youth in comparison to the other catalysts. In the sample of youth who clearly described how their trust formed, 35% of youth mentioned Observations of Trustworthiness and 11% (within this 35% of youth) mentioned this as the only catalyst that contributed to their trust formation.

   Youth who reported this catalyst described how observing gave them signs that they could trust the AL. For example, youth reported: "I got to know her when things were--when I had less time to talk to her;" "I would see how he would help so many people in our community and I was like, 'Those people trust him so he must be a good man;'" and "I would find it interesting that [the president] trusted them a lot and I wanted to take the risk of getting to know them and see if I could trust them as much as she." This group of youth appears to be forming a cognitive-based trust (McAllister, 1995; McKnight et al., 1998). They made a rational choice to trust the AL based on "rapid, cognitive cues or first impressions, as opposed to personal interactions" (McKnight et al., p.475). Cognitive-based trust is when people trust because they believe the trustor is a reliable and dependable person. For youth in the current study, this appears to be a belief informed by the signs and evidence they collected.

   In a way, these youth were forming second-hand trust from their observations. Unlike the second-hand knowledge used as a basis of initial trust level, these youth were forming trust through observations that might be considered second-hand interactions. This is evident in a youth who was describing her trust increase by saying: "she started talking to my mom too and if my mom likes her that is a really good thing." For some youth trust formed by these second-hand interactions may lead to actual interactions in terms of a different catalyst. For example, the youth above who described how seeing the president's trust in the ALs made her "want to take the risk of getting to know them" engaged in interactions with the leaders. Her use of the word "risk" is reminiscent of Mayer et al.'s (1995) model that suggests once a person forms trust, they perceive a level of risk, engage in taking a risk in the

relationship, and then views the outcomes of this risk-taking. The small group of youth who mentioned this catalyst may be using cognitive clues that sometimes involves second-hand interactions. One might speculate that these youth may be likely to report another catalyst as well because their observations may make them comfortable to then engage in direct trust-forming interactions.

The role of time. Time is a constant factor shown throughout the model. Time was important for building trusting relationships in the current study's sample of youth in programs because catalyst driven trust-forming processes seemed to accumulate over time; with most youth's trust gradually increasing as time passed. Youth in the study reported becoming "more comfortable," getting to "see more of him," and having more trust-forming conversations as time passed. Similar to Rauner (2000)'s model of caring, trust formation is likely to be "an ongoing process rather than a single action at a point in time" (p. 23). Like caring, the role of time in trust-building is likely to be about the importance of continuity for the youth to develop trust. This continuity could provide evidence of the AL's reliability, a factor that has been proposed as a basis for adolescent's interpersonal trust (Rotenberg, 2010). Even though youth in the study said time allowed them to be more comfortable and get to know the AL, it is also likely that the larger importance of time was that the AL was showing them that they were actually a reliable adult whom youth could have high trust. Indeed, ALs in the current study did report the importance of them "not wavering," "being there" and especially being consistent and constant.

Findings of this study suggest that trust can continue to increase as time passes, rather than just ending on a high level. It is important to conceptualize trust in adolescence as a trajectory rather than a fixed quantity. This growth in trust leads to important outcomes.

Outcomes of Trust as Seen by Youth and Leaders

The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs shows two boxes that follow the catalysts (Figure 6). These boxes can be categorized as the outcomes of trust. Youth were asked about how trust helped them with their learning in the program and dealing with other things in their lives. The outcomes youth reported included the benefits they gained from forming trust in an AL. ALs were not specifically asked about the outcomes of trust formation, however, the outcomes ALs reported were the actions youth engaged in when it appeared that the youth had formed trust in them. I speculate that these outcomes may relate to each other and may relate to the catalysts.

Youth in the study reported outcomes of trust in terms of the benefits they received. The benefits youth reported from trusting the AL were increased motivation and perseverance; increased confidence in the AL's guidance; a resource to rely on for things outside of the program; a model for other relationships; and improved program climate. Rhodes' Model of Youth Mentoring suggests that a mentoring relationship can have a positive impact on youth's relationship with their parents. Youth in

this study did not describe the trust in the AL improving their relationships with parents as suggested by Rhodes' model, but some youth did describe it changing their view of others and relationships in general.

The ALs reported outcomes of trust in terms of signs that indicated youth had formed trust in them. I characterize these outcomes as trusting actions. The actions youth engaged in included asking ALs for more, sharing with ALs, and displaying a willingness to do things for the good of the program. It is likely that youth only asked more of the AL and shared more with the AL once they had the evidence that ALs were dependable and honest. The action of displaying willingness to do good for the program may lead to mutual trust because it can show the AL that they also can trust the youth. The actions youth engaged in during the current study illustrate behavioral outcomes that may lead to their further investment in the program and the AL.

Hypothesized relationship between trust benefits, trusting actions, and catalysts. This author speculates that there is a relationship between the trust benefits, trusting actions, and catalysts. I hypothesize that a trust benefit can fuel a trusting behavior and the trusting actions youth engage in can, in turn, lead to trust benefits. In addition, I speculate in the current study's findings that there is a feedback loop from the outcomes of trust (trust benefits and trusting actions) into the catalysts of trust-forming processes. Hence, for youth in this study, it is likely that the outcomes of trust actually led to greater trust. The outcomes continued to feed into how the youth viewed the AL as time passed. Therefore, I speculate that the outcomes of trust not only feed into each other, they can also feed back into a catalyst. For example, if a youth sees the AL as a resource for issues outside of the program (a trust benefit), they will ask more of the AL (trusting action) which then leads to more moments of connection (Catalyst One). Another example would be that a youth asking for help from an AL on a project (trusting action) may influence their confidence in the AL's guidance on the project (trust benefit) that then leads into an investment in youth's work (Catalyst Two) like receiving constructive feedback. Like caring, trust may be "self-generative" (Rauner, 2000, p.37). This cycle is also likely to ebb and flow based on the day-to-day experiences youth and ALs have in the context of the youth program.

Implications for Practitioners

The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs can be relevant to practitioners. It can be used to facilitate conversations with practitioners around the factors important to consider when forming supportive relationships with youth. Another significant implication is that the way a program is structured can lead to high trust forming for a greater percentage of youth.

In this study the project-based youth program context allowed for more than just one route to trust. This is likely to be because the pattern of activities, interpersonal relations, and social roles one finds within the microsystem of the project-based program (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Incorporating a structure that provides opportunities for different pathways may be particularly important

for adolescents because some may value one type of relationship whereas others may value a different type. In the current study, for example, more than half of the youth who described how their trust formed mentioned a singular catalyst being important to their trust formation (with 18% saying Moments of Connection, 26% saying Investments in Youth's Work, and 11% saying Observations of Trustworthiness).

Although not all youth programs are project-based and purposes for fostering positive youth-adult relationships can vary by program mission (Zeldin et al., 2005), most programs could be structured in a way that allows for all three catalysts to be possible. In addition, some ALs may find it more natural to facilitate trust through one catalyst more than another. Given the appropriate program structure, ALs can reflect on where their trust facilitation strength lies and what they could work on incorporating in their practices. I will provide examples on how programs can be structured to address Moments of Connection and Investments in Youth's Work, since Observations of Trustworthiness is more about youth's observation than youth-adult interaction.

Comprehensive after-school centers like Boys and Girls Clubs may be more likely to just meet Catalyst One, Moments of Connection, if they only include informal activities. However, these centers can foster multiple pathways for trust formation by ensuring that they have adults who not only can foster strong relationships but can also offer a number of structured activities or challenging tasks youth can participate in that these adults are leading (Halpern et al., 2000; Hirsh et al., 2011, p. 286). Thus, youth are benefiting from interactions with the same adult informally and in a structured activity. Hirsch et al. (2011) found that the most effective Boys and Girls Club in their sample was the one that had both ongoing structured activities and positive staff-youth relationships. Other after-school centers could also add structured activities to components of the center like homework help, gym time, and hanging-out in order to ensure that Catalyst Two, Investments in Youth's Work, can be met for adolescents who value this catalyst the most.

Apprenticeship programs may provide opportunities to easily meet Investments in Youth's Work because the skilled instructors have opportunities to give honest feedback, helpful assistance, and sincere encouragement on how youth can improve their craft (Halpern, 2006). However, caring relationship building (e.g. Moments of Connection) may not come naturally for all staff since they are often chosen for their expertise in their craft, not youth development. For instance, about 25% of adults in a study on apprenticeship programs seemed uncomfortable with adolescents and found it difficult to form relationships with them (Halpern, 2006). For youth who most value and need Moments of Connection, staff such as these may stifle trust formation. It is possible that many youth would stay in the program to learn important skills or because they liked their peers in the program. Even if they remain in the

program, however, such youth could benefit from the program even more if staff were trained on strategies for fostering Moments of Connection.

Academic oriented programs like Upward Bound may foster trust through one dimension of Catalyst One (Moments of Connection) but could be structured to incorporate other dimensions of this catalyst as well as Catalyst Two, Investments in Youth's Work. Owens and Johnson (2000) described how youth formed some organizational trust in Upward Bound through guidance staff gave on college preparation. Such interactions may be tied to one dimension of Catalyst One, receiving help from the AL for issues beyond the program. However, these programs can meet the needs of those who value other dimensions of Catalyst One if staff have more informal conversations with youth at the end of advisory meetings or classes. In order to meet Investments in Youth's Work, such programs could include a small project youth and staff could work on together. Perhaps the youth can plan one of the field trips with a few of the staff that provide guidance on college preparation. This could provide an opportunity for feedback and assistance for youth who find Investments in Youth's Work most meaningful.

Therefore, while missions vary, programs will facilitate trusting relationships with a greater percentage of youth when there are structures for youth who value Moments of Connection and structures for youth who value Investments in Youth's Work. Regardless of the structure, the role of time must be recognized because very few youth will have trust shoot up after one interaction. To successfully do this, programs should be structured such that there is a high dosage over time.

Conclusion: A Proposed Model for the Adolescent Trust Forming Process

At the heart of this study was the question of how adolescents form trust in a society that does not foster trusting relationships between adolescents and non-familial adults. The study has illustrated the complexity of adolescents' formation of trust in non-familial adults in the project-based youth program. Interestingly, the model discussed in this chapter overlaps with parts of the Conceptual Map presented in the Literature Review. This suggests that literature on interpersonal trust in the workplace, research on youth development programs, and developmental theories can be integrated in a way that provides a general framework for adolescent's interpersonal trust within a group context. The current study's findings provide details on the development of such trust that, when considered in light of the extant literature, can allow one to speculate on the process of adolescent trust formation more generally.

Figure 20 proposes a more general process model on Adolescent Trust Formation. I will provide a brief overview of the main parts of the proposed process model, which are also labeled in the figure. Adolescent trust formation in a non-familial adult begins with (a) an initial but temporary level of trust based on the adolescent's perception of the adult, a perception that is influenced by factors inside and outside of the adult's control. Factors in the adult's control include whether they have positive interactions with the adolescent's family and how youth perceive the adult's foundation building actions.

An adolescent's trust is then shaped by (b) a catalyst which produces trust-forming processes. The catalyst is afforded by the structure of the context and facilitated by the attentive adult who is engaging in multidimensional trust-building. The catalyst key to trust is based on what is most meaningful to a particular youth and could include a moment of connection, an investment in youth's work, or an observation of the adult. Ideally, the structure of the context provides opportunities for all three of these catalysts to arise. The catalyst most meaningful to the youth triggers (c) experiences and/or observations that illustrate the adult's reliability, honesty, benevolence, and/or integrity. This then leads to an (d) adolescent's trust to increase. The (e) outcomes of this trust include developmental benefits for the adolescent and that the adolescent begins engaging in trusting actions. These trusting actions include asking or sharing with the adult as well as reciprocating trust by contributing to the context in which they know the adult. These outcomes are also facilitated by time and the adults' multidimensional trust-building. As time passes the outcomes can create another (b) catalyst for trust forming processes. Some youth may find a different catalyst meaningful and some may find the same catalyst meaningful. This ultimately leads to a further increase in trust. The model suggests that this feedback loop contributes to most youth's trust gradually increasing over time.

Figure 20
A Proposed Model for Adolescent Trust Formation
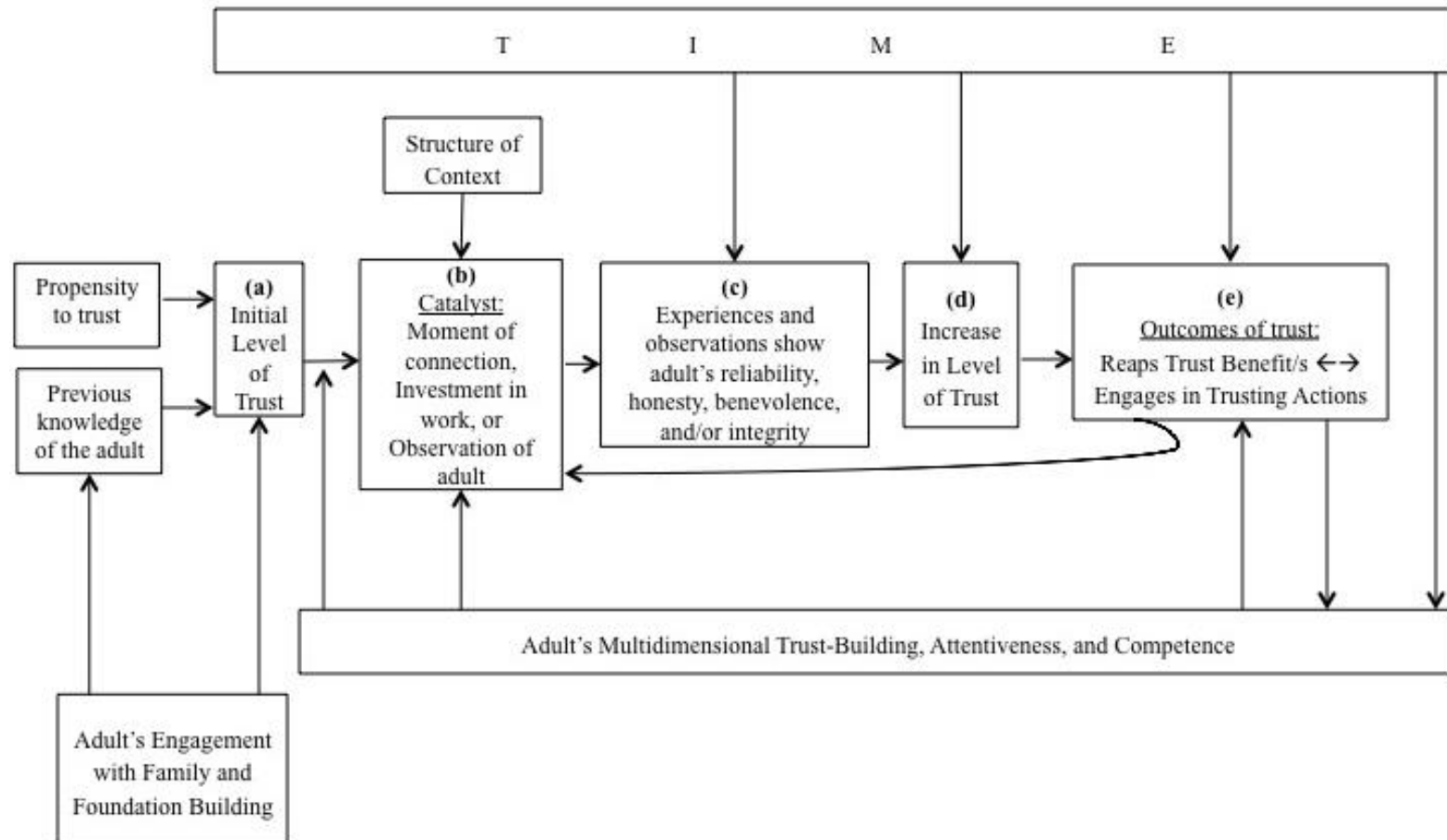
Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This study was particularly informative because it analyzed trust formation from both the youth perspective and the AL perspective. I will conclude this dissertation by providing an overview of how the contributions and limitations of this study can inform future research.

The major contributions of this study are the two models presented. The current study's findings were meant to generate a model that captured the complexity of trust formation in project-based youth programs. The Model of Youth's Formation of Trust in Youth Programs based on the findings could now be tested through quantitative research. Quantitative data would also allow researchers to look at differences in the trust formation process based on the demographic characteristics of the youth. The theoretical model proposed at the end of the previous chapter, A Proposed Model for Adolescent Trust Formation, could be used to inform future exploratory research in different contexts.

The current study analyzed patterns across youth regarding how trust formed and patterns across adult leaders regarding how they built trust. Future research could also look at patterns across individual relationships (using the dyadic relationship as a unit of analysis) and make comparisons based on factors specific to the relationship such as cultural differences versus cultural similarities between the youth and adult leader.

A limitation of the current study is that it did not explore how the trust formation process may vary based on larger contextual factors. Future research could examine whether the trust formation process differs in other types of youth programs serving adolescents such as competitive sports. It could also explore how trust formation varies when a youth program is housed in a larger organization or in an organization that has a positive reputation in a neighborhood. Future research could explore how organizational factors-- such as co-workers, management, and staff meetings-- support or hinder adult leaders' ability to form strong, trusting relationships with youth. Finally, given that the majority of adolescents are outside of the United States, future research could explore trust formation in contexts in other countries that are similar to the American out-of-school time youth program. Youth's formation of trust, for example, may be particularly relevant to street-youth organizations that depend greatly on the trust that street educators foster with young people.

Conclusion

This dissertation is a first step to zoom in on how trust in adults unfolds and forms for adolescents. Although the current study focuses on the project-based youth program, the findings suggest that adolescents vary in how they come about forming trust in adults and that adults can structure contexts and their approaches with youth in ways that facilitate trust growth with a large number of adolescents.

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Appendix A: Samples of Programs, Youth, and Adult Leaders

Program	Project	Youth Interview Sample	AL Interview Sample
Unified Youth, Central Illinois	Community-based program where youth produce PSAs on positive health behaviors and organize events to promote understanding among culturally diverse youth.	9 youth (All Latino; 4 F, 5 M)	2 adult leaders Bill Lyons, 53-year old White male; Juanita Romero, 51-year old Latino & White female
Nutrition Rocks, Central Illinois	Community-based program where youth plan a five-week long summer camp for children that is focused on promoting healthy diets.	10 youth (9 Black and 1 White; 8 F, 2 M)	2 adult leaders Nancy Adams, 35-year old White female; Pamela West, 53-year old Black female
Emerson Drama Club, Central Illinois	School-based program in which youth produce and act in plays and musicals.	8 youth (3 Black, 4 White, 1 Other; 3 F, 5 M)	1 adult leader Linda Williams, 56-year old White female
Rising Leaders, Central Illinois	School-based program in which youth organize school events and community service activities.	6 youth (1 Latino, 2 Black, 2 White, and 1 Other; 2 F, 4 M)	(Not in the interview sample: David Dunn and Sadie Jansen)
High Definition, Chicago	Community-based program where youth carry out multimedia projects, including producing and online magazine and creating videos.	8 youth (6 Latino, 2 Black; 3 F, 5 M)	1 adult leader Lora Parks, 33-year old White female
Reel Makers, Chicago	Community-based program in which youth learn video production skills through creating films.	6 youth (2 Latino, 2 Black, 2 White, 1 Other; 2 F, 4 M)	2 adult leaders Tyler Bates, 29-year old White male; Jade Goodman, 26-year old Black female
Urban Farmers, Chicago	Community-based program where youth grow vegetables and sell them in the farmers market.	8 youth (1 Latino, 7 African American; 4 F, 4 M)	2 adult leaders Melissa Vaughn, 41-year old Black female; Chase Pembrook, 26 year-old White male
Youth in Action, Minneapolis	Community-based program where youth create culture-oriented arts (e.g., creating a mosaic mural).	9 youth Note: One youth only did Time One interview (8 Latino and 1 Other; 5 F, 4 M)	3 adult leaders Silvano Ochoa, 58-year old Latino male; Nicole Lehmann, 24 year-old White female; Jason Barnes, 26 year-old White male
The Station, Minneapolis	Community-based program where youth plan all logistics of music concerts (scheduling, budgets, publicity, etc.).	7 youth (3 Latino, 1 African American, 3 European American; 4 F, 3 M)	3 adult leaders Cliff Sullivan, 39-year old White male; Mary Kate Hayes, 25-year old White female; Danielle Gibson, 24-year old White female

Pilot Study

1. Is the advisor someone you feel you can rely on to help you , like with your work and learning? Why or why not?

2. Now we want to know if your leaders have a pretty good sense of what you are and aren't able to do.
   a. Were there times when they expected you to do things you aren't able to do? If so, tell me what they expected and what happened?

   b. Were there times when they expected you to do something you didn't think you could do, but you were able to do it? Give an example.

3. Over the time you have been in [name of program], has there been a change in the trust or respect you feel for the leaders? [IF NO, SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION]
   a. Tell me the story: What happened? What led to the change?

   b. How has this change affected things between you and the leader? [AW: Like how you act toward them or listen to them?]

Year 1 Time 1
Now we're interested in your experiences with the adult program leaders (or staff).
   1. **What are the leaders like?**
         [For the following questions, focus in on the one or two advisors who seems to be most central or interesting for the person]

2. **Could you describe one experience with the advisor(s) that stands out for you?**
         AW: It could be something big or small, cool or goofy

3. **Based on your past experiences, what makes for a good program advisor?**
         Probe: What would you like from a program leader?

4. **How well do you think the advisors fit that?**
         Probe: Are there things about them that you are not as comfortable with?

5. **Is the advisor someone you feel you can rely on to help you when you need it?**
         Probe: Why or why not?

6. **You just said you joined the program because of** [Repeat the prior section].
         How well does that match what the advisor(s) wants?
         Probe for explanation if not give

Year 2 Time 1
Now we're interested in your experiences with the adults who work at the program.
Do you use a specific term for these adults like program leaders, staff, or advisors? [Interviewers: Use this term for the rest of the section]

1. What are the leaders like?
[For the following questions, focus in on the one or two advisors who seems to be most central or interesting for the person]

2. Could you describe one experience with the advisor(s) that stands out for you?
> AW: It could be something big or small, cool or goofy

3. Based on your past experiences, what makes for <u>a good program advisor</u>?

> Probe: What would <u>you like from</u> a program leader?

4. How well do you think the advisors fit that?

> Probe: Are there things about them that you are <u>not</u> as comfortable with?

5. Who are the main adult leaders you have contact with in the program?

[For each leader mentioned, but not more than 4 leaders, ask the following:]
> **a.   Can you describe your *first* impression of the leader?**

> **b. At that time, did the leader seem like someone you could trust?**
> Probe: Why or why not?

6. You just said you joined the program because of [Repeat the prior section].
> **How well does that <u>match</u> what the advisors <u>want you</u> to get out of the program?**

> Probe for explanation if not given.

<u>**Year 1 Time 2 and Retrospective Sample**</u>
Now I want to ask you about <u>an adult leader in the program</u>.
1. Who is the leader you trust most?
>   [If you can't nudge them to pick only one leader, it is okay to focus on two.]
If they have someone, ask:

> **a. What <u>makes you trust</u> this leader?**
If they <u>don't</u> have someone, give them a nod of understanding and ask:

> **b. Tell me what makes you unsure about the leaders?**
> Probe**:** Can you give me an example of a situation that made you less sure about them?   [Then
> SKIP #2-3, go to "Learning about Emotions"]

2. When you first met [Name of Leader] **you probably <u>didn't know or trust</u> them like you do now.**
<u>What happened</u> that made you trust them?
> **a.** [Probe for: i) the story of what happened, ii) what it meant to the youth, and iii) how did that
> create trust?]

> **b.**[If no response] **Sometimes trust gets <u>built up over time</u>, through a lot of small things. Tell**
> **me about that.**

3. Is this level of trust with [Name of Leader] **more than you have with a typical teacher at your**
school?[IF YES, ask]
> **a. How does that trust <u>help you with your work</u> or your learning?**

> **b. How does this <u>help you deal with other things</u> in your life?**
> > Probe: What is an example of how this helps?

<u>**Year 2 Time 2 and Retrospective Sample (used for Urban Farmers)**</u>
Now I want to ask you about <u>an adult leader in the program</u>. We are interested in different ways that people develop trust. [Note: For this section, probe for <u>specific</u> events or interactions. For example, if they say they got to "know" them better, <u>what</u> did they <u>specifically</u> get to know about them that affected trust? How did they learn this?]

1. Who is the leader you trust most?
  [If you can't nudge them to pick one leader, it is okay to focus on two.]
  a. What <u>makes you trust</u> this leader?

2. When you first met [Name of Leader] **you probably <u>didn't know or trust</u> them like you do now**.
  [<u>Give them the chart</u> (on last page) called "Your Trust in the Adult Leader"]

  Please <u>draw a line</u> on this chart to show how your trust <u>changed</u> since you first met them. The line may go up and down.
[Point to the beginning of the line] **How long ago was it when you first met them?**

  a. Now I want to understand what happened to change your trust. [Point to each line segment or change that shows an increase in trust] **<u>What happened</u> that made you trust them more?**

    * Were there any <u>events or situations</u> (that increased your trust)?
    *What did the <u>leader say or do</u> (that made you trust them more)?
  [Repeat question a. for each upward line segment or change]

  b. [If there's a point where the line <u>goes down</u>, ask]: **Can you explain what happened here?**

3. a. [IF NOT COVERED] **Since you've know them, what has the leader said or done <u>related to your work in the program</u> that made you trust them?**

  b. [IF NOT COVERED] **Since you've know them, what has the leader said or done <u>not</u> related to your <u>work</u> that made you trust them?** AW: For example, things the leader did that relate to who you are as a person, your personal life, or your future.

4. What has this leader done <u>differently</u> than other adults (like maybe teachers at school) that helped you trust them more?

5. Now I want to ask you about how your trust in the leader has <u>helped</u> you.
a. How has it <u>helped with your work and learning in the program?</u> Can you give me an example?

b. How do you think your experience in the program would be <u>different,</u> if you didn't trust him or her?

c. How has this trust <u>helped you deal with other things in your life?</u> Can you give me an example?

Your Trust in the Adult Leader
ID#_____

Very high trust

In the middle

No trust at all

**WHEN YOU
FIRST MET THE
ADULT LEADER**

NOW

Year 2 Time 2 and Retrospective Sample (slight changes in the chart format from Urban Farmers)
Now I want to ask you about <u>an adult leader in the program</u>. We are interested in different ways that people develop trust. [Note: For this section, probe for <u>specific</u> events or interactions. For example, if they say they got to "know" them better, <u>what</u> did they <u>specifically</u> get to know about them that affected trust? How did they learn this?]
1. Who is the leader you trust most?
    [If you can't nudge them to pick one leader, it is okay to focus on two.]
    a. What <u>makes you trust</u> this leader?

2. When you first met [Name of Leader] **you probably <u>didn't know or trust</u> them like you do now**.
    [<u>Give them the chart</u> (on last page) called "Your Trust in the Adult Leader"]
    Please <u>draw a line</u> on this chart to show how your trust <u>changed</u> since you first started working with them in the program. The line may go up and down.

[Point to the beginning of the line] **How long ago was it when you first started working with them in the program?**

    a. Now I want to understand what happened to change your trust. [Point to each line segment or change that shows an increase in trust] **<u>What happened</u> that made you trust them more?**
        * Were there any <u>events or situations</u> (that increased your trust)?
        *What did the <u>leader say or do</u> (that made you trust them more)?
    [Repeat question a. for each upward line segment or change]
    b. [If there's a point where the line <u>goes down</u>, ask]: **Can you explain what happened here?**

3. a. [IF NOT COVERED] **Since you've know them, what has the leader said or done <u>related to your work in the program</u> that made you trust them?**
    b. [IF NOT COVERED] **Since you've know them, what has the leader said or done <u>not</u> related to your <u>work</u> that made you trust them?** AW: For example, things the leader did that relate to who you are as a person, your personal life, or your future.

4. What has this leader done <u>differently</u> than other adults (like maybe teachers at school) that helped you trust them more?

5. Now I want to ask you about how your trust in the leader has <u>helped</u> you.
a. How has it <u>helped with your work and learning in the program?</u> Can you give me an example?
b. How do you think your experience in the program would be <u>different,</u> if you didn't trust him or her?
c. How has this trust <u>helped you deal with other things in your life?</u> Can you give me an example?

Your Trust in the Adult Leader
ID#_____

Very high trust

In the middle

No trust at all

WHEN YOU FIRST WORKED WITH THE ADULT LEADER IN THE PROGRAM

NOW

<u>**Year 1 Time 4**</u>
1. Is the leader from a similar background or culture as you?
      [IF **YES:**] **In <u>what ways</u> is their background or culture similar to yours?**
      a. How do you think that has influenced her/his <u>abilities to understand you or provide you with help and support</u>?

      b. How do you think that has influenced how much you <u>trust</u> them?

<u>**Year 2 Time 4**</u>
Now I want to ask you about <u>an adult leader in the program</u>. We are interested in different ways people develop trust. Who is the leader you trust most? [If know from T2, say: **In an earlier interview you described your trust in** [Name of Leader]]**.**

1. In <u>what ways</u> is their background or culture similar to yours? [If response is <u>unclear,</u> ask how it relates to family history, ethnicity, race, religion, or language.]

Tailor questions below based on what the youth said.

2. It sounds like your backgrounds and cultures are [similar] [somewhat similar] [completely different].
      a. How do you think these [similarities] [differences]**influenced how much you <u>trusted</u> them when you <u>first</u> started working with them in the program?**
      b. How about now? How do you think these [similarities] [differences] have **influenced how much you <u>trust</u> them <u>now</u>?**
      c. How do you think these [similarities] [differences] **have influenced her/his <u>ability to provide you with help and support</u>?**
      d. How do you think these [similarities] [differences] **have influenced her/his <u>ability to understand you</u>?**

Appendix C: Adult Leader Interview Questions

<u>Time 3</u>
Now I want to ask you about <u>each</u> of the youth whom we are interviewing.
[Ask the following questions for each youth. In addition to saying the youth's name, state his or her ID number for the benefit of the transcriber.]

a. **How has <u>your relationship</u> with [name] developed or changed since they first started the program?**

Probe: Does he/she trust you more?

b. **Has that <u>changed the kind of help or support</u> that you are providing for him/her -- or in what he/she is <u>asking</u> for from you?**

c. **What do you think <u>caused</u> this change?**

<u>Time 4</u>
One general issue we are interested in is whether and how youth <u>come to trust</u> adult program leaders.

1. **First, I want to ask what you do, if anything, to help build youth's trust in you – starting from the first day of the program and going onward?**
   a. **How effective are these strategies? What works, what doesn't, and why?**
   AW: Are there differences in how trust develops for different youth?

2. **How does you <u>being similar or different</u> in background from a youth <u>affect the process</u> of building their trust in you?**
AW: How does being similar or different <u>help</u> to build youth's trust in you? Or create obstacles?
   a. Can you give me an example? [Ask for examples that follow up on what they say about: harder or easier due to similarities or differences in background. Probe for any <u>strategies</u> they used.]

   b. Based on your experience, what would you tell novice leaders in a similar situation about ways they can build trust with youth?

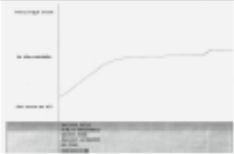**Appendix D: Youth Codebooks (Focused and Theoretical)**

Focused Codes Codebook (11/02/2012)

CODE	Definition	Examples	Col	Note -11/02/2012
	1 BEFORE TRUST FORMS			
INIT_TRUST & IMPR	Youth's initial level of trust or initial impression of the adult leader when first met the AL and/or first started the program.	*At first I didn't really take importance in them because I didn't really know them;*		
	2 HOW TRUST FORMS			
	2a) PROCESSES			
FORM TRUST_PROG	~~When youth's trust forms in interactions relevant to and within the context of program work.;~~ Forming Trust Program: Project tasks prompting and facilitating interactions with the leader that form trust	*What helped me trust him more was being able to talk to him through the process that we wanted to go through for getting footage;*		**May include:** the AL giving assistance, advice, or critical feedback; showing confidence in youth's abilities; nature of program activities contributing to formation of trust; etc.
FORM TRUST_BEYPROG	When youth's trust forms in interactions relevant to things that are **indirectly connected** to program activities **or beyond** program activities.	*I was going through a lot at home, broke down crying and we talked it out; One day I didn't come to the program and she was asking where I was;*		**May include:** AL being empathetic when youth has prob; providing instrumental help for success in school or of family member; relating to youth as individual or youth culture; showing youth they want the youth to be there in the prog; or telling youth they can trust him/her.
FORM TRUST_OBS & KNOW	When formation of trust occurs because the youth makes observations of or has knowledge of the leader's behaviors or interactions with others.	*I saw how he'd help people in our community and thought, "those people trust him so he must be a good man"; I would find it interesting that the other youth trusted them and I wanted to take the risk to see if I could trust them as much;*		**May include:** Knowledge from family members giving AL seal of approval; observing AL helping community; observing how AL treats other prog participants.

		2b) CONTRIBUTING FACTORS			
TIME	Descriptions of something related to time contributing to trust formation including frequency of seeing the AL, over time trusting more, or the pace of trust (e.g. trusting the AL happened quickly or slowly)	*I just started to like gain trust with them the more I started coming to the program;*		**May include:** Time mentioned in general; time mediating trust proceses or confirming could trust; time creating space for them to interact with AL; time allowing them to get to know or become more comfortable with AL.
AL_QUAL	When youth states something about the AL qualities that makes them form trust or continue to trust AL such as gender, personality, and demeanor. Not a specific event	*I can talk to him more because he's a male so we have that in common and can trust him more [than the female leader].*		**May include:** AL being easy to talk; gender; AL having expertise/abilities; AL's approach to managing prog activities, other, or general mentions of qualities.
	3	**OUTCOME OF TRUST FORMED**			
OUTCOME TRUST_BEH & MOT	How trusts affects youth's behavior and/or motivation in terms of work or learning. Often in the context of the program.	*It just helps me try harder.*		**May include:** Motivated to work harder and perservere; More comfortable asking for beign open to AL's help/advice/feedback; Motivated to attend program or increased confidence in abilities
OUTCOME TRUST_BEY PROG	How trust helps with things that are beyond program activities such as personal problems, being a resource for the youth, or providing critical support for the youth.	*When I need somebody to talk to, he's always there; An example would be that the youth asks the AL for a recommendation for a job.*		**May include:** Knowing they have someone they can go to if have a problem in another part of life; Knowing that the AL can provide a resource;
OUTCOME TRUST_REL	How trusts helps shapes youth views about relationships with others, especially adults	*Knowing that you can trust older people because you can trust this AL*		**May include:** Trusting the AL teaches youth about forming trust or forming relationships
OUTCOME TRUST_OTHER	How trusts helps youth in other ways.			**May include:** Multiple other things like having a role model.

Theoretical Codes Codebook (2/11/2013- Note that two additional subcodes were added to codebook upon additional analyses)

CODE	Definition	Some Examples	Note	C o l
	I. INITIAL IMPRESSION AND TRUST		Codes in this catgory likely to be mentioned in Yr2 Time 1, but sometimes in Yr 1 T1 or T2	
INIT_PREV KNOW CONTEXT	Youth base initial impression or trust on previous knowledge of the AL from **knowing the AL from previous contexts** (such as a teacher at their school)	***Actually she was in charge of watching me at church so that got me to know her and I obviously respected her from that because that's when I was really little and the we just grew more of a trusting bond over time.*		
INIT_PREV KNOW FAM	Youth base initial impression or trust on previous knowledge of the AL from **2nd hand knowledge about the AL from family members.**	***He seemed like someone I could trust because he knew my parents so I was like if he knows them I mean I should trust him too.*		
INIT_DONT KNOW	Youth base their initial impression or trust on the fact that they DON'T know the AL.	***At first I didn't really take importance in them because I didn't really know them.*		
INIT_FEEL	Youth base their initial impression or trust on their **gut feelings** about the leader including the AL's **appearance or simply how they first felt around them or their first vibe.**	***He seems like as soon as you look at him, he just looks so friendly.* **She just has this atmosphere of trust. I mean you go next to her and just, "that's like somebody I can trust."*	**May include:** the vibe they got from the adult leader; an impression on the type of leader they would be	
INIT_EVENTS	Youth base their initial impression or trust by assessing **early events that are towards the beginning of the program.** These were things on the first day or the youth indicating the event mentioned is toward the beginning of participation in the program.	***I remember the first time I came I didn't know what to expect, but they seemed really welcoming and they wanted to find out what type of person I was and try to incorporate that into their group.*	**May include:** Be careful only to code events that happen **EARLY ON.** An example may be an activity the leader did the first day that impacted what youth thought at first. **Events discussed during the duration of the program should be coded under one of the codes in the category of Catalysts For Growing Trust.**	

CODE	Definition	Some Examples	Note	
	II-III. PROCESSES OF GROWING TRUST			
		PACE OF GROWING TRUST		
FORM TRUST_PACE	Allusions to trust change across time, especially when it suggest a certain pace to the trust change.		**May include:** Year 2 T2 graphs--some charts may show youth flatten out or have quick leaps or have a steep increase; times youth said yes (or no) to trust in the AL increasing over time;	
FORM TRUST_NONE	Youth report that they did not form trust in the AL over time or that their trust level is lower at the time of the interview than when they first started the program.			
		II.CATALSYTS FOR GROWING TRUST		
			IIA. FORMING TRUST THROUGH PROJECT TASKS	
FORM TRUST_TASKS CONF	**Adult leaders demonstrated confidence in youth's abilities and skills** within the context of project tasks. (This helps faciiliate youth's trust.)	****I started to trust him because the AL trusted me right off the bat. He has kind of entrusted me with a lot of these positions that he hasn't given other new participants quite so quick.**		
FORM TRUST_TASKS FDBK	**Adult leaders provided assistance, advice, or feedback** that the youth value withing the context of project tasks.	****What helped me trust him more was being able to talk to him through the process that we wanted to go through for getting footage.**		

CODE	Definition	Some Examples	Note	
			IIB. FORMING TRUST THROUGH A CONNECTION	
FORM TRUST_CONN INT	Youth experienced a connection with the AL as they **exchange interests and/or experiences in domains outside of the program.** (This helps youth form trust.)	*** Other people would be like, 'Oh, whatever, it's One Direction' even if they don't know. And she like even googled them up and started listening to their songs too.*	**May include:** youth and AL talking about similar interests or experiences; AL sharing experience that resonates with a youth's own experience; AL trying to learn more about a youth's personal interests or hobbies	
FORM TRUST_CONN HELP	Youth experienced a connection with the AL because the AL provided or offered to provide **instrumental help with issues beyond the program.**	***I trust him more now because he helped me with my homework and helped my brothers and family.*	**May include:** Domains like the youth's family, for succeeding in school, or in making plans for their future. Note this is if they provided or OFFERED to provide.	
FORM TRUST_CONN EMP	Youth experienced a connection with the AL because the **AL's empathy helped** them.	***I was going through a lot at home, broke down crying and we talked it out*		
FORM TRUST_ CONN AL COMM CARE	Youth experienced a connection when the Adult leader **communicated that they cared about the youth and the youth's presence in the program.**	***One day I didn't come to the program and she was asking where I was*		

CODE	Definition	Some Examples	Note	
			IIC. FORMING TRUST THROUGH OBSERVATIONS	
FORM TRUST_OBS LEAD STY	Youth observed **how the leader managed the program.** (This leads to increase in trust.)	***I trust her more now that I see how she could be, how strict, how helpful, pretty much orderly and I've seen more than that in this program than I've seen before. I've always been coming here but this is the first time I've ever had to actually pay attention to her.*	**May include:** Things that are dealing with leading program activities or their style that is not something directly affecting the youth.	
FORM TRUST_OBS CMTY	Youth observed **how the AL helped the community or nonprogram members** (e.g. x, yyy, zz).	***I saw how he'd help people in our community and thought, "those people trust him so he must be a good man";*		
FORM TRUST_OBS PARTICIPANTS	Youth observed **how the AL treated other program participants or how other participants felt about the AL.**	***I would find it interesting that the other youth trusted them and I wanted to take the risk to see if I could trust them as much.*		

CODE	Definition	Some Examples	E C o l	Note
		III.TIME FACILITATES OR ASSISTS THE GROWING OF TRUST		
TIME_MED	Time spent in the program (in terms of **length of time** spent in the program or **frequency of** program attendance) is discussed in relation to the catalyst trust processes above.	***So as time goes by, the things you have to do in there, she helps out and she gives a lot of advice on how to make your work better. **They're always there, whenever I feel like—I look sad or anything, they always come up to me, so I get that they care about me, so I just want to trust them.*		**May include:** These are likely to be things already coded as a II. It is ok for these to be doublecoded and is expected if they mentioned a process AND time, then it will be coded as a II and a IIIA. Words like "always" might be used.
TIME_GET TO KNOW	Time spent in the program **allowed youth to get to know the AL or the AL to get to know them** which helped them feel more trust.	***The more I talked to them and the more I got to know them and the more I opened up to them I guess the more trust I felt towards the.*		
TIME_COMF	**Time allowed youth to become comfortable with the AL** which helped them grow their trust in the AL.			
TIME_CHANGE IMPR	Time spent in the program gave youth the opportunity to **change their initial impression** of the AL.	***She seemed mean at first. But then I just started talking to her more and more and she became…or she is a nice person.*		
TIME_OTHER	Time facilitated trust in some other way.			

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CODE	Definition	Some Examples	Note	
	IV. HOW FORMING TRUST HELPS YOUTH			
OUTCOME TRUST_EXP BETTER	Trust they developed in the AL makes them have a better experience at the program. For example, it helps them acquire work-related skills, makes them want to come to the program, or helps get them motivated.	**It just helps me try harder.*	**May include:** Project tasks are easier to do; Feel more motivated; Motivated to work harder and perservere; More comfortable asking for or being open to AL's help/advice/feedback; Motivated to attend program or increased confidence in abilities.	
OUTCOME TRUST_RES BEY PROG	Trust helps youth see the AL as a resource they can or do use to navigate issues beyond the program.	**When I need somebody to talk to, he's always there. **An example would be that the youth asks the AL for a recommendation for a job.*	**May include:** Knowing they have someone they can go to if have a problem in another part of life; Knowing that the AL can provide a resource; help with things that are beyond program activities such as personal problems, being a resource for the youth, or providing critical support for the youth.	
OUTCOME TRUST_REL	Trust helps shapes youth's relationships (or views about relationships) with others. Or this shapes youth's relationships with the AL because the AL becomes a role model.	**Knowing that you can trust older people because you can trust this AL **An example would be saying the they got a role model in the AL because they trusted them. **Trusting her teaches me that I can be more trust open to people 'cause normally I'm not but I can let my guard down for a little bit and let someone help me for once in a while.*	**May include:** Trusting the AL teaches youth about forming trust or forming relationships; having a role model.	
OUTCOME TRUST_OTHER	Trusts helps youth in other ways.			
OUTCOME TRUST_NONE	Youth explicitly say that trusting the AL did NOT help them in any way at all.		Not when they don't mention it helping them, when they actually say it did NOT help them in any way	