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Experiences of Trust in Longer-Lasting Formal Youth Mentoring Relationships

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EXPERIENCES OF TRUST IN LONGER-LASTING FORMAL YOUTH

MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

EXPERIENCES OF TRUST IN LONGER-LASTING FORMAL YOUTH

MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS

December 2016

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The purpose of this longitudinal qualitative study was to investigate youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust in longer-term formal youth mentoring relationships. Trust was defined as youth relying on and confiding in their mentors based on experiences of mentor reliability, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection from emotional harm. Thematic analysis was conducted on interview data from a longitudinal dataset, involving analysis of narratives from interviews (n=147) with youth, mentors, and parents for mentoring matches that lasted at least two years. Overall, participants in this study identified multiple ways trust was experienced by youth and supported by mentors. Additionally, various experiences seemed more or less critical depending on the timepoint in the relationship. Mutuality in confiding--involving mentor intentionality around making such confiding developmentally appropriate, appropriate to the

nature of the mentoring relationship, and done in the service of the mentee and not the mentor--was a central way youth experienced trust and mentors supported youth trust. Youth demonstrated considerable strengths in wanting to rely on and confide in their mentors, in valuing such experiences for the emotional support and meaningful well-being they conferred, and in being self-protective around engaging in these experiences depending on various aspects of mentor attunement, time, and level of trust developed in the relationship. Youth experiences of trust became, over time, more multifaceted, and as such, some events that may have seemed negative or that perhaps carried greater potential for rupture in the beginning of the relationship seemed understood and experienced by youth as weighing less heavily as time went on and trust was known in many ways. While these experiences seemed to play out somewhat uniquely in each match, the themes found in this study captured common elements shared across these longer-term matches. Sociopolitical context and social ecology were found to be important for the development of youth trust. Two main contextual themes highlighted in this study, talking about race and racism, and family involvement, were especially important for supporting meaningful and beneficial experiences of youth trust in this context and setting. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my father. May his memory be a blessing.

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This dissertation is a community achievement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Formal mentoring programs in the United States reach over two and a half million youth (Bruce & Bridgeland, 2014; Rhodes, 2016). Although mentoring programs generate countless stories of mutual growth and meaningful success, research suggests that the positive effects of matched mentoring relationships are more modest than would be hoped (DuBois et al., 2002, 2011). These relationships are not all alike in their ability to support positive outcomes. Further, tremendous variation exists in their quality (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). One way to improve these relationships is to better understand the relational processes supporting them.

Youth mentoring relationships are recognized to work via a general process that has at its core an emotional bond characterized by trust, mutuality, and empathy (Rhodes, 2002, 2005). This foundational bond is necessary for the relationship to blossom and to support a range of positive developmental processes that, in turn, promote positive academic and emotional outcomes. Without this foundational bond, of which trust is a key component, mentoring relationships may not succeed. In every mentoring relationship, therefore, a key task of the adult is to earn the trust of the youth.

Trust is defined here as the willingness of a youth to rely on and confide in a mentor (see Dietz, 2011; Gillespie, 2012). It is generally formed through the relational

experiences of reliability in word and deed, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection from emotional harm (see Rotenberg, 2012). Trust is at the foundation of growth-promoting relationships (Bernath & Feshbach, 1995; Boyes-Watson, 2008; Jordan, 1997; Munson et al., 2010; Spencer, Jordan, & Sazama, 2004). Therefore, trust is likely to play a central role in the mentoring process as well (Greeson & Bowen, 2008; Liang et al., 2008; Munson et al., 2010; Rhodes, 2002, 2005; Spencer, 2002, 2006). Youth mentoring relationships are generally defined as "a trusting relationship between a young person and an older, non-parental figure who provides guidance and support" (Schwartz et al., 2013, p. 156). However, to date there has been no close study of the development of trust in youth mentoring relationships. What does this trust look like, and how does it develop over time as the relationship grows, deepens, falters, or is repaired? The purpose of this study is to examine youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust over time in longer-lasting formal youth mentoring relationships.

The rationale for specifically investigating longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships is twofold. First, longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships tend to confer the most benefits to youth (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Grossman, Schwartz, Chan, & Rhodes, 2012; Rhodes, 2002). Premised on the risk and resilience literature documenting the developmental benefits of longer-lasting confiding relationships between youth and adults (Collins, 2001; Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010; Rutter, 1979; Wyman et al., 1999; Zimmerman & Brenner, 2010; Zimmerman, Bingenheimer & Notaro, 2002), these enduring, longer-lasting matches are a key outcome that community-

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based youth mentoring organizations such as Big Brothers Big Sisters strive for in their work. Elucidation of how youth experience trust and how mentors experience supporting youth trust in these relationships can offer valuable insights and evidence for research and training on effective practices. Many studies on trust look at perceptions of hypothetical trust situations rather than experiences and behaviors (Li, 2012; Gillespie, 2012). To better elucidate what trust looks like in relationships, there is a considerable need for qualitative work investigating real-world experiences of trust in human relationships (Gillespie 2003, 2012; Lewicki & Brinsfield, 2012; Li, 2012; Mayer et al., 2011; Ozawa & Sripad, 2013).

Second, because trust is conceptualized as a dynamic process that develops over time, is moderated by relationship length, and may look different across time points (Alexopoulos & Buckley, 2013; Levin, Whitener, & Cross, 2006; Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006), these longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships offer the most salient data on how youth experience trust and how mentors experience supporting youth trust over an extended period of time. Longitudinal studies examining experiences of trust are particularly rare, and the few longitudinal studies that do exist are cross-sectional or investigate trust over a span of a few months (Li, 2011; Mayer et al., 2011). The data in this proposed study are especially unique in that they offer a look at relationships spanning two years.

This descriptive qualitative study examining experiences of trust over time in longer-lasting formal youth mentoring relationships is designed to better elucidate trust

and account for time in real-world relationships, and to thus offer meaningful insights and evidence for research and training on effective practices.

Literature Review

Why Trust?

For relationships to provide the meaningful connection that is so foundational to growth-promoting relationships, authentic emotional expression and engagement needs to be present and that requires trust (Jordan, 1997, 2010; Spencer, Jordan, & Sazama, 2004; Rhodes, 2005). In adolescence, the need for trust in growth-promoting relationships is particularly vital for a range of key developmental processes associated with positive youth development and resilient identity development (Deutsch, 2008; Gilligan, 1988; Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes et al., 2006; Sterrett et al., 2011; Way, 1998). Especially for youth who have been particularly silenced or isolated, or who are also at risk for invisibility of their needs and rights in society, trusting growth-promoting relationships can support resilience and healthy resistance to oppression (Boyes-Watson, 2008; Hirsch, 2005; Hirsch, Deutsch, & DuBois, 2011; see Lev, 2010, for an interesting discussion of the impact of heteronormativity on research and clinical theory; McLaughlin; 1993; McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 2001; see Reitman et al., 2013; Sullivan, 1996). There is a long history of research on the developmental benefits of confiding growth-promoting non-parental youth-adult relationships for resilience in the face of multiple kinds of risk (Collins, 2001; Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010; Rutter, 1979; Wyman et al., 1999; Zimmerman & Brenner, 2010; Zimmerman, Bingenheimer & Notaro, 2002). In caring,

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growth-promoting adult-youth relationships, a role of the person with greater power is to encourage expression and growth in the person with lesser power (Spencer, Jordan, & Sazama, 2004; Miller, 1986). Youth mentoring programs are one important community-based intervention that addresses these matters by attempting to establish trusting growth-promoting relationships between youth and adults.

Quality matters in youth mentoring relationships (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). High quality formally-matched youth mentoring relationships can take as long as a year or more to develop (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Spencer, 2006, 2007). Many formally-matched youth mentoring relationships don't last beyond the first few months (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Grossman, Chan, Schwartz, & Rhodes, 2012). One huge problem is that many mentors leave the relationship when they are not prepared for the realities of the commitment or do not experience rewards, or have trouble immediately engaging the youth. Contrary to the intents of the adults involved, these relationship endings and terminations can do significant harm to youth, and make youth less likely to trust another relationship with an adult (Rhodes, 2002; Spencer, 2007). By contrast, the longer-lasting formal youth mentoring relationships are the ones conferring significant benefits to youth (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Munson & McMillen, 2009).

What does quality mean in these formally-matched youth mentoring relationships? An important piece of this is trust (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). Relationships are conceptualized as needing a trusting youth-mentor bond in order to progress and to support a range of positive developmental processes that in turn promote positive socio-emotional and academic outcomes (Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes, 2005). The

literature on youth mentoring suggests that trust is vital for the success of high-quality, enduring relationships (Liang et al. 2008; Munson et al., 2011; Spencer, 2002, 2006) and may play a considerable role in differentiating the relationships that last from those that do not (Morrow & Styles, 1995). However, to date no close study exists that focuses specifically on characterizing trust and its development in formal youth mentoring relationships.

Defining Trust

Trust has been defined in many different ways. Currently, no definition for trust exists in the youth mentoring literature. For this study, I am defining trust as the willingness of a youth to rely on and confide in a mentor, based on relational experiences of reliability in word and deed, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection from emotional harm. This definition draws directly from the most robust recent literature on trust for children and adolescents in defining the bases of trust as: reliability in word and deed; honesty (telling the truth and engaging in behaviors guided by benign intent); and emotional trust (sensitivity to disclosures and confidentiality of them, and protection from emotional harm and criticism) (Rotenberg, 2012). Further, it integrates this literature's more general framework of cognitive, affective, and behavioral enactments of trust (Rotenberg, 2012) with the most recent and robust findings from the literature on trust measurement that suggest two main factors operating in experiences and behaviors of trust: reliance (relying on another's skills, knowledge, judgments, or actions); and disclosure (sharing information of a sensitive nature) (Dietz, 2011; Gillespie, 2012). In

this manuscript, I will occasionally refer back to the above complete definition for trust using more abbreviated labels.

This definition is applicable to youth mentoring relationships. It points to experiences and behaviors that are widely-understood to be critical processes in these relationships. Mentors need to be reliable in word and deed in a way that youth can trust; indeed, this kind of reliability is described as "a cornerstone of trust" in the youth mentoring literature on assessing relationship quality (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009, p. 51). Qualitative findings on relational processes in youth mentoring point also to the vital role of honesty and truth-telling by mentors for the authentic exchanges that constitute and build trust (Spencer, 2002, 2006). Emotional trust characterized by disclosures of feelings and self-perceptions is thought to be a key active ingredient for promoting meaningful connection in the mentoring relationship, and, thus for promoting positive outcomes (Rhodes, 2005). Youth need to know that their adult mentors are reliable, honest, and emotionally sensitive and protective in order to rely on and confide in them. However, while these three bases for trust are related, they are also distinct and may not always be equally salient. For example, someone may trust another person to be reliable in word and deed without necessarily trusting the person with emotional disclosures or vulnerabilities. In this way, this definition allows for specificity in characterizing different aspects of trust and bases for trust that may not always be present together in the same ways.

Definitions of trust in the multiple literatures on trust are beginning to converge (Gillespie, 2012). Three main conditions viewed as central to definitions and experiences

of trust are vulnerability, risk, and interdependence (Hosmer, 1995; Gillespie, 2012).

Vulnerability and risk, however, take on different meanings when used in trust studies of, say, gambling with a computer while inside an MRI machine (see Shilke, Reimann, and Cook, 2013) versus considering the role of an adult stranger in a child or adolescent's social and emotional development. It would not be appropriate to expect a child or adolescent to take risks or to make themselves emotionally vulnerable in any way without solid bases in place for this kind of trust. Further, there are many different types of vulnerability and risk; specification of reliance and disclosure as types of trust involved in youth mentoring relationships goes without saying and is taken for granted, but is important to better understand. While youth mentoring programs extensively screen adult volunteers for things like past criminal behavior, less is known about predicting an adult's capacity to be reliable, honest, and emotionally sensitive and protective of a youth from emotional harm in an ongoing mentoring relationship (Rhodes, 2002).

Many definitions of trust are highly general. For example, Mollering (2001) defines trust as a "state of favorable expectation regarding other people's actions and intentions" (p. 104). This definition of trust is a widely used general definition of the construct, and there are over 650 citations for this definition in the scientific literature (McEvilvy & Tortoriello, 2011). While in-line with conceptualizations about the importance of trust for growth-promoting relationships, it does not tell us much specifically about what trust is. Some definitions of trust do convey a great deal about what trust is and are compelling, but these definitions still remain so vague that they are a considerable challenge to operationalize. For example, revisiting nineteenth century

scholarship on the topic to unearth more affectively-laden and nuanced aspects of this general definition for trust given above, Mollering (2001) rediscovers the work of philosopher Georg Simmel. In an era when the Western disciplines of psychology and philosophy were beginning to move away from religious understandings of the world toward more positivist classification schemes (Goldstein, 2001), Simmel's writing on the topic recaptures elements of trust that go beyond a general positive outlook in a relationship. Trust, Simmel wrote, has a "pre-verbal, affective, moral, and quasi-religious element"; to trust is "to believe in someone," to have faith, "trust is "nuanced" ('nuanciert') and thus the quasi-religious element can vary in strength and importance" (Mollering, 2001, p. 406, quoting Simmel). Of note, when looking at qualitative work examining processes of trust in the mentoring literature, the concept of "believing" in someone is right there to be found. This is mentioned by youth in the work of Styles and Morrow (1992, pp. 35-56), and is also highlighted in Spencer's work (2006, p. 306).

One challenge of having adequately flexible definitions for a construct is that while such definitions are valid, they are often so ambiguous that they are a challenge to operationalize. The definition for trust I am using works to describe trust with more specificity while also maintaining construct validity both with the discipline of academic psychology and with lived experiences of social reality (see also Niemeyer, 2001, for related dialectic). It points to specific experiences and behaviors, and bases for trust, that need to be better characterized in order to better understand trust in youth mentoring relationships.

Time and the Development of Trust

Trust can look different at diverse timepoints in a relationship. Researchers and theorists have highlighted the need to conceptualize trust as a dynamic process that unfolds over time (Khodykov, 2007; Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006; Tshannen-Moran, 2011). As the field of trust research is converging on conceptualizations of trust and central issues for research, one main issue is that very little work examines the development of trust over time in human relationships. As trust researchers have organized themselves into a more systematized profession (for a perhaps analogous process, see work from the 1980s on the scientific study of the construct stress—for example, NIMH, 1986), the *Journal of Trust Research* has emerged as a central repository for debate on emerging issues. Recent work in this journal notes the "paucity of empirical research on the development of trust" (Mayer et al., 2011) and the editor points to the value of a recent "rare longitudinal empirical study" that examines trust over five months (Li, 2011, p. 134).

Trust theorists have pointed to the importance of temporal matters in interpersonal trust development, but a recent comprehensive work noted "considerable work left to be done" (Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006, p. 1013). Synthesizing work in the field at the time, Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie (2006) described a model for trust development that incorporates three stages: 1) calculus-based trust often occurring early in relationships, involving evaluation of various behaviors as important indicators of broader "benefits and costs" (p. 1010) to staying in the relationship ; 2) stable knowledge-based trust that tends to emerge next and is grounded in an understanding,

usually through repeated experiences of interaction, of how another person thinks and responds; and 3) stable identification-based trust that is grounded in shared perspectives and "in an increasing identification with the other person…the parties share and appreciate each other's desires, intentions, wants, and values" (p. 1010).

A main idea to consider here is that socio-emotional information may be processed—that is, "perceived, interpreted, and given meaning" (Levin, Whitener, & Cross, 2006, p. 1164)--differently in a relationship at different stages of trust development. For example, in a cross-sectional study of supervisors and subordinates, Levin, Whitener, and Cross (2006) found that relationship length moderated the perceived trustworthiness of knowledge sources, depending on the type of information used to assess these perceptions. The authors defined perceived trustworthiness as a more general umbrella construct involving "a person's willingness to be vulnerable to another because he or she expects that the other person has his or her interests at heart, cares for him or her, and feels goodwill toward him or her" (p. 1164). For new relationships, demographic similarity (in this study, self-identified gender) appeared most important. For the group of relationships that were neither new nor enduring, trustworthy behavior was most important. In the most enduring group of relationships, shared perspectives were most important. The authors noted that bases of trust may differ or change over time, but highlight that longitudinal data are needed to further explore this idea. There is some evidence for a differential influence of trust at different stages on a range of outcomes; affect-laden identification-based trust is seen to predict the broadest range of

outcomes, including those associated with socio-emotional support and disclosure (McAllister, Lewicki, & Chaturvedi, 2006).

Research that assumes a linear view of trust evolution is unlikely, however, to capture "critical incidents" related to trust over time, as trust develops or declines through processes including rupture and repair (Alexopoulos & Buckley, 2013, p. 384). While very important, quantitative research that focuses on relationship duration as a measure of trust is not likely to fully capture these processes.

Recent work in neuroscience focuses on processes of rupture and repair, investigating different patterns of brain activation associated with breaches of trust early versus later in a relationship (Schilke, Reimann, & Cook, 2013). This work suggests that with greater experience in a relationship, trust recovery is controlled by a more automatic social cognition system, whereas if a breach of trust is experienced early in a relationship, trust recovery engages a controlled social cognition system that is less forgiving. These findings are congruent with research suggesting that as relationships become more "habitualized" a trust breach is often experienced as a negative deviation that is more an exception rather than a rule (Tomlinson, Dineen, & Lewicki, 2004). Thus, it appears easier to repair a breach of trust if a relationship is more established in both quality of the connection and in time. It must be noted that these recent findings involve people making trust decisions while inside an MRI machine, based on gambling experiences with a computer partner during repeated trials over the course of less than a day. While compelling, high-quality, and cutting-edge, this line of research begs the question of how and to what extent it may apply to the complexities of human relationships that last

longer than a day. To explore these matters, there is a vital need for longitudinal

qualitative work involving experiences of trust in human relationships (Alexopoulos &

Buckley, 2013; Ozawa & Sripad, 2013).

Trust in Youth Mentoring Relationships

What does the existing literature on youth mentoring relationships have to say

about trust and its development in these relationships? There is some very interesting

work having to do with trust contained within broader studies on mentoring, however, no

close study exists to date that focuses on characterizing trust and its development in

formal youth mentoring relationships.

There is some compelling literature on trust in natural youth mentoring

relationships, which have long been understood as quite effective in supporting positive

outcomes for youth (DuBois & Silverthorn, 2005; Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010; Hurd,

Sánchez, Zimmerman, & Caldwell, 2012), and on which community-based programs that

develop more formally-created youth mentoring relationships try to model their matches.

Natural mentoring relationships, in which the adult is not a stranger to the youth, are

understood to involve less challenge for the youth in trusting the adult, and are

understood to develop more gradually than most formal relationships are expected to

develop (Britner, Balcazar, Blinn-Pike, & Larose, 2006; Spencer et al., 2013). Recent

qualitative work examining experiences of female foster youth in natural mentoring

relationships highlighted trust as one of three key relationship characteristics (the other

two were "love and caring," and "like parent and child") that matters and needs to be

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better understood even in these natural mentoring relationships (Greeson & Bowen, 2008). In this study, trust was discussed by foster youth as "emerging over time" (p. 1182) and as involving authentic exchanges and sensitive disclosures. For example, one youth said, "…the way she is open towards me and not afraid to tell me how she feels, I guess, because I trust her and she trusts me…I just have that feeling, like I can open up to you, tell you stuff and not worry about it" (p. 1182). Another youth discussed how her mentor's sensitivity in "looking at what I was doing, what I was telling her" allowed the youth to feel that "then she knew who I was, who I really was. That's when she started gaining my trust to tell her my problems. We started talking about how my life was in [country of origin] and what I was like with my real mom….The thing she gave me is to share my problems" (p. 1182). The lead quote in this compelling study is about the willingness of a youth to rely on her mentor: "She holds my hand. It's not the fact that I need somebody to hold my hand, but she's a person I can rely on when I've had a long day" (p. 1178). Here, youth were experiencing a willingness to rely on and disclose to a mentor, based on emotional experiences of reliability, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection.

In another recent study of foster youths' experiences of their relationships with non-kin natural mentors, trust in the form of sensitive disclosures also emerged as a very important quality of these relationships (Munson et al., 2010). This study emphasized the shared perspectives and experiences that the mentors, former foster youth themselves, had with the youth. These shared perspectives were seen to help "minimize shame and lead to youth bringing more of themselves into the relationships" (p. 533). In contrast to

youths' experiences with other adults, the natural mentors were seen by youth as "adults who *can* be trusted" (p. 533). Youth in this study described going to their mentors with sensitive emotional disclosures, based on their mentors' emotional sensitivity and protection. For example, "when I go to her with something I know it's private. I know I can trust her" (p. 533).

In recent work by Spencer and colleagues (2013), the development of trust with mentors in youth-initiated mentoring with older adolescents appeared much more rapid than typically seen in formal youth mentoring relationships. The youth-initiated mentoring program studied involved a youth identifying and selecting a mentor who is already known to the youth, usually someone who is already part of a youth's immediate community or extended family. In this study, youth and mentors also participated in "'co-training' to foster trust and establish expectations for the relationship" (Spencer et al., 2013, p. 6). Many youth in the study felt it was important to know their mentor was reliable, that "their mentor was someone they could count on to be there for them" (p. 13). By contrast, a youth whose mentor was particularly unreachable said, "It was horrible. It was like getting your back stabbed" (p. 15). Some youth described how important it was to be able to "depend on" their mentor and "talk about my feelings" with their mentor (p.13). In some cases, shared backgrounds, experiences and perspectives were viewed by youth as facilitating trust. In the words of one youth, "I'm sure I wouldn't have…opened up to him as easily…Would'a took longer…versus right away" (p. 12). Most of these mentoring relationships endured beyond the end of the formal program, and "in many cases well beyond" (p. 16). A mixed-method study of the same

sample found the most common theme for youth in enduring matches was the socio-emotional support from their mentor (Schwartz et al., 2013).

Apparent in the literature are strong and compelling findings on the importance for trust of youth willingness to rely on and disclose to a mentor based on experiences of reliability, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection. There is also some research in the youth mentoring literature that is especially salient for how this kind of trust is facilitated over time.

Research suggests that patterns of interaction that are grounded in a mentor's style and experience of responding to a youth facilitate the development of trust. The importance of these processes for youth was carefully elucidated in an extensive, longitudinal line of research on youth and mentor experiences done by Styles and Morrow (1992). These authors interviewed youth and adults drawn from four Linking Lifetimes intergenerational mentoring sites, across different cities, connecting vulnerable youth with older, mostly retired, adults in the community. Practices and patterns of interaction distinguishing 26 "satisfied" from "unsatisfied" pairs were identified based on interviews conducted at two points in time, early in the match (average meeting time 3.5 months) and later in the match (approximately nine months later). In this study, the activities pairs engaged in did not determine satisfaction with the relationships; both satisfied and unsatisfied pairs engaged in similar activities. Rather, styles of interaction, broadly characterized as being youth-driven and collaborative in nature, appeared to distinguish relationships that worked from those that did not. A main identified process characterizing youth-driven relationships involved the mentor understanding that

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developing trust with a youth can take significant time, and adjusting interactions accordingly. Apparent in the interviews were mentors' understandings of why a youth might be reluctant to trust, and mentors' continued positive views of the youth, even in the face of minimal response from youth or other setbacks. This process appeared to build trust, and to let the youth know they were valued; youth in satisfied relationships described feeling cared for, "'believed in,'" supported, and even loved (pp. 35-36). This process also emerges in an illustration of the gradual nature of youth-adult relationship development in a study of natural mentors (Beam, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002, p. 315).

By contrast, a main process identified characterizing interactions of dissatisfied pairs involved a mentor being disappointed in a youth's inability to meet expectations, and then responding in such a way that blamed and criticized youth, sometimes doing so in a way that projected enduring negative traits on the youth. In some cases, these negative traits were also viewed as congruent with the youth's family, culture, or ethnicity. Youth, unsurprisingly, responded to these mentors by withdrawing from the relationship. These interactions of dissatisfied pairs were characterized by Styles and Morrow (1992) as involving more rigid expectations on the part of well-meaning mentors that were not developed or engaged in any collaborative or responsive way with youth. While it is not clear how and to what extent certain characteristics of the youth may have evoked these responses in mentors, youth in satisfied matches appeared to have similar contextual complications in their lives, but were responded to quite differently by the mentors.

In subsequent research, Morrow and Styles (1995) further refined their classification of how mentoring relationships develop over time, in a qualitative study of 82 already "jelled" (> four months long) mentoring matches from eight Big Brother Big Sister programs, at two points in time, with the second interviews occurring nine months after the first interviews. Congruent with their 1992 study, strikingly similar patterns of interaction were evident in the interviews, with emotional "tone" of the interaction also emerging as key (pp. 60, 67). Two broad relationship categories emerged from the data: "developmental" matches that were youth-driven, encouraging, and non-judgmental in the support provided; and "prescriptive" matches in which well-meaning volunteers entered the match with somewhat rigid goals for youth without making time to first build trust or recognize and respond to the developmental needs and subjective experience of youth. Over time, developmental matches appeared to allow youth to share enough about their lives and build enough trust so that volunteers could then engage important goals. This required considerable patience on the part of the mentors. While 22 of the youth in developmental matches began to confide in their mentor several weeks or several months into the match, the other 18 youth took much longer (p. 71). (Similarly, see also Spencer, 2007, p. 192 for an example of how in the words of one mentor, "It took at least six months for (youth) to…start trusting me and to start coming out of his shell.")

One developmental volunteer, in describing his approach to relationship-building with youth, emphasized how he meets youth where they are developmentally, engaging them on their terms before attempting to negotiate other topics. This volunteer contrasted his approach with a more solely prescriptive style that does not respond to a youth's

needs or subjective experience and that ultimately "lose(s) the child's ability to talk to you" (p. 74). Prescriptive matches tended to evoke, over time, even with youth who had initially confided in and trusted the mentors, self-shielding and avoidance behaviors on the part of youth, who withdrew emotionally from the relationship and did not seek support. In the face of setbacks with youth, developmental volunteers described letting the youth know they were still seen in a positive light. For example, one volunteer described, upon hearing of his Little Brother's suspension from school, recognizing that the youth needed support and encouragement: "I tell him he's a good kid and you're smarter than that" (p. 36). Another volunteer described recognizing how she "didn't wanna be too negative" in the face of her Little Sister's poor grades, and tried to "build her self-confidence," telling the youth "I know you can do it…you're capable, you're a smart girl, you can do it, you just need to try harder" (p. 36). Youth in these matches reported gaining confidence and feeling supported. For example, one youth reported, "Every time she tells me you can do good at this…it makes me feel like she really cares and I can really do it. If she thinks I can do it, I can do it" (p. 76). Prescriptive volunteers, by contrast, did not seem to respond to youth with such encouragement, actively ridiculed the youth, and did not seem to view youth in an enduring positive way or to experience pleasure getting to know the youth. For example, one prescriptive volunteer noted that, "the only satisfaction I could ever get out of this is to see him do well [in school]" (p. 38). In sum, the following processes all appeared to play important roles in creating, over time, the trust that allows youth to engage more fully in the relationship: a recognition on the part of adults for why youth may need time to build

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trust; enduring positive views and demonstrated, emotionally-sensitive encouragement toward youth in the face of setbacks; and perhaps an enjoyment of getting to know the youth that is then recognized by the youth. Over time, youth in developmental mentoring matches also became more engaged in other settings, such as school.

It must be noted that developmental relationships were understood to contain prescriptive elements. The methodology involved in this line of research required a researcher to assess whether a match was perceived by both participants as positive or negative, perhaps setting up a dichotomy in terminology that does not adequately reflect complexities in the course of youth-adult relationships over time. However, when adults responded to youths' tests of trust in a more "developmental" way, this was a key process for relationship success.

Recent work (Karcher & Nakkula, 2010) analyzing data from a particularly high-functioning Big Brother Big Sister agency suggests that "reciprocal sharing" of concerns, experiences, and feelings between mentors and mentees is most predictive of perceptions of closeness in the match. In the literature on youth mentoring, closeness is considered the best indicator of relationship quality. The authors did not explicitly point out that this kind of sharing may be a proxy for trust. Since sharing, for mentees, was the best predictor of openness to emotional support, one could conclude that these findings really say mentees are more open to receiving support in the context of a trusting relationship. However, it is unclear to what extent these two constructs, sharing experiences and openness to support, may overlap.

Dyadic responsiveness to subtle relational cues is considered vital for creating trusting adult-youth relationships. Spencer (2006), through interviews with youth and adults in 24 longer-term (> one year) mentoring pairs matched through urban Big Brother Big Sister agencies, identified relational processes that emerged as important to strengthening the relationships. Early in the relationship, processes of authenticity, involving mentors bringing aspects of themselves into the relationship in ways one youth deemed "being real" (p. 298), and empathy, involving mentors seeing youth in positive ways, for example, as "a real good kid" (p. 302) despite situational constraints, emerged as particularly key in building trust. These relational processes contributed to effective collaboration with youth, and to a sense of companionship whereby youth "felt that these adults cared about and believed in them, and this love and confidence was rendered particularly meaningful by the fact that they felt deeply known and seen by them" (p. 306). Spencer highlights the "bidirectional nature" of these processes, noting how these relational processes allowed youth to bring more of themselves into the relationship (p. 309); such processes are described as involving "signals and cues that were received and responded to by the other" and that over time shaped a working collaboration unique to each pair (pp. 304-305).

Some related processes involved in facilitating this kind of trust were mentioned in another qualitative study of former foster youths' experiences of relationships with supportive non-parental adults (Ahrens et al., 2011). Two main facilitators of a sense for youth that the adults could be trusted as reliable, honest, and emotionally sensitive and protective included: experiences of authentic displays of affection and emotional support

from the adult; and authentic sharing of experiences by the adult. For example, one youth described what it meant that her case manager shared personal experiences with her: "Those moments she shared about her life. They're not supposed to do that but it's optional for them. If they want to put their business out there to you, or whatever, it's optional. So for her to take that option and take it to the next level I really thought…was really nice" (p. 1016). Another youth advised adults to "…show your body language, which means be yourself, show your eyes, show your emotion in your face, get into conversation with the kid…You've got to be with the kid, get a relationship with that kid; that's the number one thing. Try to get your whole body, your whole mind, your whole spirit into wanting to help that kid. And you're not trying to show it, you're trying to be yourself. That's how you will show it" (p. 1016).

Building this trust is understood to happen over time, particularly in formally-matched youth mentoring relationships. Particularly with vulnerable youth who may be at high risk for poor developmental outcomes or who may have complicated histories with adults in their lives, and who the mentoring literature suggests may be hardest to reach (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes & Spencer, 2010; Zand et al., 2009), while building trust may take time, it can be done (Herrera, DuBois, & Grossman, 2013). Community based youth development programs have been described as "mentor-rich settings" (Freedman, 1999, p. 111; also see Hamilton et al., 2006; Hirsch, 2005; Hirsch, Deutsch, & DuBois, 2011). One high-quality, high-retention program serving vulnerable youth, Roca, recognizes how much time it may take to build trust with youth, and conceptualizes building trust as the sole aim of the entire first year of engagement with

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youth (Pierce, 2009). In this program's highly successful model of youth development, the relationships youth workers form with youth are conceptualized as playing a foundational role in shifting developmental trajectories, and are termed "transformational relationships (TRs)." The centrality of these relationships to the work of staff and for the engagement of youth is further recognized via the emergence of a new word that references the intentionality involved in a youth worker's experience of engaging youth; when a youth worker engages a youth, this experience is called "TRing" the youth. Caseloads are termed "TRs." Apparent setbacks or ruptures in a youth's participation are recognized as inevitable, and are conceptualized as involving reluctance to trust, and perhaps a testing of the trust built already, and thus become vital opportunities for further engagement and for a corrective experience of relational repair.

Apparent testing of trust by youth is considered a critical process for adults to recognize and effectively respond to as they work to build and repair relationships with youth (Rhodes, Spencer, Keller, Liang, & Noam, 2006). Congruent with Morrow and Styles' (1995) findings, some research suggests that repair of ruptures may especially hinge on a mentor's ability to effectively respond to latent needs of the youth rather than the sometimes more apparent situational constraints. For example, Lemma (2010), in a qualitative study of traumatized youths' relationships with their youth workers in a community care setting, suggests that multiple instances of testing trust that then elicit adult responses to a youth's latent needs rather than to the apparent situational constraints may first happen before a youth can begin to "trust the mind of another person" (p. 416). There is a call by youth development workers in the field to better understand how youth

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and adults can effectively talk together about issues that may arise in the relationship so that ruptures can be effectively repaired (Boyes-Watson, 2008). However, there is very little research on these processes of rupture and repair in the youth mentoring literature.

We know that trust is considered quite important for youth mentoring relationships. We also know something about how youth describe trust in already-successful matches. Specifically, we know the import of relational processes involving authenticity, truth-telling, and emotional sensitivity and protection from mentors around disclosures. We know that trust can take considerable time to develop, especially in formal matches, however, we know much less specifically about the development of trust over time. Even the work of Morrow and Styles (1995) looks at matches only after they have already "jelled." Very little work looks at what trust is very early in youth mentoring relationships that last. What does it look like initially? How might youth experience changes in trust over time? In what ways do mentors experience supporting youth trust? Were there conflicts that were resolved? We also know that testing of trust is a process we need to learn more about, however, we know virtually nothing about ruptures and repair of trust. In sum, while there is compelling evidence in the youth mentoring literature on trust, a considerable need exists for a close study examining trust and its development over time.

Below, I will briefly draw upon specific areas of related literatures that can help shed light on these matters.

Trust in Parent/Caregiver-Youth Relationships

In this section, I draw upon literature examining experiences of trust in parent/caregiver-youth relationships. This research is relevant to trust in youth mentoring relationships because mentors are thought to serve as some admixture of parent-figure and friend (Rhodes, 2002). Indeed, it is likely that, throughout human history, mentors have played this type of parentified role, complementing the work of parents. Hrdy (1999, 2009), in her work on the strengths of humans in recruiting a community of caregivers, or "alloparents," for their children, highlights how children's emotional learning is enhanced in these relationships with alloparents. Alloparents across species are in fact conceptualized explicitly as "mentors" as they guide youth in a wide variety of learning experiences (Hrdy, 2009, p. 183).

Here, I focus on research related to youth experiences of emotional sensitivity and protection around disclosures in relationships with parents and caregivers. This research highlights the lived experiences of children and adolescents, and highlights the capabilities of youth in making these disclosures in a context of emotional sensitivity and protection. Elena Jeffries (2004), in her work on how adolescent boys understand trust in relationships with their parents, highlights the importance of emotional disclosures of a sensitive nature. Although there is an extensively reproduced theoretical literature (for a compelling example, see Lyons-Ruth & Jacobovitz, 2008), there is a lack of research on how trust is defined or experienced by children and adolescents (Jeffries, 2004, p. 108). In her qualitative study of ethnically diverse adolescent boys, Jeffries found that "a core element of trust for many of the African American and Latino boys was their ability to

disclose their 'business,' personal information, secrets, thoughts, and feelings to their parents. Their willingness to share their secrets with their parents appeared to depend upon a felt sense of security in the relationship" (p. 122). Indeed, a theme emerged of how trust with parents could run much deeper even than trust with friends. According to one subject: "'And friends, I don't know, they, they, they just know you, you know. They're beginning to know how you are and they begin to know about your good and bad times. I would say I trust my family more" (p. 121). Other subjects commented on how they trusted their parents because they knew their parents would "always be there" (p. 120). This study suggests how important these trusting relationships are for the adolescents studied. Further, it reveals how deeply capable the youth are of trusting their parents, and how much the youth in the study valued these relationships of trust, at a developmental time when peer relationships (see Way, 2013), and not relationships with adults, are thought to become most important and most possible in their lives.

In a multiple focus-group study of socioeconomically and ethnically diverse youths' descriptions of their experiences with important adults in their lives, a key finding was that youth really want to trust parents with deeply meaningful and confidential disclosures (Spencer, Jordan, & Sazama, 2004). If youth do experience emotional sensitivity and protection around disclosures, they will trust. For example, when parents are "open" to youth experience, keep confidentialities, and share their own experiences in a meaningful way youth describe trusting their parents. However, when youth do not experience emotional sensitivity and protection from parents in the context of disclosures, they will give up on trusting their parents, effectively "shutting down" (p.

358) and turning instead to peers. One challenge youth described their parents as facing

was an inability to effectively hear all the complexity in what a youth was trying to say.

Parents may want to listen, but may not know how to do this in a way that is sensitive to

the youth, and may even turn a youth disclosure of vulnerability into blaming the youth

for the "problem." For example, in the words of one youth, "Like, if you go up to them

to have your back, they turn it on you" (p. 358). Another challenge parents face is not

believing the youth. These types of challenge are barriers to experiences of trust for

youth, and are conceptualized as some form of failure in empathy on the part of the adult,

despite a strong desire on the part of the youth for authentic exchange and sensitive

disclosure.

In her longitudinal study of adolescents from poor and working-class families,

Way (1998) highlighted the importance youth place on their very close, trusting

relationships with their mothers. Many of the youth identified their relationship with

their mothers as a key source of strength. These relationships did not always involve

sharing the most "'personal personal' thoughts and feelings" (p. 154). Yet, the

relationships appeared imbued with a sense that the mother would be there for the youth.

Normative conflicts between youth and mothers were seen as not only reparable, but as a

source of strength and increased understanding because they were authentic engagements

of expression. Many of the youth voiced their recognition of the sacrifices their mothers

made for them, and voiced a feeling of being especially obligated to their mothers to

succeed for this reason.

Smetana et al. (2006), assessing trust using the IPPA in a sample of ethnically diverse ninth- and twelfth- graders, found that adolescents who perceive more trusting relationships with parents tend to disclose more about low-risk but personal, daily activities to parents. Parents who rated teens as more trustworthy experienced greater disclosure about personal activities by their teen, highlighting what the authors call the "reciprocal nature of trust" (p. 231) in these relationships. It is not possible to assess cause and effect in this study, but the findings suggest that disclosures are important for youth experiences of trust and that youths' personal disclosures, in particular, are associated with positive views of the parent toward the youth.

Implications for Mentoring.   Disclosures are a key theme in the literature on youth experiences of trust in relationships with parents and caregivers. Given youths' desire to disclose to parents meaningful and sensitive personal information—or even just low risk but perhaps equally meaningful information about daily experiences—it is likely that similar experiences around disclosures are played out in the quasi-parental mentoring relationship as well. We know from the literature on youth mentoring that disclosures are important. Youth likely want to be able to trust their mentor with meaningful disclosures. And mentors, like parents, likely want to be able to listen and respond effectively. Adult empathic failures around being emotionally sensitive and protective can take various forms, but the result seems to be a shutting down of authentic exchange and expression for the youth—a shutting down of an experience of trust. By contrast, when there is a felt sense of security that an adult can be emotionally sensitive and protective, youth disclose. While these findings echo and support findings from the youth mentoring literature, they

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provide an additional focus on how capable youth are of making meaningful disclosures in the context of an emotionally sensitive, protective, and empathic relationship with an adult.

However, since parent/caregiver-youth relationships usually do not involve a start to the relationship at ages 10-15, we cannot fully map this literature onto formal youth-mentoring relationships. There are similar areas in the literature, however, that are worthy of further exploration. For example, there is little to be found focusing on parent and primary caregiver experiences in the literature on trust in parent/caregiver-youth relationships. In particular, in the history of psychology, mothers' voices and experiences have often been silenced or distorted (see Suleiman, 1994). In a different way, mentors' experiences have not been a focus of the youth mentoring literature. Yet, these experiences are worthy of being better elucidated and understood.

Trust in Therapy Relationships with Youth

In this section, I review literature that relates specifically to trust in therapy relationships. I focus on two main areas: the therapeutic alliance with youth; and processes of alliance rupture and repair. Youth-therapist relationships share similarities with youth mentoring relationships but are also quite different. While some youth are not really self-referred for mentoring relationships, many do ask for mentors. By contrast, most youth participating in therapy relationships are not self-referred and may not see a need for the relationship. While both types of relationships focus on developing an emotional connection or bond with youth, therapists are highly trained in how best to do

so, yet remain ethically-bound to do so within the context and frame of the therapy setting, which usually involves sitting in an office with a youth for a proscribed amount of time each session in order to focus on specific matters related to therapeutic work. While therapists can certainly and artfully find ways to collaborate with youth in setting goals and engaging sensitive emotional matters, much of this may depend on the style of the therapist, as immediate goal-setting and more prescriptive work is sometimes the norm for treatments with youth. By contrast, mentors have more options for collaborating with youth to engage in shared activities and conversations about shared experiences, and have more extensive timeframes available for these activities and conversations, yet may not have the training or may not have developed an inclination to attend to and manage countertransference or to recognize the emotional sensitivity needed in contexts of youth disclosures. Ideally, training for therapists and for mentors would teach adults to maximally use themselves and their own personal styles in ways that youth can experience as emotionally sensitive, collaborative, and reparative.

The Therapeutic Alliance with Youth. While limited psychotherapy research literature exists that focuses on the construct of trust, this research either appears to define trust as a personality dimension (see McKay et al, 1997) or as a representative element of the therapeutic alliance (see Campbell & Simmonds, 2011). It appears that much of the psychotherapy research literature related to trust focuses on the therapeutic alliance, which serves as an overarching construct that also includes ideas about trust. The therapeutic alliance can be defined in different ways, and is generally defined as the quality and strength of the therapeutic relationship (Bordin, 1979). The therapeutic

relationship in general, and the therapeutic alliance specifically (Horvath & Bedi, 2002), is considered the most important common factor across all types of adult psychotherapy in studies of treatment outcome (Horvath et al., 2011a, 2011b; Luborsky et al., 2002). A recent meta-analysis by Fluckiger and colleagues (2012) supported this robust finding that the quality of the alliance matters, even in manualized treatments for specific disorders. The emerging literature on the therapeutic alliance in treatment with children and adolescents suggests the same is true for child and adolescent therapy—perhaps even more so (McLeod, 2011, Zack, Castonguay, & Boswell, 2007).

Karver and colleagues (2008) defined the youth therapeutic alliance as follows: "By the therapeutic alliance, we refer to the relational, emotional, and cognitive connection between the youth client and a therapist (e.g., bond, trust, feeling allied, and positive working relationship" (p. 16). Here, trust is seen as vital to the therapeutic alliance. This definition of the alliance dovetails with the concept of a trusting youth-mentor bond (Rhodes, 2005; Rhodes et al., 2006) that is considered vital for successful youth mentoring relationships. Research on the development of the therapeutic alliance and on the relational repair of this alliance, therefore, has considerable potential to inform our understanding of how trust plays a role in mentoring relationships (Spencer & Rhodes, 2005).

Somewhat different relationship variables are considered key in the youth treatment outcome literature when compared to the adult treatment outcome literature. In fact, "therapeutic relationship variables may be equally, if not more, critical in youth and family therapy, as child and adolescent clients typically are not self-referred and often

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enter into therapy unaware of their problems, in conflict with parents, and/or resistant to change" (Karver et al., 2005, p. 51).

More research is still needed, however, to better characterize the therapeutic alliance in psychotherapy with children and adolescents. Efforts toward this goal suggest that for youth, depending on cognitive development, the affective bond may indeed play the greatest role in alliance development. Thus, the affective bond is thought to play an even greater role in creating an alliance than the task/goal components seen in the adult alliance literature (Karver et al., 2008). Researchers have attempted to develop a construct called the Youth Working Alliance (Zack, Castonguay, & Boswell, 2007), yet have found that many alliance measures for adolescent treatment are population-specific, used in a small number of studies, "and their psychometric properties are preliminary, at best" (Shirk, Caporino, & Karver, 2010, p.77).

In research on adult psychotherapy, better understanding temporal processes is considered key for better understanding the development of the therapeutic alliance and for better understanding factors influencing outcome (Kazdin, 2006, 2007). Researchers in the youth psychotherapy field have begun to address this challenge by attempting to identify key processes over time that influence the youth alliance. A temporal mediation model developed by Karver and colleagues (2008) proposed three main processes related to alliance development and treatment outcome. First, therapist engagement strategies predict the strength of the therapeutic alliance. Therapist engagement strategies have long been seen as influencing the development of an alliance, and further, a large body of literature addresses the therapist's incorporation of stages of change when engaging

clients (Proschaska & Prochaska, 2010). This may be an especially important strategy when working with youth (DiGiuseppe, Linscot, & Jilton 1996), who are less likely to self-refer to therapy. Likewise, in this model, therapist lapse behaviors—for example, pushing a youth to talk when not ready, apparent rigidity, and criticizing the youth—are the strongest domain in predicting no alliance. Second in the temporal mediation model, the development of an alliance is essential for client involvement in treatment. Research with youth in psychotherapy has found strong associations between the client's emotional bond with the therapist and level of task involvement (Shirk & Saiz, 1992). One way to understand this part of the model is to consider the alliance as a secure base for therapeutic activities with youth (Shirk, Caporino, & Carver, 2010, p. 62). Put differently, engagement and exploration in therapy can proceed in the context of a trusting relationship. Third in the temporal mediation model, client involvement is seen as key for predicting outcome. That is, the extent to which youth clients are actively participating in therapy predicts outcome as defined by symptom reduction and alleviation.

Implications for Mentoring. The therapeutic alliance with youth can be considered analogous in some ways to the youth-mentor emotional bond. Trust is key in both of these, and both the therapeutic alliance and the youth-mentor emotional bond are necessary for the relationship to be effective in promoting growth and positive development. We need to know much more, though, about how both the therapeutic alliance with youth and the youth-mentor bond develop, and development of trust is likely a key piece of this. Just as therapist engagement strategies are important for the

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development of a therapeutic alliance, we need to know more about how youth and mentors experience mentor emotional sensitivity and protection in the development of youth experiences of trust in the mentoring relationship. Likewise, therapist lapse behaviors are the strongest domain in predicting no alliance—are mentor empathic failures analogous processes in the demise or failed start of a youth-mentor bond? Are these processes especially key in the start (however long that means) of a relationship, as trust-related information may be processed by youth in a more calculus-based way, per the literature on trust? Are empathic failures dealt with differently as the relationship is more established? How do youth and mentors experience these processes over time?

     Alliance Ruptures and Processes of Repair. The questions above about processes can be further addressed by exploring matters of alliance ruptures and repair—key processes in psychotherapy relationships. Attunement to alliance ruptures (Safran, Muran, & Eubanks-Carter, 2011) and repair is an important process for the formation and ongoing development of a therapeutic alliance. Alliance ruptures are defined as: "…a tension or breakdown in the collaborative relationship between a patient and therapist. These ruptures vary in intensity from relatively minor tensions, of which one or both of the participants may be only vaguely aware, to major breakdowns in understanding and communication. The latter, if not addressed, may lead to premature termination or treatment failure" (Safran, Muran, Samstag, & Stevens, 2002, p. 236). Alliance ruptures are normative, and even the construct of the therapeutic alliance is understood to fluctuate over time (Safran & Muran, 2000) and may perhaps be curvilinear in some forms of treatment (i.e., a strong early alliance early in treatment that then dips and returns over

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time) (Horvath & Marx, 1990), however, there is no agreed-upon consistent "shape" of this fluctuation that is linked to positive outcome (Horvath & Bedi, 2002). Concepts similar to alliance rupture are: empathic failure, therapeutic impasse, and misunderstanding event (Safran, Muran, & Eubanks-Carter, 2011, p. 80).

One critical task in repairing ruptures is an attunement to "rupture markers" (Safran & Muran, 2000). Two main categories of rupture markers seen in research on adult psychotherapy, withdrawal and confrontation (Eubanks-Carter, Muran, & Safran, 2009), would seem almost defining of psychotherapy with youth.

There is some literature focusing on ruptures and repairs in psychotherapy relationships with youth. Binder, Holgersen, and Nielsen (2008) suggest the importance of bringing the common practice of exploring the relationship in adult therapy into therapy with adolescents, even if therapists believe an alliance rupture is due to individual characteristics of the adolescent. Exploring the relationship is seen as "inviting the adolescent into a more egalitarian way of working" (p. 5). It may be especially important for the therapist to initiate acknowledgement of a rupture with adolescents, as adolescents may not feel able to voice their concerns due to power dynamics, developmental considerations, or internalizing symptoms (Chu, Suveg, Creed, & Kendall, 2010, p. 106). Repair via attuned responsiveness is theorized to contribute to a corrective emotional experience (Bernier & Dozier, 2002) and to strengthen the alliance.

Rupture resolution strategies may also be key in recognizing and addressing cultural impasses in psychotherapy with any age group; successfully processing relational-cultural enactments may lead to a "corrective cultural experience"

(Gaztambide, 2012, p. 183). Due to the potential for harm when relational-cultural

enactments are not successfully processed, these areas cannot be overemphasized when

considering matters of training and competencies.

Implications for Mentoring. There is almost no research related to ruptures and

processes of repair in youth mentoring relationships. The psychotherapy research

literature is thus especially important to draw upon, as it provides the clearest view into

studying rupture and repair. However, it is likely that ruptures and repair in therapy

relationships take different forms than in youth mentoring relationships. Like the

shutting-down of youth disclosure that is seen in youth-parent relationships, ruptures in

therapy relationships have been conceptualized as involving, in part, empathic failures.

To begin to address ruptures, it may help if mentors, like therapists, explicitly invite the

youth to talk about the relationship and in so doing acknowledge and engage in dialogue

about a rupture—albeit in a way that is highly emotionally sensitive to youth experience.

Ruptures in the form of withdrawal in particular are common in youth mentoring

relationships, and it may be productive to see apparent withdrawal as a form of rupture

that needs attending to. While there is some very interesting work on rupture and repair

in the existing psychotherapy research literature, more work is needed to examine

processes of rupture and repair over a period of time. Likewise, we need more research

specific to processes of rupture and repair over time in youth mentoring relationships.

Trust in Teacher-Student Relationships

In this section, I draw upon the literature on trust in teacher-student relationships. These relationships share similarities with youth mentoring relationships, but are also quite different. Like youth mentoring relationships and therapeutic relationships, teacher-student relationships are recognized as important for good outcomes (Roeser & Eccles, 1998; Van Ryzin, 2010; Wu, Hughes, & Kwok, 2010). Most teacher-student relationships with youth last at least an academic year, and thus offer an interesting view of the development of trust in these relationships over time. However, unlike youth mentoring relationships, they are understood to end after an academic year, and youth are usually prepared for this transition and manage it well. Also unlike mentoring relationships, teacher-student relationships develop in an institutional context that is highly variable in the support it places on youth development (see Fine & Weis, 2003; Sarason, 2001). Teachers, unlike mentors, need to balance the needs of every child in the classroom rather than having the luxury of focusing on developing a relationship with one youth. Although teachers are ethically bound by their profession to develop a working relationship with each youth in their charge, implementation of this can be quite variable given many competing demands in resource-limited contexts. However, teachers also have unique opportunities to see youth and offer creative instruction on an almost daily basis. Mentors usually do not see youth so frequently, and while mentors can be quite creative in collaborating with youth to develop shared activities and pursuits, unlike teachers mentors cannot require youth to participate in any way. Thus, the literature on trust in teacher-student relationships can inform research on youth mentoring

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relationships, but cannot in itself answer questions that are specific to research on youth mentoring relationships.

Trust plays an important role in teacher-student relationships. Pianta (1999) emphasized the centrality of "the emotional bond between children and adults" in creating good teacher-student relationships (p. 65), and highlighted the idea that task-related skills develop within and emerge from a relational "matrix of interaction with caregivers and other adults" (p. 67). The teacher-student relationship, therefore, is considered a zone of proximal development (cf Vygotsky), and felt security in the relationship allows a youth to explore (pp. 67-68) and to thus engage in a wide variety of developmental processes. This process of exploration is vital for youth to feel that they can interact with knowledge and challenge it—even create it (Weis, 2003, p. 97). Youth at risk for poor developmental outcomes may be especially sensitive to teacher-student relationship quality (see Spilt & Koomen, 2009). Per these views, trusting teacher-student relationships have a critical place of importance in youth development.

Pianta (1999, also see Myers & Pianta, 2008) noted that "the asymmetry inherent in child-adult relationship systems places a disproportionate responsibility on the adult for the quality of the relationship" (p. 73). In his dyadic model of teacher-student relationships, he focused on three dimensions of the relationship: 1) features of individuals (IWMs/representational models); 2) feedback processes; and 3) external influences. These dimensions can be used to both understand and to strengthen teacher-student relationships. First, attention to representational models is key. Representational models are seen as: 1) open systems and therefore open to change via new experience; 2)

yet still having "an effect on the formation and the quality of the relationship through brief, often subtle qualities of moment-to-moment interaction with children, such as the adult's tone of voice, eye contact, or emotional cues…and in terms of the tolerances individuals have for certain kinds of interactive behaviors" (p. 75). Second, attention to feedback processes is seen as key to understanding how the relationship structure/matrix organizes behavior. The importance of looking at patterns of child-adult interaction and response, and not just single occurrences of behavior, is emphasized. Key components are: degree of involvement; and emotional tone/quality of involvement. Finally, it is important to pay attention to the role of external influences such as culture, school system, class size, support of teacher, and teacher's personal life.

In his qualitative explorations on teacher-student relationships, Pianta included a specific example of a "trusting" relationship involving emotional support from a teacher after the death of a boy's uncle (1999, p. 106). Even in a context of sometimes "not clicking" and needing to set limits—normative situations for a classroom—the teacher shows an awareness of her role in interactions, and seeks to find explanations for the child's behavior based on what she knows about him. She maintains emotional "availability" to the child (pp. 110-111). This relationship, per Pianta's model, is an example of high involvement and high quality of emotional tone. It also serves to illustrate how a teacher works to build trust with a student.

High quality teacher-student relationships do not automatically happen. They take time to develop. Likewise, the trust involved in these relationships develops over time, as trust is built, tested, perhaps ruptured, and repaired. In emerging research

specific to this topic, Newberry (2010), in a case study of a relationship between a behaviorally-challenging eight-year-old student and a teacher highly attuned in appraising the student (for example, the teacher describes "'a lot of really looking to see what kind of stuff bothers him'" (p. 1698)), documented how this teacher-student relationship evolved and changed over the course of a year. Relationship phases of appraisal, agreement, testing, and planning were repeatedly cycled through until some stability evolved. While initially this relationship was one of the teacher's most challenging, by the end of the year it became one of her closest. Newberry conceptualized this transformation in the relationship as "one of ethical care born of duty and challenge to one of mutual respect and enjoyment in which both parties genuinely like each other" (p. 1696). Newberry emphasized the importance of the teacher's recognition that the relationship was an evolving process which required attunement and mindfulness not only to the student's needs, but also to her own emotional reactions; "accepting that emotional labor is part of the job, (and) dealing with it in such a way that the efforts to implement an ethic of care for even the most difficult student changes from one of ethical to natural care, (requires) recognizing where you stand in relation to the other" (p. 1702).

Educator Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot (2000, 2012) has written extensively on trust and on the related construct of respect. She writes, "We must develop relationships with our students that will inspire their trust, that will challenge their intellects, and that will have mutual respect at the center" (2012, p. 448). Curiosity is seen as a vital dimension of respect, and involves a genuine interest in knowing who someone is, in "finding out

what is 'true' for each person" (2012, p. 450). Per this view, one might conclude that in

relationships of trust and respect, a child's/youth's interests, then, become truly shared

interests in the mind of the adult.

Implications for Mentoring. Over the course of a year, there is remarkable

potential for the establishment, development and deepening of trust in meaningful ways

in teacher-student relationships. For this to happen, there is a huge apparent need for

teachers to reflexively and empathically attend to their own experience—and to

empathically attend closely to youth experience--all the while managing multiple youth

in the classroom. Despite teachers' multiple competing demands, this kind of emotional

sensitivity and tone is seen as possible and key for the development of youth trust, just

like it is in high-quality youth mentoring relationships. A shared idea in both literatures

is that youth must be willing to trust the adult in order to disclose various levels of self-

expression. Especially salient for the field of youth mentoring is the idea that there is not

always an immediate connection with a youth, and that the adult teacher has a

professionalized "ethical care born of duty and challenge" to work with the youth that

then at some point likely transforms to a kind of care involving more mutual enjoyment.

More research is needed in the youth mentoring literature to investigate what this kind of

process may look like over time.

Study Objective

Relational processes involving youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences

supporting youth trust are there to be found in the youth mentoring literature. However,

an explicit focus on studying trust and its development over time in youth mentoring relationships can add a meaningful contribution to the literature on youth mentoring, as no close study exists examining these matters. The youth mentoring literature and related literatures point to the import of adult reliability, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and protection for relational processes that build youth trust over time, yet more work needs to be done to characterize trust and its development over time. Thus, the two central questions of this study are as follows.

1) How do youth experience trust and the bases for trust in longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships? 2) How do mentors experience supporting youth trust over time? Salient work has been done on understanding relational processes of alliance-building and repair in psychotherapy relationships. Are there relevant, related processes of trust development, rupture, and repair that youth experience over time in youth mentoring relationships? As little as we know about these matters for youth, we know perhaps even less about mentor experiences. How do mentors experience these matters? The goal of this study is to better understand youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust in longer-lasting formal youth mentoring relationships.

This study is a secondary analysis of in-depth interviews originally conducted for a grant-funded Mentoring Process Study (see Spencer et al., in press; Spencer et al., 2010; Spencer et al., under review). In this study, I drew on in-depth qualitative data to examine youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust in longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships via thematic analysis. This study focused on

the subset of interviews representing mentoring matches that lasted longer than 24 months. These data represented 58 interviews with youth and 55 interviews with mentors for 9 of the 18 matches that lasted longer than 24 months; these youth and mentor interviews were conducted pre-match and at 3 month, 6 month, 9 month, 12 month, 18 month, and 24 month timepoints. The depth and longitudinal nature of these data are especially unique.

The Need for Qualitative, Longitudinal Research. Qualitative research is useful as one of many evidence-based approaches in research on youth mentoring relationships. Qualitative data can offer in-depth information about relational processes and in-depth information about perceptions and experiences of relationships (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). Longitudinal qualitative research, in particular, is very much needed to better understand processes involved in how mentoring relationships develop over time (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). Longitudinal qualitative data are seen as especially needed for better understanding the complexities in these kinds of relational processes as they relate to youth-mentor relationship quality issues such as trust development and repair (Rhodes, 2013). Better characterizing the complexities involved in youth experiences of trust over time, and mentor experiences supporting youth trust over time, can further efforts toward research, training, and effective evidence-based practice.

Researchers of trust have emphasized that in order to better understand trust, a vital need exists for longitudinal research in settings where relationships have had time to develop (Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie 2006; Lewicki & Brinsfield, 2012; Li, 2011; Mayer et al., 2011). Additionally, narrative and hermeneutic understandings are

recognized as much needed in research on trust (Gillespie, 2012; Lyon, Mollering, &

Saunders, 2012; Ozawa & Sripad, 2013). Qualitative methods are well-positioned to

explore these types of meanings.

Qualitative explorations of narratives can also give much-needed voice to the

often marginalized perspectives of youth, as youth can elaborate on and define their

experience in ways that offer new insight to researchers (Best, 2007). Since mentor

experiences are also vital to the duration of matches, and since we need to better

understand experiences of mentors (Rhodes, 2002; Spencer, 2007), these data offer

especially useful perspectives on trust and its development from both youth and mentors.

Data on both youth and adult perspectives of the same mentoring match are described in

the literature as much-needed and especially useful (Munson et al., 2010).

Conceptual Model. Per the definition of trust I am using, youth reliance and

disclosure, and bases of trust including reliability, honesty, and emotional trust

(Rotenberg, 2012) were all hypothesized to show up as salient aspects of youth

experiences of trust in these longer-term youth mentoring relationships. This definition

of trust maps conceptually (see Maxwell, 1996) onto current thinking about how trust is

created and constituted over time in youth mentoring relationships via processes

involving reliance and disclosure based on experiences of authenticity (Ahrens et al.,

2011; Spencer, 2006), reliability (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009; Spencer et al., 2013) and

emotional sensitivity and protection (Rhodes, 2002, 2005; Spencer, 2002, 2006). Trust,

in turn, as an important part of the youth-mentor bond, plays a significant role in

promoting the range of positive developmental processes that create good outcomes for

youth (Rhodes, 2005). (Please see Figure 1, adapted from Rhodes, 2005, p. 32).

Figure 1. Conceptual Model
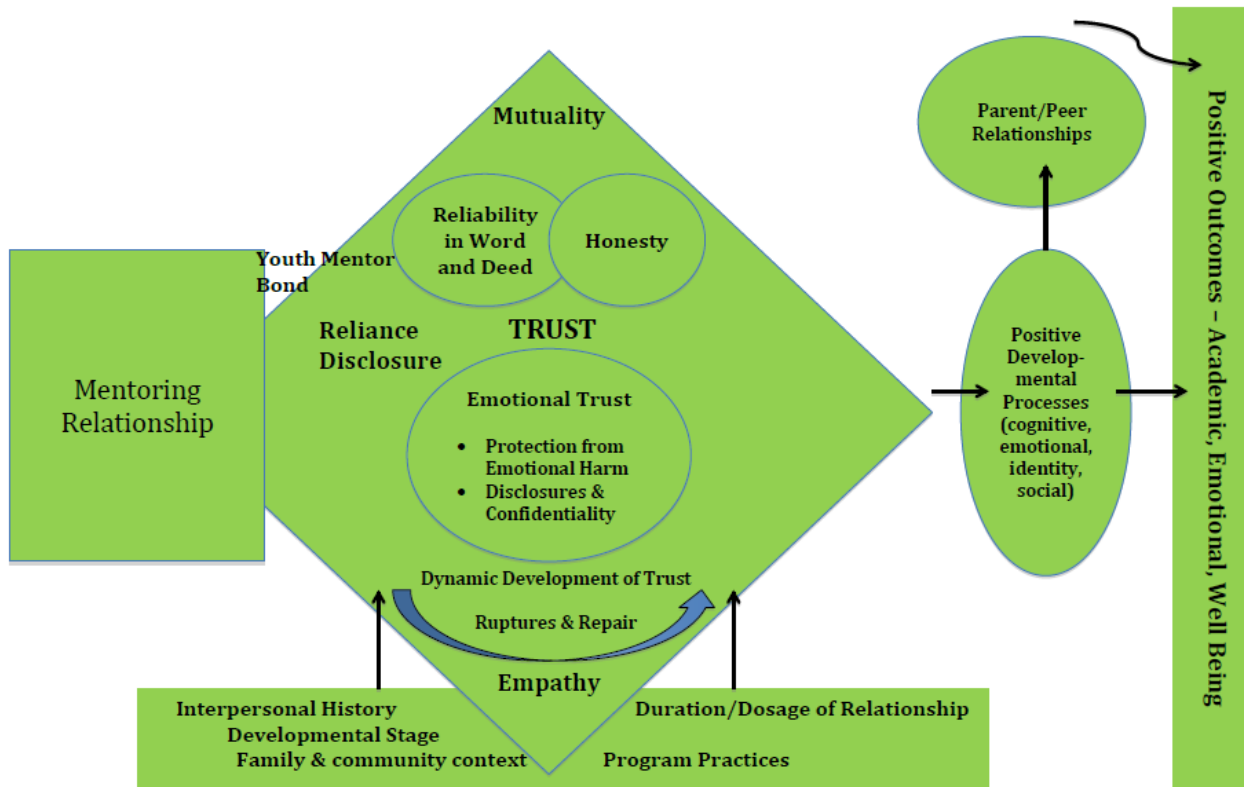
Questions Guiding Analysis. To examine how youth experience trust and how mentors experience supporting youth trust over time, a thematic analysis was conducted on the in-depth longitudinal interview data collected from youth and mentors. Thematic analysis was used to build better understandings of the varied ways youth experience trust and mentors experience supporting youth trust in mentoring relationships (Aguinaldo, 2012). To achieve this, I began by looking for themes in the youths' and mentors' narratives related to the following:

1. What types of trust are important/desired or not apparently important to youth in mentoring relationships?
2. How do youth experience the development of trust over time? How do mentors experience the development of youth trust over time?
3. How do youth and mentors experience ruptures and repairs of trust?
4. What supports and behaviors could be recommended to support trust in mentoring relationships?

This study provides researchers with a unique view into youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust over time in longer-lasting formal youth mentoring relationships.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Participants and Sample Size

The original study tracked the development of 67 youth-mentor matches made through the community and school programs of the Big Sister Association of Greater Boston and Big Brothers Big Sisters of Massachusetts Bay for up to two years. Participants consisted of youth and their assigned mentors, along with the parents or guardians of the youth involved. The mentor participants who completed an initial survey reported that they were 20-55 years of age (M=27.36, SD=6.93), with 78% identifying themselves as White, 6% as Black African American or Caribbean/African, 8% as Asian/Pacific Islander, 3% as Latino and 5% as other race or multi-racial. Most were single (67%) or single but living with a partner (18.2%), college educated (85.5%) with a bachelor degree or higher and employed full-time (83%). Only 3.6% had children. 9.1% of mentors had household incomes under $30,000, 45.4% had incomes between $30,000 and $60,000 and 45.4% had household incomes of $60,000 or higher, with 22.7% reporting incomes greater than $90,000.

The youth are a more diverse group of 10-15 year-olds (M=12.47, SD=1.33) with 22% identifying as White, 15% as Latino, 58% Black/African American or Caribbean/African, 1% as Asian/Pacific Islander, 4% other race or multi-racial. The

parents of these youth reported that they were 28-56 years of age (M=39.44, SD=7.01) with 24% identifying as White, 13% as Latino, and 58% Black African American or Caribbean/African, 5% other race or multi-racial. In contrast to the mentors 13% of parents had a bachelor degree or higher, and 32.4 % of parents had a household income above $30,00, with 8.1% reporting incomes above $60,000 and 64% of parents reporting household income below $30,000. Parents had an average of 3 children under the age of 18 living in the household. Of the 67 matches, 38 were female mentors matched with female youth.

IRB

   IRB approval from Boston University was obtained by Professor Renee Spencer. IRB approval for secondary data analysis was obtained from the University of Massachusetts Boston.

Interview Procedure

   Professor Spencer's original proposal documents the interview procedure as follows. "Mentors, youth, and parents were surveyed and interviewed at multiple time points. Mentors and youth were surveyed and interviewed at the time of match, 3, 6, 9, 12, 18 and 24 months, or until the end of the match, whichever came first. Parents were surveyed and interviewed at the time of match, 12 months, and 24 months, or until the end of the match. Mentors completed on-line surveys and telephone interviews at the time of match. The surveys and interviews with the youth and parents at the time of

match were completed in person in the youth's home. Follow-up interviews sometimes

occurred in-person with mentors and youth coming to Boston University (one would

complete the survey while the other did the interview and then they would switch). In

other cases, mentors completed their follow-up surveys on-line and follow-up interviews

by telephone and youth completed these in person in their homes. Parent follow-up

interviews were completed in-person in their homes" (see Spencer et al., 2010).

Interviewees were asked specifically to speak about their own experiences and

impressions of the mentoring relationship. The target length for interviews was about

one hour. Interviews with youth often lasted about 25 minutes. Some parent and mentor

interviews lasted as long as 70 minutes. A formal list of questions was developed by the

research team, and included the following main areas of inquiry for youth and mentors

(please see Table 1). All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Figure 2.   Main Areas of Inquiry

Pre-Match Interview with Youth:

1. Initial ideas of BBBS
2. Hopes and expectations
3. Pre-match knowledge and opinions about Big
4. Your ideal Big; personality similarities/differences
5. Supportive adults already in your life
6. Any prior experiences with having a Big

3, 6, 9, 12, 18 Month Follow-Up Interviews with Youth:

1. Thoughts and feelings about having a Big
2. How the relationship is going: quality of visits with Big
3. Relationship support
4. Relationship closeness
5. Relationship trust

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6. Little's experience in Big's world
7. Big's sense of little's world
8. Race/ethnicity/class/gender: similarities and differences, and the role in the relationship
9. Impact of relationship
10. Thoughts about mentoring program
11. Idea of self in future

Match End Interview with Youth:

1. Thoughts and feelings about match ending
2. How the relationship was going: quality of visits with Big
3. Thoughts about the Big
4. Relationship support
5. Relationship closeness
6. Relationship trust
7. Little's experience in Big's world
8. Big time in Little's world
9. Race/ethnicity/class: Similarities and differences
10. Same gender mentoring
11. Importance and impact of mentoring for Little
12. Ideas about self in the future

Pre-Match Interview with Mentor:

1. Reasons/motivations for being a Big
2. Hopes and expectations about mentoring
3. Pre-match knowledge and opinions about Little
4. Race/ethnicity/class: Importance for match
5. Big's perceptions of his/her role and importance in Little's life
6. Big's perceptions of his/her role with Little's family
7. Big's experience with BB/BS agency

3, 6, 9. 12, 18 Month Follow-Up Interviews with Mentor:

1. Experiences/impressions of relationship so far
2. Role/purpose of mentoring relationship
3. Five-minute description of Little/Big
4. Relationship as a good match
5. Relationship closeness
6. Relationship trust
7. Relationship challenges
8. Big's experiences of Little's world
9. Little's experiences of Big's world

10. Race/ethnicity/class: similarities and differences, and the role in the relationship
11. Impact of mentoring relationship on Big's life and Little's life

Match End Interview with Mentor:

1. Thoughts and feelings about match ending
2. Expectations and realities
3. Five-minute description of Little
4. Relationship as a good match
5. Relationship closeness
6. Relationship trust
7. Relationship support
8. Big's experiences of Little's world
9. Little's experiences of Big's world
10. Race/ethnicity/class; similarities and differences, and the role in the relationship
11. Impact of mentoring relationship on Big's life and Little's life
12. Big's experience with BB/BS agency

Interview Selection

The longer-lasting youth mentoring relationships are the ones most likely to make

a difference for youth (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Grossman, Schwartz, Chan, &

Rhodes, 2012; Rhodes, 2002). Further, narratives about lengthy matches that were

successful over time offer a longer view of how youth experience the development of

trust over time, and how mentors experience supporting this trust over time in each

relationship. I therefore decided on initial selection criteria of including youth and

mentor narratives representing the longest duration (> 24 months) of match length.

Selection criteria resulted in 99 youth interviews and 107 mentor interviews to be

considered for inclusion in this study. These interviews represent 18 matches (7

female/female matches and 11 male/male matches) that lasted longer than 24 months.

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These interviews were conducted at the following timepoints: pre-match; 3 month; 6 month, 9 month, 12 month, 18 month, and 24 month. There were estimated to be an average of 5 pages of data on trust per interview. Given occasional missing data, there are a bit less than 6 interviews per match. Per this estimate, data analysis of all the >24 month match interviews would involve approximately 30 pages x 36. Given the amount of data this estimate represents, I proposed to analyze approximately half these data for the present study. I selected 9 of the 18 matches for analysis. I used the following criteria to prioritize selection for this subset of the interviews: 1) completeness of the youth data (i.e., interviews collected at every timepoint); 2) presence of final interviews; and 3) balance of matches based on self-identified-gender of the participants. I was blind to the content of interviews when selecting them for analysis. These selection criteria resulted in 5 female/female matches and 4 male/male matches for inclusion in the proposed analysis. These matches represent 58 youth interviews and 55 mentor interviews.

Although the original estimate of the number of pages involving codable data turned out to be considerably lower than what I found, these selection criteria were amended during the course of analysis to include an additional 24 parent interviews and 10 pair interviews, for a total of 147 interviews. Per consultation with a research supervisor, I read parent interviews, collected at pre-match, 12 months, and 24 months, for context. It became clear that omitting parent views from analysis would omit vital data that could contribute to understanding youth experiences of trust and how mentors support youth trust, and therefore parent interviews were included in the coding process.

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Additionally, pair interviews were available and I read and coded these as well. Please see Table 1 for the number of interviews available by participant type and timepoint.

The subset of data selected for analysis offered a particularly interesting and unique contribution due to its depth and longitudinal nature.

Table 1. Number of interviews available by participant type and timepoint.

	Timepoint						
Participant Type	Pre-match	3 months	6 months	9 months	12 months	18 months	24 months
Youth	9	8	8	8	8	9	8
Mentor	9	8	9	7	8	7	7
Parent	9	0	0	0	7	0	8
Mentor-Youth Pair	0	1	4	3	1	1	0

Procedure of Analysis

This qualitative study used thematic analysis as a tool for exploring the narratives for discussions of themes of trust. Thematic analysis is used to organize data into themes. It is a useful method to summarize key features of a dataset and offer thick description of the dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study, thematic analysis allowed for thick description of youth experiences of trust and mentor experiences supporting youth trust.

I identified themes related to the questions guiding analysis listed above in the Study Objective section. These themes were identified within a dataset that focuses on relational processes in mentoring, with central foci upon needs/expectations, relationship

evolution, personal identity of youth, and thoughts for the future. Within the dataset, I

focused on looking for descriptions of youth experiences of reliance and disclosure, in

addition to youth experiences of three bases of trust: reliability, emotional trust, and

honesty (Rotenberg, 2012). Additionally, I focused on looking for descriptions of mentor

experiences of supporting youth experiences of trust per the definition of trust I used. To

facilitate analysis, I used Atlas-ti, a qualitative data management program. The process

of analysis is described in the following paragraphs.

  Phases of Thematic Analysis. Below, I describe steps I took during the process of

thematic analysis. These steps very closely follow phases of thematic analysis proposed

by Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 86-93). While what follows is a clear step-by-step

guideline for thematic analysis, the process itself is understood to be more recursive than

linear, moving back and forth between phases as needed; further, there is a

developmental temporal component to this process such that it is understood to develop

over time (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 86-87).

1. *Reviewing Dataset.* Familiarized myself again with the data by reading

 and re-reading transcripts and memoing about initial ideas. When

 possible, I listened to audiotapes of some interviews to better gauge

 tone.

2. *Initial Coding.* Generated initial codes by identifying moments of

 trust. I (the primary investigator) identified all moments that have to

 do with trust in the interviews selected. These moments involved any

 of the following: 1) use of the word trust; 2) youth experiences of

reliance or disclosure and mentor experiences supporting youth

reliance or disclosure; and 3) youth experiences or mentor experiences

of reliability in word and deed, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and

protection. If within the initially-identified moments of trust there were

data pointing to experiencing or overcoming a relational rupture, then I

also identified these patterns. Per the psychotherapy research literature,

ruptures are defined for coding purposes as any of the following: a

tension or breakdown in the collaborative relationship; withdrawal or

confrontation; empathic failure; therapeutic impasse; or

misunderstanding event. I created a unit of text each time I found an

instance of trust-related text as per the above definition for trust. In

this designation, I aimed for over-inclusiveness in order to err on the

side of giving greater context rather than leaving out possibly relevant

data. A list was kept of the words, phrases, and ideas that I used to

code for the above criteria so that I could better describe these

decisions. As a method for obtaining consensus (Morrow, 2005;

Williams & Morrow, 2009) I planned for credibility and

methodological checks with research supervisors, to be sure that the

units of text match the constructs I coded for, at the following point

during this initial analysis: after coding the first interview, unless there

is not much data; and as deemed needed.

3.   *Searching for Themes.* Collated codes into potential themes based

upon the guiding questions of analysis. Using a process of constant

comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I next compared each of these

units to the rest of the units and identified commonalities that were the

basis of each theme. Then, I created a label for each theme to represent

that commonality. In creating labels, I aimed to stay as close as

possible to the language used by participants. I created separate

categories of themes for youth experience and mentor experience. I

reviewed these conclusions with research supervisors and revised the

commonalities and labels via a process of consensus as described

below. Categories were created to reflect the commonalities identified.

These categories were not necessarily independent of one another,

since the data can be sorted in as many ways as relevant to its content.

4.   *Reviewing Themes.* Once initial categories were formed, these

categories were compared with one another, and additional categories

were formed to reflect the commonalities involved. I assessed if the

themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set.

5.   *Defining and Naming Themes.* I conducted continued analysis to refine

the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells,

generating and refining clear definitions and names for each theme.

Trustworthiness Checks.   Creating and revising labels and categories was refined

by a process of consensus (Hill et al., 2005; Levitt & Piazza-Bonin, 2011). In this

process, researchers talk together to encourage multiple perspectives on the data, and try to be inclusive of multiple reasonable interpretations. For this study, I conferred with two members of my dissertation committee to inform them of my preliminary findings and to encourage inclusion of their perspectives. I also discussed creation of themes with my primary research supervisor (Professor Spencer). In our discussions, I recognized differing sources of expertise. To increase the trustworthiness and contextual grounding (see Morrow, 2005, p. 253) of the interpreted meaning of specific text, Professor Renee Spencer and I discussed matters of interpretation related to my creation of themes. I also kept track of if and when the data saturates (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I tracked the data by counting how many new categories were formed in each interview. When further categories that added to or changed the meaning of the analysis did not seem forthcoming, I looked for saturation. After coding all data by hand, I started tracking for saturation while coding the data in Atlas-ti at the fifth match before getting to the last of the nine matches proposed for analysis. I also consulted with research supervisors to complement my assessment of whether such saturation occurred. At the conclusion of coding data in this fifth match, I created in Atlas-ti a total of 1127 units of code for 790 distinct narrative excerpts. Approximately 5/6 of these units of codes were related to trust; additionally, I coded for related concepts of interest, some of which did not overlap with trust (for example, discussion of shared interests and narratives about closeness) that were beyond the immediate scope of this study. I annotated in some depth most of these 1127 units of code in an intentional effort to keep track of themes within such a large dataset. At this time, I reviewed coding for this fifth match and, taken together with my

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previous coding of all 147 interviews by hand, counted that no additional categories were being formed that added to or changed the meaning of the analysis. Thus, I coded 87 interviews representing five matches into Atlas-ti and stopped coding in Atlas-ti at this point in the analysis. To further verify the decision to stop coding further in Atlas-ti, I re-read the remaining 60 interviews representing 4 matches, and in addition created a digital document of coding examples for each of these four matches.

Additionally, I kept memos to keep track of shifts in conceptualizations, themes, and sub-themes throughout the research process. These memos served to keep track of ideas and aided in continued attempts to bracket my own preconceptions. I also aimed to search for disconfirming or contradictory evidence throughout the process of data analysis (see Morrow, 2005), and memoed about this search in an effort to stay mindful of it.

I coded in a way that is sensitive to time. For example, I grouped together into themes experiences that youth conveyed were related to first impressions, initial relationship formation and expectations around trust, or established relationships to see if youth described distinct issues or critical moments related to these phases.

Order of Analysis. I did initial coding of interviews in the following order:

1) Code first the youth interview and then the mentor interview at timepoint 1. Then code first the youth interview and then the mentor interview at timepoint 2. Lastly, code parent interviews after youth and mentor interviews for the 3 parent timepoints available. I continued this process for the entire match.

2) Go back to each youth-mentor match and create narrative summaries of key themes related to trust for each match. This helped provide a more dyadic understanding of themes that can complement analysis of youth themes and mentor themes. I did this analysis once I completed coding for a match, before going on to the next one.

3) Repeat this process for all 9 matches, alternating matches based on self-identified gender of the participants (i.e., first code a female/female match, then code a male/male match, then code a female/female match, etc.).

Limitations

While the data selected for analysis were representative of longer (>24 month) matches, they may not be representative of anything other than longer matches that work. Further, there is no follow-up after the 24-month timepoint, so we do not know whether or how these relationships may have ended or what developments may have taken place at later timepoints in the relationship. Since this study is a secondary analysis focusing on trust, a major limitation is that a more in-depth understanding of trust was not an explicit focus of the original study. Finally, while these data are exceptionally unique in their depth and longitudinal nature, interviews are still retrospective at all post-match timepoints. Methods to study experience such as the experiential sampling method (Shernoff, 2010) or participant logs in real time (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009) may provide complementary data.

Investigator

I (the primary investigator) am a doctoral candidate in clinical psychology. During clinical training in graduate school, I had an opportunity to work for three years, including summers, at a community-based center, Roca, that serves vulnerable and street-involved youth in highly marginalized communities. A focus of the youth development model used by this center involves forming caring, committed mentoring relationships with youth—termed "transformational relationships." Time is an explicit focus of the model. The aim of the entire first year of engagement with youth is to build trust. Working in this setting over time, I had the chance to witness how youth workers and staff built trust, over time, with youth. And, I witnessed how it seemed the relationships could indeed be transformational to the lives of the youth involved as and after trust was built. Indeed, sophisticated, continual outcome tracking methods (see Pierce, 2009) used by the center suggest this is true. This organization has been recognized by Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick as the first "Pay for Success" partnership with the state of Massachusetts, based on its long history of highly effective outcomes.

Community-based programs are seen as "mentor-rich settings" (Freedman, 1999, p. 111; see also Hamilton et al., 2006, and Hirsch, 2005), and as such, relationships youth form with staff in these programs share common elements with youth mentoring relationships. My assumptions about the import of trust for any type of mentoring relationship with youth is heavily informed not only by the literature on youth mentoring (see Rhodes, 2002), but also by my lived experience working with youth in the community-based center described above. (And, I was lent a copy of Rhodes, 2002, by a

housemate while I was working in this center, and I believe that the conclusions regarding staying with youth certainly influenced both my work and the longevity of my work there, in addition to shaping current assumptions I bring to the work). The youth workers I knew at the center were exemplary in their work, and the relationships mostly worked very well in the longer term. My assumption, then, is grounded in an experience of trust as both beneficial and necessary.

The process of arriving at my current project was a thoughtful one. Certainly, my work experience and research interests contributed to the development of the present topic. I worked to maintain awareness of my own biases around the importance of trust. Significantly, during the process of revising my proposal for this dissertation, I had to revise how I conceptualize the notoriously general construct of trust. In order to maintain construct validity, I worked to tighten the definition I used, and I worked to specify much more how I would code for trust in the secondary analysis I conduct. This process in itself was educational in expanding my thinking on the construct of trust and the ways it is distinct from other related constructs like empathy or compassion. This process of re-conceptualizing the construct of trust gave me further awareness of my own biases about what trust is and why it is important.

I worked to further my awareness of my own subjectivities and thus strengthen the trustworthiness of the analysis (see Morrow, 2005, and Williams & Morrow, 2009) throughout the process of data analysis. Qualitative research requires a great deal of reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Finlay, 2002, 2006). In reflecting upon my own epistemological stance, I can only describe my stance as generally pluralistic. I

appreciate the complexities of measurement and instrumentation in the broad field of psychology. As an overview, my own educational and work experiences and praxis have included four summers of basic science cancer research in a laboratory at NIH, along with several more years in a work-study job involving post-positivist research located at the intersection of clinical psychological theory and treatment practice, and in a work-study social medicine research job involving narrative approaches to understanding both patient experiences of technological health intervention and physician bias in provision of medical care. Further years of schooling and work introduced constructionist approaches to research and more critical ethnographic and participatory approaches to research as well. My experiences doing clinical work over the years and my goals around integrating research with practice have strengthened my stance of using a critical youth lens to interpret research involving youth. Most recently, I completed a clinical internship in Baltimore in a college counseling setting that emphasizes multicultural approaches to clinical work with a student population diverse in many ways. Although I had previously made notations in the coding and memos of, for example, possible microaggressions and possible color blind attitudes, working in this setting and simultaneously witnessing lived experiences of my students and colleagues may have made me more deeply aware of the vital import of sociopolitical contextual matters related to experiences of oppression, and the intersections of these experiences with identity development and well-being. For the present study, I considered these issues, and took a pragmatic approach (Creswell, 2013).

In further efforts toward reflexivity and awareness of my own subjectivities, in addition to the memos kept to track the development of themes, I kept a journal to record

and process reflections and associations, to track development of ideas that are new to me, to identify assumptions that I have learned to re-think, and to identify biases I needed to bracket so their influence on my analysis was more limited. Discussions with research supervisors offered further opportunities for reflexivity. I also discussed my feelings and ideas about the project with other graduate students researching similar areas and with colleagues in the field.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Analysis yielded four themes of how trust was experienced by youth and

supported by mentors, and two contextual themes of how the development of trust was

supported in and intersected with the broader sociopolitical ecology. By contextual, I

mean themes specific to sociopolitical context and social ecology for the particular group

of youth and mentors included in this study. Table 2 presents an overview of these

themes. Table 3 shows the presence of themes per match. Of note, whenever possible, I

tried to keep names of themes close to the shared language of participants. First, youth

experiences of trust were found within and grounded in logistical realities of scheduling,

which also presented opportunities for mentors to demonstrate emotional sensitivity.

Over time, scheduling issues became less important as a basis for trust, as trust was

experienced in multifaceted ways by youth. Second, the data suggested that youth-

mentor dyads engaged in considerable mutuality in both the content and process of

confiding over time; youth and mentors shared selective information about themselves

and did so via processes that seemed experienced as mutual. Third, this mutuality was

balanced with selective confiding involving mentor intentionality around "not forcing"

youth to confide. This intentionality on the part of mentors, and the attunement and

humility involved, was matched by youth strengths in wanting to rely on and confide in their mentors yet engaging in selective confiding and sometimes needing to not yet confide, a process that involved a holding back until enough trust had developed over time, but that also involved a holding open of possibility for the future. Fourth, youth experienced and valued confiding in their mentors as a source of emotional support and expression, they experienced their mentoring relationship as there for them at critical times, and they valued that over time their experience of trusting their mentor was linked to meaningful and sustained shifts in well-being. Fifth, the data suggested that some youth noticed and attended to experiences of racial difference in all-White settings, and that mentor cultural competence constituted an experience of mentor emotional sensitivity and protection from emotional harm that supported the continued development of trust in the sociopolitical context of matters around attending to and talking about race, racism, and social location. Finally, data suggested that experiences of trust in some mentoring dyads were shaped in various ways by the ecology of family relationships connected with the dyad, particularly family relationships important to the youth. Below, I illustrate each of these themes and sub-themes.

Table 2. Overview of themes.

Trust	Transparency and Consistency Around Scheduling
	Gonna make it happen
	I know it will happen
	Mutuality in Confiding (sharing information of a personal nature)
	Mutuality in process of confiding
	Mutuality in content of confiding
	Selective Confiding
	Not yet confiding (Youth strengths in wanting to rely and confide held together with "not yet")
	Not forcing confiding (Mentor awareness of "not yet" and "not forcing it")
	Youth Well-Being Linked to Trust
	Emotional support and expression
	Emotional transformation (Meaningful and sustained shifts in well-being, e.g.,"She's coming out of her shell")
Contextual Factors Supporting Trust	Talking about Race, Racism, and Social Location
	Going out to all-White places is noticed by youth of Color
	Development of trust is linked to mentor cultural competence
	Family Involvement
	Helps trust develop in beginning in both implicit (e.g., "I can tell") and explicit (e.g., "you call her") ways
	Ecology of relationships supports trust

Table 3. Themes per match.

Categories	Themes	Match Number								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Trust										
	Transparency and Consistency Around Scheduling									
	Gonna make it happen	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	I know it will happen	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Mutuality in Confiding									
	Mutuality in process of confiding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Mutuality in content of confiding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Selective Confiding									
	Not yet confiding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Not forcing confiding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Youth Well-Being Linked to Trust									
	Emotional support and expression	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Emotional transformation	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Contextual Factors Supporting Trust	Talking about Race, Racism, and Social Location									
	Going out to all-White places is noticed by youth of Color			X	X	X	n/a	X*		
	Development of trust is linked to mentor cultural competence	X		X	X	X		X	X	
	Family Involvement									
	Helps trust develop in beginning in both implicit ("I can tell") and explicit ("you call her") ways	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
	Ecology of relationships supports trust	X			X	X	X	X	X	

* See 9 month youth interview, p. 17: Yes, the youth met the mentor's family "And his family, they seem like pretty nice, and fancy. Like they don't seem, like, they're not racist towards me, or don't treat me any different from their son. [OK. And is that important to you?] Yes, it's really important. 'Cause I could trust him and his family now."

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Transparency and Consistency Around Scheduling

Youth experiences of trust were grounded in and found within experiences of logistical realities of scheduling. Mentors communicated their trustworthiness to youth by keeping their commitments and showing up for youth. How mentors negotiated these logistical realities in transparent and consistent ways seemed especially important for the development of youth trust in the beginning of the match, and was an important way mentor implicit motivation was communicated to youth. Reliability is an important basis for youth trust per the definition of trust used in this study. Youth experience around reliability appeared to shift with time as youth learned that their mentors could be reliable and as trust was experienced in additional ways.

Gonna make it happen. The mentoring program within which these longer-term matches developed required a mentor contract around frequency and consistency of meetings with youth in the beginning of the match. Even with this structure, there were normative challenges around scheduling. Some of these challenges required that the mentor go out of their way to make time for the youth. These efforts to make it happen occurred around daily matters of connection and also around more discrete scheduling of specific events. For example, some mentors spoke to making time for youth during busy weeks by being available via phone and e-mail. One mentor spoke to finding herself thinking of her mentee throughout the day and the week in the context of such communication. Some mentors spoke to juggling other plans in prioritizing time with their mentees, instances in which this implicit motivation for wanting to spend time with the youth is likely transparently communicated to and understood by the youth; several

youth talked about, how, early in the match, they felt that their mentor liked them and wanted to spend time with them. One mentor, for example, spoke to sensitivity in recognizing a critical moment around her Little initiating a plan, intuitively getting that it would be an important time to make it happen:

> And this was a huge step because it was the first time that she had called me and asked me to set up a time to hang out and she had come up with the activity. So I was juggling all kinds of Halloween plans. And she gave me a call on Wednesday, on her own volition, and said, 'Would you like to go to Salem with me on Thursday or Friday?' And immediately I was like 'Absolutely.' So I turned down all these plans, with these parties just because it meant so much to me that she had called with an idea. And I was gonna make it happen, you know? (4)

Both youth and mentor viewed this trip as a critical experience of emotional bonding and fun, an experience supported by mentor reliability around making it happen. Mentors also spoke to being transparent with youth around wanting to make time in the face of busy time periods despite not being able to, highlighting to youth that periods of unavailability were not due to not wanting to spend time with the youth. Normative challenges around scheduling were handled by mentors in ways that transparently communicated mentor motivation and not rejection to youth. Further, mentors implemented consistency in creative ways via communicating with youth via technology, thus making themselves reliable for youth in additional ways. By acting in these ways,

mentors may have avoided potential rupture, or may have sensed some rupture and responded by acting in these reparative ways.

I know it will happen. Transparency and consistency was especially important in the beginning of the match as a basis for trust, but seemed less important after youth developed additional ways of knowing they could trust their mentor. In the beginning of the match when youth spoke to knowing they could trust their mentor based on mentors not doing anything to make them "back off," it is likely that experiences of empathic failure around scheduling have greater relative import for youth experiences of trust— and thus also greater relative import as potential experiences of rupture that would need repair. For example, in one match, at 6 months the youth said he could trust his mentor "cause he doesn't do things, like, bad things, he does good things, so I think I can trust him." (5) At 24 months, when the youth spoke to having a "full trust" in his mentor that was known in "a lot of *ways*," (emphasis in audio recording) missed and rescheduled meetings were seen as relatively minor issues. In the context of multifaceted experiences of trust, events around mentor reliability seemed less prominent as bases for youth trust as time goes on.

Conversely, similar rationales for mentors not being available seemed to carry less leverage in the beginning of the match than toward the end of the match. In other words, scheduling issues may create greater potential rupture, and may require even greater attention and efforts toward repair, in the relative beginning of a match. For example, one mentor's legitimate excuse in the beginning of the match did not seem to prevent challenges around response from her Little. However, much later in the match,

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in the context of a trusting relationship, the youth better understood the mentor's "back

story," perhaps as trust was known and experienced in additional ways (4). The

development of youth trust over time seemed to influence the relative importance of

mentor reliability as a basis for trust. As trust is known in more ways, matters around

scheduling appeared to carry less relative importance as a basis for youth trust.

Mutuality in Confiding

When mentors consistently and reliably showed up for youth, it created an

opportunity for the two to interact, share information, and build a relationship with each

other. Confiding, defined as sharing information of a personal or sensitive nature, is a

vital element of experiencing trust, and one of the two behavioral components of youth

trust per the definition used in this study   One of the striking features of the youth-

mentor dyads was the high prevalence of mutuality in confiding behaviors. Youth

experienced trust via mutuality with their mentor in confiding, and mentors experienced

supporting youth trust via intentionality around making acts of confiding mutual

endeavors. These experiences of mutuality occurred in both the content of confiding and

around the process of confiding.

Mutuality in content of confiding.   Youth and mentors engaged in mutual

sharing around the content of what they confided to each other. It must be strongly

emphasized here that mentors were intentional and cautious around what they shared, and

were highly mindful that what they shared was developmentally appropriate, was

appropriate to the nature of their relationship, and was done in the service of the needs of

the mentee and not the mentor (see Rhodes, Liang, & Spencer, 2009, 2014). This

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carefully considered and selective mutuality around content helped youth learn more about their mentors. This knowledge and the fact that mentors were willing to share this knowledge seemed to impact the development of youth trust over time. Several youth voiced that between a few visits to a few months into the relationship they began to realize they could trust their mentor because, in the words of one participant, "we like talked so much and learned so much about each other."(2) The content of the information youth and mentors confided with each other generally became, over time, more personal and sensitive in nature, and included shared interests, experiences around school, experiences of friendships, and in some cases experiences of relationships. In one of the nine matches, this more typical range around multiple areas of content was not mutually confided, but instead matters were shared around deeply held identifications connected with specific genres of music and video games. Youth spoke to their appreciation that confiding was mutual in content for facilitating a sense of being comfortable around their mentors and feeling known by their mentors. For example, at 24 months, one participant reflected that the relationship worked because:

> "Um, she didn't focus solely on me….That would have made me feel uncomfortable if every question was about me, every backstory about me. She told me some of her life, she told me like what had happened in her life, what happened in my life and like we'd just talk and we got to know each other." (6)

For this particular youth, such sharing contributed to her feeling that her mentor "actually sees me….I was like, 'Oh I like this, you know I'm gonna try to keep this.' And I did."

Of continued note, mentors spoke to their intentionality around being selective and careful about what they shared, making sure to keep in mind the developmental needs of the youth and whether and to what extent the content of their sharing was developmentally appropriate. For example, some mentors spoke to intentionality around not sharing details of their romantic relationships, but selectively sharing developmentally appropriate generalities about past romantic crushes, that were appropriate to the nature of the mentoring relationship, with youth when youth shared information around their own crushes. This particular area of shared content highlights an important need to sensitively attend to matters around youth sexual identity. Mentors also spoke to intentional care around waiting until they knew their youth better before considering sharing certain information. For example, one mentor recognized he needed "a closer bond with him before I feel comfortable" (8) sharing more.

Mentors sharing highly selective personal challenges, in developmentally appropriate ways, just as youth shared their own concerns was, over time, explicitly linked by youth to experiencing "more" trust. For example, in one match, this development occurred at around 3 months, per the recollection at 9 months by the youth, who noted, "Well, she was just, she always tells me about her problems, and tells me about herself, and it made me trust her more." (1) It must be noted that here, while the youth seems to value the mentor having disclosed some personal information, in the 9 month mentor interview for this match the mentor mentioned talking about friendships and talking generally about romantic relationships yet highlighted the very selective and developmentally appropriate nature of her disclosures:

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Interviewer: Mhm. And how well do you think she knows you?

Participant: Um ... I ... I think she knows about my interests and my you know, my job and like more career focused things, and ... but I ... so I think I know more about her than she knows about me. But there are certain things like you know, with certain relationships, I'm older, like my boyfriend and things I don't ... you know, I'm not going to talk about that that much with her. [chuckling]

Additionally, this experience of youth trusting "more" based on mutuality in content of confiding was experienced by youth in different ways at different timepoints in the mentoring relationship. For example, in another match, the youth noted both early in the match (3 months) and much later (24 months) that she trusted her mentor because her mentor also shared personal information, in this case about her feelings around a sports injury and also a family illness. (4) However, for this youth, the mentor sharing personal information seemed to carry more leverage in promoting trust depending on the timepoint in the match. Early on, at 3 months, the youth voiced that she realized she could trust her mentor "a couple weeks ago" due to "the way she trusts me…If you trust me that much, then I can trust you…She tells me things about her life and…you gotta really trust a person to…" At this time, however, the youth made it clear her trust was limited and she could not identify what would need to be different to trust her mentor "more." Later in the match (24 months), this youth noted "it felt good that she trusted me…with her [recent] family issues" and that "when realized I trusted her is by how much trust she put

in me, it made me trust her more." Despite having much earlier identified the same basis

for trust around mutuality in content of confiding occurring at around 3 months, this

youth identified that this new shift in trusting "more" happened at approximately eighteen

months "since last meeting" and she further identified that she now trusted her mentor

much more, "like I trust other friends I have that I knew all my life." Another youth

identified starting to trust his mentor at around 3 months "as soon as he started telling me,

telling himself to me like, things he should do and his life [circumstances, interests, and

dreams for the future] when he was a child….that made me feel good that he trusted me."

(7) Six months later, this youth identified that he could trust his mentor "strongly." This

stronger trust was linked temporally to continued sharing on the part of the mentor, who

noted at this timepoint, "he all the time asks me things, you know, what I did when I was

a kid." Presumably, the youth valued knowing this information as well as knowing that

the mentor was willing to share it. Several youth spoke to appreciating that their

mentors, at various timepoints, were willing to risk vulnerability by sharing stories

around overcoming challenges that touched on aspects of youth experience already

known to the mentor (for example, having been bullied as a child and having struggled

academically). Mutuality around the content of confiding, involving carefully

considered, developmentally appropriate, and selective sharing on the part of mentors,

done in the service of mentee and not mentor needs, was a frequent way youth in this

study voiced experiencing trust and likewise, was an effective way mentors seemed to

support youth experiencing trust and "more" trust over time.

Mutuality in process of confiding.   Mentors demonstrated intentionality around meeting youth where they were in making confiding an experience of mutuality. This intentionality involved processes mentors engaged in that were experienced by youth as both empathic and genuine in nature—a key basis for trust. In sharing some of their own experiences, mentors demonstrated to youth that they not only trusted the youth to do so, but that they were understanding and "getting" (see Yoviene, 2014) the youth's experience. Youth readily noticed and especially appreciated when mentors understood their perspective enough to know what to share to meet youth where they were. For example, one participant notes early in the match (3 months), "She gives me situations that she's been in and you know, applies it to herself and tries to see what I'm going through, through my eyes." (3) This empathic process was further experienced by youth as genuine (see Spencer, 2006) and provided an opportunity for youth to feel implicitly that their mentor genuinely cared. For example, this participant noted, "it just doesn't seem to be fake…[not] kind of just there because you have to be. And it doesn't feel like that. It feels like she's talk…like if I talk, she's talking back…" (3)

Further, mentors were sensitive to how youth, developmentally, may benefit from direction or modeling around confiding. They intentionally built trust by attending to microprocesses in co-creating with youth experiences of mutuality in confiding. Mentors often went into the relationship with these expectations for themselves. For example, one participant describes at pre-match how she gains trust:

> …by letting them in a little bit too…. I always start the conversation by
> saying you know, this is something that is a little overwhelming to me

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right now and I want to talk to you about it cause I just figured you'd have a different view on it….I'd start the conversation with like this is hard for me. Then I could switch it over like, what's bothering you…….when you're dealing with someone younger, they might not have the language skills. (4)

This mentor experienced at 24 months that this expectation she had around the process of mutual confiding was then borne out in the mentoring relationship: "Half of it, as a teenager, is finding the language to talk about relationships or concerns or fears. And so if I use the language, then she can…then she can grab it. And sometimes she does."

Mentors also discussed their intentionality around promoting youth agency during the process of selectively and carefully sharing their own experiences, thus not erring on the side of imposing too much of their own experience on youth even when confiding is mutual. One mentor described how she "give(s) her some of my stuff on that and how I think…but still letting her choose." (3) Another mentor used a sports metaphor to describe how he felt he offered his youth choices by "serving it up" (8) when sharing information, explicitly highlighting his intention around giving the youth choice in what he saw as salient and how he responded. In meeting youth where they are when engaging in mutual confiding, mentors demonstrated intentionality around how they engaged in processes of confiding, and youth experienced that mentors genuinely cared and tried to and did understand and get their experience.

Selective Confiding

As much as the narrative data suggested the importance of mutuality around acts of confiding in creating trust and more trust, it must be further highlighted that these kinds of more directive experiences were clearly balanced with healthy protective measures taken by youth and mentors. The narrative data in this study illuminated complexities around how in the midst of engaging each other both youth and mentors experienced a sense of "not yet" confiding and "not forcing" confiding as important and distinct elements in the development of trust. Here, I use language—"not yet" and "not forcing"—that was especially compelling in that it was shared within and across several matches. This language was used by both youth and mentors. This language highlights how youth did not feel ready to fully trust, and to how mentors picked up on that and adjusted their actions appropriately. For youth, this sense of not yet confiding was held together with youth strengths in wanting to rely on and confide in their mentor—in other words, strengths in wanting to trust, since relying and confiding are the two behavioral components of trust per the definition used in this study. These strengths are important to recognize since youth behaviors around not fully trusting are sometimes seen as indicating enduring and immutable weaknesses and incapacities on the part of youth. Not yet confiding suggests that youth hesitation in trusting is not necessarily static or permanent. For mentors, a sense of not yet confiding and not forcing confiding underscored an overarching attunement and humility around their experience of engaging youth in emotionally sensitive ways. For both youth and mentors there was a sense of possibility in "not yet"—a protective sense of holding back yet also a recognition and

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space for imagination around holding open possibilities for youth to rely and confide in the future.

Not yet confiding (Youth strengths in wanting to rely and confide held together with "not yet" confiding). Many youth spoke at pre-match about having as a central hope for the mentoring relationship that their mentor will "be there" for them as a trusted confidante if needed. In line with literature speaking to youth strengths in valuing trusting relationships with adults, youth in this study spoke to their strengths in seeing mentors as a source of potential support and security. Youth wanted to trust, they wanted to learn, and they had positive expectations for doing so. For example, one participant, when asked at pre-match what she hoped to gain from the mentoring relationship, clearly identified that she wanted to confide in and rely on, and learn from, her mentor. She highlighted that she hoped for, "Um, someone that you can trust, to tell a secret, and you can like listen to their opinion and think about it…and it can help you learn a lot." (4)

As the match went on, youth tended to make clear in the interviews that while they trusted their mentors, they still engaged in very partial confiding and were careful around what topics they opened up about and what topics they did not yet discuss. Youth spoke about how they shared some sensitive topics with their mentors, but not yet other topics—sometimes these other topics had only been shared with friends, with family, and in several cases, not with anyone. This kind of selectivity speaks to youth strengths in differentiating relational experiences around whom to trust, to what extent to trust them, with what information—and, importantly, at what timepoint in the relationship. Youth spoke to their feelings around needing more time to feel comfortable enough so that they

could bring more of themselves to the relationship. One participant highlighted that while she already trusted her mentor "a lot" at 9 months, she didn't sense there was anything directive that her mentor could say to force the development of her being her "whole self" with her mentor:

> Um, I can trust her a lot. Maybe not about my friends…Not yet. I feel like I'm more with myself, but still like, not all m--, my whole self.…Not yet.…I think like the more I get closer an' closer, I'll start to be my whole self.…I'm just, I'm not really waiting for her to like say anything…I'm just, mm, not comfortable yet. (1)

Three months later, at 12 months, this participant noted she continued to feel a sense of "No, not yet" around confiding various aspects of herself to her mentor, but also emphasized, "But I'm like getting there." This sense of not yet but getting there can continue for youth even at 24 months, and even as youth experienced trust as "stronger." Another participant used the same phrase to describe her sense at 24 months that despite feeling that she trusts her mentor like friends she has trusted all her life, still "it's getting there." (4) Not yet confiding seems linked to awareness for needing more time and to awareness of a possibility for continued growth and continued development of trust.

Not forcing confiding (Mentor awareness of "not yet" confiding and "not forcing" confiding). Mentors demonstrated awareness that confiding by youth was quite partial. This awareness was matched by mentor understanding that confiding could not and should not be forced, and that youth had normative and valid reasons for needing to

take their time in opening up. This awareness and understanding on the part of mentors was important throughout the duration of these matches, and seemed especially important for the development of trust during the beginning and middle of the match, prior to the development of the kind of trust youth identified as "stronger" or "full."

Mentors demonstrated intentionality around implementing their awareness of partial confiding and their understanding that youth need time, and mentors realized that these factors were key elements contributing to match success. In the words of one mentor, "I think not forcing things on him…it goes a long way." (5) Mentor intentionality around not forcing confiding was felt by youth to match youth experience of needing to not yet confide for the development of trust. Even when mentors had, in the words of one youth, "strong beliefs," this participant appreciated that her mentor did "not like force it on you" but rather made the experience one where her opinions felt simply "share(ed)." (4) In the early to middle stages of the relationship, some youth spoke to knowing that they could trust their mentor because their mentor did not cause harm by doing something youth experience as too negative. These early experiences of trust were sometimes couched in double negatives. As such, they seemed to dovetail with the definition for calculus based trust experienced early in a relationship when events experienced as negative confer relatively greater impact in tipping the scale toward ending a relationship. For example, one youth said she could trust her mentor, at 9 months, "a little more each day" because "Um…I don't know, I just…she hasn't done anything to make me back off a little, to stop trustin' her, so." (4) We know from the youth psychotherapy research literature that therapist lapse behaviors such as pushing

youth to talk when not ready are predictors of youth experiencing no alliance, and we know from the adult psychotherapy research literature that misplaced interpretation can be experienced as harmful. Knowing how to avoid this type of pitfall or potential rupture likely contributes to the development of trust.

Mentors grounded their empathic understanding of youth needing to not yet confide in their self-awareness and in insight around personal experiences of their own relationships. They understood both conceptually and experientially that youth reasons for taking time were valid reasons, and that being vulnerable around confiding requires trust and takes time. For example, one mentor described (at 12 months) how her insight around these matters is grounded in her own experience:

> I'm sure there's a lot of things she hasn't told me…So, um, I mean, that's, that's and that, I'm that way too like my last job, you know, I would just, I'm very reserved, very quiet and I just don't tell people stuff…Like whether it's good or bad. I just, I feel funny giving people too much information about my life. Unless I'm really close with them. Um, and so, I'm really close you know, meeting, like even with my peers and hanging out with them and then them, like sort of exposing or whatever, being vulnerable with me and then I'm vulnerable with them kind of things, so so I think me and [Little] are still building that, part of that. (3)

Above, the mentor spoke to her recognition of holding hope for the future when noting how she and her Little were "still building that, part of that." Her use of the word

vulnerability further signaled her understanding that what was being built involved trust; the most common but most nonspecific definition of trust involves engaging in experiences of vulnerability.

Mentors also recognized key moments to hold back by being attuned to youth emotional experience. For example, one mentor noted at 12 months that she noticed how her Little felt and how this recognition involved a sense that her Little was "not quite ready" to talk about some of her feelings with her mentor: "She kind of clammed up….So I don't know maybe she's not quite ready to say like, 'That made me sad or that overwhelmed me,' or something like that." (4) This kind of mentor recognition and attunement applied both in the moment and also in a more general way around knowing which topics were especially sensitive for youth. For example, some mentors, via collaboration with social workers providing match support, were protective of youth in not bringing up topics they knew were painful for youth, but instead waited for youth to raise these topics if they did so at all.

Mentors referenced their intentionality around having the primary responsibility to, per one mentor, "gauge" emotions and be attuned (see Pryce, 2012) in developmentally appropriate ways to mentee emotional needs around holding back emotional disclosure. Further, mentors understood how such emotional attunement might intersect in important ways with time in the mentoring relationship. For example, one mentor highlighted his understanding of how unrealistic it might be to expect immediate emotional disclosures in the course of a developing friendship of his own:

I mean as far as me being able to trust him I mean that-that's really, not an issue of mine you know I'm the mentor I'm, you know I–I have more responsibility to be receptive of different situations and be able to gauge you know, um, emotions and stuff like that. So I think, for me that's not really so much of a topic, for him I think it definitely is, I think he has to feel comfortable I think he definitely feels comfortable and I can definitely see that trust growing and becoming more dominant in the relationship so that he can share with me some things that he's been afraid to bring up, you know that-that's one of those things it's very matter of fact, you just don't know…I, I hope that we could get to a point in the relationship where it would be like that but it's not there yet. I mean, we- you know it's been, how many 2, 4, 6, 7, we've hung out maybe 7 or 8 times now. So I mean and think about it, if you hang out with your friend 7 times sometimes it's even hard to do that." (7)

Mentor attunement to holding back and not forcing youth to confide seemed also grounded in humility around what they could know experientially in the face of differences. In the words of one participant at pre-match:

And, and, you know, we come from two different perspectives….there will be just some stuff that I'll, you know, I'll never understand. (5)

Mentors understood how far off their perspectives might be in the face of difference, and this attunement and humility around not forcing youth to confide and not forcing a fit of

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their perspective onto a youth's reality were important ways they demonstrated emotional sensitivity and protection while recognizing youth strengths and needs. These types of emotional sensitivity and protection provided a basis for the development of youth trust, likely avoided potential rupture, matched youth experience, and implicitly held hope for continued future development of youth trust.

Youth Well-Being Linked to Trust

Youth anticipated and valued their experiences of emotional support and expression when confiding in their mentors, and recognized that such experiences required a certain level of trust. Over time, youth valued these experiences additionally as supporting spaces for emotional support and expression at critical times, and as supporting meaningful shifts in well-being.

Emotional support and expression. Youth demonstrated strengths in valuing specifically the emotional support and relational space for emotional expression created by a trusting mentoring relationship. In other words, one way youth valued trust was via the important benefits they saw it conferring when they engaged in trusting behaviors of relying and confiding. In the words of one participant, "it's important—another person you can trust, someone that you can talk to, learn new things….get your mind off things." (4) Further, youth recognized normative challenges around talking about feelings, and recognized that such disclosures required "enough" trust. Thus, youth demonstrated strengths in recognizing the importance of building and experiencing enough trust. In the words of one participant,

Um, maybe some people need it so they can at least talk to someone if they need to, because they, people usually, like kids, they don't like to talk about their feelings. And if they trust someone enough, they probably can. (1)

Youth spoke to having experienced emotional support and expression in their mentoring relationships and highlighted that they valued opportunities to have these experiences. For example, one participant said she appreciated being able to "(get) a lot off my chest." (3) Youth also spoke specifically to shifts in feeling states after talking with their mentors—for example, not feeling "so depressed" about a situation after talking about it with her mentor. (3)

These experiences of emotional support and expression linked to trust occurred around normative daily developmental matters and also around more discrete stressful life events. A beneficial aspect of the mentoring relationship was that youth could rely on mentors when stressful life events occurred. In the words of one participant, the relationship was conceptualized as being "always there to help me whenever I fall and I'm at my lowest point, they can help pick me up." (4) For several youth, this emotional support was there at especially critical times. For example, the mentoring relationship was there during highly stressful transitions around a parent losing custody, switching schools, or moving to a different town, and during extended experiences of trauma such as being bullied at school or experiencing a negative relationship with an absent caregiver. Youth recognized and valued that they could trust their mentor as a reliable source of emotional support; in the words of one participant, "when there's a problem or

like something that you need outlook from, like she's there for you." (3) Additionally, youth explicitly recognized and valued that these experiences of trust promoted well-being.

Emotional transformation (Meaningful and sustained shifts in well-being, e.g., "She's coming out of her shell.")   Over time, development of trust within the mentoring relationship appeared linked to sustained mental health promotion and developmental transformation for youth. In other words, the trust developed and experienced in the relationship seemed a basis for and foundation of considerable change for the better in terms of positive youth development and mental health (Rhodes, 2002). These experiences of youth were spoken to and valued by both youth and parents. Of importance methodologically, parents spoke eloquently and at length about experiences their children tended to corroborate much more briefly. Therefore, parent observations on positive youth development and mental health promotion provide valuable elaboration of youth experience. As such, parent perspectives are highlighted in this section. For example, one youth who, over time, confided to his mentor about and experienced support from his mentor around significant experiences of being bullied, noted in the 12 month interview that his mentor made him "happy….um, he already completed that….Ah, I felt happy." (5) He didn't speak at length around what shifted for him, but did describe making a card for his mentor, and including a five dollar bill in the card, to communicate his sincere appreciation to his mentor.   His mother, however, at 12 months described at length how she felt "I wanted my child back and I feel like I'm getting

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him.…that confidence, that smile," and at 24 months described how her son became more social and was "startin' to speak up for himself" and had developed friendships.

Several parents described how, over time, their children were no longer isolating themselves in their rooms—perhaps a useful correlate of mental health and well-being for some youth in this study. Of importance methodologically, this observation was consistently made by parents but was not highlighted by youth. This movement away from physical isolation seemed to involve a movement toward meaningful psychological and social connection. For example, at 24 months, one youth succinctly described the impact of her mentoring relationship by saying, "the difference was made was that she kinda brought me out of my shell more, " noting that were she not to have had her mentor "I think I still would be in my shell…a quiet person." (4) Her mother echoed these sentiments and elaborated in much greater detail during the 24 month parent interview:

> I just felt like it would be really good for (Little). Because at the time,
>
> (she) wasn't interacting. She wasn't going out with nobody…and she was
>
> just a homebody…She didn't go nowhere on the weekends and…like she
>
> had plans and she would not follow through with the plans….now she-
>
> she interacts with more people….definitely a big difference….when I say
>
> she is a homebody…(Little) is signed up for sports at school…and um,
>
> I'm like 'wow'! And she's come out of her shell. Like she was in this
>
> shell. Like she stays in her room and…I mean, she interacts with
>
> us…with the family, but most of the time she's in her room. Now she
>
> does sports. She stays after school to do whatever she has to do um, she

goes to hang out with her friends. Whereas she wasn't doing none of

that…She's just boom like wow, like oh…like just one day she just

wakes up like, 'I'm gonna play sports, and I'm bringing this home and…'

so she's—she's blossoming. She's coming out.

The apparent transformation experienced by this youth was correlated with this youth

describing, at 24 months, having developed much "stronger" trust with her mentor. This

participant described also an apparent transformation around trust, noting that, "it's hard

for me to trust people, when I trust someone I generally like to keep that person around

for a long time." Perhaps also compelling here is that one of the first things we learn

about this mentor is her identity as a competitive athlete. This youth's experience of

moving from isolation to connection around sports, compounded with her "stronger"

trust, suggests the development of some level of identification-based trust. This kind of

trust, and the strong affective bond involved, is seen as linked to the widest range of

positive social and emotional outcomes (see Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006).

Over time, the development of trust in mentoring relationships is linked to experiences

youth value around emotional support, emotional expression, and meaningful shifts in

well-being.

Talking About Race, Racism, and Social Location

Seven of the nine matches included in this study involve youth of Color matched

with White mentors. In three of these matches, involving African-American-identifying

youth matched with White mentors, youth spoke to noticing and attending to this racial

difference as it was experienced when they attended all-White places with their mentors. However, narratives around these compelling experiences are presented in the interview data quite indirectly—via mentors, via a parent, or with only a Black interviewer. In comparison to other topics, the lack of relative volume of narrative should not be mistaken for lack of potential impact on youth experiences of trust. Narrative data around two of these three matches suggest that mentor cultural competence in talking about race, racism, and social location is linked to experiences of youth trust, and that, conversely, apparent lack of such competence in an otherwise sensitive mentor is linked to needing to build trust back up.

Going out to all-White places is noticed by youth of Color (and is a topic that is hesitantly or not confided by youth but seems valued by youth). Race came up in interviews as a topic connected with youth trust, via possibility for confiding in and relying on mentors, and via experiencing emotional sensitivity or lack thereof on the part of mentors, in 3 of the 7 longer-term matches involving youth of Color matched with White mentors. Two youth spoke to explicitly noticing that they were the only Black person present when taken to all-White places by their mentor. (3, 5) These experiences, however, seemed brought up indirectly, almost as if they could not be talked about, perhaps also reflecting wider sociopolitical and systemic issues connected with talking about race. One youth confided her feelings around the matter only to her mother and to a Black interviewer. (3) Another youth "sorta backed into" bringing up this issue, per his mentor, and we only heard about the discussion in two mentor interviews, yet not in any of the youth interviews. (5) For a third youth, we only know being Black in an all-White

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place was brought up as a topic because the mentor in passing mentioned a discussion involving it, and we don't know whether the youth or mentor raised the issue. (4) Thus, the only time a youth raised the issue directly in a youth interview for this study was while speaking with a Black interviewer (see Spencer, 2002, and intentional note that a Black interviewer may elicit more discussion). Thus, this matter may present a particular challenge for confiding—both in the mentoring relationship as well as in research interviews.

Racial difference with their mentors and experiences of difference in all-White settings were highlighted by two youth as matters they attended to both early in the relationship and apparently throughout the relationship. For example, one youth said, at 18 months with a Black interviewer, that early in the relationship when she and her mentor first met she felt her mentor was "shocked" to learn she was Black--and we learn from her mother in another interview that racial difference prompted an initial sense of "I don't know, Mommy." (3) We also learn, again at 18 months with a Black interviewer, that early on this youth experienced negative reactions from peers while walking in her own neighborhood with her White mentor; in response, she was able to decide, "she's my Big Sister, I'll keep her." This youth, when speaking to the Black interviewer at 18 months, spoke to feeling "scrutinized," "scared," and like she could not "focus" in the all-White places her mentor took her through the duration of the relationship as we know it from the study, noting that going to all-White places was her least favorite aspect of her time with her mentor, and thus speaking to the salience and pervasiveness of these matters, and to experiences of harm that evidence-based youth mentoring research hopes

to effectively address and prevent. This participant spoke to not confiding her experiences with her mentor because, in part, she did not know how her mentor would respond: "I mean it's like, it's, I don't know, the race thing, it's just not really somethin' I wanna discuss. I mean, that much. I mean, I don't really know how she's gonna react to it." Another youth, relatively early in the relationship, brought up to his mentor that he was the only Black person at an event they attended, raising the issue (per a mentor interview) by asking his mentor if he "noticed" anything different at the event--the mentor had not, and initially thought the youth was asking about the boat they visited, not the social context. (5) We hear explicitly of the continued salience of racial difference for this youth at 24 months, when the youth, in describing his mentor, noted that he would describe his White mentor, in whom he now had "full trust" known in "a lot of ways" as "kind of Black." Thus, experiences around racial difference seemed salient for these two youth throughout the duration of the first two years of their mentoring relationship. These experiences of racial difference were attended to and noticed by youth, and were important experiences that were also challenging to confide around in an absence of mentor resonance with even noticing these experiences. Thus, these experiences also highlighted an important area of absence and potential rupture—and thus an area for further development and repair—of mentor emotional sensitivity and protection, a key basis for youth experiences of trust.

Development of trust is linked to mentor cultural competence and ability to talk about race and racism. Interview data suggested that in one dyad, a mentor attending to experiences of racial difference and racism, and being able to talk about them, is linked to

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youth experiences of trust. (4) Likewise, in one dyad, a mentor not noticing or fully attending to racial difference or racism is linked to this otherwise emotionally sensitive mentor not having the skills to talk about it or to let the youth know she sees it, and these factors are associated temporally with needing to "build up a little more trust with her, I might have lost some trust," per the 24 month mentor interview. (3) In the latter example, the mentor endorsed color blind attitudes (see Neville et al., 2000) toward race, noting she does not "have any kinda like stereotypes or anything" and narrating at length how the main differences associated with race that she sees involve differences around hair. In this dyad, the youth and mentor do discuss political and historical issues around race and racism but do not seem to discuss more personal experiences of these issues. In the former example (4), the mentor went into the match with the expectation that she be intentional around engaging matters related to racial difference and experiences of racism, noting this expectation at prematch and linking her motivation to her awareness of and witnessing of experiences shared by her Black friends. Thus, she entered the match with some level of awareness around the importance of cultural competence (see Sánchez, July 2016, regarding mentor cultural competence predicting mentor satisfaction). In this match, the mentor opened up a direct conversation on the topic after an 18 month interview:

> …and they asked this question, right, so I took the opportunity…when we were driving away from the interview to say to her, 'hey, you know, they asked me about the race stuff. What do you…what'd you think of it? And she was like, 'ah, I don't know.' And I was like, 'well, you know…I think

it's like… 'I was like, do you think it's a problem that we're different

races?' And she's like 'no.' And I was like 'well, yeah, I mean like, I

think our relationship might be different if I was Black or if you were

White' but, you know, we had the whole conversation and and I said to

her I was like, 'lookit, you're gonna be more aware of this stuff too…ah so

you gotta point it out to me. Like if anybody slights you or gives you

crap, and I miss it, you've gotta tell me so I can punch them….we had like

one of those conversations…. And I was just like, 'dude, I know you're

Black….If being Black ever arises to be a problem, you have to tell me.

In case I miss it, you know.' That's kind of how the conversation went.

The 24 month youth interview for this match suggested that this conversation, in the

context of this mentoring relationship, was linked to the youth experiencing that her trust

was now "stronger." This youth said her trust got stronger at around the 18 month

timepoint. When elaborating on how her trust was stronger, the participant described

how she now talked about more personal topics with her mentor, even using the word

"race" to describe a new area of confiding. It can be inferred that having had this

conversation with her mentor was perhaps experienced by the youth as an important

experience of emotional sensitivity and protection (both figurative and literal) by her

mentor that contributed to the development of trust. Thus, youth experiences around

emotional sensitivity and protection on the part of mentors around issues of race and

racism—and youth having good reasons to feel comfortable confiding around these

matters that they experience as so salient--are likely important areas to attend to for better understanding the development of trust.

Family Involvement

Another main contextual area youth experienced as impacting the development of trust was involvement by family members. For youth in this study, family involvement appeared to support the development of youth trust in two main ways. First, parent involvement appeared to support early development of youth trust via parents implicitly picking up on "vibe(s)" (2) and integrating this implicit data with explicitly encouraging their children to engage in trusting behaviors around initial relying on and confiding in their mentors. Second, in a few matches, mentors and youth developed involvement and relationships with each other's family members, and especially with the youth's family, in ways that appeared to support and reinforce youth experiences of trust.

Helps trust develop in beginning in both implicit (for example, "I can tell") and explicit (for example, "you call her") ways. Family involvement, and specifically parental involvement, contributed to the development of youth trust. This involvement seemed to support youth experiences of trust especially in the beginning of the mentoring relationship. Parent experiences that supported youth trust were both implicit and explicit in nature. Several parents spoke to experiencing that mentors could be trusted, initially and in the absence of much other relational experience or evidence, via the "vibe" or a "feeling" involving "I can tell" (2) that the mentor could be trusted. Parents spoke to perceiving these feelings based on how the mentor interacted with them in their home, with their child, and in some cases, in the neighborhood. Based on their

perceptiveness around these feelings and also based on their own desire that the relationship work, parents encouraged both youth and mentors in explicit ways at the start of the match to engage in trusting behaviors. For example, parents encouraged youth to confide in and rely on mentors—they encouraged youth to call mentors, to share experiences, to share personal interests such as drawings and writings, and to give the relationship a chance and keep an "open mind," in the words of one parent (3). Likewise, parents spoke explicitly to mentors about their hopes and expectations for longevity of the mentoring relationship. In the words of one parent at pre-match, "You know, this is someone I'm letting into my house, around my child, into my life, into his life. And if it's possible that he wants to continue after a year…I let him know already, we're, we're open to that…very open to it." (5) It seems likely that emotionally sensitive mentors would take this advice to heart, and that parents are providing an important element of match support in this way alone. Parents spoke to their own motivations for successful mentoring matches that they perceived as providing alloparental "backup," bridging social capital, and per one immigrant parent, a form of cultural brokerage. Parental involvement and support contributed to the development of youth trust and initial experiences of youth trust, and likely also contributed to the longevity of mentoring relationships that could support development of youth trust over time.

Ecology of relationships supports trust. A few mentors and youth developed valued relationships with each other's family members in an ecology of relationships (see Keller & Blakeslee, 2014; Spencer, Basualdo-Delmonico, & Lewis, 2011; Suffrin, Todd & Sánchez, 2016) that supported growth-promoting experiences for youth including

experiences of trust. In one youth-mentor dyad (5), this ecology of relationships clearly

supported youth experiences of trust. In this match, the mentor, who was grieving the

loss of his own father, developed a close relationship with the youth's grandfather. When

the youth began to confide in the mentor around experiences of being bullied at school,

the mentor could then coordinate with the grandfather, who intervened at the school. The

youth's mother, who was dealing with physical illness, voiced great appreciation for the

mentor's involvement and noted how his trustworthiness allowed her to show her son that

people could treat him better than he (and she) had experienced and learned previously:

> I feel like this is definitely a challenge for me…just the whole trusting
>
> people—And having like, it was really important for me to enforce that if
>
> one person treats you like crap, it's, everybody's not like that. It's
>
> possible that—you're gonna meet somebody else better down the
>
> line…there's gonna be somebody else that you meet, that's gonna treat
>
> you the way you wanna be treated. I: And for (Little) he's been that
>
> person. P: Yes. Yeah. Definitely. And for me, it has allowed me to
>
> open up more, to trust more….And go with my, my instinct, too. Yeah. I,
>
> I appreciate that.

Thus, here the trust experienced by a youth was also highly valued by a parent and was

likely therefore reinforced by the parent's experience. In this match, the mentor also

noted how support from his own family allowed him to give the time he needed to the

match. He noted how, "I can't do this without (my spouse's) support…Ah, you know, I

can't take time out of my house and my kids without her support." This support from the

mentor's spouse and family seemed genuine and not burdensome. This mentor voiced how his spouse genuinely appreciated his connection with his Little, commenting on an experience where the Little called the mentor's home, spoke with his spouse, and opened the conversation with, "It's me." Finally, in this match, the youth's mother got involved with the mentor's family by offering to babysit the mentor's young daughter while the mentor spent time with her son. This additional kind of parent involvement supported the match at a time of family illness when the mentor otherwise could not take time from his own family. In this match, at 24 months, the youth noted that he had "full trust" in his mentor, elaborating how "there's a lot of *ways* I know it, though" (emphasis in audio recording). Thus, parent and family involvement can occur in various and mutual ways to support youth experiences of trust that are likely then reinforced by parent experiences.

Additionally, in one match (4), a youth inviting her most trusted confidante (a cousin) to an early visit with her mentor appeared to support youth confiding during that visit. The youth highlighted early in the match that this had been her favorite visit with her mentor thus far since she, her cousin, and her mentor all talked together about their personal views on various social issues. Given that her cousin also apparently experienced this visit as positive and as a place for confiding, it is likely that the cousin's experience served to reinforce the youth's early experience of having a positive experience confiding in her mentor—and thus served to support the development of youth trust. Here, family involvement involved a more circumscribed but still quite impactful experience of trust that was highly connected with the youth's ecology of important relationships.

Summary

Overall, participants in this study identified multiple ways trust was experienced by youth and supported by mentors. Additionally, various experiences seemed more or less critical depending on the timepoint in the relationship. Mutuality in confiding--involving mentor intentionality around making such confiding developmentally appropriate, appropriate to the nature of the mentoring relationship, and done in the service of the mentee and not the mentor--was a central way youth experienced trust and mentors supported youth trust. Youth demonstrated considerable strengths in wanting to rely on and confide in their mentors, in valuing such experiences for the emotional support and meaningful well-being they conferred, and in being self-protective around engaging in these experiences depending on various aspects of mentor attunement, time, and level of trust developed in the relationship. Youth experiences of trust became, over time, more multifaceted, and as such, some events that may have seemed negative or that perhaps carried greater potential for rupture in the beginning of the relationship seemed understood and experienced by youth as weighing less heavily as time went on and trust was known in many ways. While these experiences seemed to play out somewhat uniquely in each match, the themes found in this study captured common elements shared across these longer-term matches. Sociopolitical context and social ecology were also found to be important for the development of youth trust, and the two main contextual themes highlighted in this study, talking about race and racism, and family involvement, were especially important for supporting meaningful and beneficial experiences of youth trust in this context and setting.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to investigate youth experiences of trust and mentor

experiences supporting youth trust in longer term formally matched youth mentoring

relationships. Trust was defined here as youth relying on and confiding in their mentors

based on experiences of mentor reliability, honesty, and emotional sensitivity and

protection from emotional harm. Overall, results documented the pervasive presence in

the data of youth experiencing trust and mentors acting in developmentally-appropriate

(and sometimes culturally-relevant) ways to support, earn, and strengthen this trust.

Further, results indicated that youth trust was multifaceted and, in general, was

experienced in different ways at various timepoints in the mentoring relationship.

Additionally, results indicated that youth valued trusting relationships with their mentors

and valued the emotional support and promotion of well-being these relationships

provided. Finally, results highlighted two contextual matters—talking about race, and

family involvement--influencing both youth experiences of trust and how mentors

supported youth trust. To my knowledge, this is the first study that focuses on examining

experiences of trust over time in youth mentoring relationships from the perspectives of youth, mentors, and parents.

Consistent with the substantial literature on positive youth development, findings supported the value of confiding youth-adult relationships for the lives of youth in this sample. Confiding, meaning disclosing information of a personal or sensitive nature--one of the two behavioral components of youth trust per the definition used in this study--was present in all nine matches, was valued by youth, and involved youth talking about sensitive feelings and concerns in 8 of these 9 longer-term matches. As such, confiding was a prevalent, and almost uniformly prevalent, way youth experienced trust in this sample involving longer-term formally-matched mentoring relationships. Interestingly, the one youth in this study who did not over the first two years of the match disclose sensitive personal information to the mentor, identified early in the match his own challenges around talking about feelings, and also identified the presence of several close family members to whom he would turn were he to need support. (His mother identified, however, that she hoped her son could eventually confide romantic interests to his mentor, and seemed to think the pair did discuss these matters).

The presence, nature, and value of youth confiding in their important adults is an interesting area in the youth development literature. Recent research has indicated greater variability around the presence of youth confiding sensitive information to adult leaders in the context of youth development program (YDP) settings. Griffith and Larson (2015), in a qualitative study of how trust facilitates program engagement for youth, found that approximately one third (34 of 108) of the youth interviewed reported opening

up about personal issues with adult program leaders and highly valuing these discussions for the emotional support they provided. Griffith and Larson identify these confiding relationships as "mentoring" relationships due to youth confiding sensitive information and relying on the adult for emotional support. In another recent study focusing on better understanding youth "connection" with mentors, teachers, and coaches in schools and YDPs (and using data from timepoint 1 in the first wave of a longitudinal study), Futch Ehrlich et al. (2016) found, generally, that some youth seemed to value close connection with important adults based on shared interests, and noted their surprise that such feelings of closeness did not necessarily include "the ability or need to confide" (p. 68). Perhaps clarifying these findings, Stella Kanchewa (2016), in a recent study examining the association between mentor-youth activities, relationship processes, and youth outcomes in school-based mentoring, found three statistically meaningful subgroups of activity profiles: instructional, playful, and conversational. While these subgroups overlapped to some extent, these findings suggest in part that in the settings and timeframe studied, not all mentoring relationships involve confiding or necessitate confiding to support positive youth outcomes.

One way to potentially further understand findings around the nature and variability of youth confiding is through the lens of time. Thus, the present study contributes to elucidating these matters. In the present study, youth experiences of confiding changed over time. Youth generally confided more sensitive matters only after some period of time had passed. This period of time was variable. In some cases, this meant timepoint 18-24 months into the mentoring relationship. This finding is consistent

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with youth mentoring literature suggesting variability in the length of time it takes youth

to begin to confide in their formally-matched mentors (Morrow and Styles, 1995, p. 71;

Spencer, 2007, p. 192), and is consistent with data-driven youth development program

evaluation findings suggesting the effectiveness of supporting youth based on the gradual

development of youth trust over time (Pierce, 2009).   Indeed, in a recent study of youth

trajectories of trust over time in YDP settings, Griffith (2016) found that all 47 youth in

her sample began with self-reported low or medium levels of trust in an identified

supportive adult leader, and that trajectories involved increased trust in various ways for

each youth over time. While trajectories differed somewhat, starting points were all

much lower than they ended. In this line of research, trust was defined as "confidence in

a person" entailing "expectations of the person's present and future goodwill in relation

to one's goals and needs" (Griffith & Larson, 2015, p. 2). In her study of youth trust

formation, based on initial findings from youth interviews related to the potential import

youth placed on examining trust development over time, Griffith was able to modify her

study to include questions on trust over time, and in so doing also created an innovative

measure of youth-reported trust involving having youth graphically depict their

recollection of their experience of trust in an adult leader over time (time periods ranged

from 1-2 years). In light of Griffith's research and the findings of the present study,

research findings involving only an initial or early timepoint measure of confiding, a

main behavioral component of trust, might be surprising if they did in fact find initially

high or even present levels of this behavior at the start or relative beginning of a

formally-matched youth mentoring relationship. Likewise, it might not be surprising to

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find that even after many months have elapsed, youth are not yet sharing sensitive personal information with mentors—but may still be on a growth-promoting trajectory of trust.

These considerations point to a need for better understanding the nature and forms of confiding various forms of self-expression in youth-adult relationships, and to a need for better understandings around how confiding in all its forms may look like and operate over time. In other words, confiding is multifaceted and is not static. The present study adds to these understandings. A primary finding of this study, the importance of mutuality in confiding for supporting experiences of trust valued by youth, highlights the "bidirectional nature" (Spencer, 2006, p. 309) of youth and mentors sharing various forms of self-expression, ranging from shared interests to sensitive personal information. It must be strongly emphasized here that mentors were intentional in making what they disclosed to youth: developmentally appropriate; appropriate to the nature of the mentoring relationship; and done in the service of mentee needs and not mentor needs (see Rhodes, Liang, & Spencer, 2009, 2014). Indeed, such intentionality goes hand in hand with the kind of mentor attunement (Pryce, 2012) found to be vital for high-quality youth mentoring matches. Julia Pryce, in research seeking to differentiate levels of mentor attunement, defines attunement as "the mentor's capacity to respond flexibly to youth verbal and nonverbal cues by taking into account youth needs and desires," and conceptualizes attunement as "a broad strategy for mentors to elicit, read, interpret, and reflect on youth cues" that is by nature intentional on the part of mentors (2012, pp. 292-293).

The finding around the importance of mutuality in the form of reciprocal sharing for allowing youth to bring more of themselves into the relationship is consistent with prior literature (e.g., Karcher & Nakkula, 2010; Sánchez, 2016; Spencer, 2006), and highlights such mentor intentionality, attunement, and willingness to selectively share aspects of themselves in developmentally and culturally appropriate ways. Sánchez (August 2016), in the first comprehensive review of culturally-relevant effective mentoring practices for Black male youth, found mutuality in confiding an important element of successful relationships and posited that such mutuality provided youth a safe space to be vulnerable. As noted previously in this dissertation, risking vulnerability is the most widely-used, yet most nonspecific, definition for trust. Futch Ehrlich et al. (2016) highlighted in her recent research that "there is still more to the picture about the experiences of closeness and connection in youth-adult relationships" that was not captured in the scale she used to assess connection, and posited that what was not captured involved mutuality; she emphasized that "mutuality may be key" in understanding how her construct of connection may move from a protective factor to a promotive factor, and advised that future investigations "more purposefully capture this nuance" (pp. 75-76). If mutuality is a key element of youth trust and mentor support of youth trust, then the above view of mutuality as key to promoting positive youth development in youth-adult relationships also aligns with recent thinking conceptualizing trust as the "on switch" that amplifies youth developmental experiences (Griffith & Larson, 2015, p. 13). Qualitative findings in the present study elucidate processes and nuances of youth and mentor experiences of mutuality that may also be further explored

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in developing understandings and much-needed measures of mentor relational

competence in various contexts (Nakkula & Harris, 2014; Sánchez et al, 2014).

Mentor relational competence, including what Nakkula and Harris (2014) call

"risk-related relational competence," may include mentor attunement around balancing

direction with restraint. The present study contributes to understanding indicators of

mentor relational competence by highlighting how, even and perhaps especially in this

sample of longer-term formally-matched mentoring relationships that work, over time,

youth experienced a sense of needing to not yet confide that was supported by mentors

not forcing confiding. Several youth in this sample had experienced childhood trauma,

including ongoing chronic trauma related to experiences such as being bullied at school

or coping with difficult relationships with absent caregivers. As such, this finding around

mentor attunement to restraint that was aligned with youth needs for not yet confiding is

in line with effective clinical practice that elevates trauma-informed care (see Helms,

2016; SAMHSA, 2015; and Tummala-Narra, 2007), and is in line with theory in

psychotherapy that views defensive adaptations not as weaknesses but as protective

strengths, and suggests that when a therapist is protective of client affective overload,

people can better relinquish the need for self-protection and thus bring more of

themselves, including more affect, to a relationship (see Geist, 2016). Additionally, this

finding is in line with youth psychotherapy literature suggesting that a strong predictor of

no alliance with youth involves therapist lapse behaviors such as pushing a youth to talk

when not ready (see Karver at al., 2008). This finding is also consistent with a body of

literature in the youth development field suggesting that we need more in-depth

examination of how adults work to balance using their authority with promoting youth

agency at the level of youth-adult interaction, and is consistent with recent research

emphasizing that "the art of restraint" may feature prominently in supporting positive

youth-adult relationships in YDP settings (Larson et al., 2015). In "the art of restraint," a

term used by Larson and colleagues to describe "surprising similarities" (p. 1) across

interviews with 25 experienced adult leaders, these leaders enacted expert wisdom—one

could also say relational competence--around balancing intentional restraint with

authority and guidance in ways that aligned with youth expectations and appeared to

maximize youth agency and learning opportunities.

Findings of this study suggest that we can think of the art of restraint as a

strengths-based approach that may also be understood as unfolding over time, as adults

are intentional in making adjustments to their approach based on a range of

developmentally appropriate considerations, including the trust already created. For the

matches in this sample, youth confiding was grounded in youth strengths and

expectations around wanting to confide in and learn from their mentors. As much as

youth said they wanted to confide and learn, they also had the insight to recognize that

doing so safely took time and that sometimes they were not yet ready. Mentors, then,

were attuned to youth experience by not forcing youth to confide and by intentionality

around promoting youth agency.

This finding also extends work emphasizing the effectiveness and necessity of

strengths-based approaches (see, for example, Rhodes & Raposa, 2016) to mentoring

relationship development with youth in the context of cultural difference (see Sánchez et

al., 2016) political and racial trauma (Sánchez et al., 2016), and contexts of identity

development including sexual and gender identities (forthcoming review not yet posted to

the National Mentoring Resource Center website). Cultural humility (see Hook et al.,

2016) is considered an important element for effective work in the context of cultural and

racial difference, and "not forcing" a fit of a mentor's perspective onto a youth's reality

may be a vital component of such humility. In a recent study of mentor autonomy

(operationalized as essentially forcing knowledge or perspective onto a mentee) in a

sample of college student women mentors matched with female middle-school youth,

Leyton-Amarkan and colleagues (2012) found this construct to be negatively related to

all aspects of mentee relationship satisfaction, and found that this negative relationship

was stronger for cross-race than for same-race pairs. Given that race is one sociopolitical

construct involving oppressive and systemic enactments of power, mentoring matches

involving youth of Color matched with White mentors might benefit from mentor

attunement to care around enacting power in the relationship. Gamble, in a recent

dissertation on mentoring from a Black feminist perspective, highlighted the need to

attend to power dynamics in mentoring relationships, and asked, "Is this power

constructed within the context of the mentoring relationship or forcefully imposed?"

(2014, p. 61). It may be that mentor attunement to "not forcing" confiding may also

involve attuned care around, as much as possible, co-constructing power in the mentoring

relationship—a relationship that exists within and cannot be immune from broader

contexts and histories of atrocious sociopolitical power realities. Seen through the lens of

sociopolitical power, the art of mentors co-constructing with youth mutuality that is

balanced with restraint may be an important overarching element of mentor relational competence.

There has been a longstanding effort in the youth mentoring literature to better understand how social and contextual issues impact mentoring relationships, and research results based on racial categories have been "mixed" in providing clear pathways forward (DuBois et al., 2011; Sánchez et al., 2014). Thus, there is a recent call to better understand "cultural nuances and processes taking place in the relationship" (Sánchez et al., 2014, p. 147). The present study contributes to these efforts. In particular, findings include the potential impact on the development of youth trust of mentors noticing and perhaps being able to talk sensitively about matters related to youth experiences of race and racism, and conversely, mentor lack of sensitivity involving color-blind attitudes (see Neville et al., 2013, and Sue, 2013, 2015) potentially creating rupture and negatively impacting youth trust. Mentors having competence in being attuned to these matters—including seeing and understanding youth mistrust as a protective strength--would absolutely be in line with a strengths-based approach, as cultural mistrust (see Sánchez & DuBois, 2006) is a protective strength developed in response to a history of experiences of racism (Sue, 2015), and one that also may lead to a protective dissociation of one's "true self" with Whites (Sue, 2015, pp. 106-107). Although cultural mistrust can be considered an adaptive strength, it also is one way racism creates disadvantage for youth when trusting relationships with White authority figures are needed in learning settings (see Cohen & Steele, 2002). Elaborating on the relationship between cultural mistrust and trust, Gamble, in her dissertation, highlights one way Black parents and elders

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nurture strengths in their children: "'we teach them to carefully balance distrust and trust—distrust will keep them alive and trust will help them flourish'" (Roseboro & Ross, 2009, p. 36, quoted in Gamble, 2014, p. 60).

Parents play critical roles in protecting their children by influencing their children's sense of when and whom to trust. Findings in the present study around parent involvement and intuition influencing youth trust support the need to continue to better understand and elevate the value of how parents shape youth mentoring relationships, as youth mentoring relationships exist within an ecology of relationships involving other people connected to the lives of youth (see Keller & Blakeslee, 2014; Spencer, Basualdo-Delmonico & Lewis, 2011; Suffrin, Todd, & Sánchez, 2016). Interview data suggested that a parent's (or, in one case, also a trusted cousin confidante's) involvement to support youth trust may be especially important in the beginning of some mentoring relationships, a critical time period for youth mentoring matches.

There is a great need in the trust literature to better understand such contextual influences on the development of trust. Contextual influences, as they are called, may perhaps be just as central to the development of trust as are factors that are considered more individual or interpersonal in nature. Findings of the present study point to the potential import of contextual matters influencing the development of trust at relatively early timepoints in a mentoring relationship. These findings can be understood via models of trust development over time that posit a calculus-based trust operating early in new relationships. In addition to the finding of early parent involvement supporting youth trust, several youth in this study spoke to knowing they could trust their mentor, in

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the relative beginning of their mentoring relationship, in terms of negatives or double-negatives—for example, the mentor "does good things and not bad things," and the mentor "hasn't done anything to make me back off a little, to stop trustin'." Seen via a lens of calculus-based trust operating earlier in a relationship, findings in this study around the import of consistent reliability especially during the beginning of a relationship—and reasons for lapses in reliability being less understood and perhaps having even more potential to create rupture in the beginning—also make sense. Additionally, findings around the import of youth needing to not yet confide and mentors not forcing confiding make further sense when considering that lapse behaviors ("bad things") may disproportionately impact development of trust in the relative beginning of a relationship.

Mentor relational competence in being able to engage contextual realities is important for the development of trust throughout the duration of the relationship. Findings also suggest that once trust has developed, mentors being able to competently engage youth realities of racism and racial difference may be one important element to consider for better understanding how youth experiences of trust may shift to the kind of trust characterized in the literature as identification-based trust. One way of competently engaging such realities involves being able to talk about them, and findings of this study point to a need for much better understanding how such race talk (Sue, 2013, 2015) may perhaps contribute to the kind of identification-based trust that is understood to confer the widest range of positive social and emotional outcomes. As with other topics, talking about race can be done in developmentally appropriate ways (see Pauker, Apfelbaum, &

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Spitzer, 2015) that are in line how youth value authenticity (see Spencer, 2006) in their

mentoring relationships. It is likely important to also consider how to assess when such

matters need talking about. Avoiding talking about or seeing race when it is a clear issue

has been linked to "rhetorical incoherence" on the part of White people, which is thought

to then of course increase mistrust (Sue, 2015). Likewise, psychotherapists who in an

effort to be somehow neutral avoid talking about realities of racial and political terror can

become hyperprofessionalized and distant, causing harm in the therapy relationship and

for the client (Tummala-Narra, 2005).

Finally, this study adds to a long line of research seeking to understand how

longer-term formally matched youth mentoring relationships effect positive social and

emotional outcomes.   Youth trusted mentors enough to share important aspects of their

lives, and experienced and valued the emotional support mentors provided. Additionally,

mentoring relationships were there for youth at stressful times, creating additional

benefits in a context of added risk. Over time, mentor emotional support contributed to

considerable positive developmental transformation for youth that was expressed by

youth, yet seemed understood and reported in more elaborate and complex verbal ways

by their parents.

Limitations

As noted previously, while findings of this study are useful in better

understanding youth experiences of trust and processes associated with these experiences

over time, this research design does not test causal connection nor is it necessarily

generalizable. Since the relationships examined here are the ones that worked and endured the test of time over two years, experiences of trust in these particular relationships may be unique to relationships that last this length of time, and may look different in shorter relationships or relationships with less potential for being open-ended. It may also be that youth in these longer relationships perceived a greater need for emotional support that over time contributed to their development of a relative greater ease of eventually talking about their feelings, which then led to generally more positive experiences around confiding that contributed to prolonging the relationship.

While the definition of trust I used has construct validity and is specific enough to code in-depth qualitative data, it may not have been general or flexible enough to adequately capture activities or feelings that are important antecedents to and aspects of trust. Related to this matter, mentor intentionality was evident in the interviews in ways that did not necessarily coincide with my definition of trust; future research could focus more on characterizing mentor intentionality as it relates to building trust. Indeed, current measures in general may not adequately capture a construct that in some ways resists quantitative or descriptive measure. Research points to the implicit and tangible nature of processes of trust (Lyon, Mollering, & Saunders, 2012). We also know from neuroscience research that many forms of learning can only happen (potentiate) over time. Additionally, at a reductionistic level of analysis, it is thought that some genes connected with experiences of affective states can only turn on (or off) in a context of certain conditions lasting periods of time at least as long as several months.   There are thus many levels of analysis that methods of the present study cannot engage.

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Another limitation of this study is that the methodology I used involved coding in a way that was sensitive to time, but could not assess the impact of time in any systematic way. Related to this, since this was a secondary analysis and the original program of research was already completed, member checks could not be done to either further assess recollections of trust over time or to verify and extend the meanings of the analysis.

Future Directions

To better assess trust over time, future research could track youth experiences of trust, mentor experiences supporting youth trust, and parent experiences, via a smartphone application that would provide real-time indicators of experience. Measuring experience in this way, however, might affect the nature of lived experience as it is happening (see Archibald, 2015), so implications around how measurement affects experience might be considered. Related to this matter, the present study found that one mentor who kept in close touch with her mentee found herself thinking of her mentee throughout the day. Communicating via technology on youth's terms (which might align with mentor's terms) highlights interesting considerations around how and in what ways youth and mentors build trust and become a felt presence in each other's lives in ways that are growth-promoting for youth. Methods that might access implicit and tangible ways trust is experienced over time in real-world settings would likely shed more light on this matter. Further, such methods might better elucidate important aspects of trust so that definitions of trust can be further refined and better understood as matching lived

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experiences in various settings and contexts. Methods that elevate youth voice, such as having youth create their own graphical depiction of their trajectory of trust (Griffith, 2016), or directly asking youth, in a setting experienced by youth as safe, to describe or depict what trust means for them and why trust is important, can further illuminate these matters. One youth development program adopted a motto created by youth that highlighted youth experiences of trust—"Truth, Trust, Transformation" (Roca, 2010)-- and integrated this youth-created motto into their approach to youth work. Further work is needed in this area.

This study adds to research indicating the continued need for mentor training to support match quality, match length, and positive youth outcomes (Kupersmidt & Rhodes, 2014). Better understandings and assessment of processes of trust involving mentor relational competence (Nakkula & Harris, 2014) can continue to be integrated into training in ways that also promote mentor cultural humility. It may be important to train mentors in ways that ameliorate color blind attitudes, when they exist. Consistent with preliminary findings in this study, effective race talk may lead to a kind of corrective cultural experience (see Gaztambide, 2012; Sue, 2015) that promotes quality in the mentoring relationship and that contributes to experiences of trust that promote positive outcomes for youth. Further research might explore how race talk intersects with youth needs and mentor competencies, and important experiences of youth and mentor racial identity development (see Sánchez et al., 2014), in order to better train mentors and provide match support in this area.

Given the sometimes lengthy wait lists for youth to obtain mentors, and given the importance of mentors being reliable and emotionally present and sensitive especially in the beginning of relationships, innovative approaches are needed around creating time for youth and mentors to connect. One more systemic approach might be giving time off from work for mentoring. Some organizations that are well-resourced financially already do this. Other approaches might involve creative allocation of time during the workday so that adults can take a few hours leave to mentor a youth in the afternoon, for example. Recent technologies allow Bluetooth phone conversations during commutes—for relevant work settings, perhaps some lengthy staff-meetings or committee meetings that occur during valuable times of productivity at work could occur in part during commutes, over the phone. Many such possibilities exist, if there is political will to create time for youth mentoring during the workday. Increasing the pool of mentors would also likely contribute to the success of being able to match youth and mentors based on mutuality in the form of shared interests (see DuBois et al., 2011), an important aspect associated with match quality and positive youth outcomes.

Recent policy recommendations include a suggestion to professionalize youth work as a viable career path (see Hurd, 2016). Doing so might further institutionalize standards of effective practice, resources for effective training, and availability of adult mentors, thus better promoting valuable positive experiences and enduring relational opportunities for youth.

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