9-1-2020

A QUALITATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER-RESPONSIVE YOUTH PROGRAMMING WITHIN THE GIRLS ROCK CAMP ALLIANCE

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by

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B.S., University of Georgia, 2015
M.S., Southern Illinois University, 2017

A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree

School of Psychological and Behavioral Sciences
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August 2020

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

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for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Psychology

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May 7, 2020

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Seyi Amosu, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Psychology, presented on May 7, 2020, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: A QUALITATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER-RESPONSIVE YOUTH PROGRAMMING WITHIN THE GIRLS ROCK CAMP ALLIANCE

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Kathleen Chwalisz

This study documented the gender-responsive youth programing strategies within Girls Rock camps using Grounded Theory methodology. Experiencing gender oppression is a stressor that creates an increased risk for mental and physical health concerns for gender-marginalized people. The risks for mental illnesses, because of gender-based oppression, is compounded when an individual holds additional marginalized statuses (e.g., age, race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, ability status, etc.; APA, 2007). Gender bias has also been shown to negatively impact young people's self-esteem, academic achievement, and vocational aspirations (Kamsler, 1992). Given this negative impact of gender bias, it is important to address gender-related discrimination early in adolescents' lives to mitigate the harmful ramifications of living in a sexist society. Gender-responsive youth programs are extracurricular, community-based organizations that incorporate the specific concerns of girls and gender non-conforming youth into organizational policies, practices, and activities. Girls Rock is a music-based, gender-responsive youth program that teaches young people empowerment through music. The resulting grounded theory model of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance positions authentic relationships as the active ingredient that makes Girls Rock camps effective worldwide. This model can be used to understand the components of a successful Girls Rock camp and can be adapted to gender-responsive youth programs of any discipline.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women and girls face an increased risk for health concerns. These health concerns result from stressors such as interpersonal violence, experiences of discrimination, gender role stress, economic limitations, and an inability to live up to unrealistic media standards (APA, 2007). Experiencing such stressors may lead to mental health issues such as depression, anxiety, and eating disorders among many others. In fact, a sample of 4,008 women found that 69% of women are exposed to traumatic stressors during their life time and are twice as likely to develop PTSD following exposure relative to men (Resnick, Kilpatrick, Dansky, Saunders, & Best, 1993). The risks for mental illnesses, because of gender-based oppression, is compounded when girls and women hold additional marginalized statuses (e.g., age, race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, ability status, gender identity, etc.; APA, 2007).

The late 1980s through early 1990s was a period characterized by a cultural shift in which girls and girlhood were increasingly visible (Gonick, 2006). This shift took place in popular culture (e.g., books, magazines, television) and in academia (e.g., conferences, feminist journals). In her book, *In a Different Voice* (1982) Carol Gilligan argued that traditional developmental theories tended to focus on the experiences of men. Women were neglected from these theories that did not consider how gender related values and gender socialization may contribute to differences in development. Alongside these developmental differences, Gilligan described the struggles adolescent girls faced at the hands of modern society. This work served as a foundation for girls' increased visibility in popular and academic discourse. The most notable exemplar of this time is the work of psychologist Mary Pipher, author of the book *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls* (1994). The book's title is derived from

a Shakespeare character who commits suicide after being unable to meet the contradictory wishes of her brother and father. Pipher uses Ophelia as a symbol for modern girlhood, a time when in Pipher's view girls are tormented by low self-esteem, loss of self, and devaluation at the hands of a patriarchal society.

Pipher (1994) critiqued popular society and mainstream media as creating a hostile environment in which girls cannot flourish. Pipher argued that mainstream United States culture places pressure on adolescent girls to confirm to unrealistic standards of appearance and behavior. She identifies the media as one source of these standard that are particularly damaging to young girls. Girls are bombarded with societal expectations that they must navigate. When navigating these messages, girls often leave behind their healthy self-concepts and develop fractured and false senses of self due to social pressure to conform. Pipher articulated these concerns to highlight that ways in which society contributes to the psychological troubles of adolescent girls such as low self-esteem and depression. In doing so, she also painted the adolescent girl as the passive victim of patriarchy. Pipher's thesis can be demonstrated through an often-cited quote from *Reviving Ophelia,* "Something dramatic happens to girls in early adolescence. Just as planes and ships disappear mysteriously into the Bermuda Triangle, so do the selves of girls go down in droves. They crash and burn in a social Bermuda Triangle." (Pipher, 1994, p. 19). As a result of this cultural shift, "girls went from being invisible to being vulnerable." (Gonick, 2006, p. 14).

Since the book's publication, the ideas put forth in *Reviving Ophelia* have been solidified into one of the dominant discourses surrounding how adolescent girls are understood (e.g., fragile and in dire need of adult assistance) in modern culture. Although the *Ophelia* discourse created space to discuss the impact of society on young girls, it may paradoxically operate

counter to its own interests. The Ophelia discourse in many ways contributes to damaging messages about young girls, by reinforcing notions of their fragility (Gonick, 2006). Many have critiqued this view for disregarding the agency of girls, labeling it the "girl-crisis" movement (Farady, 2010).

Popular feminism has responded to the idea that women and girls are fragile by also discussing the strength that women and girls possess. This reaction can be exemplified by the coinage of pro-girl phrases such as 'girls rule' or 'girl power,' gained widespread acceptance during the 1990s as well (Gonick, 2006). The phrase 'girl power' originated with the teen girl subculture known as Riot Grrrl. Riot Grrrl was a grassroots movement of largely middle-class, queer, white girls who wanted to reclaim girlhood as a social response to the sexism they experienced. 'Girl power' was a way for riot grrrls to celebrate girlhood as a distinct social experience from the adult world. For riot grrrls, girl power was a form of self-expression that was often angry, aggressive, and heavily political—forms of expression that girls were often denied (Pomerantz, Raby, & Stefanik, 2013). Riot Grrrl "encouraged young women to see themselves not as the passive consumers of cultures. . . but as producers and creators of knowledge." (Gonick, 2006, p. 7). Girl Power was heavily political as adolescent girls used it as a lens to critique their experiences oppression related to gender, race, sexuality, and class.

Girl Power was quickly co-opted by mainstream media (Gonick, 2006). The slogan was commercialized and began appearing on t-shirts and other merchandise. Girl Power was marketed to young girls rather than being produced by them. The mainstream acceptance of Girl Power was devoid of feminist content. Rather, it promotes pro-girl feelings in a way that removes Riot Grrrl's goals of social and political action. The appropriation of Girl Power happened most notably through the all-girl musical group the Spice Girls. The Spice Girls sang

the Girl Power motto, while eliminating the anger and grit of the Riot Grrrls. Through the Spice Girls, girl power became hyper-feminine, safe, and ultimately palatable in a way that Riot Grrrl was not. *Girl Power* is another popular discourse used to understand modern girlhood. This view is characterized by pro-girl ideology that focuses on the individual girl subject rather than promoting collective sociopolitical action among girls. Despite its good intentions, the popularized Girl Power discourse strips away the social and cultural critiques that truly constituted Riot Grrrl's original 'girl power' slogan (Gonick, 2006).

Successful Girls is another emerging discourse that emphasizes how girls have outperformed boys in school, work, and social settings in recent years (Baker, 2010). This narrative takes Girl Power one step further by suggesting that there is no longer a need for feminism. From the Successful Girls point of view, not only have the goals of feminism been accomplished, but girls now occupy a superior position relative to boys (Pomerantz, Raby, & Stefanik, 2013). Under the Successful Girls narrative, women and girls have achieved progress (e.g., joining the workforce, gaining the right to vote, access to higher education) as society has modernized. Often, this discourse is used to suggest that girls and women emerged victorious after the first and second waves of feminism, leaving boys and men where they are now disadvantage. Despite the popularity of the Successful Girls discourse as a tool for celebrating gender equality, this view lacks nuance. Although girls have made notable gains (e.g., attending universities in higher numbers), proponents of this discourse ignore "other social indicators which point to a continuing power asymmetry between men and women." (Baker, 2010, pp. 2-3). Such indicators include inequality in pay by gender, rates of victimization, and being disproportionately burdened with domestic tasks such as child rearing or housework (Baker, 2010, APA, 2007).

The culminating effect of the various discourses surrounding North American girlhood, is an overwhelming contradiction that girls must navigate. Although these ideas emerged nearly 25 years ago they still heavily influence modern society. Many girls have bought into notions that sexism is a thing of the past, an idea popularized by the Girl Power and Successful Girls theses. However, girls are simultaneously at risk of harm from sexism as emphasized by the Ophelia discourse. These competing ideas "trap girls between an idealized neoliberal girl subject who is told she 'runs the world' *and* the everyday reality of girls' lives, which include experiences of inequality." (Pomerantz, Raby, & Stefanik, 2013, p. 187). The current postfeminist narratives create an environment where girls espouse postfeminist equality while enduring daily gender-based oppression. Girls are thus not taught the language to articulate these experiences as sexism, and instead categorize such incidents as individual rather than systemic problems. This leaves girls in the ultimate paradox where "a girl is not only forced to deal with incidents of sexism herself, but that she is seen as empowered enough to do so." (Pomerantz, Raby, & Stefanik, 2013, p. 188).

Overall, the Ophelia discourse characterizes girls as vulnerable and in need of saving. The Girl Power discourse suggests that girls are invincible, and the Successful Girls movement extends this idea of invincibility by suggesting that women have now surpassed boys, thus reversing their oppression. This view is flawed as it neglects the many ways that women and girls still experience gender-based oppression. The different girlhood discourses have informed a myriad of solutions to the problems experienced by adolescent girls. The publication of *Reviving Ophelia* is credited with stimulating "a number of programmatic responses in schools, communities, and religious organizations to address these newly defined needs of girls to overcome their vulnerability." (Gonick, 2006, p. 15). One such example is The Ophelia Project,

a grassroots organization inspired by Pipher's book. The founders of The Ophelia Project considered the harm done to adolescent girls and decided to combat the trend by creating interventions for relational aggression in youth (The Ophelia Project). High schools have also formed groups for girls to share their experiences with one another. Another "example is an Ophelia Club where girls can share experiences and how they overcame them." (Gonick, 2006, p. 15).

The Girl Power and Reviving Ophelia rhetoric emerged simultaneously, acknowledging the contradictory space that adolescent girls occupy in modern society. Gonick (2006) argued that the two feminist discourses may be integrated in a way that recognizes the agency of adolescent girls without assuming that society has evolved past the point of needing to empower girls. To resolve the discrepancy between the two divergent views of adolescent girls, youth organizations have developed an array of gender-responsive strategies that address both the agency and vulnerability of young girls. Gender-responsive interventions can be used to acknowledge and address the precarious position girls occupy in modern society. Gender-responsive youth programs incorporate practices such as giving girls leadership opportunities or helping them develop critical awareness of gender injustice to provide girls with the tools required to combat a society that is hostile to girls and women.

One such gender-responsive youth program is the Girls Rock Camp Alliance (GRCA). The GRCA is an international grassroots organization that empowers girls and gender non-conforming youth through teaching them to play music. The Girls Rock Camp Alliance is composed of over 100 member organizations. Member camps view the mistreatment of girls and women within the music industry as a microcosm of larger societal oppression. Through gender-

responsive practices, the GRCA teaches campers to critique societal gender oppression while exposing them to technical musical skills.

Whereas the Ophelia discourse inadvertently perpetuates the idea that girls are fragile, Successful Girls and Girl Power discourses deny a need for feminism and tame girls and women in ways that are consistent with societal expectations of a feminine gender role. Girls Rock remedies this by valuing the agency and autonomy of girls while acknowledging the impact of societal oppression within the music industry. Because rock music is associated with masculinity, empowering girls to play rock music subverts gender norms by encouraging them to reclaim an environment that is traditionally male-dominated. Girls Rock, as an organization that encourages girls to play rock music, is more consistent with Riot Grrrl feminism than with the depoliticized media appropriation of Girl Power.

Despite the organization's nearly two-decade history, limited empirical research exists about the mechanisms and outcomes of the GRCA programming. Therefore, the primary objective of this study was to gain an in-depth contextual understanding of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. The focus of this study included both camper and volunteer experiences at various member organizations within the GRCA. Of specific interest was how GRCA member camps used gender-responsive youth development strategies to impact campers' self-esteem, social awareness, and desire to create social change. This study was intended to explore the programming of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance to document its effectiveness and contribute to the organization's ability to continue offering valuable programming for youth of marginalized genders.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Gender bias has been shown to negatively impact young girls' self-esteem, academic achievement, and vocational aspirations (Kamsler, 1992). Given this negative impact of gender bias, it is important to address gender related discrimination early in adolescent girls' lives to mitigate the harmful ramifications of living in a sexist society. One response to gender-based discrimination is the creation of gender-responsive youth programming. Gender-responsive youth programs are extracurricular, community-based organizations that incorporate the specific concerns of girls and gender non-conforming youth into organizational policies, practices, and activities. Gender-responsive youth programs occupy a unique position in adolescent girls' lives as organizations that can offer personal and interpersonal growth outside of their traditional educational environments. Such experiences build leadership skills, increase self-confidence, and empower girls to combat negative societal stereotypes about their abilities (Muno, 2014).

Because gender-responsive youth programs were formed as a reaction to the oppression of girls and women, one key aspect of gender-responsive youth programming is helping youth develop a critical awareness of the societal injustice. Such programs can play an important role in fostering girls' awareness about how race, gender, social class, and other identity statuses influence their experiences. Furthermore, once girls have developed this awareness, youth programs can create opportunities for girls to advocate for themselves. By exposing girls to gender-responsive youth programs, we provide them with safe environments that meet their needs while giving them the tools to navigate gender oppression in society.

Girls Rock is the focal gender-responsive youth program in this study. Although *girls* is included in the name of the organization, Girls Rock's mission extends to all individuals who

experience gender oppression (i.e., women, girls, transgender people, non-binary individuals, gender non-conforming people). Based on feedback from its membership, the Girls Rock Camp Alliance has begun using the term *gender expansive* to encompass participants who are not cisgender women but also experience gender oppression. Due to the limited literature on gender responsive youth programs, much of the literature referenced in this study refers to women and girls. However, this study included women, girls, and gender expansive youth and adults. The terminology of women and girls will be used in reference specific studies and theories that were based on the experiences of women and girls. The terminology youth of marginalized genders, gender marginalized, and gender expansive are used throughout this document in reference to the implications that gender-responsive practices have for all youth who experience gender oppression, specifically within the context of Girls Rock.

Benefits of Youth Programming for Girls

Over the last 20 years, there has been an increased creation and participation of experiential educational programs for adolescent girls (Galeotti, 2015). The increase of interventions may be attributed to a concern that adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable and in need of assistance (Gonick, 2006). The turmoil of adolescence often results in the loss of voice, agency, and confidence for young girls. This unfortunate trend has been well documented in the literature, in which authors often identify cultural messages about women's subservience to men as one probable cause (Farady, 2010). By constructing girls-only spaces, youth are free from the power dynamic inherent in gender relations.

Radical feminism is a branch of feminist thought that has been used to argue that patriarchy is the root of gender inequality (Rowland & Klein, 1996). Patriarchy is a system in which power is granted based on gender, privileging men and oppressing women, transgender,

and gender expansive individuals. The goal of radical feminism is to dismantle the domination created by patriarchy through lasting cultural change. Radical feminism focuses on the lived experiences of individuals who are marginalized by their gender identity. According to radical feminism, "the personal is political" and theory cannot be separated from the daily practice of rejecting patriarchy in all its forms (Rowland & Klein, 1996, p. 13). When the personal becomes political, it allows for each aspect of life (e.g., cultural, spiritual, economic) to be understood as political spheres that are influenced by patriarchal oppression.

Gender-responsive programming provides youth with a unique space that minimizes the influence of patriarchy as much as possible. Although girls are living in a "post-feminist" society (Giffort, 2011), where girls are told they can do anything, they also face the reality of limited social structural change in their day-to-day realities. The literature in this area supports the idea that engaging adolescent girls in youth programs may lead to better outcomes. Some of the most cited benefits of youth programming for girls are increased self-esteem (e.g., Galeotti, 2015), improving leadership ability (e.g., Bartolome, 2013), and developing healthy behaviors (e.g., Kuperminc, Thomason, Dimeo, & Broomfield-Massey, 2011).

Gender-Responsive Youth Development Practices

Youth programs are one form of structured leisure activity for adolescents. Examples of youth programs include summer camps, "school and community sponsored athletics, music organizations, and church groups." (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000, p. 115). Youth programming has been found to yield a variety of psychological (e.g., increased frustration tolerance, emotion regulation, self-efficacy, empathy) and other benefits (e.g., increased healthy behaviors, assertiveness, problem-solving, sociability; Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004). Researchers have identified several best practices in youth programming through a

multitude of youth development models that detail strategies that contribute to positive outcomes for the youth who participate (Akiva, 2007). Developers of these models have outlined some of the necessities for a youth program to be successful. Strategies often include ensuring a safe and supportive environment through providing physical safety, emotional encouragement, and the opportunity to develop new skills. Adults can facilitate and model positive interactions for youth, both among peers and with adult volunteers. For example, adults can foster an open and welcoming peer culture for the youth to experience belonging, by reframing conflicts as opportunities for relationship development. Programs driven by these youth development models often provide youth with opportunities to set goals, make decisions, reflect on the outcome, and learn from those experiences (Akiva, 2007).

Youth development models provide best strategies for overall youth programming. However, it is vital to consider the needs of adolescent girls specifically and develop additional ways to meet their needs through gender-responsive programming. Gender-responsive practices are distinguished by special attention to the concerns of youth of marginalized genders (e.g., all youth aside from cisgender boys) and incorporate their needs into broader youth development contexts. Most relevant to this study are the gender-responsive practices that have been incorporated in youth programming.

One of the pioneers in documenting effective girl-specific practices for youth programming was a study done by the Girl's Best Friend Foundation (GBFF), a now disbanded organization that was based in Chicago (Muno, 2014). GBFF was founded in 1994 with a mission to protect girls' human rights. The organization did this by providing grant funding to programs that advanced the well-being and self-determination of young women (Girls Best Friend Foundation, 2005). In a study sponsored by the Girl's Best Friend Foundation, Linda

Phillips (2002) sought to discover what adolescent girls needed from youth programming by going directly to the source, the girls themselves. The participatory action research study used sixty-five Illinois girls, ages 12-18 (M = 14.5), as the core participants and girl research team. Core participants were racially and ethnically diverse, with 43% of the sample being Black/African American, 18.5% White/Caucasian, 20% Latina/Hispanic, 1.5% Asian, 15.4% mixed race/ethnicity, and 1.5% of unknown racial identity. Core participants were recruited from Chicago neighborhoods as well as urban, suburban, and rural communities around the state of Illinois. Girls who would be considered "marginalized" in terms of their access to resources (e.g., low socioeconomic status, living in regions with few youth programs, grocery stores, or economic opportunities) were deliberately recruited for the purposes of this study to include members of under-represented groups.

Once the girls were recruited into Phillips' (2002) study, they were tasked with identifying areas of concern and becoming researchers in their own communities. The girls learned research methodology, developed research instruments, and interviewed other girls and adults in their communities. The final research team consisted of the 65 core participants and seven adult researchers who specialized in psychology, social work, and youth development. Adult researchers facilitated the research process and conducted focus groups and participant observations. Phillips' (2002) study incorporated girl-to-girl interviews (N = 120). Members of the adult research team conducted individual interviews with the girl researchers (N = 65), focus groups with girls from various communities (N = 48), and interviews with adult advocates at community agencies (N = 30).

Phillips' (2002) study produced a variety of recommendations for adults who want to produce all-girl youth development programs. Suggestions were derived directly from the girl

research team as well as the girls who participated as interviewees. The girl-specific practices identified through this research study are still implemented in youth programs today. The first major practice for effective programming is to provide girls with a safe space, in which they can communicate openly with one another and form long-lasting, close relationships. For the girls in the study, this meant having a place to belong where they could do girl-led activities, rather than structured activities provided by adults. This hands-off approach was a recurrent theme in the study, as girls reported that they felt most empowered when adults worked with them collaboratively, but ultimately gave them autonomy over their decision processes (Phillips, 2002).

Another effective strategy for girl-specific youth programs is fostering leadership skills in adolescent girls (Phillips, 2002). Through allowing girls to participate as researchers, Phillips observed the young researchers step into leadership positions on the project (e.g., co-facilitating discussions, suggesting important topics to include in interviews). Girl researchers in the study assumed leadership by providing their input and promoting their ideas, even when they differed from the adult research team. For leadership skills to develop, both girl researchers and girl participants acknowledged that they were lacking certain skills that would allow them to create the changes they hoped to see in their communities. Two notable skills were literacy (e.g., improved reading and writing ability) and civic knowledge (e.g., understanding political change processes). Girls reported that incorporating skill building into activities they found engaging, rather than a formal class or its own separate intervention, would increase the relevancy of the skills by placing them in a meaningful context. Furthermore, they reported that the skills would be more enjoyable to learn when intertwined with work they were passionate about. Girls must be exposed to cultural critiques to understand the "gendered elements of leadership" (Muno,

2014, p. 30). Such critiques teach girls to use their voices in ways that are informed by a critical awareness of sociocultural factors and advocacy. Simultaneously, they must be encouraged to use their voices in an environment that respects what they have to say. In this area, "girl-specific programs develop leaders by teaching girls about themselves in relation to the dominant culture and building individual girls' competencies, so they can negotiate the education system and other institutions" (Muno, 2014, p. 30).

Allowing girls to develop leadership skills lays the foundation for the final girl-specific youth development strategy identified in the GBFF study. Adults wanting to provide sufficient programming for youth girls must give them opportunities to be advocates who enact social change. Youth programming that provides girls with the tools to challenge injustices they experience in the world equips them with tools that they can use throughout their lives. Girls in the Girl's Best Friend Foundation study were acutely aware that their voices were often dismissed, especially concerning issues that directly affected them. A theme that emerged from girls who were interviewed was that they wanted opportunities to positively impact their communities (Phillips, 2002).

Gender-responsive practices fill the gaps in general youth programming, by specifically addressing the needs of adolescent girls and non-binary youth. Interviewees in the Girl's Best Friend Foundation study reported that they felt most empowered when adults facilitated but did not dictate their activities (Phillips, 2002). The Girl's Best Friend Foundation research study provided many girl-specific practices, providing support that these practices contribute to positive outcomes when used in all-girl programming. These practices attend to girls' cultural context by creating safety (e.g., physical and emotional), fostering communication skills,

providing opportunities for leadership, and empowering girls to challenge societal oppression through enacting social change.

Gender-responsive programming practices build off the foundation of general youth development models that name safe environments, emotional encouragement, and skill building as hallmarks of effective programs. However, "the girl-specific model promotes social change and activism opportunities as critical to girls struggle for identity and their ability to respond to injustice." (Muno, 2014, p. 31). Gender-responsive strategies encourage gender marginalized youth to develop a critical awareness about oppression in society while providing them with the skills to combat injustice. Helping youth develop critical consciousness is one of the active ingredients of gender-responsive youth programs.

Critical consciousness

Critical consciousness is a concept first described by Brazilian theorist and educator Paulo Freire (1973, 1993). The term "refers to marginalized or oppressed people's critical reflection on oppressive social, economic, or political conditions, the motivation to address perceived injustice, and action taken to counter such injustice in a liberatory manner" (Diemer et al., 2015, p. 809). Although critical consciousness is like the concept of empowerment, the two diverge in one main area. Empowerment is behavioral and focuses more on action and agency whereas critical consciousness is largely cognitive and emphasizes the awareness of systemic injustices (Diemer et al., 2015).

Critical consciousness can be divided into three components: (a) critical reflection, (b) critical motivation, and (c) critical action. Critical reflection is the awareness people develop about themselves and their contexts, specifically inequalities and injustices that exist within those spaces. Critical motivation is an individual's sense of agency to respond to those

injustices. Lastly, critical action refers to the behaviors a person enacts to address the injustices that they perceive in their environment (Diemer et al., 2015). The development of critical consciousness is central to a marginalized person's agency to act on his or her environment. Although the construct includes action-oriented components, the initial awareness of injustice is foundational for any behaviors to occur. This development is doubly important for youth, as critical consciousness is associated with several positive outcomes in adolescent populations.

Diemer and Blustein (2006) conducted a study to examine the role of critical consciousness in the career development of youth of color. The researchers surveyed 220 students ninth and tenth grade students from two urban high schools in the United States. The mean age of the sample was 15.57 and students represented a wide range of racial and ethnic diversity. Seventy-five percent of the participants self-identified as Black/Caribbean or Latino/a. Asian, Middle Eastern, Multiracial, and White participants made up the remaining racial and ethnic diversity.

Diemer and Blustein (2006) measured critical consciousness using the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 1994) and the Sociopolitical Control Scale (SPCS; Zimmerman and Zahniser, 1991). The Social Dominance Orientation Scale assessed for attitudes that reflect a lack of critical consciousness (e.g., support for the marginalization of socially oppressed groups) and was reverse scored in the study. Participants' perceived level of social agency was measured by the SPCS. Career outcomes were measured with a combination of the Vocational Identity scale (Holland et al., 1980), the Career Commitment Measure (Carson & Bedeian, 1994), and the Work Role Salience Scale (Greenhaus, 1971). Career instruments assessed for the strength of a participants' identity as a worker, their connection to the career development process, and the likelihood that they would choose careers that were congruent with their self-

concepts. Diemer and Blustein discovered that increased critical awareness of the social factors that contributed to inequity resulted in greater vocational identity, commitment to future careers, and a strong sense that work was an important part of the future. The researchers concluded that the development of critical consciousness in marginalized youth may empower them to challenge institutional inequity and engage in the career development processes (Diemer & Blustein, 2006).

In a similar study, McWhirter and McWhirter (2016) explored the role of critical consciousness in the educational goals and career development of Latino/a youth. The researchers assessed for critical consciousness using a measure of adolescent critical consciousness that they created. Educational and vocational development were assessed using items asking participants about their post-high school plans, the likelihood that they would drop out of school, and their extracurricular engagement. In a sample of 680 Latino/a students, the researchers found that increased critical consciousness was related to increased academic achievement, school engagement, progress in career development, and outcome expectations (McWhirter & McWhirter, 2016). Thus, critical consciousness is a construct that has many implications for the lives of adolescents.

Among its myriad benefits, gender-responsive youth programming can be instrumental in developing critical consciousness in youth who participate. Gender-responsive youth programs engage youth in critical thinking skills about the realities of societal oppression, fostering critical consciousness (Muno, 2014, Apolloni, 2008). Strategies also include encouraging social action (Phillips, 2002, Chet et al., 2010) and providing opportunities for leadership (Bartolome, 2013). Core practices of gender-responsive youth programming are foundational for the development of the multiple components of critical consciousness.

Critical reflection

The second wave of the feminist movement was characterized by consciousness raising groups. The idea formed out of the feminist organization New York Radical Women and spread throughout the United States (Sarachild, 1978). Consciousness raising was an organizing strategy used among women to reduce the internalization of negative societal messages about their gender. Women would form consciousness raising groups to discuss topics such as body image, gender role expectations, emotions, and sexuality. Groups had no formal leader and each woman was encouraged to use the group as a generative space to better understand herself and the impact of gender oppression in her daily life (Randolph & Ross-Valliere, 1979). Consciousness raising groups were designed to build solidarity and self-awareness among women through the sharing of personal experiences (Abernathy, Abramowitz, Roback, Weitz, Abramowitz, Tittler, 1977). The purpose of the group was to allow women to examine the societal stereotypes placed on them. (Randolph & Ross-Valliere, 1979). Formed as a reaction to society's view of women as passive and dependent, consciousness raising groups highlighted the role restrictions women experienced because of their gender. Radical feminist theory asserts that the personal is political. From this perspective, women's personal problems directly stem from experiencing larger sociopolitical oppression based on gender. When women believe the negative messages society proliferates about women, it limits their potential and contributes to overall levels of distress (Brown, 1994; Enns, 2004). Consciousness raising was an attempt to subvert and prevent the damage from internalizing these messages from an early age, even by incorporating feminist ideals into public schools (Abernathy et al., 1977).

Project REACH (Bell, 1996) was a three-year project that was modeled after the feminist consciousness raising groups of the 1970s. In hopes of empowering girls in an urban area of the

Eastern United States, Project REACH facilitators met weekly with two groups of girls. One group was aged 8-9 and the other 11-12. The girls included in the groups were representative of the racial and socioeconomic diversity in the surrounding communities. During these support group style meetings, girls were encouraged to share their experiences with one another. Facilitators would present themes, such as gender norms, to the group and moderate the discussion on the topic. Through doing so, girls often reported that "the personal problems they suffered in silence were in fact shared widely by their peers and could thus be critiqued and challenged." (Bell, 1996, p. 219). All activities were intended to build critical reflection as girls became increasingly aware of the systemic nature of their individual difficulties.

Within Project REACH, the all-girl composition of the group allowed for more vulnerability from the participants. Girls verbally reported that they enjoyed being able to relate to same gender peers with similar experiences as well as being away from boys because they felt they could be themselves without fear of judgement. The sharing of experiences is considered one of the feature benefits of consciousness raising support groups. Through connecting with others who share similar identities and experiences, the individual gains awareness that her problems are not isolated incidents. Rather, individual instances of gender-based oppression, are connected to larger social systems (Abernathy et al., 1977). Using experience sharing conversations, girls under Project Reach "were able to verbalize and explore previously taboo or unexplored subjects such as the implicit rules of the school, popularity and social relations, and feelings about success, failure and achievement." (Bell, 1996, p. 420).

Strategies employed by the facilitators of Project REACH were often in line with widely accepted positive youth development strategies (Bell, 1996). Strategies included role plays that allowed girls to navigate their responses to complex situations. Facilitators had girls interview

one another in pairs to discuss experiences of success and failure. After doing so, facilitators developed role plays based on situations of failure and encouraged girls to develop alternate strategies to achieve success. In other problem-solving activities, girls in Project REACH were asked to brainstorm how they would respond to a male peer disparaging their ability to play a sport during class. Participants developed solutions such as asserting their "right to learn how to play basketball without being harassed" and that the only way they could learn new things was if they were given the opportunity to try (Bell, 1996, p. 421). Often, as the girls explored these hypothetical experiences as a group, they developed novel solutions to problems that many of them had experienced in academic and social settings. Furthermore, girls began to externalize personal failures (e.g., not being good at sports) and learned to critique the systemic mechanisms that created them (e.g., being given messaging that they are unable to succeed athletically). Externalization was the result of exposing girls to critiques of cultural norms and encouraging them to discuss their personal experiences of those norms with one another (Bell, 1996).

One strategy for building critical reflection in youth, is helping them develop a critical media literacy. Critical media literacy broadens traditional ideas of literacy to incorporate forms of media that accompany technological advancement (e.g., film, the internet, social media). When considering a wide variety of media, critical pedagogy encourages critique of the messages regarding race, gender, ability statues, and social class found therein (Kellner & Share, 2007). Critiques of this kind build awareness of the societal injustices associated with various identity statuses.

Media culture is central to the lives of girls who are inundated with messages about girlhood and womanhood through various media channels (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014). Girls must then navigate and make meaning out of the messages that they hear. By as early as

six years old, girls already desire thinner figures (Dohnt & Tiggerman, 2006). The consumption of music videos and magazines centered on physical appearance is predictive of dieting awareness in this age range as well. At this early age, girls have already been exposed to societal beliefs about beauty and have begun to absorb them (Dohnt & Tiggerman, 2006). Critical media pedagogy encourages youth to analyze messages delivered in media and empowers them to combat the harmful messages found within (Morrel & Duncan-Andrade, 2005).

Project REACH (Bell, 1996) incorporated a media literacy component that encouraged participants to critically analyze the messages their received about beauty and body image from popular media. Facilitators designed an activity that required participants to generate a list of media standards about physical appearance. Girls in Project REACH produced cultural beauty ideals with ease (e.g., thin, blonde, beautiful). They also acknowledged that, despite knowing the standards were impossible to achieve, they still experienced immense pressure to conform to them. Next, facilitators provided participants with photographs of "girls and women of all sizes, shapes, races, ages, and social classes doing a variety of interesting things." (Bell, 1996, p. 425). Girls in the program were then asked to generate a new list of how the girls and women in the photos contradicted messages found in the media. Once the girls had discussed this idea, facilitators had them define beauty in ways that included all the women pictured. At this juncture, girls in Project REACH claimed that beauty included having multiple interests, dressing how one chooses, and having self-confidence.

After the conversation diversifying the definition of beauty, the participants were asked to journal about what made them beautiful. The girls in Project REACH provided answers such as being proud of their racial heritage, excelling at sports, and being smart. The program participants reported that this exercise was impactful, with one participant claiming that it helped

her see herself in a completely different light. Furthermore, the impact of the exercise was frequently referenced in later group meetings as these girls "began noticing images on television and in magazines and critiquing stereotypes they found in the media" (Bell, 1996, p. 425).

Girls' relationship to media has been a popular area of study within the field of girlhood studies (Kearney 2011). These attempts at scholarship document struggles girls face during adolescence (Gonick 2004; Mazzarella and Pecora 2007); the impact of media on girls' identity development (Acosta-Alzuru and Kreshel 2002; Mazzarella 2005), and how changes in media culture influence girls (Arthurs 2003; Banet-Weiser 2004; McRobbie 1991). Literature in this area is shifting from adult academics' perspective on the impact of media on adolescent girls, to girls themselves being asked about their relationship to media culture (e.g., Mazzarella and Pecora 2007). Furthermore, the role of girls as active producers of cultural content is increasingly being considered (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014). Unfortunately, much of the research that has existed has centered on the experiences of upper-middle class White American girls. Focusing on upper-middle class White girls further silences the voices of girls who are from racial minority or lower SES backgrounds (Kearney, 2011).

Noting the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the literature, Moscowitz and Carpenter (2014) conducted an ethnographic study that focused on zines as a tool for media literacy. Zines are handmade magazines that allow the author to share content of their choosing using a method that is easily accessible and does not require expensive technology. Moscowitz and Carpenter were two White American women in their early twenties and late thirties who developed a media literacy intervention using fourth and fifth grade Black American girls from a high-poverty elementary school. Eleven girls were recruited by expressing interest after being invited to join

the after-school program entitled Girls' Hip-Hop, Media, and Zines Club, which the participants referred to as Zine Club.

Moscowitz and Carpenter's (2014) Zine Club was a nine-week program. Activities of the Zine Club were designed as an intervention to raise critical media literacy as well as "explore the efficacy of feminist education and alternative media production." (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014, p. 28). The first five weeks were spent providing the girls an introduction to feminist critical media literacy. Facilitators would bring in media representations such as advertisements, music videos, or magazines. Moscowitz and Carpenter placed emphasis on representing Black women and girls in the media they brought to Zine Club to affirm the racial backgrounds of the participants. Girls in Zine Club were encouraged to view the various media sources and critically analyze messages about race and gender found within. Participants were also exposed to documentaries and guest speakers that emphasized the unique nature of black girlhood and its lack of representation in popular media. Zines were used as a contrast for discussing media that emphasized lived experiences rather than the perfected photos presented in corporate media. After developing a critical lens through which to examine media, the participants in Zine Club spent four weeks constructing their own zines.

Moscowitz and Carpenter (2014) collected data following traditional ethnographic methodology such as participant observation, interviews, and focus groups. Data analysis focused on pre-and-post intervention focus group sessions (n = 2-4). The interviews focused on the topics of self-esteem, beauty standards, and media consumption. The researchers also analyzed the content of the girls' zines for themes. Specifically, Moscowitz and Carpenter, looked for participants' understanding of themselves as girls and the impact of Zine Club on how girls related to media culture.

Through pre and post-intervention interviews, the researchers discovered that girls began Zine Club with "a largely uncritical admiration for mainstream mass media and its celebrities" (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014, p. 32). Their admiration included idolizing television shows, magazines, and music that was directly marketed to teenaged girls. Furthermore, prior to Zine Club, girls reported dedication to replicating the feminine ideals mass media presented to them.

Post Zine Club interviews revealed that the participants learned to think about media differently, which was attributed to their experiences analyzing popular culture and creating their own zines. The girls developed critical reflection through the course of the nine-weeks. By the end of the program, the girls were able to discuss how media is produced by corporations who dictate cultural standards to society. Participants produced zines about their hobbies, families, and strengths. The impact of the experience was long-lasting, as many girls reported intentions to continue producing culture in the form of making more zines. As with other studies on media literacy, Moscowitz and Carpenter (2014) found that engaging in critical media literacy improved girls' self-confidence. Many participants reported that understanding mainstream beauty ideals contributed to an increased acceptance of their physical appearance as well as a definition of beauty that was broader than physical appearance. Their reports are consistent with previous research findings that engaging in media production can create a significant boost in self-esteem (e.g., Kearney, 2006; Morrel & Duncan-Andrade, 2005).

Critical motivation

Critical reflection, fostered by gender-responsive youth programming, may blossom into critical motivation, if youth are given the proper support. Research suggests that knowledge of systems (e.g., political, educational) coupled with awareness that they operate in unjust ways fuels youth's desire to engage in activism (Hart & Gullan, 2010). In a survey study of 665 poor

and working-class youths, Diemer and Li (2011) discovered that critical motivation was predictive of voting behavior (i.e., civic action).

Although youth are involved in service and volunteer work in large numbers, they are less frequently involved in politics (Stoneman, 2002). The discrepancy has increased over time, with contemporary American youth being less involved in traditional activism (e.g., politics, organizing protests) than young people during the 1960s. Even during the 1960s, a period characterized by its high youth activism, only approximately 15% of youth at the time were considered activists (Hart & Gullan, 2010). This trend may be attributed to the myriad opportunities provided for youth volunteer work compared to the diminished opportunities for youth who are unable vote, serve on campaigns, etc. Furthermore, negative attitudes are often perpetuated about adolescents' apathy and disengagement from social action (Roker & Eden, 2002). These attitudes may contribute to the belief that youth cannot make a difference, either by adults or by the youth themselves. Oftentimes, adolescents' school and family experiences cause them to question their capability of effecting change within their own lives. This doubt extends to their belief that they can change the problems they observe in society (Stoneman, 2002).

Internal political efficacy is a term from the political science literature that refers to an individual's sense of agency that he or she can enact change in their social environment (Beaumont, 2010). Internal political efficacy mirrors the critical motivation component of critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2015). When studying youth populations, youths' desire to create social change is often delineated from their ability to do so. This distinction between desire and ability is vital as "developmental psychologists have argued that the *perceived* capacity and motivation to produce change may be a more developmentally appropriate indicator

for young people, given the many age-based constraints young people face to actual participation (e.g., age thresholds for voting)." (Diemer et al., 2015, p. 815). Furthermore, the perceived capacity to effect change is predictive of subsequent participation in sociopolitical action.

Youth development of critical motivation has been associated with classroom climates in which contentious topics can be discussed with respect for multiple viewpoints. Godfrey and Grayman (2014) conducted an analysis to explore the relationship between classroom climate and critical motivation using data from the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study. Godfrey and Grayman used a nationally representative sample of 2,774 ninth graders from the United States (50% female; 58% White). The researchers measured classroom environment using seven items that asked students to rate their perceptions of if dissenting opinions were respected in class. The study also included six outcomes related to critical reflection, sociopolitical efficacy, and critical action in the domains of school and politics. These outcomes were assessed using items that asked about students' beliefs that they could create positive change, participation in school/local government, and perceptions of if individuals from different background had the same societal opportunities. Godfrey and Grayman found that a classroom environment that welcomes open discussion, was positively related to critical motivation in both the educational and political spheres.

The findings from this study point to practices that youth organizations can implement to foster a sense of activism related self-efficacy in youth. Providing youth a safe space to have an open dialogue about controversial issues enhances their sense of agency in making a difference in their environment (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014).

The limitations placed on youth may require a broader definition of what activities comprise activism, specifically for adolescent girls. Keller (2012) argued that among

populations of teen girls, the act of blogging is often a mechanism for social critique and participating in social activism (Keller, 2012). Using online spaces, girls can "participate in a feminist political activism that reflects their needs as contemporary young feminists." (Keller, 2012, p. 2). Most research on youth activism focuses on acts of resistance enacted by boys and young men, "ignoring the ways in which girls also act as cultural contributors and political agents" (Keller, 2012, p. 4). The focus on young men creates the need to carefully examine the spaces where girls are resisting and are demonstrating agency.

Because girls are often viewed as passive consumers of culture relative to men's active production, girls who produce media via zines, blogs, or music are inherently participating in acts of resistance. Harris (2010) argued that the creation of media is an example of political agency, as media has the potential to impact political systems. Some find this perspective controversial and maintain that media creation should not be considered political resistance (Keller, 2012). According to Harris (2001), ignoring alternate forms of political agency, such as online media, prioritizes "outmoded conceptions of political and civic engagement irrelevant to contemporary social and political conditions rather than the behavior of girls themselves." (Harris, 2001, p. 131).

In the context of the development of critical motivation, prioritizing media creation provides a lens through which to highlight the agency of adolescent girls (Harris, 2008; Socio 1999). This perspective empowers girls rather than assuming they are unable to develop critical motivation due to systemic barriers or developmental concerns. Further, it acknowledges that girls may have a modality of participating in politics that is not currently recognized by the dominant conceptualization of civic engagement (Harris, 2001).

The creation of online media, which girls tend to participate in more than boys do, provides one example of alternate forms of civic engagement. Girls' use of online spaces allows them to share personal experiences with peers without the direct scrutiny of adults. Blogging is merely one example of how society might expand traditional notions of activism to incorporate the activities that girls already engage in (e.g., social media, online publications, virtual music and art communities). This expansion into online activism provides myriad opportunities to understand girls' internal political efficacy and critical motivation to change the injustices they encounter in their environments (Socio, 1999).

Social media activism is another avenue in which youth can engage in social action. Fullam (2017) conducted a case study with Justin, a 17-year-old male activist from Newark, New Jersey who used social media and texting platforms as tools to organize a walkout at his high school in protest of education budget cuts. Fullam conducted four, two-hour semi-structured interviews with Justin. Questions of interest were Justin's motivations for organizing a protest, if he received peer or adult support, and the role of Facebook as an organizing platform. Interviews were analyzed for dominant themes in Justin's experience and summarized into a cohesive narrative. The researcher concluded that a combination of disseminating info quickly through social media and the support of friends and family were both important to the development of Justin's youth activist identity. In this study, development as a youth activist "was mediated, not produced, by social media activism" (Fullam, 2017, p. 406. Despite the limited research on social media's role in activism, the results of this study indicate that social media may provide an additional tool to foster critical motivation in youths' who observe social injustice. Youth experience many age-related barriers to enacting social change. Platforms that youth have ready access to can facilitate communication with likeminded peers or provide digital

spaces to organize politically motivated events and campaigns. The use of social media may provide youths who hope to engage in social action with an increased perception that they can make a difference along with a mechanism by which to do so.

Critical action

After the development of the critical reflection and critical motivation pieces of critical consciousness, the ultimate goal is critical action. Critical action is the behavior enacted by an individual who is aware of social injustices and believes they can play a role in rectifying them. The act of consciousness raising builds solidarity among marginalized people. This solidarity is the foundation of collective action (Bell, 1996). Helping youth develop social awareness that may lead action is an important contribution of youth programming. Emotional involvement in social issues and youth activism predict civic engagement as adults. This trend has been well documented in the literature (Erentaitė, Žukauskienė, Beyers, Pilkauskaitė-Valickienė, 2012). By exposing youth to social issues, youth organizations are contributing to building informed and engaged future citizens who will achieve critical action.

Schools typically do not provide comprehensive education on civic engagement. Adolescents who gain these experiences usually do so through extracurricular activities such as religious organizations or community youth programming (Stoneman, 2002). Community based youth programs can often lay the groundwork for youth engagement in the political process. However, as many of these programs hold nonprofit status, they are unable to participate in partisan politics. Despite not being affiliated with a political party, youth programs can still encourage youth to become involved in their communities in meaningful ways. Incorporating youth into civic engagement requires alternate avenues effecting community change outside of the major political parties (Stoneman, 2002).

Alternate strategies for youth civic engagement include encouraging youth to develop community-oriented projects, become organizational leaders, and advocate for causes that impact their lives. Each of these activities is a precursor for later participation in the electoral process (Stoneman, 2002). Civic engagement can serve as a form of liberation for young people who are a marginalized group in society that are frequently subjected to the decisions of adults with little capacity to intervene for themselves (Stoneman, 2002).

The Trust for the Study of Adolescence (TSA) is a U.K. based organization that conducted a longitudinal project to look at the development of youth as agents for social change (Roker & Eden, 2002). The researchers reviewed 22 youth social action groups, which were defined as groups of adolescents that met regularly to bring about policy change or raise awareness about local, national, or international issues. Over the course of 15 months, the researchers interviewed a total of 74 members (M_{age} = 17.5) from the various organizations. A majority (61%) of the interviewees were female and white (87%) with mixed race, Black, Bangladeshi, Chinese, and Pakistani participants making up the remaining racial and ethnic diversity. Interviews were conducted in a group format with two to five participants in each group. The interviews followed a semi-structured format covering participants' motivations for engaging in youth social action, purpose of the organization, and perspectives on civic engagement. Participants were interviewed at the beginning of the project with a follow up interview (n = 57) six to 12 months later.

To provide an additional data source, participants were also observed at group meetings, workshops, and events. Fifty-two observations were conducted over the course of the 15-month study (Roker & Eden, 2002). In addition, participants were asked to complete weekly diaries that documented their social action for the week, the time they spent engaging in social action,

and their perspective on the activities they were a part of. Roker and Eden (2002) analyzed a total of 378 diary entries by 37 participants. Interviews and diary entries were transcribed and coded for themes that addressed the research questions.

Roker and Eden (2002) discovered that youth became involved in social action for a variety of reasons (e.g., support, desire to effect change, concern about a social issue). Furthermore, their participation increased "confidence, team-working, communication and presentation skills" as well as their "sociopolitical views, developing identities, and understanding of citizenship and related concepts" (Roker & Eden, 2002, p. 4). A majority of the youth social action groups in the study were supported by larger organizations (e.g., schools, colleges, community partners). Despite their connections to larger organizations, many programs were at risk of shuttering due to lack of funding, members, or adult supervision (Roker & Eden, 2002).

Although youth benefit when social action is youth led, adult involvement is vital to the continuity of youth social action group. When adult facilitators are unavailable, youth programs tend to destabilize. Adults play an important supportive role in the lives of youth who want to engage in social action (Hart & Gullan, 2010). Adults can help facilitate group activities as well as provide instruction in skills relevant to political action that youth may not be exposed to through their other structured activities. As such adults should be available to support youth-led activities while not taking leadership opportunities away from youth.

Examples of Gender-Responsive Youth Programs

Allowing for girl-lead activities was one of the main recommendations outlined by the Girl's Best Friend Foundation study (Phillips, 2002). Using this, and other gender-responsive strategies (e.g., promoting leadership, engaging youth in the components of critical

consciousness), gender-specific programs value the unique experiences of youth of marginalized genders. Several exemplars of gender-responsive youth programs are provided in this literature review to illustrate how these strategies manifest in practice.

Powerful Voices

Powerful Voices is a Seattle-based nonprofit youth development program for primarily low-income girls of color (Muno, 2014). The organization was founded in 1995 to provide gender-responsive programs with social justice content for adolescent girls. Powerful Voice's yearlong curriculum is offered to 100 girls each year. The curriculum is designed to empower girls with the knowledge and tools to advocate for themselves. The program was held in community-based sites as well as public middle and high schools which allowed girls to participate in Powerful Voices for multiple academic school years if they desired. The organization has a commitment to including girl-specific practices into its programmatic efforts. Powerful Voices used the gender-responsive strategies of safety, promoting leadership, and encouraging activism as a mechanism for improving academic achievement. Through group meetings, individual mentorship, and academic coaching, Powerful Voices highlighted girls' strengths while helping them build communication skills and set goals for themselves. Girls were taught media literacy skills by discussing relevant issues such as body image and societal messaging about beauty. Girls were also exposed to anti-racism curricula via workshops on institutional racism. The social activism skills developed by girls in Powerful Voices were directed towards creating a final project around an important social issue.

In a qualitative program evaluation study, Powerful Voices co-founder Ann Muno, in conjunction with Powerful Voices staff, collaborated with the University of Washington's School of Social work to gain an in-depth understanding of the organization's impact (2014).

Over the course of three years, Powerful Voice instructors conducted focus groups with over 100 girls who had previously participated in Powerful Voices. Of specific interest was "how core program practices—ensuring safety, developing leadership skills, and promoting social change opportunities—translated into program impact." (Muno, 2014, p. 32). Focus groups were audio recorded and in conjunction with field notes, were analyzed for salient themes (e.g., changes in girls' identities, positive shifts in girls' interpersonal relationships, increased confidence when communicating with adults).

Researchers also gathered information about Powerful Voices by creating an alumnae survey. The survey consisted of multiple-choice and open-ended questions about how participating Powerful Voices affected alumnae's lives, relationships, educational achievements, and career choices. A non-random sample (N = 29) of young women who had gone through the Powerful Voices program were recruited through a variety of social media sites. Responses were analyzed for themes and combined with focus group data to create a comprehensive view of the organization.

Powerful Voices incorporated girl-specific youth programming strategies in several ways. Instructors created safety among girls by initiating a positive girl-culture where girls were encouraged to support one another rather than compete against each other. Study participants reported that during their time in Powerful Voices, they experienced positive interactions with other girls that increased their feelings of self-worth. Their increased self-worth empowered them to be more active in pursuing leadership roles other environments (e.g., school). The study participants shared examples of speaking up in classes, joining more extracurricular activities, and voicing their opinions on issues that mattered to them—all of which they found difficult

before participating in Powerful Voices. One study participant reported an experience where she "successfully challenged her teacher to celebrate Black History month." (Muno, 2014, p. 33).

Powerful Voices implemented strategies to foster critical thinking skills in program participants. One such strategy was having the girls examine the impacts of internalized oppression (e.g., based on racial or gender identity) on self-concept and expectations for one's future. Study participants reported finding this practice beneficial. One theme that emerged through focus groups was that participating in Powerful Voices was one of the first spaces were girls were encouraged to critique harmful gender messages and develop a positive view of their gender. These practices allowed girls to embrace their identity in a supportive space. Furthermore "by learning to deconstruct and challenge media, girls developed the ability to negotiate power, at school and elsewhere, from a position of self-worth" (Muno, 2014, p. 33).

From her study on Powerful Voices, Muno asserts that incorporating girl-specific practices elevated the effectiveness of the organization. Muno recommends that all youth program practitioners understand how power and powerlessness operate in youths' lives. Especially for young girls, staff must understand how privilege and oppression are present not only in girls' lives, but also in their interactions with adults in a youth programming context. Muno suggests that for a youth program to be effective, it must incorporate equity (e.g., racial, gender, socioeconomic, sexual orientation) into the program culture, policies, and procedures. In doing so, girl-specific programming has the potential to significantly impact the lives of adolescents by responding directly to concerns that impact them the most (Muno, 2014).

Girls Inc.

Girls Inc. is a non-profit organization that empowers girls ages six to 18 to value themselves and assert their rights. The organization's tagline states that it "inspires all girls to be

strong, smart, and bold" (Chen, Weiss, & Nicholson, 2010, p. 229). Girls Inc. roots date back to 1864, but the organization achieved national status in 1945. Since then, it has grown to include a network of 96 affiliated chapters throughout the United States and Canada. Girls Inc. programming centers on developing girls in the areas of academics, health and sexuality, media literacy, and advocacy. Girls Inc. provides a wide variety of programs such as teen pregnancy prevention (e.g., giving girls dolls so they can experience the responsibilities of taking care of a baby) and career preparation (e.g., job shadowing opportunities). To supplement its programs, Girls Inc. offers field trips, classes, and academic tutoring to provide girls with educational support and opportunities. Because Girls Inc. serves girls as young as six years old, it is "common for girls to start coming to Girls Inc. at age four or five and continue their participation through their teen years" (Chen et al., 2010, p. 232).

Chen and colleagues (2010) developed a participatory action research study to identify the outcomes of Girls Inc. The goal of the study was to learn about girls' experiences of Girls Inc. using methodology that privileged the expertise of the girls themselves. The researchers were specifically interested how Girls Inc. promoted educational opportunities, personal growth, and community activism in the girls who participated in the organization. To accomplish this, the researchers focused on five of the 96 organizations within the Girls Inc. network. Each branch recruited girls who had participated in Girls Inc. for at least one year to be on all-girl research teams. The girl-research teams were composed of girls aged ten to 15 who were from diverse backgrounds (e.g., racial and ethnic minority status, low income households, had learning disabilities).

The adult researchers used Photovoice (Wang, 2005), a methodology that provides community members with cameras as a way for them to document their experiences and identify

issues within their communities. Girl research teams collected data via photography to capture identified themes (e.g., How might Girls Inc. be improved? How does Girls Inc. impact the community?) that were guided by the goals of the study. Girl researchers also conducted interviews with participants of Girls Inc. with a focus on the experience of being in the program. The girl research teams transcribed their interviews and examined their photos to create meaning out of the data they collected. Guided by Chen, the study's first author, girls were taught to identify themes across participant responses and generate a cohesive narrative that they presented in a final report.

The girls described several benefits of Girls Inc., including fostering relationships with adults and peers, access to resources and educational opportunities, and being in an environment that increased their self-esteem. Study participants reported that Girls Inc. provided them with new experiences (e.g., visiting different places, learning about different topics) that they otherwise would not have been exposed to due to limited resources. From their findings, the girl researchers also provided recommendations for Girls Inc. improvements such as developing a program for peer leadership and peer support. The authors suggest that girl-lead research is a valuable medium for understanding and evaluating the programs that girls participate in. Not only did participating in Girls Inc. provide valuable opportunities, the girl research teams were able to acquire research skills through engaging in the research process. Furthermore, the girl-led research design allowed girls to assume a leadership position while adults took a supportive role. Allowing girls to take the lead follows one of the primary tactics for gender-responsive programming (Phillips, 2002). From the participant's perspective, Girls Inc. appears to be successful in providing participants with a positive experience (Chen, et al., 2010).

Girls on the Run

Stephanie Galeotti (2015) conducted an exploratory, mixed-method study to examine the long-term impact of Girls on the Run (GOTR), a non-profit afterschool program throughout the United States and Canada for girls in grades three through eight. GOTR was founded in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1996 beginning with a group of 13 girls. By the year 2000, the organization became an official non-profit. Since then, the organization has expanded to serve over 200,000 girls each year (Girls On The Run, 2019). The 12-week, positive youth development program targets identity development, increasing relational connectivity, and increasing girls' agency over their lives. The program also promotes an active lifestyle, as girls train for a five-kilometer run. Girls varied in their level of participation in Girls on the Run, with some participating for one season and others participating in the program up to six times (Galeotti, 2015).

Galeotti (2015) recruited participants from among the girls who participated in GOTR during the years 2009 and 2011. One thousand and seventy total GOTR participants were invited to participate in the study. Galeotti developed the Girls on the Run Survey to assess the impact of Girls on the Run quantitatively. Galeotti (2015) adapted an instrument from Stevahn et al. (2011) that assesses the long-term impact of experiential educational learning programs. The original instrument was designed for adolescent girls and so the verbiage is easily understood by this age group. Galeotti substantially adapted the scale to refer to Girls on the Run (GOTR), the specific program she was interested in studying. Professionals in experiential education programs reviewed the instrument for content. Furthermore, the study was piloted twice on an elementary school sample who provided feedback and revisions to the researcher. The survey included 31 Likert scale items and four open-ended items. The survey assessed for

growth in the areas of strengths (r = .842), values (r = .897), healthy living (r =.902), problem solving (r =.797), and self-esteem (r =.927; Galeotti, 2015). One of the scale's strengths is that although research in this area is rare, it has been used in two studies and provides substantial evidence of internal consistency.

Just 65 participants completed the GOTR survey, Galeotti (2015) found that most of the respondents reported positive impacts from completing GOTR. Specifically, respondents highly endorsed that the program helped them respect others who are different, choose friends who were positive influences, and stand firm in their own values. Furthermore, most of the respondents reported that they would recommend the Girls on the Run program to a friend. Galeotti found a positive relationship between girls who participated in the program multiple times and the positive impact participants reported the program had on them. This relationship was positive and statistically significant (r = .350, p = .002). Galeotti assessed the long-term impact of GOTR by interviewing seven adults who had participated in the program in 2003 and 2002. Adult respondents cited experiencing a sense of community, teamwork, confidence in abilities because of childhood participation in GOTR. The use of adolescent and adult research participants in her study on Girls on the Run allowed Galeotti to triangulate her results, further solidifying the conclusion that participating in the program led to positive outcomes (Galeotti, 2015).

Cool Girls Inc.

Cool Girls Inc. is an Atlanta-based afterschool program for girls from low income communities (Kuperminc et al., 2011). Cool Girls Inc. was established in 1989 in response to concern for girls living in East Lakes Meadows, which was one of Atlanta's most violent public housing communities at the time. The program's goal was to carve out a nurturing space for the

girls of East Lake. In its 27 year tenure, the organization has served over 6,000 girls through partnerships with schools all over Atlanta (Cool Girls Inc., 2020). Cool Girls Inc. targets academic success while exposing youth to curriculum that includes "positive sexual health, hygiene, conflict resolution, self-esteem, and cultural awareness" (Kuperminc et al., 2011, p. 172). Cool Girls Inc. has three core components. Girls Club covers general life skills such as personal growth and self-awareness. Cool Scholars provides girls with tutoring, academic assistance and opportunities to compete in academic tournaments. The final component of Cool Girls Inc. is Cool Sister, a mentoring program for girls who had participated in Cool Girls for at least one year. Because Cool Girls was offered afterschool, girls were able to attend the program multiple years in a row. Cool Girls' main goal is to increase girls' access to their internal and external resources to increase positive attitudes and behaviors over time.

Kuperminc and colleagues (2011) wanted to explore the short-term effect of participating in the Cool Girls program. Eighty-six participants from eight chapters located in K-8 schools were sampled using a pre-test post-test design on a variety of domains, including future orientation, healthy behavior, and self-concept. Participants (M = 11.13, SD = 1.48) were then compared to a demographically matched sample (n = 89, M = 10.86, SD = 1.23) who had not participated in the Cool Girls program. Cool Girls participants were recruited into the study by being present on the days when data collection occurred consenting to be a part of the study. The researchers estimated that at least 60% of Cool Girls participants took part in the study, however, fluctuations in program enrollment made the response rate difficult to determine. Girls used in the comparison sample were recruited by referrals from school guidance counselors.

The study's methodology was a pre-test post-test design. The pre-test was administered at the beginning of the academic year (September—October), and the post-test was given at the

end of the school year (April—May). The researchers controlled for reading comprehension ability by reading all survey items aloud to participants. Significant effects were found for self-concept, future orientation, and healthy behaviors during the six months between pre- and post-testing for Cool Girl Participants. Furthermore, girls who engaged in the Cool Girls program reported higher grades relative to the comparison sample, a difference that was found to be significant. This study provides evidence that putting girls in positive youth development programs leads to improved outcomes. Compared to girls who had not participated in the program, Cool Girls attendees displayed increases in positive attitudes toward the future and beliefs in their abilities. These benefits appeared to be additive as girls who had participated in Cool Girls multiple times had stronger effect than those who had only participated once (Kuperminc et al., 2011).

Summary and critique: Gender-responsive youth programming

Based on the research in this area, adolescent girls benefit from positive youth development programs (Galeotti, 2015; Chen et al., 2010; Kuperminc et al., 2011). Such benefits include increased self-esteem, leadership ability, and healthy behaviors (Kuperminc et al., 2011, Bell, 1996). Gender-responsive youth programming expand on youth development practices by fostering critical consciousness in youth. By doing so, such programs attend specifically to the needs of adolescent girls (e.g., fostering leadership skills, building opportunities for self-advocacy, encouraging close peer relationships).

Critical consciousness has been linked to positive outcomes in youth populations such as vocational development (McWhirter & McWhirter, 2016). Youth programming can play a key role in facilitating critical consciousness in youth. Effective strategies include developing critical reflection through consciousness raising (e.g., Bell, 1996) and media literacy (e.g.,

Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014). Despite their limited political opportunities, youth still experience critical motivation to combat injustices they experience. Allowing youth a space to engage in respectful dialogue about controversial issues has also been linked to critical motivation (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014). Highlighting youth agency may require broadening the definition of political action, especially for adolescent girls. Creating zines, online media, and music can be non-traditional forms of social action for youth girls who are often neglected in the realm of cultural production. Girls use these methods to critique unrealistic beauty standards and resist them by celebrating their strengths instead (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014).

Much of the research on critical reflection has been conducted using qualitative methodology. This means that this literature often reflects small sample sizes and is therefore not generalizable outside of specific populations. Furthermore, the literature on interventions for critical reflection lack methodological depth (i.e., detailed descriptions of interventions, data collection, and data analysis). The omission of methodological data makes it difficult to gain a thorough understanding of the mechanism through which youth programs foster critical reflection. Critical motivation and critical action are more difficult to assess in youth populations as youth are often barred from traditional mechanisms of engaging in social action (Diemer et al. 2015, Stoneman, 2002). However, researchers who have examined critical motivation and action tend to do so using survey methodology.

One major critique of critical consciousness research is that all three components of critical consciousness can be difficult to measure. The construct of critical consciousness is expansive, making it difficult to operationalize for empirical study. Since Freire's introduction to the concept, attempts have been made to solidify the concept, resulting in the development of several scales now used to measure the construct in the last several years (Diemer et al., 2015)

Assessing critical consciousness provides a mechanism to explore the efficacy of interventions designed to increase social awareness and agency in youth populations (Diemer et al., 2015).

The organizations reviewed have similar missions in that they focus on empowering young girls through community building and encouraging them to develop critical consciousness by critiquing harmful messages about gender. Powerful Voices was one such organization that made critical reflection via media literacy central to their curriculum. Through this, participants learned to challenge traditional notions of femininity and externalize societal messaging about the inferiority of girls. When girls were given the opportunity to work collaboratively with adults they reported increased agency when interacting with adults in other areas of their lives. This trend suggests that the skills that girls obtain from participating in gender-responsive programming are used in their academic, social, and interpersonal concerns as well.

The gains that girls achieved from participating in these programs were seen up to several years after participation had ended. To assess these longer-term gains, the researchers in this area primarily used qualitative methods. These methods were comprised of focus groups, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with program participants, parents, and staff. Each of these methods provided a different avenue with which to understand how adolescent girls benefit from gender-responsive programming. One study that provided some of the most original information on girl youth programming came from studies in which the researcher recruited the program participants themselves to collect the and analyze the data via participatory action research (Phillips, 2002). Many of the researchers omitted detailed descriptions of their methodology (e.g., data collection and analysis), and they failed to report on demographic variables aside from gender. This omission makes it difficult to assess the quality of the research that was conducted and determine the generalizability of the results.

The researchers who incorporated quantitative components used self-report methodology. Most data were cross sectional rather than longitudinal. The cross-sectional self-report nature of the studies introduced bias by requiring participants to retroactively reflect on their experiences rather than following them and observing the benefits over time. For researchers who did utilize a longitudinal design via pretest-posttest methodology, the longest span was 6 months between the two measurement points. The norm toward cross sectional data does not allow for an in-depth understanding of the lasting impact of gender-responsive youth programming. Only one study (Galeotti, 2015) was focused on long-term impact. Rather than follow participants over time, researchers asked adults who participated as children to report the impact retroactively.

Due to the relatively sparse empirical research on these types of programs, they are often difficult to compare, even among different chapters of the same organization. The programs included in this literature review provided findings to highlight the benefits of gender-responsive youth programs, but they did not have comparable programming in terms of curriculum and age group. Because these programs offer variable programming direct comparisons are difficult to make. Furthermore, many of the studies on gender-responsive youth programming lack detailed methodological descriptions, making replication and even review difficult.

Music and Arts Oriented Gender-Responsive Youth Programming

Recommendations for girl-specific programs include teaching communication skills, developing leadership ability, and encouraging cultural critique and social action (Phillips, 2002). Further, the Girl's Best Friend Foundation, the originator of these suggestions, suggested that girls want to gain these skills in ways that are engaging and rewarding. Although gender-responsive youth programming is important, gender-responsive youth programming that incorporates arts education can be particularly valuable for girls. Music and arts gender-

responsive youth programs epitomize these suggestions in that they provide natural ways for youth to build skill in ways that are enjoyable. Furthermore, Holloway & LeCompte (2001) argued that arts education provides adolescents with an avenue for self-expression in a society that frequently disregards their needs. Because adolescents are frequently ignored by their context (e.g., not taken seriously by adults, underrepresented by social institutions), art may be one of the only outlets they have for critiquing the harmful or unjust aspects of their environments. The arts are noncompetitive, in contrast to other school activities such as sports and academics. This gives children without the resources, abilities, or desire to compete with another a place to develop their skills and find a healthy way to express their emotions and identities (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001). Educational arts programs also give youth the opportunity to develop meaningful relationship with adults. These relationships provide campers with role models, foster critical thinking and communication skills (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001).

In a study of an arts enrichment program provided through a public middle school, Holloway and LeCompte (2001) sought to examine how middle school girls were impacted in terms of identity and gender development. The program included multiple forms of arts instruction including theatre, music, and visual arts. Classes were offered as 90-minute elective within students' regular academic day. No previous experience or auditions were required for students to enroll in any of the arts courses and admission was first-come, first-served. The researchers interviewed students involved in the program as well as teachers, parents, and administrators. Overall, 50 students and their parents participated in participant observations and parent interviews in a period spanning from 1996 to 1999. Consistent with qualitative research methodology, the research team kept detailed field notes.

Despite the many tracks that were available in the arts enrichment program, Holloway and LeCompte (2001) focused on students who participated in the theater track over the first two years that the program was offered. One interesting observation was that 25 of the 30 participants in the theater track were girls, which allowed researchers to get a good indication of how girls interacted with the course and with one another. The researchers speculated that one reason for the course's popularity among girls was the opportunity for them to perform outside traditional gender norms, through activities such as getting to portray male characters in plays.

When reporting their results, Holloway and LeCompte (2001) narrowed the focus of the study to the experiences of five girls who completed two years of theater track. Girls were interviewed at the end of their seventh grade and eighth grade years in a longitudinal design. The girls cited increases in open-mindedness and self-expression as two of their most important takeaways from the experience. The girls also reported that their participation changed their self-perceptions and their outlook on the future, having a positive impact on both domains. The girls described gaining skills (e.g., perseverance, hard work, creativity) that they felt would help them achieve future goals whether they were arts related or not. Participants in the theater program cited the experience as a catalyst for improved self-confidence.

The theater program emphasized students' exposure to an art education curriculum more than the development of acting prowess itself (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001). The instruction style used in the theatre classroom focused on developing identity and personal growth rather than solely theater specific knowledge. The theater track also required students to be creative, collaborative, and constantly critiquing their work. Students were encouraged to offer both supportive and constructive feedback to their peers. This feedback process placed them in roles where they used one another as sources of knowledge, with the course instructor acting as a

facilitator/mediator rather than an authority. Furthermore, the style of instruction allowed the students to develop expertise by de-emphasizing the role of the teacher. For girls in the course, the teaching style disrupted traditional gender role socialization by allowing them agency and overtly valuing their expertise (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001).

Baker and Cohen (2008) conducted a study to examine how marginalized youth become involved in music. Their study, "Playing for Life, was an international, comparative, and longitudinal research project funded by the Australian Research Council (2003-2005). The project included 19 music-oriented community-based organizations. The researchers gathered information via observation, participant-observation, unstructured conversations, and semi-structured interviews. Eleven youths (seven male and seven female) were included as co-researchers. The youth researchers recorded video of their music practices, which provided an additional data source (Baker & Cohen, 2008).

Upon analyzing their data, Baker and Cohen (2008) noted an obvious lack of young women involved in the music-oriented community-based organizations included in the sample. All sites were organizations of mixed-gender; however, men dominated the organizations numerically and within the activity structures. At several workshop observations about music technology (e.g., DJ-ing, MC-ing), the researchers noticed that the attendees were primarily male. Girls who did attend were not active participants and rather stood on the sidelines and observed from a distance. In other workshops, "young women were only present in the capacity of 'girlfriend' and ignored by all the males present (including their boyfriends) for the duration of the session." (Baker & Cohen, 2008, p. 324).

Baker and Cohen (2008) attributed the non-involvement of girls to the historical and continued marginalization of women in the music industry. Despite activities being open to

youth of all genders, young men tended to dominate each activity. As a result, young women tended to reluctant to engage. Organization facilitators acknowledged that girls may feel uncomfortable when heavily outnumbered in a group of boys. Often, the boys would ignore the girls resulting in an environment where boys dominated the activity and actively excluded the girls. Girls' hesitation was exacerbated by the fact that although workshops were designed for beginners, many of the adolescent boys had already had significant experience with the equipment. Girls who wanted to participate already felt far behind the boys in the workshop due to lack of exposure to the music technology. The organizations' environments led to girls' reduced confidence in their ability to be successful and accepted in male-dominated music spaces (Baker & Cohen, 2008).

In Baker and Cohen's (2008) study, staff frequently reported that boys would naturally dominate the space, effectively excluding girls from participating and gaining the skills they need. Several staff at the youth organizations proposed that for girls to feel fully integrated, it was necessary to create girls-only workshops and activities. Some solutions to this dilemma included girls-only music classes with female instructors, girls-only practice spaces, or girls only practice sessions. However, the researchers noticed that girls-only sessions focused less on musicianship and more on stereotypical activities (e.g., cooking, makeup, and hair styling). Baker and Cohen acknowledge that girls' socialization into feminine activities may create a barrier to learning musical instruments or music technology, pursuits that are frequently characterized as feminine (2008).

Baker and Cohen (2008) advocate for the creation of girl-specific programs that provide adolescent girls the opportunity to experience the valuable components of arts education. From the results of their Playing for Life study, they suggest that "music can be a pathway to agency,

self-esteem, and social inclusion" (Baker & Cohen, 2008, p. 318). Because boys tend to dominate music-oriented programming, girls are denied the benefits that music acquisition would have to offer them.

Music Oriented Gender-Responsive Youth Programming

Music-oriented youth programs that hope to engage adolescent girls must combine aspects of gender-responsive youth programming with opportunities for musicianship. Strategies such as facilitating girls-only workshops and spaces are a good start, however, as Baker and Cohen (2008) noticed, gender role adherence still occurs in extracurricular music activities. Girls and women report lower self-efficacy regarding music performance than their male counterparts (Nielsen, 2004). The absence of boys does not eliminate societal gender norms regarding women in music. Because of this, girls may still feel hesitant to learn instruments and engage with music technology even within girls-only spaces. Gender-responsive programming strategies such as facilitating girls' critical consciousness and encouraging critique of the norms that prevent participation can be used in conjunction with teaching basic music skills. Combining these techniques may be effective in increasing girls' involvement in music programs.

Seattle Girls' Choir. The Seattle Girls' Choir's mission is to empower young women as leaders and musicians. The organization originated in 1982 as a music society that supports the musicianship of adolescent girls. The choir is one of 22 youth community choirs in an area where many schools within the Seattle Public School system offered no music programming. The Seattle Girls' Choir provides quality music education for girls who want to enrich their music experience or would otherwise lack access completely. The program's structure included six choirs divided by both age and skill level. Girls in the upper-level choirs participate in

weekly music theory and sight-reading courses. Girls at the beginning of their training have bi-weekly voice lessons to hone their technique.

Bartolome (2013) conducted an ethnomusicology study of the Seattle Girls' Choir. Ethnomusicology is a methodology that studies music from the perspective of the culture and social system that exist within the choir. Her study included 42 members of the Seattle Girls' Choir and provided evidence that music-based programming is a positive experience for adolescent girls (Bartolome, 2013). Bartolome collected data over the course of a year while immersed in the Seattle Girls' Choir organization. Bartolome attended most choir practices, board meetings, and performances. Additionally, she was involved in the organization as a music theory and sight-reading instructor for beginning level choir members. Over 150 hours of formal observations (i.e., choir practices) and over 200 hours of observations as a participant observer (i.e., teaching music classes to choir members) were collected before drawing conclusions about the ecosystem of the choir. The researcher also conducted semi-structured interviews with choir members (n = 42), faculty (n = 8), board members (n = 14), and parents (n = 14). In addition to these methods of data collection, Bartolome distributed open ended surveys to parents (n = 20) and incorporated the responses into her data analysis.

Bartolome (2013) transcribed all interviews and analyzed them using a structured coding process. After integrating various data sources, Bartolome allowed members of the organization to examine her theories and conclusions. A complex understanding of the organization emerged, and Bartolome found that the choir members and their parents lauded the choir as an excellent supplement to the music education that was lacking in public schools. Furthermore, the girls and their parents acknowledged that the choir brought a sense of pride, satisfaction, and self-confidence to its members.

Bartolome (2013) reported that the Seattle Girls' Choir strives to help its members develop their voices as musicians and as young women. This objective is realized through allowing choir members to lead warm-ups as the head of the group. In addition, girls play an active role in the musical decisions of the group, rather than decisions being made solely by the choir director. As a result, girls who participated in the program "gained a sense of music empowerment through music self-efficacy" (Bartolome, 2013, p. 404). The Seattle Girls' Choir also increased girls' comfort interacting with authority figures. Membership in the choir required frequent communication with the choral directors, which many girls reported translated into feeling more confident when talking to other adults in their lives (Bartolome, 2013).

Seattle Girls' Choir participants reported gaining a community of like-minded peers who were passionate about music while being able to use music as an emotional outlet for improved self-expression (Bartolome, 2013). Inevitably, choir members got into disagreements, however they reported that the experience of being in the choir taught them to work as a team, especially with those who shared different views (Bartolome, 2013). The Seattle Girls' Choir provides evidence that music programming is highly beneficial for young female musicians as it contributes to positive development, teamwork, and self-esteem (Bartolome, 2013).

Importance of Rock Music Education for Girls. Public school curricula first incorporated music to improve church service singing, and music education grew to encompass instrumental music and later vocal and instrumental theory and performance in a variety of genres. Over time, music education has slowly been eliminated due to difficulties with funding and prioritization of other subject matter over the arts (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001). Most relevant to this study is the genre of rock music specifically, as women and girls have the most limited access to rock music education. Defined broadly, rock music is "popular music that (1) is

created for and marketed to young people or people who consume music according to youthful tastes and values; (2) is primarily guitar driven and amplified; (3) has musicological origins in African-American musical styles; (4) is usually danceable; and (5) sounds better when played or performed loud" (Kotarba, 2002, p. 399). For the purposes of this review, rock music also encompasses music genres that have evolved from rock including pop, heavy metal, and hard rock (Kotarba, 2002).

Much of the history and performance of rock and roll music has been overtly masculine, leaving little room for feminine rock musicians. Women in rock are, as professor Mary Ann Clawson termed it, a "numerical minority and symbolic anomaly" (1999a, p. 99). Music theorist Sarah Cohen (1997) acknowledged this trend in her essay, "Men Make a Scene," by describing how communities of musicians are predominantly male and are often patterned after male social norms. It is through these communities that men trade technical tips, develop comradery, form music groups, and exchange information related to the craft. When women are not included in these spaces, they lack many of the social opportunities to gain critical knowledge that would advance them as musicians. In her essay, Cohen (1997) also acknowledged that the venues where rock music is created and performed may similarly prevent women from engaging. Cohen described the Liverpool music scene as an example, explaining that the live-music venues are in areas where women may not venture for safety reasons, especially because most performances happen at night. When women are restricted from attending shows, it reinforces music communities as primarily male domains.

Rock often incorporates aspects of misogyny and patriarchal culture that serve as further barriers for women who want to play rock music (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012). Despite rock music's progressive origins as subversion of mainstream culture, it is not immune to becoming a

gender microcosm of larger society (Cohen, 1997). Women who hope to participate, must combat traditional gender stereotypes, such as the lack of commitment that men often ascribe to female musicians who they expect to leave the industry to pursue a family (Bourdage, 2010). Thus, the abundance of men in local music scenes can isolate female musicians or deter women from attempting to integrate themselves into the community (Cohen, 1997).

The masculinization of the electric guitar. Not only have the history of rock music and local music scenes traditionally excluded women, but other institutional and social barriers have impacted women's involvement in this field, including gender stereotypes and the cultural construction of musical instruments. The electric guitar has been referred to as a "technophallus" due to the stereotypical positioning of the instrument (low-strung across the waist), physical displays by prominent electric guitar players (e.g., Jimi Hendrix frequently placing his guitar between his legs), and the cultural "sex god status" assigned to male electric guitar players. The idea of a "technophallus" points to both the masculinization of rock music and technology as industries that were male dominated and considered unsuitable for women (Bourdage, 2010).

Stereotypical gender roles that dictate that women should be quiet and demure often interfere with women engaging and excelling in the music industry. Because women are not expected to make noise, audiotechnology is often associated with a masculine gender role and is seen as an area that is off-limits for women (Bourdage, 2010). Masculinity typically refers to characteristics such as "toughness, physical, aggression, and control of one's emotions" (Miller, 2016, p. 333). The masculine construction of music technology has meant that "women have largely been deprived of the educational opportunities and encouragement that would lead them to pick up electric guitars let alone attempt to make a career out of playing one" (Bourdage,

2010, p. 6). As a result, adolescent girls may often feel discouraged from playing "male" instruments (Wald, 1998).

Women's exclusion from instrument education is particularly germane when considering how artistry is constructed in rock music. Whereas pop music typically presents a lead vocalist with less focus on the background musicians, rock music displays the band as an artistic unit. As a result, creativity and artistry in rock music is heavily tied to instrumentation. Women have traditionally been encouraged to sing and are often highly concentrated in musicianship that requires vocal performance (Clawson, 1999b). Whereas women as vocalists are common in a variety of genres, it takes on new meaning in rock music due to rock's focus on musicianship as an instrument player. Despite women frequently being vocalists in rock bands, they rarely achieve the same acclaim as male musicians (Schmutz & Faupel, 2010). This is in part because women's status in rock music can be examined via "their participation as instrumentalists" (Clawson, 1999a, p. 101).

The feminization of the bass guitar. Within the historical context of rock and roll, women were often thought of as passive consumers rather than cultural producers. Femininity is typically associated with "nurturing, emotionality, concern with one's appearance," and domesticity in dominant culture and these ideals spill into rock culture (Miller, 2016, p. 333). Women who enjoyed rock music were derisively referred to as "teenyboppers" or "groupies," terms which reduced their interest in rock music to sexual interest in the men who performed (Coates, 2003). Even when a woman migrated from audience member to stage performer, she rarely played the electric guitar. Rather, she was relegated "to a supporting position, such as singer or bass player" (Bourdage, 2010, p. 4). Women's inclusion in the traditional rock band

was often dependent on them occupying a gendered role. As such, women have experienced some mobility from the position of vocalist to the position of bass guitarist.

Bass is considered the rock instrument that is the easiest to learn. This affords women a unique opportunity, as they often begin their skill acquisition much later than men do. Because of the bass's construction as an "easy instrument," its ascribed meaning is changing in current rock culture, as it has now been feminized and socially constructed to be the "women's instrument within the alternative rock band" (Clawson, 1999b, p. 198). Women have been successful at playing bass, in part because men no longer want to play it a result of the low prestige that can be associated with the "easier" instrument. The electric guitar remains at the top of the rock instrument hierarchy as the instrument that is perceived to require the most technical skill and is therefore the most reflective of artistry. Even drums still possess an air of masculinity, as they are the most powerful and loudest instrument in the band.

Because rock music is a male-dominated industry, women who enter this territory are often considered amateurs by their male peers (Bourdage, 2010). Mary Ann Clawson (1999a) conducted an interview study to determine how the early and current musical histories differed among 24 White men and 19 White women who played rock music. Of the women in Clawson's sample who were in bands at the time of the study, 63% of those bands had a woman on the bass. Clawson (1999a) discovered that although aspirations to play rock music were similar across gender, the men in the sample reported greater access to practical experience in their adolescent years than did the women. Clawson noted that rock musicians are often self-taught and typically acquire skill through peer-based learning and early band formation. The performance of rock music requires a unit of musicians, and so access to a group of developmentally similar musicians is vital to the development of a budding rock musician (Clawson, 1999a).

Gender differences in music acquisition. It is interesting to note that despite the desire to play rock music being similar across genders, the ability to do so differed. Men in Clawson's (1999) sample reported a median age of 13 for beginning to play a rock instrument and a median age of 15.5 for forming their first band. The women reported that they began playing a rock instrument at a median age of 19 and joined their first band at a median age of 21. Women's introduction and participation in rock music tended to happen at a much later age as 47% of the women sampled did not join a band until past college age (Clawson, 1999a). If entry into rock musicianship is heavily influenced by peer-based learning, the gender segregation that is typical of pre-adolescence and adolescence disadvantages girls from these musical opportunities. Girls who want to participate in the production of rock music must form their own bands or gain acceptance into boys' bands as they are the primary mechanisms for skill acquisition. This segregated knowledge into male social networks is evidenced by the fact that of all the bands formed by the men in Clawson's sample before the age of 17 were all-male bands (Clawson, 1999a).

Clawson's research highlights that although women have always been marginalized culturally in rock music, they lag most when learning to play instruments. Attempts have been made to make musical instruments more "suitable" for women by feminizing them. One such attempt is the company Daisy Rock, founded in 2000 by Tish Ciravolo. Daisy Rock has an outwardly feminist mission in encouraging young girls to play the electric guitar. However, the company contradicts this mission by producing guitars with bodies shaped like hearts, flowers, butterflies, and stars in hyper-feminine colors such as pink or purple with a glitter finish. These designs reinforce that for women to be integrated into the world of rock and roll, they must first have suitably feminine instruments. Furthermore, it attempts to modify the appearance of the

electric guitar but fails to acknowledge the cultural history of the masculinization of the instrument that has traditionally prevented women from playing (Bourdage, 2010).

Rock and Roll School for Girls. Apolloni (2008) was interested in how feminist teaching strategies can be combined with music education to encourage young girls to learn music skills. Apolloni defined feminist teaching strategies as empowering girls, encouraging the subversion of gender norms, facilitating girl-lead activities, and creating spaces where girls feel free to express themselves. Many of these practices appear to be derived from gender-responsive youth programming strategies (Philips, 2002). Apolloni acknowledged that "rather than encouraging essentialist divisions between the sexes, girl- focused education recognizes that girls and boys are socialized and socially constructed differently, and thus thrive in different learning environments." (2008, p. 1). Her study focused on rock music acquisition specifically as women have significantly from the creation of the genre.

Apolloni (2008) facilitated a rock and roll workshop held at a rock and roll school for girls in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada in January 2007. During the day-long workshop, girls were exposed to playing musical instruments, vocal techniques, song writing, and a history of women in the music industry. The culmination of the workshop was a concert where the girls played an original song demonstrating what they had learned. Using a participant observation design, Appoloni both participated in the workshop and interviewed girl about their experience of the workshop. One twelve-year-old girl who participated in the workshop acknowledged that she was often nervous around boys and felt like she could not be herself. The creation of a girls-only educational space gave participants the opportunity to feel empowered without fear of judgement. This space allows girls to share earnestly with one another, build authentic

relationships, and participate in the gender atypical activities of playing rock music (i.e., being loud, taking up space) without experiencing gendered power dynamics (Apolloni, 2008).

Apolloni (2008) encouraged the girls in the workshop to express themselves in ways that violated traditional feminine gender roles. Girls were taught how to sing and scream in the style typical of punk rock music, and they were asked to practice screaming in front of the group. The lesson focused on how one's body is vital for communication, and that lesson was only possible within a space where girls did not feel anxious about being watched. The empowerment that girls feel within such a space often transfers to other educational settings, allowing them to speak up and assert themselves in those environments as well (Apolloni, 2008).

One teaching strategy that Apolloni (2008) used in the workshop, was giving the girls control over workshop activities. The workshop's design engaged girls as active learners rather than passive recipients. Apolloni approached girls collaboratively, rather than as a formal authority. By doing this, she further empowered the girls to feel that their voices were of value.

Summary and Critique: Music and Arts Oriented Gender-Responsive Youth Programming.

Gender-responsive youth programming engages adolescent girls in spaces and activities that prioritize their needs (Phillips, 2002). Youth programming that incorporates gender-responsive strategies into arts education allows girls to benefit from both exposure to the arts as well as the self-confidence and empowerment that comes from girls-only spaces (Holloway and LeCompte, 2001). Mixed gender youth spaces often result in boys dominating the activities while girls are implicitly or explicitly relegated to the sidelines (e.g., Baker & Cohen, 2008). Girls are then excluded from receiving the benefits offered by arts education.

Rock music-oriented gender-responsive youth programs seem particularly relevant to the needs of girls. Programs oriented to rock music are especially important for adolescent girls as

rock music systematically excludes women and girls through unwelcoming venues, lack of access to education, and derogatory stereotypes of women within the genre (Cohen, 1997). However, literature in this area is sparse and was therefore broadened to include a variety of gender-responsive arts programs (e.g., Holloway & LeCompte, 2001, Bartolome, 2013, Baker & Cohen, 2008). These studies indicated that the benefits of gender-responsive arts programs for girls are additive relative to non-arts related gender- responsive programming. Not only did girls who participated in these programs gain self-confidence and leadership abilities, they also developed technical musical skill.

Women and girls' music acquisition is important across all genres; however, the masculinization or rock music has excluded women and girls from this genre especially. Adolescent girls are often interested in producing rock music, yet their entry into rock musicianship happens much later than their male peers. When adolescent girls attempt to gain music skills in mixed-gender spaces, they lack confidence in their abilities due to limited exposure to music technology relative to adolescent boys. Although there are many conceptual articles about the history of gender in rock music, few empirical studies have been directed toward examining the subject. Literature in this area lacks depth. One study that was directed to gender differences in music skill acquisition is nearly two decades old (Clawson, 1999a). The other documented how girls-only spaces in youth music centers often de-emphasized skill acquisition in favor of stereotypically feminine activities. This unfortunate trend underscores the need for organizations that provide access to musicianship to combat the disadvantages women experience within the music industry.

Several researchers have examined the benefits of gender-responsive practices for girls within music programs. The research in this area is dominated by qualitative research, utilizing

participant observation and semi-structured interviews as the primary data sources. Although these methods provide an in-depth, contextual view of the programming, the lack of quantitative measurement does not allow for valuable comparisons of the effectiveness of each program. Although the value of youth programming may appear implicit from the abundant qualitative data available, statistical evidence of the benefit they provide is often required. Collecting numerical data allows members and volunteers to track their efforts and make improvements. Numerical data also provides compelling information about the positive impact of the program for external funding sources and the public (Chen, et al., 2010). Studies that do not include these types of data deny such organizations with opportunities to further their mission by garnering additional support.

Only one study documented the use of gender-responsive programming strategies in teaching young girls rock music specifically (Apolloni, 2008). Despite using a participant observation design, the article lacked detailed methodological descriptions that outlined the data collection and analysis procedures. Furthermore, it did not include detailed demographic information about the sample (e.g., sample size, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status of participants). Future research must focus on adolescent girls' skill acquisition within rock music with special attention paid to how gender-responsive strategies may be used to encourage their development. Methodological diversity is required to deepen the literature in this area.

Girls Rock

Girls Rock is a specific rock-oriented gender-responsive youth program that promotes the empowerment of girls through music. Girls Rock's week-long summer camps, after school programs, and other programming are designed to combat the mistreatment of women within the music industry and culture at large. Girls Rock was founded in Portland, Oregon 2001 by Misty

McElroy under the name Rock 'n' Roll Camp for Girls (Ali, 2012). McElroy reported that she had had the idea to do a girls' rock music camp for eight years before finally pursuing it after a move from Atlanta, Georgia to Portland, Oregon. The impetus for implementing her idea came from an undergraduate women's studies course requirement to complete community service hours. Rather than volunteer at a local women's shelter, as was typical of her peers, McElroy decided to realize her dream of making a summer camp for girls.

In a 2002 interview, McElroy shared her inspiration for creating a girls' music camp by saying, "I worked with bands and saw the misogyny within the industry. When I went into a music store there was never the assumption that I was a musician. When anyone talked about tech stuff they were never talking to me, they were always talking to the guys, even though I was doing as much as they did" (Kofi-Bruce, 2002, p. 42). McElroy's mission was to create a welcoming space where young girls were encouraged to be musicians. Furthermore, her goal was to reach campers of diverse racial backgrounds, ability statuses, and social classes in hopes that the confidence they gained as musicians would translate into other areas of their lives (Kofi-Bruce, 2002). The inaugural Girls Rock camp took place August 20-27, 2002 at Portland State University and enrolled 100 campers from grades six through 12. Programing included workshops on self-defense, size oppression, sound technology, and lyric writing. Workshops were geared at encouraging campers' creativity and critical thinking while developing technical skills. Campers were also exposed to role models in the form of panels of women in the music industry or performances by local women musicians (Kofi-Bruce, 2002).

Since the original Girls Rock camp nearly two decades ago, similar camps have emerged worldwide. Many of these camps have united under the name Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Each member camp of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance (GRCA) is independently run, with different

curricula that depend on the camp's regional culture and access to resources (Schwartz, 2016). However, all GRCA member camps share similar mission statements (Giffort, 2011). As a unit, the GRCA is an international grassroots network of week-long summer day camps dedicated to empowerment through music (Giffort, 2011). Although the term "rock" is in the name, it is explicit in many camps that enjoying rock music is not a prerequisite for participating in camp (Schwartz, 2016). The GRCA's aim follows McElroy's founding goal—to make all music more gender inclusive while positively impacting adolescent campers' self-esteem and self-concept (Giffort, 2011). One example is found in the mission statement of Rock Camp for Girls in Montreal, Canada which highlights girls' empowerment, critical thinking, and self-esteem as the primary goals for camp rather than technical proficiency in a musical instrument. The goals from this member camp are echoed throughout the GRCA (Campbell, 2017).

Structure

Although Girls Rock began in 2001, the first convening of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance was in 2006 and included five participating camps from the United States. Since then, the GRCA has expanded to include nearly 100 participating camps located in the United States and around the world in countries such as Sweden, Poland, Japan, Germany, and Brazil (Girls Rock Camp Alliance, 2018). The main event of the GRCA is an annual conference held in the spring. At the convening, representatives from different camps worldwide meet to share the successes and limitations of their programs and strategize for the upcoming year.

Although different member camps provide variable programming, most camps follow a similar structure. On their first day at Girls Rock camp (GRC), campers are assigned an instrument and placed in rock bands with same aged peers. Throughout the week, campers learn to play an instrument and collaborate on a band name, lyrics, and music with the other members

of their band. The culminating experience of Girls Rock camp is a camp showcase for parents and community members to attend (Giffort, 2011). A typical day at Girls Rock camp includes a morning assembly where campers are encouraged to recite empowering affirmations, workshops on topics such as consent, self-defense, the history of women in music, media literacy, and instrument instruction (Singer, 2006).

Most Girls Rock camps operate with the support of a group of dedicated volunteers. Integral volunteer positions include band coaches, counselors, and instrument instructors. Coaches facilitate practice sessions, counselors provide for camper's emotional needs and chaperone scheduled activities, and lastly instrument instructors teach campers to play the instruments they were assigned for the week (Giffort, 2011). Many volunteers began working with Girls Rock due to personal experiences with sexism in music. In a 2013 case study on Rock Camp for Girls based in Montreal, Canada, volunteers "referenced existing dynamics in the music industry and their own experiences of marginalization as driving forces behind their desires to volunteer their time with the organization" (Campbell, 2017, p. 182). Volunteers, coaches, and counselors serve to provide a curriculum and guide the activities of camp; however, campers are free to engage in those activities in any way they wish (Giffort, 2011). This practice is in keeping with the organizations mission of empowerment and gives campers maximum agency despite camp being run by adults.

Volunteers provide substantial modeling for campers by exposing them to an environment where women constantly collaborate. Facilitating a full week of camp requires a great deal of communication that campers observe as they watch camp staff run the organization. Camp staff often have a goal in mind of teaching campers how to foster positive interactions with their peers by facilitating a positive girl culture at camp (Ali, 2012). For example, the week

of camp is not without its disagreements. Once placed in bands, campers must navigate their creative differences when selecting a band name, collaborating on song lyrics, and determining who will play which parts. Camp staff highlight these disagreements to foster positive communication and problem solving among campers (Ali, 2012).

Community Involvement

Girls Rock camps also have the potential to impact the communities in which they are held. The magic of girls' rock camp does not solely exist during the summer months. Many camps also include an afterschool program for girls and gender nonconforming youth (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012). For many campers, Girls Rock is a year-round space where they are encouraged to be unapologetic while developing positive gender identity. Aside from providing youth programming, Girls Rock camps network with local organization to spread the mission of Girls Rock camps throughout their communities. For example, Chicas Rockeras, the South East Los Angeles Girls Rock Camp, partners with local organizations to combat oppression within their predominantly Latina/o community. These efforts include hosting Chicana punk nights in community venues that "are safe spaces without the influence of drugs or alcohol, and attendees can see local art, take music and writing classes and bring their children" (Schwartz, 2016, p. 60).

Girls Rock has also inspired a similar program for adults called Ladies' Rock Camp. Several Girls Rock organizations host a condensed women's version of camp in addition to their summer programming for youth. Ladies rock camp serves in part as a funding source for Girls Rock all while maintaining a mission statement of empowerment through music for the older participants as well.

Julie Osburne-Rothstein (2012) conducted a participant observation during the 2012 Ladies' Rock Camp hosted by Girls Rock! Rhode Island. Through her study, she hoped to explore the nature of the Ladies' Rock Camp programming (e.g., Who are the participants? What do they gain from participation? How does Ladies' Rock Camp align with Girls Rock's mission of empowerment through music?), Osburne-Rothstein observed participants during the three-day program while also participating in the organization as the song-writing instructor. In her role as participant-observer, Osburne-Rothstein acted as a volunteer staff member while conducting informal interviews of participants, board members, and other volunteers (2012).

Osburne-Rothstein (2012) found that participants in the Ladies Rock Camp "revel[ed] in the opportunity to be loud and to take up space" (p. 8), a practice that women are typically socialized away from. Hilary Jones, the director of Girls Rock! and Ladies Rock! Rhode Island camps suggested that the adult program may be an even more important source of empowerment than the youth program. In an interview with Osburne-Rothstein (2012), Jones explains that whereas adolescent campers do experience marginalization related to their gender, the women of Ladies Rock Camp have a lifetime of experiences combatting sexism. Their time at camp affords them the opportunity to disprove these experiences, and many reported that the impact of their participation lasted for much longer than the span of the three-day program. One participant named Nealia reported that the Ladies Rock! program allowed her to overcome her fear of making mistakes, an accomplishment that served her well at work.

Osburne-Rothstein (2012) found that the lasting life-skills participants reported due to engaging in camp, were reinforced by a safe environment in which to discuss gender issues. The presence of a safe "oasis" as participants referred to it, was one of the most often cited benefits by participants in the Ladies Rock! Rhode Island program. Women reported that having an

enclave of gender resistance in the organization of Ladies Rock! Rhode Island made it easier for them to navigate the outside world which often held much less progressive ideas about women. As a result, many participants in the Ladies Rock! Rhode Island program wanted to continue their involvement in the organization and returned to volunteer as band coaches and counselors for their local Girls' Rock camp (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012).

Girls Rock Camp and Riot Grrrl

Girls' rock camps are heavily influenced by the Riot Grrrl movement that in many ways laid the groundwork for Girls Rock to exist (Ali, 2012; Osburne-Rothstein, 2012, Schwartz, 2016). Riot Grrrl was "a female oriented subculture" of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Ali, 2012, p. 141) that began from the feminist punk movement. Riot Grrrl developed as a feminist reaction to the all-male punk scene in Washington D.C. Although punk music was created as a "resistance to mainstream musical practices, they often reproduced hegemonic gender norms that created unsafe conditions for the participation of women" (Campbell, 2017, p. 180). Riot Grrrls staked their claim in a public and traditionally male dominated space and used musicianship to subvert the presence of patriarchy in punk rock music. Riot Grrrl bands incorporated a "'Girls to the Front' policy encouraging girls and women to stand near the front of the stage, instead of towards the back" (Ali, 2012, p. 144). This subverted the traditional arrangement of punk music venues where men would form mosh pits at the base of the stage which were characterized by violent dancing and pushing one another. Women often felt unsafe participating in mosh pits, and pre-Riot Grrrl female fans were relegated to the back of venues. Riot Grrrl transformed the previously male homosocial subculture of the punk music scene. This transformation paved the way for the creation of a female homosocial music space in the formation of Girls Rock camp (Ali, 2012).

Although Riot Grrrl began in Olympia, Washington and Washington, D.C., it soon diffused all over the United States, and later the world, as women began to stake their claim on aspects of the music industry (Campbell, 2017). Despite being rooted in punk music subculture, Riot Grrrl was about more than just music. It provided girls and women space to exist unabashedly within music scenes that were previously denied, while simultaneously providing a vehicle for uniting around other gender related issues. Riot Grrrls used the movement to build community with likeminded peers and to become activists.

Riot Grrrl focused on girls creating culture and participating in cultural exchange rather than passively consuming the content of teen beauty magazines that was being aggressively marketed to them. One method of cultural production that became a hallmark of Riot Grrrl was the creation of zines. Zines were handmade magazines that "became a way for fans to actively engage with each other" by sharing knowledge on a variety of topics (Ali, 2012, p. 145). Riot Grrrls created zines that utilized images from teen magazines aimed at teenaged girls and subverted these images to critique unrealistic beauty standards, embrace female sexuality, and pushback against the denigration of femininity in popular culture (Ali, 2012).

Girls Rock camps follow the DIY tradition of Riot Grrrl (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012; Schwartz, 2016). This tradition underscored the value of creating one's own culture as a mechanism for resistance and empowerment. The Do-it-Yourself (DIY) ethic that is still inherent in the grassroots nature of the GRCA was present from the very first Girls Rock camp. When in the planning stages of the inaugural Girls Rock camp, founder Misty McElroy hand-drew the camp logo, got flyers and posters donated from a local copy shop, and recruited volunteers from around her community (Kofi-Bruce, 2002). Many Girls' Rock camps also teach zine making workshops, in keeping with the tradition of cultural production, and in some ways in

homage to Riot Grrrl (Ali, 2012). Furthermore, the structure of the independent GRCA member camps parallels the structure of independent Riot Grrrl chapters located all over the world under a unified masthead. The annual GRCA conference, that allows Girls Rock volunteers an opportunity to share radical pedagogy related to youth empowerment, also mirrors Riot Grrrl conferences, where young women would gather to exchange zines and cultural knowledge (Schwartz, 2016).

The Riot Grrrl movement afforded girls an underground space within which to explore femininity and feminism. While Riot Grrrl was heavily associated with women-fronted punk bands from Olympia, Washington and Washington, D.C., music was only part of the movement's goal. Riot Grrrl's intention was to be a political and feminist movement that empowered girls to recreate the notion of girlhood in their image. This was accomplished in DIY music spaces, zine-making, and girls uniting to discuss their experiences (Bourdage, 2010). Girls Rock camps now share many of those same goals. Riot Grrrl and Girls Rock are tethered to one another, and "the existence of Girls Rock camps may be one of the most long-lasting legacies of Riot Grrrl" (Campbell, 2017, p. 180).

Why Girls Rock?

The marginalization of women and girls within the modern music industry created the need for a Girls Rock camp. Within the context of rock music, the genre naturalized masculinity by reproducing societal gender roles through its sexist lyrics, hyper masculine performance, and assumed "teenybopper" fan base (Coates, 2003; Bourdage, 2010). Riot Grrrl paved the way for Girls Rock to exist, as it was the first subcultural music to emphasize girls within punk rock and rock and roll music. Through Riot Grrrl, girls and women rejected the notion that they were passive audience members, sexual objects to be sung about, or "groupies" whose musical interest

could be reduced to their attraction to male performers. Riot Grrrls asserted themselves as musicians and as women by contradicting gender roles that dictated that women should remain submissive and in the background. This movement increased visibility of female musicians, especially as instrumentalists (Ali, 2012).

The increase of female instrumentalists is a valuable contribution because when girls are incorporated into the music industry it is often through the production of "cute, pink, explicitly 'girly' guitars, basses and drum kits" (Ali, 2012, p. 148). Changing musical instruments by feminizing them are attempts to make musical instruments more "suitable" for women. One such attempt is the company Daisy Rock, founded in 2000 by Tish Ciravolo. Daisy Rock has an outwardly feminist mission in encouraging young girls to play the electric guitar. However, the company contradicts this mission by producing guitars with bodies shaped like hearts, flowers, butterflies, and stars in hyper-feminine colors such as pink or purple with a glitter finish. These designs reinforce that for women to be integrated into the world of rock and roll, they must first have suitably feminine instruments. Furthermore, it attempts to modify the appearance of the electric guitar but fails to acknowledge the cultural history of the masculinization of the instrument that has traditionally prevented women from playing (Bourdage, 2010). However, at Girls Rock camp, using borrowed, donated, or camp-owned instruments campers are taught to play full-sized, "regular" instruments, allowing them to carve their own space in the music world.

Girls Rock camps provide a remedy to the exclusion of women and girls from rock music, in that they teach campers to be instrumentalists while exposing them to peers with whom they can develop musical skill. The specific focus of instrument instruction as a core component of rock camp is vital when considering that technical musical skill plays a central role in rock

music. Furthermore, allowing campers to create rock music subverts the traditional role of women and girls in rock music culture as vocalists or fans. These goals are ensconced in the mission statement of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, in conjunction with empowering girls to have agency over their lives and choices.

Girls Rock camps try to remedy the historical failure of the music industry to include women by creating a homosocial (i.e., same gender) space where campers can develop as musicians. Furthermore, there is a constant commitment to providing campers with mentorship from women or members of the non-binary community. In line with this goal, a Girls Rock camp involves a lot of modeling. The only inclusion criteria for participating in Girls Rock camps is a femme or non-binary gender identity. This guideline applies to the campers and the volunteers, coaches, and counselors. Most Girls Rock camps have all instrument instruction and musical performances provided by women and gender non-conforming volunteers and community members (Campbell, 2017). This practice is a visual representation to campers that despite the portrayal within the music industry, musicianship is not restricted to men. The result is a week-long space of those with a shared experience of marginalization related to gender spread across a variety of age ranges and other diverse identities.

Challenges at Girls Rock Camp

Girls Rock is an organization that provides vital access to musical knowledge for girls and gender non-conforming youth. However, like all organizations, Girls Rock is not without its challenges and limitations. Frequently cited limitations and challenges include the need to use implicit feminism, the lack of racial and ethnic diversity, and the cost of camp.

Implicit Feminism

Despite Girls Rock being rooted in Riot Grrrl feminism, practical concerns prevent many camps from overtly marketing themselves as a feminist organization. Danielle M. Giffort described the culture of Girls Rock camp using the term "implicit feminism." Giffort defined "implicit feminism as a strategy practiced by feminist activists within organizations that are operating in an anti and postfeminist environment, in which they conceal feminist identities and ideas while emphasizing the more socially acceptable angles of their efforts" (Giffort, 2011, p. 569). Giffort's concept of implicit feminism is derived from research from feminist organizations that describe the struggles organizers experience when balancing the values of the organization with outside pressure from sociocultural forces.

Implicit feminism operates as a tool for feminist organizations to maintain their commitment to feminism while ensuring organizational survival in environments that oppose feminism or are postfeminist (Giffort, 2011). "Postfeminist" discourses imply that the primary goals of second-wave feminism (e.g., the right to vote, reproductive health care, equal pay) have been achieved and that gender equality now exists. Giffort acknowledged that even among organizations and activists who eschew a feminist label, many of their practices are in line with ideologies that are central to feminist activism.

Giffort (2011) conducted a qualitative interview and participant observation study with volunteers from Girls Rock! Midwest. Giffort's participation observation took place during the 2008 camp session of Girls Rock! Midwest as she volunteered as a drum instructor and band coach. In this role, Giffort was an active participant in the week of camp as well as a researcher. She observed all workshops offered at camp, but her role as a volunteer prevented her from

being present for camp activities that took place during her instrument instruction or band coaching time.

Once camp had ended, Giffort recruited 15 Girls Rock! Midwest volunteers to participate in semi-structured interviews. Giffort chose interviewees who had volunteered in numerous capacities at camp (e.g., band coaches, band counselors, current and former board members). Interviewees ages ranged from 21 to 41 (M = 29), and all identified themselves as feminists. Interviews lasted about 90 minutes and covered topics such as their responsibilities as volunteers, their reason for joining the organization, and why they felt Girls Rock was important. All interviews were transcribed and coded for themes specific to how volunteers' work was guided by feminist praxis.

Giffort (2011) found that volunteers used implicit feminism while navigating various organizational difficulties. These difficulties included imparting feminist ideas to campers without alienating campers, their parents, or potential sources of funding. In her interactions with volunteers from Girls Rock! Midwest, Giffort reported that multiple volunteers acknowledged that all activities during the week of camp are intricately joined with feminist ideals. Teaching campers to critique media messages and encouraging them defy traditional gender roles are hallmarks of Girls Rock camps that are infused with feminist principles. However, Giffort observed that, despite volunteers acknowledging the role of feminism in the ethos of camp, the word feminism was notably absent from any camp promotional materials and workshops, nor was it mentioned explicitly during conversations with campers. Similarly, the GRCA website does not explicitly mention feminism (Girls Rock Camp Alliance, 2018). The lack of overt mentions of feminism on organizational platforms, points to the implicit feminism. Despite Girls Rock using feminist principles (e.g., the empowerment of women) to inform its

programming, the organization does so covertly rather than advertising itself as an explicitly feminist organization.

Many Girls Rock camps struggle with determining how to navigate providing feminist content with retaining campers, parents, and community support (Giffort, 2011). Their struggle often involves employing implicit feminism to conceal feminist pedagogy, leaving room for the more socially acceptable part of the message (Giffort, 2011). The necessity of implicit feminism is especially relevant when considering that parental support is required for Girls Rock camps to exist. Parents must give their campers permission to attend, physically bring them to camp, and often cover the enrollment fee for the program. This concern extends to potential sources of funding as Girls Rock camps operate on a budget collected from fundraisers and donations from their local communities. For Girls Rock camps to succeed, the volunteers must generate support from "people who might not be comfortable with overt feminism" (Giffort, 2011, p. 578). In the case of Girls Rock! Midwest, this meant framing camp as an intervention targeted at improving girls' self-esteem and sense of agency, rather than one with a specifically feminist agenda (Giffort, 2011).

Incorporating feminist practice into Girls Rock camps often becomes a practice of showing rather than telling. Rather than teaching campers about the history of feminism, they are taught to critique messages about girlhood in the media, create their own culture, and develop supportive relationships with their peers. Another example of implicit feminism at Girls Rock camps is the value of camper autonomy. Adult volunteers are instructed to facilitate activities but not use their authority in ways that eliminate campers' creativity. Highlighting camper agency is an attempt to equalize the power differential between child campers and adult volunteers. Attending to differences in power by redistributing it falls within the central tenets of

feminist theory. As a result, even the most basic camp practices and activities are infused with the spirit of feminism even if it is not explicitly labeled feminism. Campers are therefore still exposed to empowering content within a feminist environment (Giffort, 2011).

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Girls Rock

Considerations of racial and ethnic diversity have long been infused to conversations about rock music history and the Riot Grrrl Movement. One of the major sources of tension in the Riot Grrrl movement was that women of color did not feel that their experiences of girlhood were accurately captured by the major talking points of the movement. Critics acknowledge that even the reclamation of girlhood was "a strategy particularly associated with white women's rock performance [was] also a strategy of performing race—of racializing girlhood itself" (Wald, 1998, p. 592). This hegemonic reconstruction of girlhood that excluded women of diverse racial identities was one of the contemporary critiques of Riot Grrrl by racial and ethnic minority girls at the time (Wald, 1998). Riot Grrrl often ignored the different "racialized spheres of girlhood" (Wald, 1998, p. 593) that various girls existed within. Riot Grrrl was a movement of predominantly middle-class white women (Wald, 1998). Gayle Wald cautioned against considering girlhood as "a universal, biologically grounded condition of female experience" (Wald, 1998, p. 606). Rather, she encourages consideration about how the narrative of girlhood produced by Riot Grrrl, while influential, was rooted in a cultural context produced by majority white women and may have limited applicability in other contexts (Wald, 1998).

Similar issues must be considered within the GRCA as its predecessor Riot Grrrl. The GRCA actively works to be antiracist in its practices and inclusive of various diverse social identities via its programming and during the annual conference. However, many member camps, specifically those based within the United States, have predominantly White volunteers

and serve predominantly White campers. In Osbure-Rothstein's (2012) qualitative study on Ladies Rock! Rhode Island, she addressed the organization's lack of diversity in an interview with the organization's director. In this interview, Hilary Jones the director of Girls Rock! Rhode Island commented on the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in their organization which features all White-board members. Jones acknowledges that historically rock music has been performed by White musicians despite its origins in Black music culture (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012).

The Chicas Rockeras Girls Rock Camp located in South East Los Angeles tackles the whitewashing of rock music through their bilingual camp (Schwartz, 2016). Chicas Rockeras was initiated by three South East Los Angeles musicians who had volunteered at other Girls Rock camps in their region for several years. They noted that despite the strong Chicana culture in the area, the existing camps were predominantly White. The Latinx population in South East Los Angeles is above 85 percent, with over half the population being foreign born. Chicas Rockeras fills an important need both in its community but also when considering the history of Latina women in rock music. Chicana women have often produced punk rock music to redefine themselves outside of the confines of machismo culture and the gender norms presented in Latin families. Often, they used music to express anger about racism and domestic violence. Punk author Alice Bag is one such Chicana rocker, who changed her name from Alicia Armendariz Velasquez to assimilate into American culture (Schwartz, 2016). Punk rock music affords young girls of color the opportunity to combat both racial and gender stereotypes of rock music being a White man's industry. Chicas Rockeras incorporates Spanish language and other elements of Chicana culture into their program to show campers that spaces where their culture is valued do exist (Schwartz, 2016). For example, the camp's theme song incorporates verses that are sung in

both English and Spanish. Chicas Rockeras is the only known camp "to utilize a language that is neither the official national language of the host country nor English" (Schwartz, 2016, p. 54). By incorporating elements of Latin music as well as Spanish language into camp, volunteers at Chicas Rockers are empowering campers to embrace a cultural heritage that they are often shamed for. Campers are taught that through music, they can express a complete version of themselves that includes both their racial and gender identity (Schwartz, 2016).

Cost of Camp

The cost of camp, which is typically around $300-$400, may also be a limiting factor when considering access to camp. Although many Girls Rock camps provide scholarships, the associated costs can act as a barrier to potential participants (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012). All GRCA member camps are nonprofit organization that rely heavily on grant funding and community donations to offer programming (Giffort, 2011; Ali, 2012). This need for funding often creates conflicts for camps who want their programs to be accessible to all potential campers but must make compromises to secure funding to sustain the organization.

Although arts education is limited overall, it is the most limited for low income students (California Alliance for Arts Education). Upper middle-class children have increased access to private arts education such as music lessons, art classes, or summer programming like Girls Rock. In contrast, lower income students lack this extra-curricular access and are channeled into remedial classes and away from arts in their schooling. This trend remains the case despite research evidence that disadvantaged youths experience greater learning benefits from arts education than their advantaged peers (Schwartz, 2016). Furthermore, the lack of arts access given to low-income students makes it doubly important that Girls Rock camps are accessible to youth from all financial backgrounds.

In the case of Chicas Rockeras South East Los Angeles Girls Rock Camp, the camp was formed with the costly nature of participating in camp in mind. The founders of the camp acknowledged that in conjunction with the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the rock camps in their area, many of them were very expensive. The Chicas Rockeras camp offers sliding scale tuition from $0 to $150 in addition to feeding campers breakfast, lunch, and a snack. Donations, community partnerships, and fundraising efforts allow the camp to offer programming at a reduced rate. This pays homage to the DIY origins of women in the punk music scene who were able to produce and collaborate despite financial barriers (Schwartz, 2016). The sliding scale tuition model is utilized by several camps in the GRCA to broaden access to camp for low-income youth (Schwartz, 2016; Giffort, 2011).

Girls Rock as Gender-Responsive Youth Programming

Girls Rock diligently blends general youth development ideas with specific gender-responsive practices and incorporates these strategies throughout programming offered through the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Girls report that they feel most empowered when adults take a collaborative and supportive role in youth led-activities (Phillips, 2002). As empowerment is a central goal of Girls Rock camps, a concerted effort is made to allow campers the space to lead their own activities and direct their learning process. The style of instruction used in Girls Rock encourages campers to make creative decisions autonomously and via constant collaboration with their bandmates. Campers have full creative control of their bands with their band coaches simply acting as facilitators of the process. Band coaches, counselors, and volunteers actively try and redistribute power back to campers, so campers have agency to articulate their wants and needs to adults who are supportive (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012; Giffort, 2011). These forms of instruction disrupt typical hierarchies within adult-child interaction. Furthermore, they foster the

development of critical thinking skills as campers must use one another to produce solutions to problems that arise in the creative process (Campbell, 2017).

One example of Girls Rock helping campers engage in creative problem solving comes from an organization I will refer to as Girls Rock Midwest, a small camp in rural Illinois in the United States. This GRCA camp uses role plays to solve conflicts that emerge throughout camp. At morning assembly, camp staff will role play situations they observed the previous day at camp and encourage campers to generate alternate ways of resolving the scenario. This gives campers the opportunity to be active participants in facilitating their own solutions to the problems they encounter. Allowing campers to practice assertive behavior gives them additional tools to navigate those situations when confronted with them in the future (Bell, 1996).

Another vital gender-responsive youth programming tactic, is providing girls with a safe-space in which to form close relationships and discuss their experiences with peers. Girls Rock is attentive to campers' gender marginalization by providing them with an environment where they can discuss gender-based power dynamics and critique gender stereotypes, topics that are evaded in school curricula. The silence in schools on the issues that are central to girls' experience, at a critical time in their development, reinforces the hegemony of traditional gender roles (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001). Without dedicated spaces that encourage discussions of gender, campers may not have the opportunity to connect with their peers over shared issues.

Best practice in gender-responsive youth programming suggests helping girls develop leadership roles. Girls Rock encourages campers to reclaim public space loudly and unapologetically, while developing new talents in the form of musicianship (Ali, 2012). Claiming this space is a central aspect of camp that allows campers to act against gender norms that prescribe women's role as submissive and lacking in technical skill (Holloway & LeCompte,

2001). By performing traditionally masculine instruments in a traditionally masculine discipline, campers defy gender norms by performing outside the gender roles ascribed to them.

Girls Rock as Music-Oriented Gender-Responsive Programming

Girls Rock is a radical form of arts education for youth. Among the many benefits of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, the organization provides arts education in a time when similar resources are dwindling. Furthermore, when art and music are included in school instruction, they are often taught in ways that "sever musical performance from critical thought" (Schwartz, 2016, p. 50). Doing so brings students in contact with the arts in a way that reinforces traditional power dynamics rather than dismantling them (Schwartz, 2016). Girls Rock Camp Alliance member camps take a radically different approach so that youth can fully benefit from all the arts have to offer.

Girls Rock promotes music education over music performance. The organization focuses on allowing campers to learn an often-inaccessible form of artistry as a means of empowerment. Although campers perform their songs at a camp showcase, the value of the program is in being exposed to music as a form of self-expression rather than completing a flawless performance (Schwartz, 2016). One of the benefits that is frequently associated with time at Girls Rock camps is increased self-esteem (Schwartz, 2016). Furthermore, Girls Rock provides girls "access to equipment and instruction that has previously been denied them due to their gender and/or socioeconomic background" (Bourdage, 2010, p. 10).

In learning musical instruments, campers are exposed to one of the defining features of the arts and arts education, the ability to enact alternate identities than those prescribed by their historical and cultural contexts. Campers choose band names that reflect how they would like to portray themselves to the world, compose song lyrics that communicate their inner experiences,

and perform in powerful personas that often differ from their typical forms of expression. Campers also gain new technical skills in musicianship and a sense of mastery over music construction and performance. In a society in which social change seems impossibly slow, Girls Rock and arts education give adolescent campers the opportunity to create the impossible—social structures made in their image and attitudes and skills that can be directed toward social change.

Girls Rock and Critical Consciousness

Despite Girls Rock camps being varied in their leadership, structure, and programming, Girls Rock Camp Alliance member camps are united by several common goals. These goals are reflected in the workshops that are facilitated at camp (e.g., self-love, zine-making, media literacy). Goals are also communicated through the pre and post camp survey that GRCA member camps can elect to give campers to measure the effectiveness of their programming (Girls Rock Camp Survey Construction Background, 2015). Some of the domains evaluated on the survey include body image, collaboration, self-advocacy, media literacy, and advocacy for self and others. Their presence on the GRCA camp survey indicates that these are areas of campers' experience where Girls Rock hopes to initiate change.

The domains assessed on the GRCA Core survey (e.g., collaboration, media-literacy- and advocacy) correspond to components of critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2015). Girls Rock programming promotes campers' development of critical consciousness. Through its variety of programming and organizational strategies, Girls Rock seeks to build critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action in campers who participate.

In many ways, the environment of a Girls Rock camp functions as a week-long consciousness raising space. For most campers involved in Girls Rock programming, Girls Rock

is the first environment where they are encouraged to openly explore the impact of gender on their lives (Ali, 2012). Workshops and band-rehearsals at Girls Rock camps serve as spaces for campers to build solidarity. When co-writing songs about their personal experiences, campers often must share their struggles with their bandmates, many of whom are experiencing the same difficulties. Sharing these experiences can foster critical reflection on larger social structures, as campers realize that their individual experiences of gender marginalization are not isolated incidents (Bell, 1996).

Like Zine Club (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014), many Girls Rock camps utilize zine making workshops to teach media literacy and encourage cultural production. In a 2005 qualitative interview study of Rock 'n' Roll Camp for Girls, the inaugural Girls Rock camp site, researcher Stacy Lynn Singer explored the role of zine making as a central component of the week's activities (Singer, 2006). Campers at Rock 'n' Roll Camp for Girls were enrolled in a zine workshop. At the start of the workshop, the instructor shared that zines could function as a source of empowerment because they allowed those who were not represented in traditional media to create their own. Girls were introduced to zines as a mechanism for creating community with likeminded peers by sharing personal experiences with one another. Zines fulfill the goals of consciousness raising and critical reflection as they create space for increased self-awareness and the sharing of experiences.

In the workshop, campers were provided with 30 minutes of zine history and the importance of creating media in one's image. The last thirty minutes of the workshop, campers created a page that would be included in the camp zine released on the final day of camp. In post workshop interviews, campers expressed their desire to start their own zines after participating in the workshop. One camper named Kat, shared that she wanted to write a zine about racism,

because it saddened her, and she wanted a place to share her emotional reactions to it. (Singer, 2006). Another anonymous camper reported that she wanted to publish her own zine, because she realized she had a lot to say and did not care if her opinions caused controversy among her readers. This camper displayed a critical awareness that her experiences are relevant to larger audiences and felt empowered enough to share them.

It is important to note that many campers at the Portland Rock 'n' Roll Camp for Girls produced zine pages about their pets, stuffed animals, or favorite food. Not all submitted content was inherently radical in challenging societal ideals. The mix of zine content points to the fact that despite its best efforts, a one-hour workshop may not be enough for campers to fully absorb the nuances of critical media literacy. However, by simply creating media that reflected their lived experiences, campers were active producers of culture, a space not typically occupied by adolescent girls (Singer, 2006).

In the context of Girls Rock camps, media literacy functions as a central mechanism for developing the critical reflection component of critical consciousness in campers. Media literacy is achieved through encouraging campers to critically analyze mass media messages about gender, race, and other identities. Campers are also enveloped in a consciousness raising space when they are encouraged to consider how women and gender nonconforming people are represented in popular media and in what ways those representations may be harmful (Ali, 2012). Zine-making workshops provide a concrete way for campers to explore the negative messages they are inundated with while giving them an opportunity to create media that reflects their lived experiences.

As a result of media literacy interventions and zine making workshops, participants often report reduced commitment to societal notions of girlhood and femininity, increased self-esteem,

and a desire to continue cultural production in the form of zine-making (Singer, 2006). Participants do not only display critical reflection, but they also display foundations of critical motivation which refers to the sense of agency that compels an individual to respond to injustice. Emerging critical motivation can be seen in the desire for campers to continue producing zines (e.g., about racism) to provide commentary on the societal ills that they perceive (Singer, 2006).

By helping campers reflect on their social environments (e.g., through critically analyzing media), Girls Rock fosters the development of critical reflection. Girls Rock includes an assessment of internal political efficacy on its pre and post camp survey. The organization's interest in monitoring the development of agency related to social change in its participants indicates that it is a central objective of the programming. Rather than assessing for activism related behaviors, the GRCA pre and post camp survey includes a behavioral projection for activism. Girls Rock encourages campers to become agents of cultural production, which is inherently an act of gendered resistance. Girls Rock helps campers develop critical motivation by expanding the boundaries of what is considered resistance.

Youth participation in social action is most effective when it is youth-led (Hart & Gullan, 2010). Girls Rock camps follow this model by allowing all activities (e.g., selecting a band name, lyric writing) to be directed by campers (Campbell 2017). By doing so, Girls Rock staff help campers develop skills that lend themselves to youth social actions. Teaching campers to be loud, unapologetic, critical of social institutions, and understand systemic issues such as sexism are all areas that will benefit campers as they develop critical action.

Overall, the Girls Rock Camp Alliance incorporates several practices aimed at developing camper critical consciousness. Such practices include creating an environment that encourages campers to critically think about the gendered messages they receive (Singer, 2006;

Giffort, 2011; Campbell, 2017; Ali, 2012). Girls Rock also teaches campers critical media literacy which has been shown to increase self-esteem and expand definitions of beauty to include more than physical appearance. Participating in cultural production has been shown to have a similar impact (Moscowitz & Carpenter, 2014; Kearney, 2006). Girls Rock is centered on campers being active creators of media as campers write songs about their lived experiences throughout the week. Zine making workshops are offered at many Girls Rock camps and tie in aspects of both media literacy and cultural production. After critiquing aspects of mainstream media that promote unrealistic standards, campers can create media that more accurately depicts their experiences through making their own zines. As campers build their critical reflection, the hope is that this will lead to increased critical motivation and eventually critical action.

Summary and critique: Research on Girls Rock

Girls Rock camps have been present for nearly two decades and the organization boasts an international presence, yet research on Girls Rock is underrepresented in the literature on gender-responsive youth programming. Even though Girls Rock camps can be used as an interactive way of facilitating critical consciousness and are consistent with best practices in gender-responsive youth program development, there is still little literature on the topic. Girls Rock camps originated in 2000. Since then, only seven journal articles have been written about the organization and its programming. Four of these articles were published studies or theses that focused the organization's mission, structure, and benefits from participation through qualitative methodology. The remaining three were a brief history of the organization or theoretical reviews connecting Girls Rock to the historical context that produced it.

Studies on Girls Rock, or similar programs, have shown that participating in gender-responsive community programs has several benefits for youth, specifically adolescent girls.

These benefits include providing campers with a homosocial space where the impact of gender power dynamics is limited (Ali, 2012). Campers are also exposed to arts education in the form of learning to play musical instruments, which is a resource many have limited access to (Holloway & LeCompte, 2001). Through Girls Rock, campers learn to be creative, unapologetic, resourceful, and critical. The skills that they gain through participating in Girls Rock camp expand into other areas of their lives.

Although the Girls Rock Camp Alliance fills a vital need in the lives of women and girls, the organization is not without its challenges. These challenges include promoting feminist ideology throughout camp activities without alienating campers, parents, or community partners, all of whom provide vital funding sources for the organization. Funding presents another challenge of camp as the cost of tuition may prevent potential campers from attending. GRCA member camps strive to offer sliding scale tuition as well as camp scholarships to provide access to youth who would otherwise be unable to participate. Lastly, in addition to camps working toward being financially inclusive Girls Rock also makes a concerted effort to promote racial and ethnic diversity within its organization as well. Many U.S. based camps are predominantly White in terms of campers and volunteers. GRCA strives to diversify its ranks in hopes of being able to positively impact as many youths as possible.

Not only does Girls Rock benefit the youth who participate, but the adult volunteers as well. Many volunteers cite their own experiences of gender marginalization in the music industry as a primary motivator for becoming involved in the organization (Campbell, 2017). Similarly, many Girls Rock camps host adult events such as Ladies Rock Camp or provide year-round programming in the form of after-school programs (Osburne-Rothstein, 2012). Despite these known benefits, only two studies have examined the volunteer experiences of Girls Rock

staff (Giffort, 2011; Osburne-Rothstein, 2012). Girls Rock volunteers are often community members that are involved in their communities as local musicians or community organizers in other contexts. Understanding the volunteers experience of Girls Rock will provide insight into how their experiences may lead to other community changes. The existence of Girls Rock may directly or indirectly influence the community; however, no known studies have been directed to the perceived community impact.

All empirical studies of Girls Rock have used qualitative designs. These qualitative inquiries into Girls Rock provided rich data about the nature of the organization and participant's experiences within it. However, the studies did not include sufficient demographic information about the sample, procedures for data collection, or descriptions of the analytic process. Due to the absence of this information, the sparse literature on Girls Rock lacks methodological sophistication and depth.

No available study on Girls Rock has incorporated quantitative measurements of the organization. The lack of quantitative research on Girls Rock prevents comparisons of Girls Rock to similar music-oriented gender-responsive programs as a tool for making improvements. Furthermore, the lack of quantitative Girls Rock data does not allow for documentation of the organization's effectiveness. Information that may be valuable for grant funding or soliciting donations. Lastly, the absence of quantitative data eliminates any comparisons between member camps of the GRCA to highlight which Girls Rock chapters have implemented the most successful programming strategies.

In 2015, the Girls Rock Camp Alliance developed the GRCA Core Survey for use as a pre and post measure of camper outcomes. All studies but one (Campbell, 2017) were conducted before the creation of the GRCA Core Survey. Campbell's (2017) study was largely theoretical

and did not include the GRCA Core Survey. To date, there is no literature that uses the GRCA Core Survey to assess Girls Rock as an organization. Research utilizing GRCA Core Survey would provide valuable information about how Girls Rock creates change in areas such as camper self-esteem, media literacy, and internal political efficacy. Although the GRCA attempts to measure critical consciousness development through its pre and post camp survey, the organization may benefit from documenting its measurement. Furthermore, assessment of critical motivation and critical action would allow GRCA to provide evidence of the camps' long-term impact on campers' engagement in social action.

The Proposed Study

Through this study, I primarily seek to add to the limited body of literature surrounding Girls Rock camps. Overall, there is sufficient evidence to support that Girls Rock is of benefit to the youth and adults who participate in the organization. However, there is limited research on the mechanisms through which Girls Rock effects change in the lives of campers and volunteers and within the communities that host them. Through this study, I seek to examine Girls Rock camps as an intervention for camper self-esteem, media literacy, and internal political efficacy. These domains are all assessed via the GRCA pre- and post-camp survey, making each of these constructs an important site through which to examine how the organization achieves its goals. The inclusion of these domains on the camp survey underscores the fact that Girls Rock as an international organization is working to create change in these areas of campers' lives. In addition, I seek to explore the impact Girls Rock has on the volunteer staff who help organize the camp as well as any changes that emerge in the communities that Girls Rock is a part of. This study will fill a gap in the literature by providing more information about the community impact of Girls Rock through the experiences of volunteers.

Although Girls Rock provides many benefits, the organization is not without its challenges. The high cost of camp tuitions, frequent lack of racial and ethnic diversity, and navigating using feminist ideals without alienating parents and donors are some of the most frequently cited struggles associated with running a Girls Rock camp. Through the present study, these challenges will be further explored to further catalog the challenges and generate potential solutions.

Adolescent girls and gender nonconforming youth need programming such as Girls Rock to empower and support them through early experiences of gender marginalization. The program highlights strengths and builds resiliency by providing access to skill building in musicianship that is often denied to the camp's key demographic. The goal of the present study was not to question if Girls Rock is an effective organization, as its benefits have been documented by the few studies that have explored it. Rather, the purpose of this study was to understand how and why Girls Rock is effective. Specific goals included: (a) detailing how campers benefit from participation in Girls Rock, (b) understanding how volunteer staff and communities benefit from partnering with Girls Rock, (c) outlining the youth programming strategies of successful Girls Rock camps, and (d) exploring how Girls Rock improves campers' media literacy, internal political efficacy, and self-esteem. This was done in hopes of providing the organization with recommendations it can use to bolster its future efforts in providing successful programming.

I conducted my study of Girls Rock using primarily qualitative methodology. The qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews with campers and a variety of Girls Rock volunteer staff (e.g., band coaches, band counselors, instrument instructors, camp directors, workshop leaders, and GRCA board members). Qualitative methodology provided an

in-depth conceptual understanding of Girls Rock that was guided by the information that the participants provide as the study unfolded. In order to use all the data collection tools at my disposal, I analyzed quantitative data from the GRCA Core Survey. Specifically, the survey was used to gain an additional perspective of the camper experience of Girls Rock. Camper data from the Core Survey were used to support the qualitative data I gathered from camper interviews.

Because this study is primarily qualitative, I used research questions to guide the overall qualitative inquiry, but there were no a priori hypotheses. This follows best practices in qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The research questions were the foundation for semi-structured interviews, with these and more specific questions and probes used to delve into Girls Rock.

1. What benefit do campers receive from participation in Girls Rock Camp?
2. How does Girls Rock increase camper's critical consciousness?
3. What impact does volunteering for Girls Rock have on volunteer staff?
4. How do GRCA camps interact with and impact their respective communities?
5. How do different GRCA camps compare to one another (e.g., organizational structure, program content, GRCA Core Survey Data)?

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Research does not exist in a theoretical vacuum. This proposition is vital to conducting research, because all research methodology is grounded in a philosophical paradigm that guides what is being studied. "Paradigms are the basic belief systems, both formal and informal that guide our inquiries both in scholarly research and in everyday life." (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 202). Even when the paradigm is not formally recognized in the research manuscript, one still exists. One's research paradigm is the underlying theoretical framework that will affect all aspects of the research process (e.g., hypothesis formation, study design, data collection, analysis; Morrow & Smith, 2000).

Qualitative research is recognized for being a methodology that captures the complexity of human behavior and experiences. Data is verbal/visual rather than numerical/statistical and provides an idiographic look at a phenomenon. The purpose of qualitative research is not to generalize, but to understand a phenomenon in context. Most qualitative research is grounded in a constructivist or post-structuralist paradigm. These paradigms consider the nature of reality to be fully subjective and constructed through social interaction (Morrow & Smith, 2000).

Research Paradigm and Method of the Proposed Study

Method

I utilized a Grounded Theory qualitative design to gain a contextual understanding of how Girls Rock employs gender responsive youth programming strategies (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Grounded Theory is a qualitative methodology in which the researcher systematically reviews data to develop a theory about a phenomenon. The theory emerges directly from the data and is refined through data collection and analysis (Strauss &

Corbin, 1994). Qualitative methods have traditionally been used in gender studies, because they provide direct access to participants' usually marginalized voices (Flick, 2014). As a result, most research on gender-responsive youth programming is primarily qualitative (e.g., Muno, 2014; Chen, Weiss, & Nicholson, 2010; Bartolome, 2013; Kuperminc, Thomason, Dimeo, & Broomfield-Massey, 2011). The Grounded Theory approach outlined for this study follows recent research on gender-responsive youth programming that employs qualitative methodology (Galeotti, 2015). Given the lack of research in this area, qualitative approaches lend themselves to an in-depth and contextual understanding of the nature of these programs. Girls Rock specifically has been understudied despite the longevity of the organization. Qualitative methods can provide information about the experience of various stakeholders (i.e., campers, volunteers, community members) within the organization.

Paradigm

Because the goal of the study was to gain an idiographic understanding of the Girls Rock organization, a constructivist paradigm was used as the theoretical grounding for the study (Morrow & Smith, 2000). From a constructivist approach, the interaction between the researchers and the participants is vital to the research process. Because the two are inextricably linked, all findings are mutually constructed by both the researcher and the participants. The goal of a constructivist approach is to understand meaning-in-action. The focus is on the individual meanings constructed by participants, cultural meanings, and the social actions informed by these created meanings.

Participants

Sampling in Qualitative Research

Procedures for participant selection were dictated by best practices for qualitative research. The purpose of qualitative research dictates the participant selection. Because the goal is to understand an experience rather than generalize findings, representative sampling is not a priority in qualitative research. Instead, participants are selected "because they can provide substantial contributions to filling out the structure and character of the experience under investigation." (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 139). Typically, samples in qualitative inquiries are much smaller relative to strictly quantitative research. However, participants may continue to be added until the researcher has collected satisfactory information about the experience under investigation. For this reason, random selection is rarely used in qualitative research.

I utilized stratified purposive-iterative sampling to explore the phenomenon in question. First, notable exemplars (e.g., campers and volunteers) were identified and then included as participants (Polkinghorne, 2005). In purposive selection, the researcher chooses participants, artifacts, or documents from which significant information about the experience can be learned. Iterative selection means that the selection of participants continued throughout the research process. Data from initial participants was analyzed to provide a basic framework of the Girls Rock experience. After this preliminary analysis, I added participants who added depth to my initial understanding when necessary.

My plan of stratified purposive-iterative sampling followed the model of theoretical sampling outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This process states that sampling, and data collection, continues until new sources begin to repeat information that has already been collected. At this point, the data collection is saturated, and no new participants are needed.

Purposive-iterative sampling differs vastly from static sampling, in that allows for the researcher to select participants who may correct or expand the current data analysis throughout the research process (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Participants in this Study

To better understand Girls Rock, participants were selected from all levels of the international organization (e.g., campers, volunteer staff, camp directors, GRCA board members). Adults in each of these positions are all considered volunteers and are referred to as such throughout this document. Participants at each of these levels were sampled for maximum variation. This strategy provided rich data as their experience with Girls Rock differed in myriad ways allowing for a complex view of the GRCA (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Ideal subjects for qualitative research have the knowledge to answer interview questions and the necessary experiences for being observed (Flick, 2014). The selection criteria for this study included anyone involved with the Girls Rock Camp Alliance at any organizational level worldwide. To be eligible for selection, participants must have attended at least one session of Girls Rock camp or one session of the annual conference. Engagement with either of the GRCA's main yearly events gave anyone the requisite knowledge to be a qualified informant. Priority for selection was given to individuals who had attended both the conference and camp as they possessed a richer depth of experiences to share. Participants were largely selected via convenience and opportunistic sampling (Morrow & Smith, 2000), although sampling was purposeful within the available potential participants. This means that participants who I had ready access to (e.g., volunteers who attend the conference, organizers at my local Girls Rock camp) were the most readily recruited into the study.

Materials

Volunteer Demographic Characteristics

Adult volunteer participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A). The questionnaire included a question about participants' preferred pseudonym to protect their identities in the research manuscript. Participants also provided information about which Girls Rock camp they were currently affiliated with and the total number of years they had invested in the organization. Participants were given the option to provide additional demographic information such as race/ethnicity, age, and gender. This information was not required by the researcher. Participants opted to provide contact information if they were willing to provide follow up interviews (e.g., for clarification or for further information post camp). Participants were also given the option to be contacted for phase two of the study.

GRCA Core Survey

The GRCA Core Survey (see Appendix C) was developed by Dr. Hilary Jones of Girls Rock! Rhode Island and Dr. Kelly Brooks of Roger Williams University (Girls Rock Camp Survey Construction Background, 2015). The 2014 Girls Rock Camp Alliance Conference produced the GRCA Core Survey as a metric to evaluate impact of Girls Rock on campers. The GRCA Core Survey and its central outcomes were created with input from GRCA membership, the Measurable Outcomes committee, and the GRCA board (GRCA Core Survey Guide!, 2017). The outcomes measured by the GRCA Core Survey include (a) self-esteem, (b) collaboration, (c) healthy identity development, (d) self-advocacy, (e) media literacy, (f) self-expression, (g) understanding of sexism, (h) locus of control/individual agency, (i) empathy, (j) advocacy for others, and (k) social support.

Item development for the core survey was a mixture of GRCA generated content and items borrowed or adapted from existing youth development scales (e.g., Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, 1984). Appendix C provides all items on the GRCA Core Survey with the item's origin and the construct it assesses. Each item also has a derived Flesch-Kincaid d Readability Score (Kincaid, Fishburne, Rogers, & Chissom, 1975) to evaluate how difficult the items are to understand. All items are easily understood by individuals within campers' age range.

The GRCA Core Survey is comprised of 15 items (e.g., "I spend a lot of time thinking about messages in the media (on TV, in movies, on the internet, in magazines, and in music)") that respondents rate on a four-point Likert scale. Responses range from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" on 13 items and "extremely likely" to "extremely unlikely" on two items (Girls Rock Camp Survey Construction Background, 2015).

The purpose of the GRCA Core Survey was to provide Girls Rock a way to compile data from various member camps. However, because of the diversity in member camps and the grassroots nature of the GRCA, the GRCA Core Survey was unable to meet the needs of the entire membership. Furthermore, many camps struggled with finding the time or resources to enter and analyzed the data produced by the survey (GRCA Core Survey Guide, 2017). Because of this, the Measurable Outcomes committee shortened the Core Survey to contain just five questions. The questions on the shortened survey focus on body image, resilience, gender-related self-esteem, and relational aggression to other girls.

Program evaluations of similar programs traditionally involve collection of data during the program, immediately after the program, or through pre- and post-surveys (Galeotti, 2015). Both the original GRCA Core Survey and the shortened version are designed for use as a pre-

camp and post-camp metric. The instrument was piloted at Girls Rock Chicago and Girls Rock! Rhode Island in the summer of 2014. Initial analysis found that campers would endorse "strongly agree" on the pre-test, creating a ceiling affect that prevented progress from being identified on the post-test. This issue was remedied and now a majority of questions capture significant pre- to post-test change (GRCA Core Survey Guide!, 2017). Psychometric information on the GRCA Core Survey is limited. However, because this survey was created by Girls Rock and is the only standard instrument available that is specific to the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, the GRCA Core Survey was used in this study.

Semi-structured Interview Protocol

Two semi-structured interview protocols were created for this study. One interview protocol was designed for volunteer interviews (see appendix E) and the other for camper interviews (see Appendix F). Interviewing both campers and volunteers allowed for a holistic understanding of the camp experience from multiple vantage points. Using a semi-structured format allows the researcher to identify central themes that emerge from the literature while having the flexibility to attend to relevant participant concerns that emerge through the course of the interview (Morrow & Smith, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Further, any important domains that were overlooked by the researcher can still be incorporated to the research process when using a semi-structured format.

The volunteer interview protocol used questions derived from a letter (see Appendix G) I sent to the GRCA board. The letter outlined my research questions and asked for feedback from about additional areas of inquiry that might be of benefit to the organization. The board found my research questions to be valuable, and so I used them to create the volunteer interview protocol. The interview focused on asking participants about the strengths and challenges of

their local Girls Rock camp. The interview also gathered information about what practices contribute to the camp's strengths as well strategies that have been implemented to address challenges. The semi-structured format of the interview protocol allowed for data collection to be both flexible and exploratory. Adult participants were asked general questions, followed up by more specific questions if needed for specificity and clarification. Participants were asked to speak broadly about their experiences within the Girls Rock organization. Questions and topics were introduced when fitting with the content that the interviewee provides. To make sure that I accurately captured both volunteer and camper participants' experiences, I used probes to "elicit additional information or clarify responses" (Harrell & Bradley, 2009, p. 45). Examples of sample probes are listed in the interview protocol(s) (see Appendix E).

The camper interview protocol was based on a similar study done by Stephanie Galeotti (2015) that evaluated a gender-responsive program called Girls on the Run. Galeotti (2015) adapted an instrument from Stevahn et al. (2011) designed to assess the long-term impact of experiential educational learning programs. The original instrument was designed for adolescent girls, so the verbiage is easily understood by this age group. Galeotti substantially adapted the scale to refer to Girls on the Run, the specific program she was interested in studying. Professionals in experiential education programs reviewed the instrument for content. The survey assesses for growth in the areas of strengths, values, healthy living, problem solving, and self-esteem. Galeotti created an interview protocol to supplement the research instrument. The interview questions were based on the same content domains as the research instrument. Questions asked about if participation in Girls on the Run improved interpersonal relationships, whether information learned at Girls on the Run was incorporated into respondents' daily lives, and if they would recommend the program to a friend. For the current study, I modified

Galeotti's interview protocol to refer specifically to Girls Rock. I added questions to assess if participation in Girls Rock impacted camper media literacy, understanding of sexism, and internal political efficacy. Galeotti was contacted and gave permission for this use of her interview protocol in the present study.

Procedure

Researcher as Instrument

Within qualitative methods, research is shaped by the researcher. Therefore, I feel that it is important to disclose my personal history with the Girls Rock organization. I began volunteering at my local Girls' Rock camp in rural Illinois in August of 2015. I had previously been exposed to the mission of Girls' Rock, as there was a camp in my previous home of Athens, Georgia, however, my personal involvement with the organization began August of 2015. In July of 2017, I was able to participate in my first full week of Girls Rock Midwest as a workshop instructor for the topics of consent, power and privilege, and emotional health.

In November of 2017, I approached the director of Girls Rock Midwest with the idea of conducting research on our organization to provide data about the efficacy of camp. She agreed to my request, and I considered that other camps in the GRCA may be interested in participating in this research endeavor to gain access to data about their respective organizations.

Using a contact I had on the Board of Directors for the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, I approached the board about the possibility of using a participatory action research framework to explore aspects of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. I sent a formal letter (See Appendix G) describing my research aspirations and outlining several questions that I had developed in collaboration with the director of Girls Rock Midwest and my contact on the GRCA board. This

strategy follows best practices for entry strategies when conducting research with organizations (Schroeder & Miller, 1975).

The board replied to my research request saying that they appreciated my interest in studying the GRCA. However, they reported limited resources in being able to join me in a participatory action study. The board agreed to give me contact information for each member camp in the GRCA so that I could recruit camps for my study.

Researcher Subjectivity

Although qualitative research embraces the subjectivity of the researcher, it is still necessary to document the ways that the researcher's biases may influence data interpretation. To remain cognizant of my biases, I composed statements of subjectivity that clarified my values, beliefs, and assumptions that may influence the conclusions I reach through data analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I included my orientation to research, my experiences within Girls Rock, and any expectations about the outcomes of the research process. Once I identified my biases, every attempt was made to suspend these biases during the research process.

Field Notes

In my study, I used field notes to maintain the integrity of the research process. Field notes are one of the primary vehicles for documentation in qualitative research, containing everything from notes about the interviews, details about interviewees nonverbal communications, interesting observations, and budding theories about the data (Flick, 2014). The researcher diligently records all his or her thought process about the progression of the research study. Maintaining comprehensive field notes allows for researcher subjectivity while ensuring that the study will not be unduly biased by the selective interpretation of the researcher.

Data Collection

The success of qualitative research hinges on understanding an action in the context in which it occurs (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Most qualitative research requires a clear articulation of how the researcher plans to gain access to participants' social world. In my case, I was part of the social context and therefore was already immersed in the sociocultural world of Girls Rock. This changed some of the initial stages of the research process, as I already had access to the sites in which data collection occurred. As a volunteer for Girls Rock Midwest and an attendee of the annual GRCA conference, my study of the organization involved a dual role as both participant and researcher. This meant that as I observed the activities naturally occurring, I was also taking part in them.

Despite my personal involvement with Girls Rock, each member camp of the GRCA operates as its own independent organization. The grassroots structure of the GRCA required that I spend some time entering the field (i.e., the research context) even though I was embedded in a small portion of it. Qualitative researchers are often regarded as 'professional strangers' when they try to study a research context that they are not a part of (Flick, 2014). My involvement with Girls Rock for the last several years afforded me insider status, even among Girls Rock camps that I was unfamiliar with. My familiarity with the Girls Rock Camp Alliance and the structure and goals of its programming assisted me in my data collection efforts.

I attended the annual GRCA conference, which gave me an opportunity to build relationships with Girls Rock organizers that were not from my local camp. Forming relationships was vital to gaining entry to other camps in hopes of collecting quantitative data and interviewing some of their participants. These relationships developed into mutually beneficial partnerships that facilitated my access to data collection. In return, I offered

participating camps valuable information about how their programming is meeting stated GRCA goals.

My primary method of data collection was through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and brief surveys. Using a variety of data collection strategies allowed me to corroborate my findings through a process known as triangulation. Using multiple sources is recommended in qualitative research as it strengthens the validity of the conclusions (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Each method has its strengths and weaknesses. By integrating across data sources, "multiple methods balance out the weaknesses of any single one" (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 213).

Data collection for this study happened in two phases. The first phase of data collection occurred at the annual Girls Rock Camp Alliance (GRCA) conference April 27-29, 2018. This phase prioritized the experiences of the volunteer staff (e.g., band coaches, band counselors, camp directors, GRCA board members) who organize Girls Rock Camps worldwide as they prepare for the upcoming summer and reflect on past camps. Volunteers were asked to participate in my study through in-person recruitment efforts at the conference. The second stage of data collection occurred between June 1 and August 31, 2018 at various Girls Rock camps worldwide. Data collection in phase two was primarily through camper interviews and GRCA Core Survey data. Recruitment of quantitative data focused on Girls Rock camps within the United States due to ease of access. However, a strong effort was made to include Girls Rock camps that were not based in the United States in an attempt to adequately represent the diversity of membership within GRCA. Within phase two there was a focus on the experiences campers who participated in Girls Rock using both qualitative and quantitative approaches for triangulation.

Phase One: GRCA Conference

During this phase, I combined semi-structured interviews and participant observation to gain an understanding of the Girls Rock volunteer experience. Data collection for phase one occurred at the Girls Rock Camp Alliance annual conference which was attended by volunteers from Girls Rock chapters worldwide. Collecting data at the conference provided a unique opportunity to sample volunteers from around the United States and the world. Sampling volunteers from various geographic regions in the United States and from other countries created a broader understanding of the GRCA.

Semi-structured Interviews. Semi-structured interviews with adult volunteers were conducted in the two weeks following the GRCA conference. These interviews were guided by the semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix E). Questions on the protocol were guided by research ideas and questions that I had communicated in my letter to the GRCA board. The letter included a list of questions that I felt were important for understanding the mission of Girls Rock. The board, as a relevant stakeholder, was invited to expand the list of questions on the interview. After reviewing the questions, the board concluded that the domains I included were relevant to the mission of GRCA, the questions were valuable, and no additional questions were needed.

Participant Observation. Like the interviews, phase one participant observation occurred throughout conference activities. As an attendee of the conference, I was a part of the activities as I observed them. To guide my observations, I followed the three stages of participant observation which are descriptive observation, focused observation, and selective observation (Flick, 2014). Descriptive observation characterized the beginning of my process, as I gained general information about how GRCA organizers experienced the conference. From

here, I moved to the focused observation phase where I pinpointed areas most relevant to my research questions (e.g., the GRCA's goals of building media literacy, internal political efficacy, and self-esteem in campers). The last phase was selective observation where I sought out additional exemplars to refine the information I collected in phase two (Flick 2014).

Each interview was audiotaped. The audiotaped recordings were stored on a password protected flash drive and locked in a private file cabinet that only I had access to. Once the audiotaped recordings were transcribed, the audiotaped recordings were deleted. The transcripts were stored on a password protected flash drive and locked in a private file cabinet, which only the researcher had access to. All audiotaped recordings were destroyed upon completion of the study.

Phase Two: Girls Rock Camps

The second phase of this study was focused on understanding the experiences of participants in Girls Rock. Qualitative camper data (e.g., participant observation, semi-structured interviews) was collected exclusively at Girls Rock Midwest where I was a volunteer staff member. By collecting data from a camp where I was already a part of the social context, I forwent needing to gain access to the research field. Participant observation followed the previously outlined stages. Campers were observed primarily during morning assembly, instrument instruction, band practice, and workshops. Camper interactions, challenges and disagreements, and moments of apparent camper growth were highlighted in the observation process. This observation gave me a complex internal perspective on the camper experience of Girls Rock camps. Given that the campers are minors, a parent or guardian signed a consent form, and campers signed an assent form.

The information collected via semi-structured interviews and participant observation was supplemented by the GRCA Core Survey. Like in phase one, every attempt was made to include Core Survey data from a representative sample of Girls Rock chapter in order to provide an accurate representation of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. As I was a volunteer for a Girls Rock camp in Illinois, this camp's GRCA Core Survey data was included in this study. Volunteers who participated in phase one of the study were asked if their home camp would like to provide Core Survey data for use phase two. Each camp that provided Core Survey data was asked to provide a brief outline of their programming (e.g., what workshops they provided, strategies they emphasize during the week of camps). Because each Girls Rock camp prioritized the needs of its home community, having access to the programming each one allowed for a better comparison across camps. To deepen contextual understanding, brief background information (e.g., community demographics, other community services) was also gathered for each community.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study followed the three stages outlined in Grounded Theory method: (a) open coding, (b) axial coding, and (c) selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that quantitative data can serve as an ally in the theory building process. In this study, quantitative data was used to better understand gender-responsive programming strategies within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. I examined frequencies from pre to post test on the GRCA Core Survey within individual participating Girls Rock chapters. Analyzing quantitative data from the GRCA Core Survey provided supplemental insight into the degree to which identified programming practices led to positive camper outcomes. In this way, the survey data served to further develop the hypotheses

originating from the Grounded Theory inquiry. Overall, "analysis is the interplay between researchers and data" and requires a great deal of researcher creativity to produce a rigorous analysis that is grounded by data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13).

Grounded Theory Data Analysis

Within qualitative research, data analysis is a process of construction not discovery (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Qualitative research produces a wealth of complex information that must be organized by the researcher. The qualitative analyses in this study was guided by data editing techniques from Grounded Theory method (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). In Grounded Theory method (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), the researcher seeks to produce a theory rooted in the data collected. Straus and Corbin assert that during the period of data analysis, the concepts must emerge rather than be guided by preconceived notions. This approach differs from other qualitative data analysis techniques that apply an a priori theory to the data (Flick, 2014).

Coding is central to qualitative data analysis as it central to theory construction (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Coding refers to "the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways." (Flick, 2014, p. 307). Coding data allows the researcher to explore and define the data. Furthermore, it provides researchers with systematic, "analytic tools for handling masses of raw data." (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13). The open coding process requires combing through the data to identify patterns. Codes emerge a posteriori and are the beginnings of the theory that will eventually explain the data (Charmaz & Belgrave, 1996). Codes are derived directly from the raw data. They are then sorted into larger categories. The final theory compiles categories and connects them to one another (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

To begin the coding process, all participant interviews were transcribed, and transcriptions were verified against the interview recordings. Then thought units were identified within the transcripts. A thought unit is a unit of data that represents a complete idea (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Thought units can range from a single word or phrase to a paragraph-long passage.

As I examined transcriptions, I engaged in memo writing. Memos or research diaries "are analytic notes taken throughout the investigation and consist of the process and products of the analysis." (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 214). Memos document questions, ideas, and emerging theories sparked by analyzing raw data. Memo writing allowed me to keep track of the assumptions I made throughout the research process. It also provided documentation for others who may want to review my work (Charmaz & Belgrave, 1996). My raw data was central to my memos, and I tried and include as much information verbatim as possible. This practice ensured that my budding interpretations were fully grounded in my data and clarified my theory. It also allowed me to make clear comparisons as I moved through the various stages of coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). All stages of qualitative analysis were done using Dedoose, a platform designed to analyze qualitative data including text, images, and video (Lieber, Weisner, & Taylor, 2011).

Open Coding. Open coding is the process through which concepts are identified in the raw data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Concepts form the basis of the emerging theory. Open coding is so named because during this phase, the researcher "open[s] up the test and expose[s] the thoughts, idea, and meanings contained therein." (Strauss & Glaser, 1998, p. 102). The open coding process is one of conceptualization which is the first step in building a theory. Conceptualizing allows researchers to identify events, objects, and phenomenon that emerge in

the data. Raw transcription data is broken down into smaller components called units. Units consist of pieces of data that can range from words to entire paragraphs. Units are isolated from the data and are assigned concepts that are representative of the information. Once concepts were delineated as unique elements, they were classified by shared characteristics or meaning (Strauss & Glaser, 1998).

As I read interview transcriptions, I identified discrete units of data and applied conceptual labels to them. After this, I began classifying data into categories. Throughout this process, I wrote memos about each concept. Memo writing during this phase documented my questions about concepts and their relationships to one another. As concepts were determined to be alike, they were grouped into categories that clarified initial patterns in the data. Once a category was identified, its major characteristics were outlined. Once I identified several categories, I continuously examined the data to ensure that they were complete. Even after defining categories, I continuously refined them by examining central characteristics and being attentive to data that caused the categories to change (Charmaz & Belgrave, 1996). Specifying each category's defining characteristics allowed for patterns and ultimately the theory to emerge in the next stage of coding (Strauss & Glaser, 1998).

Axial Coding. Axial coding takes open-coding level categories and joins them based on similarities between their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). During the open coding phase, categories were defined based on the similar attributes of the concepts they contained. In axial coding, I reassembled the data by unifying categories in ways that explained phenomenon observed in the data. Unifying categories occur at the conceptual level rather than the descriptive level of open coding. Coding axially provides insight into why and how a phenomenon occurs thereby contextualizing the phenomenon (Strauss & Glaser, 1998). I

selected categories that were most central to understanding participants' experiences of Girls Rock camps and honed in on my research questions. As I proceeded, I documented my questions and comparisons through memo writing. Through axial coding's systematic relating of categories, themes emerged that were foundational to building the theory (Strauss & Glaser, 1998).

Selective Coding. Selective coding is "the process of integrating and refining the theory." (Strauss & Glaser, 1998, p. 143). The third stage of Grounded Theory analysis focuses on transforming the data into a unified theory. To begin this process, one must identify a core category or theme(s) that underlie the empirical data (Strauss & Glaser, 1998). The core category must appear frequently throughout the data and all major categories should easily relate to it. Once the core category was identified, memos written through the analytic process contributed to refining of relationships between the core category and other major categories. Categories that seemed poorly defined in relation to the central theme were elaborated through additional sampling or reviewing the raw data. The core category was the basis of the theory that I generated about the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. The final theory produced by the coding process was verified against the data for accuracy and integrity to participant experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). When aspects of the theory were remiss, the coding process continued at whichever stage appeared suitable (Flick, 2014).

Validity and Credibility

The rigor of qualitative research is judged by structural corroboration. This refers to the coherence and confluence of multiple sources to corroborate conclusions (Morrow & Smith, 2000). This study utilized survey methodology, participant observation, artifact analysis (e.g., camp schedules and workshop outlines), and semi-structured interviews. The degree to which

each of these data sources combined to form a unified narrative indicated the strength of the research project.

The Grounded Theory methodology of this study embraces the subjectivity of the researcher. As an active member of the Girls Rock organization, I naturally brought my own biases and prior experience into the research as the principal investigator. Throughout my research process (i.e., observation, participant interviews, transcription, memo writing, analysis), my field notes and research diary actively detailed the ways my values and beliefs were shaping my understanding of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Further, I carefully documented my reflective process in my research diary so that there was a record of how my inferences transformed throughout the research process. I referred to my reflections throughout the analytic process to maintain awareness of how my changing expectations influenced the conclusions I drew.

Member Checks

When establishing the validity of my research, it was vital that those active in the research context (i.e., participants in Girls Rock) felt that the research narrative accurately captured their experiences. I ensured this during the interviews by confirming with interviewees that my understanding of what they shared was correct. I approached all participant observations and interactions with humility, always asking participants if I was unsure of how to interpret what I observed.

When participants are asked for feedback about the data and/or interpretations it is called member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checks did not occur solely during data collection. I also verified participant experiences during data analysis using "brief follow-up phone calls or emails, more extended follow-up interviews. . . in which the emerging theoretical

framework or narrative [was] shared with participants for individual or group feedback" (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 220). This strategy had the dual benefit of verifying that my interpretations are accurate while generating new information that my initial data collection omitted.

Auditing

Throughout the research process, I maintained an audit trail documenting my work. Whereas a complete audit trail includes every piece of data that was collected (e.g., journals, audio recordings, transcripts), a condensed audit trail consists of a streamlined chronological account of the research process. For the ease of the audit, I kept a condensed audit trail of the study as it developed over time. At various points of data collection and analysis, I had an external researcher review my audit trail to provide "feedback on the research conceptualization and process" (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 220). The external auditor composed a statement of subjectivity and was asked to bracket their biases alongside the primary researcher (Morrow, 2000). The auditor was present throughout the data analytic process. The audit trail was provided to the auditor so that they had context for understanding the data. At each stage of data analysis, the auditor reviewed the available materials and provided feedback about the process of analysis that was used to refine the process.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) discussed how to judge the quality of qualitative research, and they defined this *trustworthiness* in terms of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility mirrors internal validity in quantitative research in that it ensures the study is conducted in a way that will produce sound results. The credibility of my study was confirmed by participant checks and auditing throughout the research process (Chwalisz, Shah, Hand, 2008). Transferability is like external validity, which is the extent to which the data from

this study generalize to other participants and contexts. Ensuring transferability required creating a detailed narrative from the data so that readers can evaluate the degree to which my conclusions apply to other settings. The dependability of qualitative research hinges on the triangulation of data. I achieved this in my study by employing an approach that collects a variety of data from multiple sources. Confirmability is achieved when the conclusions drawn by the researcher are grounded in the data and not in investigator bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). My study achieved confirmability through an independent researcher examining my audit trail and reaching the same results.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

My immersive dive into the world of Girls Rock provided me with a wealth of data to explore. Part 1 of my study captured the experience of adults who are involved in Girls Rock. Data for Part 2 consisted of adult participant interviews, my conference field notes, statements from the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, and my own observations as a participant observer. Part 2 of my study focuses on the youth experience of Girls Rock camps. Data for Part 2 included camper interviews, my field notes from the week of camp, and artistic materials created by the campers (e.g., song lyrics, visual art). Upon examining the data, I identified four themes that capture the Girls Rock experience. Throughout this section, I will share my analysis of these four themes and then my theory about the singular phenomenon that is the active ingredient of Girls Rock camps. Data from Parts 1 and 2 will be presented simultaneously. The similarities between adult and youth experiences of Girls Rock reinforce my theory and the overall value of the youth program.

The Adult Experience of Girls Rock Camps

Part 1 of my study took place at the 2018 Girls Rock Camp Alliance conference hosted annually in Elmer, New Jersey. Representatives from member organizations around the globe attended the conference to learn from one another, share resources, and connect with likeminded individuals running similar youth programs. One of the unique features of the Girl Rock Camp Alliance is that each of its member organizations is independently run. Being a member of the GRCA means that an organization aligns with a set of social justice values and hosts at least one music camp per year for youth of marginalized genders. The annual Girls Rock Camp Alliance conference serves as a way for these independent grassroots organizations connect to one

another. Despite each organization sharing similar practices and values, the GRCA has no governance body that tells member organizations how their programming should be run. Each member organization has the flexibility to be directly responsive to the community it is situated in. This allows for a wide variability in camp programming, structure, and demographics.

An Introduction to the Adult Interviewees and Their Respective Organizations.

I interviewed five conference attendees about their experience being a part of Girls Rock. Participants were recruited during the conference itself, and interviews took place in the two weeks immediately following the conference according to participant availability. I recruited adult participants who organize Girls Rock Camps in the three different states, Canada, and Sweden. Participants represented a variety of leadership roles (e.g., board member, volunteer, GRCA Board of Directors) within their local organizations and the Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement (see Table 1).

My study focuses on the unifying features of Girls Rock camps as a global phenomenon. For this reason, I will not provide in-depth profiles of each interviewee. I will briefly introduce my adult interviewees by sharing their demographic information, structural information about their local Girls Rock camp, and cultural information about the community their organization is in as relevant. Participants are identified using self-selected pseudonyms. Overall, I found that despite having different challenges based on geographic location, political climate, and access to resources, the themes expressed by interviewees remained the same. I want to create a clear picture of how different the organizations within the GRCA are, because I believe this makes the similarities I discovered through my analysis even more profound.

Buffy. Buffy is a 31-year-old able-bodied, neurotypical, cisgender White woman who organizes a Girls Rock camp in western Canada. Buffy's rock camp is located in a rural area in

one of Canada's agriculturally based provinces. She described her community as very politically conservative and having a Christian belief system embedded into the community's values. For Buffy, this meant that her organization had to take great care in how it marketed itself to the larger community. For example, rather than explicitly labeling itself a "queer friendly intersectional feminist summer camp," Buffy shared that the organization describes itself as a place where youth can come to gain confidence and learn how to accept others who are different from them. This gives them room to still offer social justice content but have community support in their programming. Buffy's camp offers one week of camp per year to a group of approximately 25 campers.

Buffy's local Girls Rock camp began five years ago and is entirely run by volunteers. The organization's budget is based on community donations and fundraising efforts, making it even more important that their work is seen as aligned with the larger community. Buffy has been involved in Girls Rock since its first camp season. After organizing with a Girls Rock camp in her community, Buffy joined the Girls Rock Camp Alliance board of directors in order to support member camps throughout the global movement.

Anna. Anna is a 40-year-old able-bodied, neurotypical, African-American woman. Anna belongs to a Girls Rock camp that had been around for three years at the time of the interview. The organization is located in a mid-sized city in the Southern United States. Anna, a musician in her own right, began volunteering at her camp providing hip hop music workshops for campers. Anna volunteered for two years prior to joining the board of her local camp. The camp hosts two weeks of camp, one in June and one in July, for groups of approximately 30 campers each.

Anna noted that despite living in a city with a large African American population, African Americans were vastly under-represented in the demographics of her organization's leadership, volunteer base, and youth participants. The lack of racial diversity in her rock camp was one of Anna's biggest challenges and was one of her motivations for joining the organization's leadership. Once joining her organization's board, she found herself frequently fighting to increase representation by recruiting more diverse leadership and campers. Anna described this process as being very lonely in that other people expressed support for her ideas but that she felt pressure to implement them alone.

Jess. Jess is a 30-year-old multiracial Black, White, and Indigenous genderqueer person with a learning disability. Jess is a program director for a Girls Rock camp located in a large urban city on the East Coast. Jess is a musician and began volunteering for their Girls Rock camp as a way to use their musical experience in an environment that shared their social justice values. Jess fell in love with the organization, and when an opportunity arose to join the three-person leadership team, they were encouraged to apply. While Jess is a new to their Girls Rock camp, the organization has been running rock camps for the last 12 years. Programming has expanded to include a week-long rock camp for youth, a weekend rock camp for adults, afterschool programs, and a paid youth internship program. Jess reported that the other two co-directors of the organization are women of color and so people of color are represented in leadership roles and increasingly in their volunteer base.

Candy. Candy is a 33-year-old able-bodied, neurotypical, cisgender Persian woman who organizes a Girls Rock camp in Sweden. Candy is an Iranian political refugee who has lived in Sweden since her childhood. Sweden has 16 Girls Rock camps in different cities, all unified under a single Swedish organization named Popkollo that has been in operation for 15 years.

Popkollo gets a majority of its funding from the Swedish government. Unlike many other Girls Rock organizations, Candy's camp does not conduct independent fundraising campaigns in order to support its programming.

Candy is a board member for one of the camps that is located in a very populated eastern Swedish city. At the time of the interview, Candy had been involved in her local Girls Rock camp for three years and had just joined the board of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance the year prior. Candy described Sweden as having an overall progressive political culture, making it easy to talk about social issues regarding gender through their programming. However, Popkollo and Candy's organization specifically are predominantly White organizations. Candy described racial issues as being taboo to talk about in Swedish culture and in her Girls Rock organization specifically, making it difficult to incorporate workshops surrounding race into the organization's programming.

Ray. Ray is a 24-year-old multiracial Asian and White nonbinary person who organizes a Girls Rock camp located in a mid-sized coastal city in the Southern United States. Ray got involved with Girls Rock as a university student who was invited into the organization by friends. They are now one of three paid staff people and have been affiliated with Girls Rock for a total of four years of the organization's seven-year history. Ray's camp is located in an area with conservative values. However, they shared that grant funding has allowed their camp to offer more explicitly political content because they do not rely solely on community donations to fund their programming. Ray's rock camp offers a summer program, community workshops on social justice topics, and an after-school program.

As you can see, member camps have differing demographics and operate in vastly different contexts with access to variable resources. Anna belonged to a Girls Rock member

organization that was in its infancy. She attended the conference in order to learn how to refine her camp's strategies and build a more sustainable program. In contrast, Jess' organization is a seasoned veteran in the movement having hosted 12 years of programming. Member organizations differed vastly in their budgets. Newer camps like Buffy's and Anna's tend to be run by volunteers and have budgets derived entirely from fundraising and donations. On average, these organizations have annual budgets ranging from $5,000 - $10,000. In contrast, organizations that have been around for longer tend to have paid staff members as was the case with Ray, Jess, and Candy's rock camps. These organizations have vastly larger annual budgets of over $100,000 often due to government or grant funding. Organizations also differed in their racial composition. Candy's organization is based in Sweden and was majority white. Anna's organization was also majority white but was even less reflective of the surrounding city than was Candy's. The vast differences in member camps is most notable at the GRCA conference when Girls Rock organizers from around the world are gathered together.

GRCA Settings

Girls Rock Camp Alliance programming happens in multiple settings. These settings include youth summer camps, conferences, adult music camps, and after school programs. For my study, I was a participant observer at conference and summer camp, two pivotal GRCA settings. I chose these settings because they span multiple days, allowing me to become fully immersed in the research environment. Understanding the GRCA conference and Girls Rock summer camp provides an ideal backdrop to illuminate the themes identified throughout my analysis. I will describe the conference and summer camp to provide preliminary insight into the nuanced dynamics of Girls Rock as a cultural phenomenon.

The Girls Rock Camp Alliance Conference.

The 2018 GRCA conference was my first time attending. At each step of the experience, I could identify the ways that accessibility and inclusivity of marginalized groups were embedded into the planning and execution of the conference. Beginning with the registration process in the weeks leading up to conference, I was asked about my identity and accessibility needs. One example of how this information was used was the option to stay in an identity-based or needs-based bunk. The conference offered bunk spaces for people of color, transgender and gender expansive attendees, sober attendees, among a few other options. Another item that stood out to me was the packing list informing me that the conference was "scent-free." In order to remain accessible to individuals who had needs surrounding sensory input, attendees were asked not to pack any bath products that had a strong scent. The registration forms assured me that if I did not have products that fit those criteria, they would be provided onsite so I would not have to purchase my own.

The focus on accessibility and inclusivity was even more noticeable when I arrived at the conference. The registration table had stacks of color-coded ribbons printed with different gender pronouns. I was encouraged to choose my pronouns and add them to my nametag so people would know how to refer to me throughout the conference. Beside the pronoun ribbons, were color coded stickers indicating comfort being in photos. The volunteer at the registration desk explained to me that green meant an attendee was comfortable having their photo taken, yellow meant to ask for consent, and a red sticker indicated that no photos were allowed.

The cafeteria was the main gathering space where all attendees were together at once. The room was filled with round tables. In between the tables, and all around the room, were walkways that had been marked off with blue tape. The walkways were to increase accessibility

for attendees with physical mobility issues. Throughout the weekend, physically able-bodied attendees were encouraged to keep the walkways clear to assist our peers who had trouble navigating crowded spaces and gently nudge one another when we forgot to be mindful.

The GRCA conference is a self-organized space. While the conference is planned by the GRCA Board of Directors, a 14-person team of year-round volunteers who manage conference logistics, the conference programming runs smoothly based on attendee participation. All along the walls of the cafeteria were huge sheets of chart paper soliciting conference attendees to sign up for kitchen shifts cooking and serving meals, the audio-visual team setting up workshop spaces, or the documentation team in taking notes. Rather than the commonly heard "DIY: Do It Yourself," each poster read "DIT: Do It Together!" an invitation to each conference goer to become a fabric of the conference community. The conference had no official staff and was run entirely by volunteers. This observation was reinforced when I asked a GRCA board member if I was allowed in the kitchen to get something out of the fridge. They replied that the conference was a non-hierarchical space and that "everyone was allowed everywhere."

The Do-It-Together nature of the conference continued through the conference programming. The schedule is based on suggestions from membership and is facilitated primarily by conference goers. The conference schedule included blocks of unplanned time so that attendees could self-organize "meet-ups" based on topics of interest that arose throughout the weekend. One meet-up that I attended was for rural and southern camps who wanted to trade strategies about organizing in areas with limited access to resources. This meet-up emerged out of representatives from smaller camps noticing that their needs were much different than camps with larger budgets. A few people announced during meal time that representatives from small camps in rural areas would like to gather and thus a meet-up was born. The conference was a

generative space that allowed attendees the flexibility to identify their needs and make additions to the schedule throughout the weekend. It also continued the theme of sharing power in that everyone had equal access to proposing such additions.

The conference programming also demonstrated a commitment to social justice. Conference workshops were delineated into 'tracks' that organized content based on central themes. One conference track was *Creating Community* which recognized that the Girls Rock movement centered on creating inclusive, fun, and compassionate environments for program participants and volunteers alike. This track included workshops like 'Searching for Safe Space.' The *New Camp Track* focused on helping newer Girls Rock organizations gain the skills and resources needed to begin a Girls Rock camp. This track included workshops about grassroots fundraising, creating a budget and a Q&A Panel of conference attendees who had begun and successfully run their own Girls Rock camps. An entire track was dedicated to *Political Education Praxis*. The programming in this area was dedicated to providing information about how to combat institutional oppression in daily life, but especially in Girls Rock environments. Workshops such as 'Until We're All Free: A World Without Prisons' and 'Inclusivity for Marginalized Gender Experiences Within the Music World' were housed within this track. *Radical Approaches to Music* encouraged participants to challenge the ways that Girls Rock organizers view music at camp by incorporating music outside of the traditional 'rock'. This track also focused on how music is a tool of political resistance and a hallmark of social justice movements worldwide. This track offered workshops such as 'Radical Approaches to Hip-Hop' as part of its offering. Lastly, the *Shifting Power* track allowed for participants to skill share about the work they did to combat systemic oppression within Girls Rock as well as work associated with other social justice movements. This track offered workshops such as 'Refugees

are not the Crisis, Racism and Borders Are' and 'Lost in Translation: Avoiding Gendering in Very Gendered Languages.'

One afternoon of the conference was devoted to identity-based caucuses, which were private spaces only for people who shared an identity. Some examples of caucuses at the GRCA conference were the People of Color (POC) Caucus, Trans and Gender Expansive (TGE) Caucus, a Disability Caucus, a Poor and Working-Class Caucus, and an English as a Second Language Caucus. Even the scheduling of caucuses reflected an awareness of intersectionality. Each had a designated non-overlapping meeting time so individuals with multiple marginalized identities could attend any caucus they selected.

Built in breaks and recreation time permeated the schedule. This allowed participants to absorb the material they are learning and create connections with one another. Evening activities included a dance party and karaoke, both DJ'd by conference attendees who volunteered. Throughout the weekend, I had many enriching conversations with other conference attendees. One moment that stands out to me was day Saturday after lunch, I sat outside with Jess, who later became one of my interviewees. Jess explained to me how through their social justice work, an organizer had shared with them how dandelions can be used as a metaphor for social justice work. Jess then shared that knowledge with me. Through our conversation, I learned that dandelion seeds lay dormant for up to 10 years, so that they can bloom at the most opportune time. Dandelions are one of the most resilient plants in that when their stems are bruised, they go to work rewriting their DNA to become more immune to that kind of harm in the future. I found that wisdom so beautiful and fortifying when thinking of all I was leaving the conference space with. My conversation with Jess was one of many where I learned organically from a peer in a space that was specifically designed to allow that to happen.

The 2018 conference slogan was "Joy is a Revolutionary Force." The sentiment was echoed on banners and on t-shirts and seemed to come alive in the space. Throughout my experience, I began to see the GRCA conference for adult volunteers as analogous to the Girls Rock summer camps for youth. In truth, attending a version of summer camp feels like the most accurate way to describe my experience at the conference. The conference environment is energizing and exciting. Similar to a Girls Rock camp, the conference offers both music and social justice workshops with opportunities to build lasting relationships with people who were complete strangers at the start of the weekend. I left the conference armed with new social justice knowledge that I gained throughout the weekend.

Girls Rock Camp

Two months after the GRCA conference, I attended a full week of Girls Rock Camp as a volunteer. My time at the conference provided me with a reservoir of excitement leading up to camp. Although I had been involved in Girls Rock as an organization, the 2018 camp season was the first time that I would be volunteering full time during the week of camp. Similarly to how most campers describe their first camp experience, I was a mixture of nervousness and excitement. My volunteer role was to be a band counselor to a group of four teen campers. On the first day of camp, campers self-selected into their bands. Each band was assigned a band coach, a musically skilled volunteer that facilitates band practice each day, and a band counselor, an adult who chaperones campers throughout the day and is often the primary emotional support for campers. Being a band counselor gave me the ideal vantage point as a participant observer. As a band counselor, I was immersed in the campers' world attending all workshops and band practices, facilitating activities, and spending lunch and social time with them as well. I selected four campers to interview. As a band counselor, I interacted with many campers over the course

of the week. I chose campers that I organically formed relationships with because I wanted my youth interviewees to feel comfortable sharing their honest reactions with me. Although I only interviewed four campers in depth, throughout my analysis I will share insights I gained from interacting with and observing all 30 campers throughout the week.

Camp Activities. A full eight-hour day of camp was comprised of morning assembly, instrument instruction, band practice, workshops, and lunch. Each day of camp began with a morning assembly. This was the only time of day (aside from lunch) that the entire camp is gathered together before attending different elements of camp programming. Morning assembly was always a high energy time that set the tone for the rest of the day. Rhythm workshops and dance parties were some of camper's favorite morning activities. Skits were also an essential feature of morning assembly. The skit team of adult volunteers would act out issues that we had noticed throughout the week. For example, in one skit about band practice, a volunteer continuously banged on the drums drowning out their bandmate who was trying to share an idea. After the skit, we would ask campers for their thoughts about what went wrong in the skit and suggestions on how to correct it. Then, the volunteers would "rewind" the interaction and "replay" it, using the campers' feedback. Sometimes volunteers would preemptively model behavior we hoped to teach campers such as asking about pronouns or for consent. Skits were a huge hit at camp. On the last day of camp, some campers even formed their own skit team and asked if they could present at morning assembly.

In instrument instruction, a volunteer instrument instructor taught campers the basics of their new instrument. Girls Rock Midwest offered campers a choice of four instruments—keyboard, electric guitar, bass guitar, and drums. In keeping with the Do-It-Together (DIT) ethos of the organization, Girls Rock Midwest prioritized hiring self-taught instrument

instructors. Hiring self-taught rather than classically trained musicians modeled for campers that picking up a new instrument is accessible. Many campers were daunted at the task of learning an instrument and writing a song by the end of the week. Instrument instruction was design to assuage these fears by showing that playing music does not always require a steep learning curve. Instead of focusing on technical musical knowledge such as reading music, instrument instruction focused on teaching campers DIT essentials. Lessons included how to correctly hold an instrument, introductory chords, and shorthand tips to make pleasing melodies without years of prior experience. Adult interviewee Buffy shared that her camp in Canada taught instrument instruction from the same perspective. In fact, Buffy, a self-taught drummer herself, was the instrument instructor for the younger participants at her camp. The focus of accessibility in instrument instruction allowed for the campers who had never played an instrument to feel confident in their capacity to play music and learn new things by the end of the week.

Following instrument instruction was band practice, the focal point of the camp day. The cohort of 30 campers made eight separate bands. During band practice, campers took the budding skills they were developing in instrument instruction back to the other members of their band. Concentration was high during band practice, as each day of camp came with certain milestones that each band needed to meet. These milestones included choosing a band name, writing both the music and lyrics to a song, and rehearsing their song enough to play the camp showcase at a local music venue by the end of the week. Band coaches and counselors were there to offer guidance and support, but we had explicit instructions to let campers maintain creative control. Morning assembly was when energy was highest and band practice was when that excited energy turned to tension. Bands had to navigate creative differences in musical style, desired subject matter, and musical prowess. As the band counselor my role during band

practice was to encourage campers to share their ideas and to work together. Band practice was the time where lessons of teamwork, openness, and acceptance were tested for both volunteers and campers.

Camp programming offered frequent time for campers to engage in creativity outside of playing instruments. Campers designed and screen printed their own band t-shirts, engaged in a scavenger hunt, and participated in workshops. Workshops offered a blend of political and music education. Camper ages ranged from eight to 17. To control class size, older campers and younger campers had alternating times for workshops and instrument instruction. Separating campers allows for participants to be in instructional and discussion settings with developmentally similar peers. Despite campers being separated into older and younger groupings, Girls Rock Midwest was adamant that workshop material was the same for all campers. One of the values outlined in the Girls Rock Camp Alliance Points of Unity is a belief that youth are powerful. Girls Rock organizations work to support youth leadership and minimize adultism (i.e., the belief that someone is more intelligent or deserving of respect based solely on age). Girls Rock Midwest's desire to offer the same content across campers shows a commitment to anti-adultist action by not excluding younger campers from important topics. The workshop topics offered at this year's camp were Rhythm through Movement, Media Literacy, Zine Making, Making Electronic Music. The workshop environment was one of the richest spaces for observation as campers were being exposed to novel ideas and producing creative material all while discussing with their peers.

Each individual rock camp is a microcosm of the Girls Rock movement as a whole. Attending my first full week of Girls Rock summer camp as a volunteer solidified my impression that the GRCA conference and Girls Rock summer camp are reciprocal environments where

adults and youth engage in similar programming and experiences. Summer camp offered me longer and more immersive participant observer period coupled with multiple sources of data. My analysis includes my field notes from participating in and observing morning assembly, instrument instruction, band practices and workshops. To get a deeper perspective, I interviewed four campers (two younger and two older) about their experience throughout out the week. The interview data is supported by the creative material that the cohort of 30 campers produced. This material includes lyrics from all eight camper bands and the artwork that campers created for their individual zine pages during the zine making workshop.

Camper Data Collection. Girls Rock Midwest utilizes the GRCA Core Survey as a pre-post camp metric of camper experiences. The mixed method survey provided valuable quantitative and qualitative data that I have included in my analysis of the camper experience. I recruited survey data from Buffy, Candy, and Jess' camps to widen the scope of my study and see how the Girls Rock Midwest camper perspective compared to campers from these other regions. The grassroots nature of the Girls Rock movement means that each organization does data collection differently making the information I had access to inconsistent or incomplete. Buffy's camp uses a mixed method survey that is similar to the GRCA Core Survey but many questions have been added or changed. Candy and Jess were unable to share raw survey data. However, they did provide a summary report from their organizations data collection efforts. All quantitative camper data across organization was collected during the 2018 camp season. Anna and Ray did not have data to share. The information gleaned from the quantitative data will be woven in when relevant to strengthen other pieces of my analysis.

Findings from Data Analysis

The next section combines the adult and youth perspectives collected during both phases of my study. As I highlighted earlier, the variety of data make the common themes that emerged even more remarkable. The adult data from phase one and the youth data from phase two reinforce each other and will be presented together as a cohesive narrative.

Unifying Theory: Authentic Relationship Building is the Active Ingredient of Girls Rock

As previously discussed, the unifying theory in Grounded Theory research emerges directly from the data. A grounded theory emerges from the core category that organizes the data from the open, axial, and selective coding stages of data analysis. In the present study, I refined my theory through immersing myself in the data, conducting several rounds of coding, and using the writing process to further develop my thinking. I presented the finished model to Buffy, one of my adult interviewees, who confirmed that the theory matched her understanding of the organization and her experiences within it—providing evidence of the testimonial validity of the grounded theory model. See the model is presented in Figure 1.

The success of the gender responsive youth programming strategies employed within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement are predicated upon authentic relationships, and authentic relationships are the core category of the grounded theory model. The GRCA is effective, because it supports and is supported by authentic relationship building. This sentiment is explicitly outlined in the Girls Rock Camp Alliance Point of Unity, a document that membership approved in 2018 that expresses the shared values of all GRCA member organizations. One of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance Points of Unity reads, "Authentic relationship building is the work. We are better equipped to support and fight for our youth when we care for and value one another." I discovered this segment of the Points of Unity because when I presented my

grounded theory to Buffy, she sent me this quote. The discovery supported my theory and emphasized how deeply embedded authentic relationships are within Girls Rock. Authentic relationships were vital to each of the themes developed through my analysis including the unique culture of Girls Rock, the transformative experiences of volunteers, the practice of political education, and the development of critical consciousness.

An authentic relationship is one in which both individuals bring their full selves to the relationship without pretense. Authentic relationships depend on safety and lack of judgement from both parties. Building authenticity in relationships requires a degree of vulnerability that is most possible with a trusted person and a safe environment. Genuineness and vulnerability tend to be more pronounced in authentic vs. inauthentic relationships due to the safety and trust that are essential to their formation. My deep dive into the data revealed that authentic relationships are the foundation of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Individual participants build authentic relationships within and across camps. This dynamic network of relationships allows for individual member organizations to build toward a global movement. This section will discuss four major themes that emerged from the data. Cumulatively, these themes highlight the relevance of relationship building to the success of the GRCA's work.

Theme 1: Girls Rock Has a Unique Culture

The unique culture of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance was evident to me as soon as I entered the conference space, and those impressions were confirmed in the camp space. Interviewees consistently alluded to how Girls Rock spaces feel fundamentally different than other spaces that they navigate. This section will name some practices of Girls Rock that create a unique cultural experience that was notable at the GRCA conference and during summer camp.

The unique culture of Girls Rock creates a sense of safety that allows authentic relationship building to organically occur within Girls Rock environments.

The level of support and positivity at Girls Rock is palpable. As a participant observer, I noticed how the positive contributed to me feeling comfortable and safe at the conference and at camp. Girls Rock environments facilitate this safety from the moment participants (e.g., conference attendees, campers, and volunteers) enter the space by socializing them into the positive culture through explicit and implicit ways. Every Girls Rock space begins with group agreements, a practice that allows participants to collaboratively imagine how they would like to be treated and treat others while at Girls Rock. The conference opening ceremony included time for all two hundred attendees to shout out group agreements while a facilitator scribbled them down on chart paper at the front of the room.

The model of group agreements at conference was analogous to the opening day of Girls Rock Midwest, in which I was the facilitator who wrote them down while campers and volunteers called out suggestions. Similar group agreements emerge each year. A few examples of common group agreements that were included in the 2018 Girls Rock Midwest camp agreements were things like "respect pronouns," "don't judge," "get consent," and "be yourself." Some notable examples that were suggested by campers were "be determined and inspire each other," "keep it positive! (or shush)," "If you have something nice to say, then SAY it," and "don't give up."

Group agreements are a method of collective culture setting. It is considered best practice in a Girls Rock space to set group agreements as early as possible because they set the tone and create a safe container that frames all interactions within the space. Each subgroup within Girls Rock sets its own group agreements based on the needs of the participants in that

subgroup. The GRCA conference, Girls Rock Midwest camp, the Girls Rock Midwest volunteer cohort, and all eight camper bands began their time together by taking time to intentionally describe the desired culture for their group. The process of creating this culture is fun, with participants shouting out silly phrases and empowering quips. Group agreements also serve as a contract from each individual, saying that they will behave in ways that are aligned with what the larger community has expressed a desire for. Group agreements contribute safety, because everyone in the space commits to upholding a non-judgmental and positive culture.

Some group agreements become popular throughout the Girls Rock movement, because they are shared at conference and individual volunteers adopt and introduce them to their home camps. This exchange permeates the Girls Rock culture organically throughout member organizations, creating solidarity across the movement. If you enter a Girls Rock space and say "Be a Croissant Not a Bagel" or "Don't Yuck My Yum," people familiar with the movement would know that you were encouraging them to remain open to new experiences and being mindful not to disparage others' interests. These quips also create easy accountability tools when participants act in ways that diverge from the stated agreements. Throughout my week at Girls Rock Midwest I often heard campers using these phrases to remind each other to maintain a positive and supportive environment. These mechanisms of accountability increase the safety group agreements provide because participants see the positive culture being modeled. Furthermore, they observe that diversion from the positive culture is gently redirected.

When the culture set by group agreements effectively permeates Girls Rock spaces, participants are exposed to their effects implicitly just by being in the environment. One example of this is how the words, "I'm sorry" are all but banned at Girls Rock. Women and gender expansive folks are socialized to apologize unnecessarily. At Girls Rock when someone

says, “I’m sorry” after making a mistake (e.g., playing the wrong note during band practice), it is customary for everyone to say, “YOU ROCK!” back at them. The person reiterates the sentiment by replying “I ROCK!” These exchanges happen instantly and reorient the listener around their agency and capacity for growth, rather than their mistakes. This practice affirms that everyone makes mistakes and chips away at societal conditioning that tells girls, women, and gender expansive people to be apologetic for their existence. The practice is so a part of the Girls Rock culture that by the second day of camp, “You Rock” became my automatic response to anyone’s unnecessary apology.

The intentionally supportive and non-judgmental culture of Girls Rock created the safety participants needed to be their authentic selves, take risks, and try new things. During interviews, volunteers Buffy, Candy, Jess, and Ray as well as all four campers expressed that there is an element of safety in Girls Rock spaces that is not present at work, school, or daily life. Safety is a fundamental component of the Girls Rock culture. When participants are safe, they are free to behave genuinely and connect with others in meaningful ways. Natalie, a 14-year-old first time camper, shared in her interview that what stood out to her the most about being at camp was the togetherness, acceptance, and positivity throughout the week. Natalie felt incredibly apprehensive the first day of camp, because she was a first-time camper and was nervous about not fitting it. By the second day of camp, she was feeling much more integrated into the camp environment after an experience she had during one of her band’s practice sessions.

> Two girls in my band asked me for an idea for the band name and then I told them my idea and they just absolutely loved it. They were super excited, and everyone was super hyped. Like my ideas were getting out there and they weren't just like shut down; they

were thought about. I just saw that they were accepting my ideas. So why wouldn't they just accept me as well?

By days three and four of camp, Natalie was one of the boldest dressers at camp, volunteers included, coming in each day with hot pink blush and black thick rimmed glasses that took up most of her face. She shared that often at school when she would wear "crazy blush" she felt self-conscious or feared what other people would say. Girls Rock, however, was different. The environment was filled with people expressing unique styles and ideas and early in the week, Natalie observed others be affirmed for their authenticity. She even had her own experience of her ideas being enthusiastically accepted. These elements encouraged Natalie to feel free to authentically express herself and she was welcomed by her peers when she did. The safety created in the environment allowed Natalie to overcome her fears. Her comfort in the space increased substantially by the end of the week. She became vulnerable with ideas and self-expression within the relationships she formed with her band and adult volunteers.

Another notable cultural aspect of Girls Rock is that it is a private space specifically for gender-marginalized people. The privacy of Girls Rock contributes to the element of safety because participants perceive some degree of a shared of experience of gender oppression. The privacy and positive culture at Girls Rock create space for identity exploration. Identity exploration leads to increased authenticity as individuals become comfortable expressing valued aspects of themselves. When individuals can participate authentically, they are poised to show up authentically in the relationships they form at Girls Rock. Girls Rock participants experiment with and express aspects of their identity that might not be safe to display in their daily lives. For example, campers and volunteers experiment with different gender pronouns and names even if they are not comfortable doing so at home.

On the first day of camp, I sat at the registration table welcoming campers and their parents. I greeted parents, checked campers in for the day, and handed out nametags. Girls Rock Midwest decided to adopt the color-coded pronoun stick after seeing the strategy at conference. Upon checking in, one camper exclaimed, "This is awesome! Most camps wouldn't let you choose your own pronouns." They added a they/them sticker to their name tag and went in for morning assembly. Some campers were confused about what pronouns were (a topic that would be addressed moments later at part of the morning assembly) or apprehensive about which pronoun to choose. I was mindful that parents were nearby, and I encouraged all campers that they could choose a sticker, not choose a sticker, or change their sticker whenever they wanted.

One camper, Taylor's experience with the pronoun stickers stood out to me in particular. While at the registration desk, I watched Taylor struggle with which sticker to choose, eyeing his father out of the corner of his eye. Eventually, Taylor chose a blank sticker for a "choose your own pronoun" option. The next day during lunch, I was again staffing the check-in table. Taylor approached the desk and slyly took a he/him sticker. For the next few hours, he fiddled with his nametag constantly often turning it toward him so no one could see it. He seemed to become less aware of the nametag and become comfortable wearing it as the day went on. At the end of the day when his dad came to pick him up, Taylor noticed his father walk into the room. I watched Taylor frantically remove his nametag and hide it in his pocket. On his way out, he asked me if he could leave it at camp instead of taking it home.

I had a complex reaction to this observation. Part of me felt happy that Taylor felt comfortable enough at Girls Rock camp to experiment with pronouns (and later in the week a different name). Candy expressed a similar experience. While calling campers to update their information, a camper asked her to update his pronouns to he/him. The same camper asked if

Candy could limit access to this information to internal paperwork, because he wasn't ready to tell his parents yet. Candy expressed joy that the organization was creating safety for identity exploration.

On the other hand, part of me felt sad to watch Taylor leave the safety of camp and go into an uncertain world. The unique culture of Girls Rock allows people to feel safe within the physical space and inside relationships with other campers and volunteers. However, once a participant leaves the Girls Rock environment, for many of them, that safety ends. Taylor's apparent fear for his father to see his nametag highlighted how unique the culture of Girls Rock truly is. My interviews and observations suggest that positivity and privacy for gender-marginalized individuals present in Girls Rock's culture is rare. This reflection is special, because it means that elements of the program are effective.

The unique culture of Girls Rock facilitates relationship building. Within these relationships, participants have choices about how they would like to express themselves and receive acceptance for however they show up in the space. Overwhelmingly, interviewees described how Girls Rock allowed them to be their authentic selves. Fifteen-year-old camper, Iris, described Girls Rock as her place, *"where I can just yell and no one's gonna care."* Participant's authenticity lets them form genuine and deep connections with others. Often, these connections are with people they would have otherwise never met.

> I've seen young people who didn't even know each other at the beginning and by the end they were like, "Wow, this is my best friend." Two of our young people will go on these skating dates on Fridays, which I think is really cute...They're both queer youth of color and I think they both feel really isolated at their schools. But they'll like go put on roller

skates and skate around like a park and stuff...They're able to build relationships with other queer young people and relationships that span like miles and state.

(Ray)

The culture of Girls Rock is characterized by safety that allows people to authentically express valued aspects of their identity. Authenticity is a prerequisite to building authentic relationships. Many campers do not know one another when camp starts. By the end of the week campers have created deep and meaningful relationships that extend beyond camp. The relationships that people form with each other at Girls Rock camp provide them safe havens when they return to their families, schools, and communities. Girls Rock is so effective because participants do not just feel safe in the environment of Girls Rock; they feel safe with the people at Girls Rock. Youth summer camp lasts for a week and the annual conference a weekend. However, the relationships built in those settings transcend the space. Authentic relationships formed at Girls Rock last far beyond the physical space of the conference or any individual summer camp

Theme 2: The Culture of Girls Rock is Transformative for Adult Volunteers

Although Girls Rock is a program for youth, the adults who participate in the organization benefit just as much (if not more) than the youth participants. Girls Rock enriches the lives of volunteers through the supportive relationships they form with campers and other adults in the space. This theme reflects how adults experience authentic relationships at Girls Rock as a channel for transformation.

Being an adult at rock camp was fun. Like with my experience at the conference, my week volunteering at Girls Rock summer camp felt like I was attending summer camp too. Building relationships with campers was also enjoyable. In my day to day adult life, I do not

have many opportunities to build friendships with young people. Girls Rock provided avenues for this because volunteers and campers build special bonds at camp. Buffy described these intergenerational relationships as unique because they, "break down some of the generational divides that we are conditioned to think exist and it creates these systems of trust." Everyone of all ages participates in all activities (e.g., workshops, karaoke, dance parties). When volunteers joined with campers by participating in shared activities, it built up youths' trust for adults (i.e., "They weren't just there watching over us, they were all there with us. It's not them watching our experiences. They're having these experiences with us."). Trust contributes to the authentic relationships formed between adults and youth.

One transformative aspect of the volunteer experiences is witnessing campers' growth. Adult interviewees shared anecdotes about how watching youth be confident, silly, and thoughtful people throughout the week was infectious. My observations mirrored this. I found myself having fun watching campers' development throughout the week. Like Natalie, several campers began the week hesitant and shy and ended the week as some of the most boisterous members of the group. Seeing these changes in real time was encouraging and exciting. Adult volunteers understand that the little changes we observe in campers during camp week could mean big changes in their lives for the rest of the year. It is rare to witness so much growth in so many people over such a short period of time. Seeing campers benefit from participation in Girls Rock in real time activated adults' senses of altruism and purpose. Doing good feels good, and volunteering with Girls Rock is doing good. Furthermore, my relationships with campers made watching them flourish even more meaningful because it felt like cheering on a friend.

Camp volunteers live in the same society that campers do. This means that camp volunteers are also exposed to the same harmful societal messages about women and gender

expansive people that campers are exposed to. Adults at Girls Rock have also had to navigate discrimination in public and personal settings based on their gender identity. The unique culture of Girl Rock provides a space that celebrates and affirms individuals of marginalized genders. Facilitating the culture of Girls Rock allows volunteers model what it looks like to unlearn and resist these harmful messages for youth attending camp. The modeling process requires volunteers to begin to challenge the messages that have impacted them, before they can teach youth to do the same. Eventually, adults begin to internalize the empowering messages that they are modeling for youth resulting in a transformative experience for both people.

Jess shared that becoming a part of Girls Rock changed how they viewed their own musical abilities. Jess is a recording artist with years of musical skill, education, and talent. When we conducted the interview, Jess was in the midst of recording a new album. They shared that even with all their preparation and training, being a non-binary person in the music industry made them feel inferior in a male-dominated field. Jess noticed that their participation in Girls Rock began to shift that. Part of Jess' role as program director was to remind young people daunted by the music industry of their talent. After telling youth that they could become successful musicians regardless of their gender, Jess began to believe it for themself. Jess reflected on this realization saying, "My immersion in the culture of Girls Rock camp has transformed my relationship with my own music in the environment of like the recording industry which has such a strong example of toxic masculinity. All of a sudden, I'm like, 'Oh right, I cultivate and facilitate this space for young people. But I also cultivate and facilitate it for myself.'" Jess shared that for their support of campers to be genuine, they had to believe it applied to all gender-marginalized people—including themselves. Through modeling empowerment for the youth at camp, Jess became empowered and saw their musical ability in a

new light. Jess' example highlights how the act of cultivating an encouraging, non-judgmental relationships with campers benefits the volunteers who absorb the messages in the space they help create.

While at Girls Rock camp, I had my own transformative experience through a connection I built with a camper in my band. On day three, I was eating lunch with my band, a group of four teenaged girls. I complimented them on how their teamwork and musical skill had developed in just three days of band practice. Despite my involvement in Girls Rock, I am not musically inclined. I lamented to my campers that I was envious of their musical talent. The drummer stopped me immediately. She told me that I was funny, stylish, and had a bright personality. She sternly added that those things made me valuable whether I played an instrument or not. Her response caught me off-guard for two reasons. First, I had not noticed that I was talking negatively about myself until she pointed it out reoriented me. Out of habit, I had broken one of the group agreements. I often focus on my negative qualities to the exclusion of celebrating my positive ones. My camper highlighted this pattern for me and gave me the opportunity to practice a different narrative. The second reason I was surprised by her response was because I had done something similar for her the day before. During band practice she repeatedly made negative comments about herself when she messed up her drumbeat. Finally, I turned band practice a "Sorry Free Zone" and encouraged her to name a strength of hers each time she made a mistake. I was surprised that the following day, she used a similar tool to encourage me. The bond we were forming allowed us to support and challenge one another to be our best selves. Like Jess, my connection with a camper provided me space to reflect on my gifts. I left lunch that day feeling a little lighter.

My lunch time encounter revealed that the modeling Girls Rock volunteers provide for youth is effective. Volunteers practice empowered ways of being (e.g., nonjudgmental, affirming, confident) that gender marginalized youth do not consistently encounter in larger society. Youth observe and experience the cultural shift from their daily lives to Girls Rock. As the week progresses, campers transition from observing the modeling to performing themselves. The authentic relationship between adults and youth at Girls Rock allows campers to observe volunteers modeling empowered action and recreate those actions for themselves. The trust that campers have in volunteers creates the conditions for the modeling to be accepted and mirrored instead of rejected. By week's end, campers play an equal part of maintaining the positive culture as volunteers do. Girls Rock is not a space for adults to pour into youth. It is a space that is co-created by adults and youth for people of all ages to pour into one another. It is prudent that volunteers are not solely responsible for upholding the culture of Girls Rock, because their own internalization of negative messages at times shines through, like mine did at lunch. Once modeled for campers, they possess the tools to challenge themselves (and volunteers) to grow past their societal conditioning. My hope is that this process gives campers the same experience Jess had, where offering encouragement allows campers to believe it for themselves.

Adults also experience transformation through the relationships they find with one another at Girls Rock. Many of the adult interviewees wished that they had safe spaces like Girls Rock when they were younger. Discovering Girls Rock in adulthood was the first time they experienced the safety of a private space for gender-marginalized people. Ray and Buffy also described Girls Rock as the first time that they had access to an intersectional feminist space where they could build connections with other people also experiencing gender oppression. Although they had inhabited other mixed gender activist spaces before, Girls Rock allowed for a

natural camaraderie built off shared experiences of gender oppression. Experiencing oppression is isolating. Volunteers build authentic relationships, resulting in a solidarity that is an antidote to feelings of isolation. This solidarity begins within individual member camps. When membership unites at the annual GRCA conference, the camaraderie is almost overwhelming. The multiple levels of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance provide so many channels for relationship building and connection. Anna chose to stay in the POC bunk at conference, because she was struggling with the dynamics of her majority White local camp. She stayed up late connecting with other organizers of color who she could fully relate to, and Anna left conference with new re-energizing friendships. The adult relationships built through Girls Rock are long-lasting and span the globe. Buffy, Ray, and Anna expressed feeling out of place in their home communities. Participating in Girls Rock camp and the GRCA conference allowed them to experience the safety of a space that many of them had longed for their entire lives.

Volunteers are uniquely situated to form widespread networks, because they have the opportunity to attend the annual global conference. I can personally attest to this as some of the people I met through attending the 2018 conference have become some of my closest friends. Relationship building happens en masse at the conference. Volunteers have meaningful discussions about their home communities, personal lives, and how they intersect with all of the new information gained in the enriching environment of the conference. When the conference ends, the relationships continue via official channels (e.g., GRCA Volunteer Facebook Group, digital Caucus hangouts) and unofficial channels (e.g., texting, phone-calls, connecting on social media). The ethos of Girls Rock is spread around the world as volunteers return to their home communities and maintain the relationships they formed in person. Once at home, volunteers have friends all over the globe to reach out to for personal and Girls Rock related concerns. In

my experience this looked like getting a Facebook message from a volunteer I met at conference asking if I would share materials from a youth workshop I had told her about. After we exchanged resources, we chatted about events in our lives and are still regularly in touch. Authentic relationships between volunteers build networks between both individuals and camps, strengthening the global GRCA movement.

Volunteers experiencing transformation is not an unintended positive side-effect of the Girls Rock movement. The Girls Rock Camp alliance are designed to effect change at the level of the camper and at the volunteer. First, the organization brings together gender marginalized people across generations, backgrounds, and continents. At the level of the conference, people to build deep and meaningful relationships that fortify them when they return to their home communities. These authentic relationships are pathways for connection that function as an antidote to the isolation of gender and other identity-based oppression. They also contribute to the overall globalization of the GRCA as individual camps become connected and build relationships via volunteers' relationships. At camp, adults benefit from watching youth grow and forming relationships with youth in a reciprocal exchange. Adults also combat their societal conditioning by modeling intersectional feminist politics and in doing so absorbing the empowerment they are portraying. The youth at Girls Rock camp observe and recreate empowered actions taken by volunteers who they have formed trusting relationships with.

Music as a Mechanism—Not the Goal

The role of music at rock camp emerged frequently throughout my analysis. Although this theme is not part of the model, it provides vital context for the remainder of the model. Music is central to Girls Rock's programming; however, music is not what gives Girls Rock its lasting impact. By being involved in Girls Rock camp, adults and youth experience benefits

(e.g., increased self-efficacy, self-confidence and political awareness) that are directly supported by the organization's programmatic efforts. The idea that creating musicians is not the goal of Girls Rock camps came up consistently with adult interviewees. Musical skill development was celebrated but not prioritized as much as exposing participants to political ideas and helping them develop self-efficacy. Music was described as a tool that helped participants learn about society and themselves. Through music, campers and volunteers practiced new skills at Girls Rock. Trying new things in the safety of the Girls Rock builds self-efficacy, self-confidence, and political knowledge that participants can take with them to other environments.

Girls Rock's political focus comes as a surprise to individuals who view Girls Rock as an apolitical music-focused organization. I noticed a discrepancy between perceptions of Girls Rock from individuals within and outside the organization. The subject of rock camps being labelled and dismissed as "cute" came up frequently in my interviewees with adults. Jess shared that,

> You know, people talking about Girls Rock camps, (like you know, Gender Queer Rock Camp), like, "Oh that's so cute. You get little girls together and you play instruments. That's sweet. The Trans community, you get to like pick up the microphone and the keyboard." And like if people actually knew what was happening, I feel like there's like, there's this like profoundly moving work going on.

Jess' quote illustrates key points. To those not intimately familiar with the work of Girls Rock, it is easy to see the results of the program (e.g., youth playing music) as simply cute. This misconception appears to be the case even among people who recognize the organization's goal of increasing musical access to girls, transgender youth, and gender-expansive youth. Perceptions of Girls Rock highlight the societal beliefs that the organization addresses through

its existence. The organization's mission is to increase representation and musical skill within groups that have been culturally marginalized from access to musicianship. The fact that this work is depoliticized and is seen as cute illustrates the strength of societal norms that underestimate the capabilities of gender marginalized people.

Several interviewees corroborated the differing perceptions of the organization and its contributions. In 2017, Ray's organization changed its name to no longer include the words "girls." This decision came from recognizing that for an organization that welcomed people of all marginalized genders, "girls" was not a sufficient term to describe everyone who occupied the space. To my knowledge, Ray's organization was among the first in the GRCA to make such a change, but in the last several years many more have followed suit. When discussing their organization's name change, Ray acknowledged that under the name "Girls Rock" their programming experienced the previously described infantilization from the community. The dismissal of rock camps as being "cute" is apparently so common that it has become a running joke within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement. For those within the organization, its political roots seem almost obvious. However, the radical underpinnings of Girls Rock often go unnoticed by campers, parents, and community members alike.

Another prominent outside misconception was that Girls Rock was dedicated to solely music. Based on what is most visible to the public, I can understand how Girls Rock may seem like a music focused organization. Most Girls Rock member camps have logos of musical instruments and highlight youth playing music prominently on their social media. Likewise, the camper showcase tends to be the biggest community event Girls Rock camps hold each year. This draws in members from the community who see youth playing music as the organization's main outcome.

I was surprised to find that this belief emerged among campers as well. During one political education workshop, eight-year-old Kady raised her hand and asked "Why are we doing this? I thought we were here to play music." Without skipping a beat, another camper who was attending camp for the second year replied, "When you come to Girls Rock camp you aren't signing up just to learn music. You are signing up to learn this stuff too." Kady seemed satisfied by this answer and became one of the most engaged participants as the workshop continued.

Adults and youth appeared to place different emphasis on the role of music at camp. The topics of empowerment, political education, and music were mentioned across all interviews regardless of age. Adults tended to describe music as secondary to the political and empowerment elements of the program. However, music appeared to be most salient to the campers, especially the younger ones. Of the four campers I interviewed, the two younger campers identified learning an instrument, writing a song, and playing the showcase to be the most memorable aspects of camp. Political knowledge did not come up until I probed about other aspects of camp (e.g., workshops and camp culture). Then, campers began to list ways they became aware of social injustice in society over the course of the week. The older campers also highlighted the musical components of camp but noted that the acceptance within the Girls Rock environment was the most important part of the experience. The older campers brought up the topics of empowerment and political education more readily than their younger counterparts.

As part of my analysis, I examined 2018 pre- and post-camp survey data from one week of Girls Rock Midwest and two weeks of Girls Rock Canada. On the pre-camp survey, campers at both camps were asked to list their goals for the week of camp (See Table 4). The topic of gaining musical skill emerged more than any other with nearly half of campers explicitly naming it among their goals. Music was mentioned in various forms 79 times among a sample of 91

campers. Comparatively, interpersonal goals (e.g., making new friends, becoming less shy) were mentioned 27 times. Goals related to the overall experience (e.g., having fun, learning new things) only appeared 18 times. My interview with 10-year-old Laurie brought these data to life.

> I thought that like Girls Rock camp was just going to be about like you got together with somebody in a band and then you started to write and do all that stuff. But I never really dug deep enough until this week to realize that Girls Rock camp is not just about that stuff, but also like feeling good around other people that had different pronouns than you and stuff like that.

Laurie began the week of camp excited to form a band, write a song, and perform at the showcase. All of which she accomplished and immediately identified as important parts of the experience. Through her time at Girls Rock, Laurie also learned how to build relationships and become accepting of other people who were different than her. Laurie's quote is a heartening snapshot of what other campers might be experiencing as well. Based on the survey data, other campers also entered Girls Rock focused on the musical aspects of the program. Music related goals were successfully met and came up frequently in my camper interviews. Table 5 displays the topic areas present in campers' post-camp accomplishments. Gaining musical skill was a frequent topic but emerged fewer times than in the pre camp assessment (i.e., 48 times in a sample of 93 campers). I do not believe that music being featured less on the post camp survey means that campers did not meet their musical goals. Rather, I think that like Laurie, campers experienced aspects of camp that they had not been anticipating. One clarifying example of this was the emergence of a social justice topic on the post camp survey. When asked about their goals for the week, topics related to social justice were not mentioned by campers at all.

However, when asked what they learned as a result of attending Girls Rock, campers shared that learning about feminism and empowerment were important parts of their experience.

I did not perceive the focus on music as a sign that campers did not gain political awareness by participating in Girls Rock. In fact, the discrepancy between how adults and youth identify the most important aspects of Girls Rock suggests that some of the learning gained through participation might be implicit. Adult interviewees Ray and Anna described how campers learn skills at Girls Rock without even realizing it. Even when youth can't fully verbalize gains explicitly (e.g., "Now, I'm a radical feminist"), volunteers still observe changes in their awareness of injustice and agency for change throughout camp week (e.g., "I didn't really notice that I was learning a bunch of this stuff until the media literacy workshop."). In my other interactions with campers, they would at first summarize their camp experience saying that they simply "had fun." However, campers demonstrated gaining self-efficacy and awareness of injustice in many ways throughout the week. Campers' focus on music makes sense, because music is used to deliver other valuable aspects of Girls Rock programming.

Despite Girls Rock not being strictly about music, there was some consensus that people are first drawn to the organization, because they think that the organization is music focused and apolitical. The perception allows for individuals who otherwise would not have engaged with Girls Rock to lean in and gain political knowledge as a result. The political commitment of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance allows youth to enter camp simply hoping to form a band and leaving with political education. If Girls Rock did not have this foundation, there would be little differentiating the organization from other youth music programs. For Girls Rock to be simply about music, one of the core elements of the organization would be missing.

> Historically, a lot of political platforms have used music as a way of reaching out, like for example, in South Africa during apartheid and in the revolution in Iran. And so, I feel like music is a very, very good way of creating political material because you're not always relying on language. So, for that it's really, really good...But I feel like this organization could just as well be some like super capitalist, bullshit organization that only makes music camps and that's it. We just need to like let go of our political values for one second and this could happen...That's why we have the Points of Unity. And it states, "Our work is political." (Candy)

Music is valuable to Girls Rock programming as a conduit for the political components. However, a world in which Girls Rock became solely about music and abandoned its intersectional feminist politics would fundamentally alter the organization's purpose. Several adult volunteers recognized that although music is a central ingredient to Girls Rock Camps, it is not the defining feature. In contrast to the campers' responses, when I asked adult volunteers about the most important aspect of Girls Rock, not a single person said music. Rather, each adult interview considered music as a useful tool that created opportunities for the most impactful aspects of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance to exist. Girls Rock's mission of empowerment through music attracts a wide variety of campers, volunteers, and community partners who might be most interested in the musical component. Once immersed in the culture of Girls Rock, they receive more than they anticipated in the form of a budding critical awareness of societal injustice. Girls Rock uses music as a medium for delivering political and relational aspects of its programming. Within Girls Rock, music and relationship building have a reciprocal relationship where music fosters the container for authentic relationship building.

> I think what Girls Rock does is knit together these interesting organizers and other groups via music. We recognize music as a transformative force and as like a shared language. And the practice or expression of music as this really powerful self-authorizing experience. It attracts people from a lot of different communities that wouldn't otherwise necessarily find much in common. When that combines in a musical space, a sudden you have this like deep community building and networking happening that kind of transcends some of the limitations that a city is often impeded by...We can kind of start to unpack some of those things because it's safe. Like a person that you would walk by in the street and feel like you have nothing in common with, all of a sudden like you're in a band or your children are in a band together. And I've seen that time and again, this experience of music as like a leveler and a unifier that allows the erasure of these, like the cultural markers that don't matter while upholding identities that do. That avail us to working in solidarity with each other. I've just seen that as really cool, where people are kind of like arm in arm across the circle and connecting with each other in ways that maybe seem like it wasn't possible before.

Girls Rock's use of music provides a meeting point for people to engage one another and build deeper relationships. However, music is not vital for participants to gain self-efficacy and political awareness. Ray's organization piloted an afterschool workshop that provided tracks for creative writing, dance, and visual art in addition to music. Volunteers observed similar outcomes in participants who chose to engage in other forms of media production as those who focused on music. The success of that program suggests that combining political education with any medium that allows participants the opportunity to create and experience self-efficacy from skill development might have similar outcomes to Girls Rock. Music is a tool but not the only

tool that creates these valued outcomes. For Girls Rock, music draws people from different lifestyles and identities into a shared space where the political work of Girls Rock can truly take shape.

Theme 3: Political Education at Girls Rock

Rather than being about "little girls with guitars," the work done by Girls Rock camps is inherently political and radical. The GRCA Points of Unity underscores this with the statement, "Our work is political. We work to dismantle intersecting systems of oppression and acknowledge that they do not affect us all equally. Our work must be led and build by those most impacted by systemic oppression and colonization." Girls Rock is dedicated to maintaining political integrity by organizing political education programs from an intersectional feminist lens.

Political education is the process through which participants learn information designed to help them think deeply about systemic and historical issues in society. Girls Rock uses the strategy of political education to create transformational change in youth, volunteers, and communities. Girls Rock has a practice of making the political deeply personal for those involved (i.e., "I've grown and learned so much as a person, as a feminist, as an activist, as somebody that fights for liberation and anti-oppression from organizing in this space"). Participants gain knowledge that makes them more aware of themselves and how identity intersects with important social issues. The authentic relationship building at Girls Rock is fundamental to political education. Relationships humanize political issues, making them personal for all involved.

Girls Rock uses political education as a strategy for building awareness of injustice. The organization employs this strategy through implicit and implicit tactics. Implicit approaches

occur when the intersectional feminist values of the organization are demonstrated through its practices rather than discussed. Explicit strategies are when the organization presents political education overtly using political language (e.g., workshops on privilege and oppression). Often the difference between explicit and implicit approaches is the safety of the community in which the camp exists. Implicit and explicit tactics are served by the relationships built at conference and can serve the development of relationships at individual camps around the globe. Both approaches to political education

Implicit Approaches. Some camps leverage the perception of Girls Rock as an apolitical music organization and deliver political education through implicit approaches. Implicit approaches model social justice for participants rather than discussing it. This tactic emerged most prominently among camps in conservative communities who had less safety to openly discuss their radical politics. For example, rural camps, that rely on community donations and parents paying camper tuition in order to financially support their programming. Rock Camps in these conservative areas are often walking a fine line in order to stay true to the values of the organizations while remaining palatable to parents and marketable to funding sources, who might disagree with the organization's intersectional feminist politics. Buffy's camp is located in a conservative, Christian, rural part of Canada. Her organization had radical programming, but intentionally downplayed their politics in marketing materials.

> Especially when we're in communication with the community, we try not to say like 'We're a queer friendly intersectional feminist summer camp.' And we say something like "We're a camp that empowers girls to feel confident." And we use a lot of that rhetoric that we know as organizers and activists to ring quite hollow in a lot of spaces. But we use those as a way to make our camp seem like it's just like a place that you can

> come and learn an instrument and learn how to not be a bully, rather than the underlying sort of anti-oppression introduction that we give to kids to be a little bit more palatable for their parents.

This was a common strategy among rural camps with limited budgets. Buffy's organization appears to be successfully balancing the organization's political education with efforts to maintain positive relationships within their community. This balance is vital for sustaining the organization and offering marginalized youth a safe space that they would otherwise not have access to.

Implicit political education allows camps to stay true to organizational values by modeling intersectional feminism in Girls Rock spaces. Although Girls Rock is specifically a space for people with marginalized gender identities, the organization actively centers all marginalized identities. Intersectionality is embedded into Girls Rock and is included as a shared value in the GRCA Points of Unity. Conference was intentionally designed to be an intersectional space through accessibility practices such as pronoun stickers, scent-free spaces, and identity-based caucuses. For camps, prioritizing social justice looked different based on the camper demographics, local community needs, and available resources. Social justice was thoughtfully woven into the planning of the camps in my study. In practice, this looked like proactive consideration of how to make the environment inclusive and accessible for a variety of marginalized identities.

One example of inclusivity at rock camps was increasing accessibility for low income campers. Many camps operated using sliding scale tuition so that camp was more accessible to lower income youth. Buffy and Candy's organizations took steps to relocate where camp was held in order to prioritize proximity to communities who experienced barriers in access. Upon

reflecting on the demographics of the campers who were able to travel to the camp's location, both organizers noticed that campers with financial barriers were less able to attend. In response to this concern, both organizations moved their camp location to neighborhoods that were nearer to the lower income youth who they most hoped to reach. For both organizations, changing the camp's location aligned with their local organization's as well as the GRCA's social justice values.

Similar to the accessibility walkways in the conference cafeteria, Girls Rock camps made adjustments to make the physical space of camp accessible. Most rock camps are entirely volunteer run, holding meetings in people's homes, libraries, and other public spaces. As a result, summer camp tends to be held in existing buildings (e.g., schools that are empty for the summer) that allow the organization to use their space for free or at low cost. Girls Rock chapters must design creative solutions to make spaces fit their needs. One practice that I observed at Girls Rock Midwest was that all of the gendered signs in the building (i.e., for restrooms) were covered up and re-written to be gender neutral. Buffy's camp engaged in a similar practice.

Camps also make adjustments to make the programming accessible. Buffy shared that for the 2018 year, for the first time her camp received an application from a camper who was blind. The camp organizers partnered with the camper's parents and forged community connections with the Canadian Institute for the Blind to learn how to make their space more accessible for this camper. Camp volunteers received coaching around best practices for individuals with vision impairment to equip them with tools to meet the camper's needs. Buffy's camp traditionally held a zine making workshop that required flipping through magazines to create collages. Organizers were worried about how to make the camper feel included in an

activity that was heavily visually based. They decided to eliminate zine making entirely and replace it with a clay sculpting activity rather than having the camper feel left-out.

Buffy's example blends a variety of strategies that I heard suggested at the conference and reported by other interviewees. When organizers at this camp were faced with an accessibility concern, the top priority was making sure the camper was included. Rather than finding ways for the camp's traditional zine workshop work for the camper, the camp organizers changed the workshop for everyone. The camper was able to fully participate in an activity that other campers were also able to enjoy. Centering marginalized identities is the cornerstone of this example because in this instance the priority was the camper with a disability and optimizing their experience rather than trying to make the camper fit into the camp.

Girls Rock provides participants with a feminist experience that is begins with relationships. Implicit political education is a tactic motivated by relationships. The foundation of a caring relationship is a motivation for implementing what would otherwise be dogmatic values. The relationships built within the GRCA humanize the lived experiences of being marginalized making it a priority to practice intersectional feminist values. Creating relationships across different experiences of oppression inform and shape our political priorities. Implicit political acts such as creating all-gender restrooms or accessibility walkways are rooted in a desire to create accessible and inclusive environments so that people volunteers care for feel welcome at Girls Rock. Girls Rock makes the personal political through the phenomenon of relationships. The experience participants have at Girls Rock is implicit political education where participants witness what intersectional feminism looks like in practice and not just theory. Feminism is modeled to campers through active consideration of multiple identities so that each participant can feel comfortable in the space. Modeling inclusivity also contributes to

the unique culture of Girls Rock as participants experience an environment where their oppressed identities are centered and celebrated.

Explicit Approaches. Explicit political education within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance is often delivered through workshops. Workshops happen at each level of the organization. Conference workshops offer a template for individual camps to adopt and use at their home camps. At conference, I attended a workshop about liberatory practices and combatting oppression. The facilitator discussed topics of power, privilege, and how systems operate to marginalize certain populations. The workshop, and conference as a whole, was an exercise in modeling how to provide developmentally appropriate political education to youth. Language and activities are simplified so they can be accessible to a wide audience, especially young people. The facilitator expressed that if the ideas she was explaining to us could not be explained to an eight-year-old then her strategy was ineffective. She defined the terms using common words and then had members of the audience act out ways the term might appear at camp. The activity was engaging and fun and several people commented that they would add it to their repertoire to use back home.

Campers at individual Girls Rock camps also receive political education. Alongside music education, social justice workshops are designed to help youth understand systemic oppression and power dynamics in developmentally appropriate ways. At Candy's organization, participants learn about societal norms and intersectionality using games and activities. One activity she describes allows participants to critique the norms of the music industry. Campers are instructed to Google the word "drummer" and look at the photos that emerge (e.g., majority White cisgender men). Next, participants brainstorm all the different people who are not included in the societal narrative and the impact not being visible may have on those populations.

This activity teaches participants about representation within the music industry and society broadly.

The political education workshops at 2018 Girls Rock Midwest camp were media literacy and zine making. The media literacy workshop asked campers to identify what media is (e.g., social media, newspapers, advertising) and the messages that it transmits about race, gender, age, beauty, size, and other identity dimensions. The media literacy workshop was a perfect segue into my workshop about zine making. Media literacy explored the shame we can feel when we are not represented by popular culture. Zine making encouraged participants to resist exclusionary narratives by creating their own representative media instead. Body positivity and self-acceptance was a common motif among campers' artwork. Campers handwrote messages like "Break from the Norms" and "Don't Judge Us By Our Looks, Judge Us By Our Personalities" in an effort to rewrite some of the societal messages we discussed during media literacy. A second major motif were campers who wrote about their budding queer sexualities. Messages like "Gay and Proud" and "Gay or Straight, I'm Important Anyway" were stickered across the pages. The end result was a dynamic, youthful, and surprisingly political collection of artwork.

Political education at Girls Rock helps participants think critically about their own lives and experiences. As a result, political education results in campers and volunteers having an increased understanding of themselves and their social environment. The People of Color (POC) Caucus at conference emerged in multiple interviews as having a strong impact on attendees. For example, Candy shared that at her first conference, attending the POC Caucus was the first time that she had felt free to identify as a person of color. Candy described that being White-passing in Sweden meant that her identity as an Iranian refugee was consistently erased.

> I feel like in the Swedish context, if you're white passing, your white friends will be like, "Oh for me, you're white". And that is considered a compliment. And you're supposed to be grateful for that. And just to realize like, I don't need to be grateful for that. I didn't understand how hard it was until I came to the GRCA conference and learned language around it. I learned like words like white passing. Because we don't have that. We don't talk in that way in a Swedish context.

Candy experienced microaggressions surrounding her racial and ethnic background for much of her life in Sweden. The GRCA conference offered her a new framework through which to understand her racial and ethnic identity and her experiences of discrimination. Explicit political education is most effective when there is an authentic relationship in which a participant feels the safety to think differently and critically examine their experiences in society. The POC Caucus offered Candy safe relationships in which to discuss her racialized experiences. She observed that if she had such a space when she was younger, she would have developed more radical views on her sexual and political identities at a much younger age. Candy's experience reinforces earlier themes about the ways in which Girls Rock benefits volunteers through healing deep identity related wounds. Some of the healing that volunteers gain is through political education.

Political education at Girls Rock leads to a deeper understanding of others' experiences. Girls Rock brings together participants from different backgrounds and exposes them to one another's humanity (i.e., "I saw all of these different girls from different ethnicities and different sexualities and different life stories. And seeing that so many people are marginalized and they're just, there's so much prejudice. It's still something that need to be fixed in our society"). The understanding participants gain leads to authentic relationship building and solidarity. The

experience of building relationships with people who face different oppressions contextualizes the need for solidarity and the reality of intersectionality. Relationships humanize the ideal of collective liberation so that when participants enter Girls Rock spaces, gender-marginalization is the thing that unites them when they arrive, but it is not the only thing that unites them when they leave. Authentic relationships and understanding create the conditions for solidarity to form among Girls Rock participants. Political education contributes to the solidarity that participants find with one another that they carry year-round.

Theme 4: Critical Consciousness at Girls Rock

During my time at Girls Rock camp, I paid special attention to the ways that campers changed from the beginning to the end of the week. Because one of Girls Rock's goals is to provide political education, I specifically attended to political changes that took place within campers. Campers demonstrated increased awareness of injustice and a desire to correct the social issues caused by oppression. Even during the limited time at camp, campers took actions in respond to social injustice through the art they created.

Awareness of Injustice at Girls Rock. Political education at Girls Rock helps participants become more aware of social injustice. As participants become more politically aware, they gain a contextual understanding themselves and others leading to authentic connection. Media literacy and zine-making are two popular Girls Rock offerings designed to build political awareness in campers. At Girls Rock Midwest 2018, the media literacy workshop was about identifying coded messages hidden in media. When I interviewed nine-year-old Tracy, I asked her what stood out to her about the media literacy workshop. She shared, "I just never really took the time to think about like how media is tricking us." Tracy elaborated by referencing a cleaning commercial that the facilitator had campers watch.

> What I noticed was the son and the dad were just having fun sliding salsa and chips around it while the mom always had to clean stuff up. What I saw in that is gender. Because the boys got to have fun while the girl always had to clean stuff up. And the girl always have to clean while the boys get to goof off. Because in their genders they had different responsibilities.

Tracy also shared examples of gender bias she had noticed on her own (e.g., how boys can be shirtless in public, but girls cannot). This exchange gave me some insight into what happens with the knowledge transmitted at Girls Rock camp. The topic of gendered clothing did not come up in the media literacy workshop. The conversation about gender roles ignited Tracey's awareness of how gender roles appear in her daily life, allowing her to make connections to her relevant experiences. Beginning the conversation about gender at Girls Rock allowed Tracy to continue thinking about the topic on her own. Tracy's understanding of gender roles was based in her daily experiences rather than academic or theoretical language. Being attuned to the subtle shifts in thinking that youth display is vital so that budding media literacy is not overlooked.

Ray, who was based at a rock camp in the South, organized one of the most explicitly political camps out of all my interviewees. Ray's organization focused on workshops and afterschool programming that help youth identify and understand the systemic oppression found in institutions. Like with the media literacy and zine making workshops at Girls Rock Midwest, campers at Ray's camp expanded their horizons through these political education workshops.

> We're doing the basic work of being like, here's the historical conditions of prisons and policing here in the United States. And they're like, "Wait, what?" It's kind of like this experience of them expanding what they know and unlearning what they thought they

knew and getting really passionate about it really fast. And they're so young. They're like, "Oh my gosh, how is, how can the world be this way?"

Youth may lack academic language, but they witness injustice in society, their schools, and their personal lives. Girls Rock offers young people political education that builds their capacity for understanding their world through a political lens. Youth, like in Tracy's case, take the critical framework they have learned and begin to apply it to their experiences. The relationships formed at Girls Rock are an important catalyst for political awareness. No one is born fully aware. Awareness is created through relational experiences that teach campers to expand the ways they think about the world. Relationships feed into political perspectives as they provide safe and fertile ground for new ideas to be explored (i.e., "A lot of like what I've learned about politics has been through building a relationship with [person's name]. I love them. They teach me so much every day.").

Agency for Change at Girls Rock Camp. Camper agency is developed through three pathways. The first pathway is political education. As campers at Girls Rock! Midwest developed political awareness, I noticed their frustration about the state of the world increase. This made sense to me because awareness of injustice typically leads to a desire to change it. Increased political awareness ignited their desire to ask questions and get involved. Several adult interviewees shared examples of young people being hungry to learn about ways to enact change in their lives and communities. At Anna's camp, youth brought up movements such as March for Our Lives, a national campaign against gun violence in schools that was started by a queer Latinx young person. As campers learned more about such movements, they asked questions like "How do I do that?" or "How do I get my issues out there?" Campers at Anna's camp also asked for social justice workshops on Black Lives Matter, self-defense, and bystander

intervention for bullying. As youth were given education about injustice, they became hungrier for tools and strategies they could use to address it in their homes, schools, and communities.

Candy shared an example of youth displaying agency from one of the Swedish rock camps. One of the Swedish camps allowed cisgender men to be music teachers during camp week. Candy found this problematic, as it violates the Girls Rock value of prioritizing gender marginalized individuals in leadership roles at camp. The cisgender men dominated the space, and the safety that is typically created at rock camps did not manifest during this camp week. Volunteers, parents, and campers commented that rather than being inspiring and uplifting, the final showcase was filled with conflict and competition. Thus, the culture of this particular camp was distorted. Candy spoke to a repeat camper and asked if her disappointment in camp that year meant that she would no longer attend the program. The camper replied that she would still attend camp, because even though she had a bad experience, she knew she had to be a part of something in order to change it. Candy was disappointed that the camper had a negative experience at her most recent camp. Candy also expressed awe that the camper's previous experiences with Girls Rock had given her enough agency that she felt capable of initiating change within the organization.

The second pathways through which youth gain agency is trying new things and learning new skills at Girls Rock. Girls Rock programs increase young people's agency by creating an environment where they explore what they are capable of. Campers experience new capabilities which bolsters their self-efficacy and self-confidence. Increasing self-efficacy contributes to agency because self-efficacy increases an individual's belief that they can accomplish valued tasks. When campers' emerging social awareness combines with their strengthened self-

efficacy, it creates conditions in which campers are aware of injustice and also feel the agency to respond.

The musical component of Girls Rock has a large impact on campers' self-efficacy. First time campers are often nervous, entering a new setting, learning a new instrument, and performing in front of a crowd. Several campers described playing music as "pretty easy," a huge step in confidence from the nervousness expressed before camp. By the end of camp, campers emerge proud and confident.

> I was definitely nervous in instrument instruction. Like the last day whenever we all had to play through our song, I was not up for that. It didn't go great. It didn't go like absolutely horribly and it wasn't the end of the world, but that was definitely like a bit shaking... It was just a few minutes of me like having those anxieties and stuff, but then like once [guitar instructor] talked me through it, I was fine, and I was just like hyped up and ready to go. It was like even if it goes wrong, whatever, they don't know the song, they didn't write it. (Natalie)

Natalie's quote highlights not only that self-efficacy emerges from participating in Girls Rock but also how that self-efficacy manifests. Girls Rock teaches youth that they are capable of overcoming their fears and accomplishing difficult tasks (such as learning an instrument in a week). More importantly, Girls Rock gives youth permission to "fail and fail better," a phrase coined by adult interviewee Jess. Jess is referring to the desire for youth to make mistakes at camp that they may not have the space to do in other environments. The purpose of Girls Rock is not for campers to play a perfect song. Adults at rock camp show youth that it is okay to be imperfect. Girls Rock gave Natalie the space to mess up her song, be affirmed through her mistake, and have confidence in her performance even if it did not go as planned. The self-

efficacy that Natalie reported was not about her musical ability. Natalie expressed confidence that she could do something that she was scared of and that even if she made mistakes, she could still have fun.

Natalie is a perfect example of the type of self-efficacy Girls Rock volunteers hope to instill in campers. The ultimate goal is for campers' self-efficacy to lead to agency that can spread to other areas of campers' lives. For this spread to occur, camper self-efficacy cannot be rooted solely in their musical ability. Girls Rock uses gaining musical skill as a way to develop campers' overall agency, not just musical self-efficacy.

> Musical excellence is something that we appreciate and something that we value but the point for us is this space of young people really understanding how perfect, excellent, and resilient, and inspired and amazing they are. And so, you know, we spend more time on creating a camp culture that is inspired by that more than anything else. We have exit interviews with young people who come in and are scared, don't know anyone, they've never played their instrument, and don't know why they're there. And they leave with this really like new understanding of how important they are. And how, how resilient they are. And it comes from a deep authentic place...the things that they say are like 'I'm beautiful because I'm exactly who I am' or 'I tried something I never tried before and that's really important' or...'If I could do this on the drums, that I can do this in chemistry."(Jess)

The agency that youth experience within Girls Rock organizations expands far beyond the walls of the actual programming. The self-efficacy experienced at camp transfers into other areas of youths' lives such as increased confidence in their academic abilities. Girls Rock uses music to show campers that they are capable of learning new skills. The self-efficacy that is

produced through gaining skill allows campers to experience agency to respond to their daily environments.

The third way Girls Rock influences camper agency is through adult volunteers modeling empowered actions for campers. Empowered action was an important part of Tracy's Girls Rock experience (i.e., "I learned to speak up for myself). Tracy chose to play the keyboard at the beginning of the week but realized on day 2 of camp that she did not enjoy the instrument. Tracy felt comfortable enough to confide in her band counselor and the two of them developed a plan to ask the camp director if Tracy could switch instruments. Tracy described the experience as, "I didn't say it all by myself, [volunteer's name] helped me. I said it with her." The relationship between Tracy and her band counselor was crucial to Tracey advocating for herself. Tracy trusted the volunteer who modeled empowered action for Tracy by facilitating Tracy changing instruments. Tracy observed this modeling and engaged in empowered action by advocating for herself alongside the volunteer rather than allowing the volunteer to do it for her.

Girls Rock helps youth develop agency through political awareness, self-efficacy, and volunteer modeling. While youth develop agency, they are given tools that highlight their agency and ability to respond to injustice. Tools that are modeled at Girls Rock include musical self-expression, zine-making, and the ability to recover from failure. Each of these elements contributes to campers' sense that they can respond to the injustice that they observe in the world. Girls Rock begins by helping participants experience themselves as capable people by giving them space to experience and overcome their fears. Campers gain agency as a result.

Political Action at Girls Rock Camp. While at Girls Rock camp, youth demonstrated political action through writing political songs and creating political artwork. I was blown away by the songs that campers wrote. On the first day of band practice with my band, the band coach

asked what they wanted their song to be about. One of the first suggestions was to write about how school dress codes make young girls feel afraid of their bodies. All the other band members excitedly agreed, and the end result was a song titled "Let Me be Free." My band was not the only one wrote a political song. Youth interviewee Laurie was in a band comprised of other eight to ten-year-olds. Her band wrote a song called "Equality Over Everything." The song included the lyrics:

We stand up for what we believe in

Hey girl, hey!

We want a cleaner environment,

And we can make it that way.

Fighting together toward equality,

and this is what we say.

Another camper band in the younger cohort wrote a song called *Toying with Gender Roles* about how they found gender roles constricting. Natalie's band wrote a song called *Fox News, Fake News* that mentioned U.S. race relations, police brutality, and family separation as a result of the government agency I.C.E. The chorus of this song was one of my favorites because of the lyrics,

A generation of activists done being pacifists.

We're speaking up, standing up, Not giving up.

We're sick of them coming for us.

Out of the eight camper bands, five of them wrote songs with political themes. All four campers that I interviewed were in bands that created political songs. Band coaches and counselors facilitated teamwork, so that the band has a completed song. However, the lyrics and

subject matter are completely camper generated. The amount of political content in camper's songs surprised me. None of the campers had ever written and performed a song in front of an audience of 100+ people (outside of returning campers who played the camp showcase before). Girls Rock not only gave campers social awareness and musical skill, it provided campers with a platform such as the showcase through which to share a message. Campers could use this platform however they wanted. Most of them used the opportunity to respond to the injustices that they observed around them by engaging in political action.

The Girls Rock camper zine provided another platform for campers' political actions. One of the most powerful examples of political action at Girls Rock Midwest came from interviewee Natalie who made one of the most vulnerable zine pages. During the workshop, she asked me to take a picture of her with her hands covering her face. She pasted the picture onto her zine page along with the following text:

> Trigger warning: Sexual Assault. From age 6 to 8 my uncle was molesting me. It happened at least 3x a week. Without going into detail, it sucked. My grandmother who had lived with us knew it was going on. He was 14-16. My parents only found out recently and sprung into action. 2 days ago, I found out they aren't pressing charges because he is no longer a minor so they have no jurisdiction. So. I. Am. Changing. The. Law.

The bottom of the page read, "Girls belong in politics." During our interview, I asked Natalie about her experience making her page. She shared that she enjoyed the opportunity to express a deeper part of her life. She also named that the experience was uncomfortable but that she saw it as an opportunity to practice, because she would be having to tell her story to more and more people as she fought for justice. Natalie was surprised at the affirming response her

zine page got from her peers. She shared that it left her feeling more open to new experiences (as did camp as a whole).

Natalie's example suggests that the political action that begins through creating artwork and writing songs at Girls Rock camp continues into other areas of campers' lives. Buffy noticed that critical action grew in campers over time. She reported that a group of campers that attended the Canadian camp for multiple years began a feminist club at their junior high school. From there, they began participating in the gay straight alliance movement in the local community.

For many young people, Girls Rock is a catalyst for gaining political education and seeking more political knowledge. Girls Rock was one of the first places where many campers felt comfortable engaging in political conversations and feeling motivated to engage in political action. Although authentic relationships with volunteers were foundational to campers' political awareness and agency, the political actions I observed were key because they no longer required the adult. When campers take critical action, it is a sign that empowered action has been successfully modeled and internalized. The realization of agency is contingent upon a relationship having been built between the youth and the adult.

The camper gains I observed from Girls Rock programming align closely with the three elements of critical consciousness: (a) critical reflection, (b) critical motivation, and (c) critical action (Diemer et al., 2015). As noted in an earlier theme, political education is the process through which an individual learns information designed to develop critical reflection. Critical reflection is an individual's awareness of the injustices and inequalities present in society. Awareness leads to a desire to respond to injustice (i.e., critical motivation) and ultimately behaviors fighting against injustice (i.e., critical action). Because of how well the patterns I

observed fit with this theory, I relabeled this theme critical consciousness to succinctly describe it.

Critical consciousness is made possible by the relationship built between adults and youth. Political awareness is built through relationships between youth and adults who share similar experiences of gender oppression. Agency in campers is enhanced through developing musical ability and learning to advocate for themselves in Girls Rock spaces. Agency and awareness contributed to campers taking political action via their art. Girls Rock creates spaces for intergenerational relationships to form between campers and volunteers paves the way for critical consciousness to take root in campers.

Revisiting the Unifying Theory: Authentic Relationship Building is the Active Ingredient in the Girls Rock Camp Alliance

Admittedly, identifying a singular phenomenon that explains the complexity of Girls Rock was challenging. All of my themes are deeply intertwined. While each theme reinforcing the others strengthens my analysis, it was at first difficult to isolate a singular thread that organizes all the themes in my analysis. I used my own experiences as a participant observer to reflect on the things I would be taking away from this study. In the two years since I began this research, the friendships that I developed at the 2018 conference have become some of my most intimate. Through these friendships, I have experienced the power of Girls Rock as an organization that draws people in, connects, and empowers them. I experienced each of the themes I reported in my analysis and the common thread between each of my experiences was the people who brought them to life. I realized that the aggregate of all the identified themes creates a new category that serves as the unifying theory and active ingredient of Girls Rock. The active ingredient that allows Girls Rock to flourish is authentic relationships.

I've begun to see all the successes of Girls Rock as being aspects that support and are supported by the ability to develop and maintain meaningful relationships. The organization's unique culture cannot be created without first creating relationships. Volunteer healing happens within the context of relationships that expand to build a global network. Girls Rock's strategies for implementing political education are rooted in its relationships with the marginalized people the organization centers. This education brings participants together as they deeply reflect on their experience and the experiences of others, fostering understanding. Lastly, relationships serve as a safety net and a model for campers to become more aware, self-efficacious, and take bold political action through their artwork at camp.

Each of the themes I have identified can exist independently. However, relationships are the active ingredient through which each of these elements combines to create the multiple levels of the Girls Rock phenomenon. As individuals build authentic relationships, their understanding of others' increases. Understanding leads to solidarity. As participants find solidarity with one another, it grows and creates a community. The end result is the global Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement. Authentic relationships are the fundamental building block of the GRCA. Relationships activate the magic that is Girls Rock providing participants with a political home and a family.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to gain an in-depth contextual understanding of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Specifically, I hoped to examine the gender-responsive youth development strategies the organization used to impact campers' self-esteem, social awareness, and desire to create social change. Limited research exists on Girls Rock camps despite its nearly 20-year history. This study was intended to add to the limited body of literature surrounding Girls Rock camps and gender-responsive youth programs in general.

Gender bias negatively impacts adolescents with marginalized gender identities. My previous experiences with Girls Rock suggested that the organization acts as an antidote to the experiences of marginalization that participants face in their daily lives. Through my study, I examined how Girls Rock offers such an antidote. The goals for my study were: (a) to detail how campers benefit from participation in Girls Rock, (b) to understand how volunteer staff and communities benefit from partnering with Girls Rock, (c) to outline the youth programming strategies of successful Girls Rock camps, and (d) to explore how Girls Rock improves campers' media literacy, internal political efficacy, and self-esteem. I was a participant observer at multiple levels of the organization, and I interviewed various youth and adult stakeholders. By doing so, I developed a rich picture of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement and successfully met each of these goals. In this chapter, I will offer the theoretical and practice implications of this study as well as potential avenues for future research.

Implications for Theory

At the heart of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement is authentic relationships. The strong bonds formed between Girls Rock participants of all ages created a canvas for political

education, self-expression, and self-exploration, and empowerment to form. Each theme that emerged from my analysis (i.e., Girls Rock's culture, volunteer transformation, political education, and critical consciousness) has a reciprocal relationship with authentic relationship building. Each phenomenon I observed strengthens authentic relationships and is strengthened by authentic relationship building.

Self-in-Relation

Authentic relationships being at the core of my theory is consistent with the self-development literature that emerged during early phases of feminist scholarship. Self-in-relation theory was proposed as an alternative to the trend in developmental theory that used male experiences as the template for all human development (Surrey, 1985). Traditional theories suggested individuating from close others in a shift toward self-reliance was necessary for the development of a healthy self-identity. Self-in-relation theory takes the opposite approach, especially when considering women's development. According to self-in-relation theory, relationships are the mechanism through which an individual's self-identity is developed. Forming deep and meaningful relationships is considered the essential task of healthy development and "the self-in-relation model assumes that other aspects of self (e.g., creativity, autonomy, assertion) develop within this primary context" (Surrey, 1985, p. 2).

Self-in-relation theory provides an excellent theoretical base from which we can comprehend the phenomena of Girls Rock. I am expanding my application of the theory to include not just women, but all individuals who are marginalized by gender identity. The mutual empathy, respect, and connection of an authentic relationship empowers both individuals (Kaplan, 1986). The relationship facilitates growth and allows each person to understand themselves as relational beings. Within relationships, the self differentiates from the other person

by identifying its own wants and needs. For gender-marginalized people to develop an empowered identity, this must be done in the context of relationships. The strength and breadth of an individual's relational network indicates the degree to which they have a well-developed sense of self and capacity for autonomy. Many gender-marginalized individuals are socialized into and expected to be empathetic and nurturing (Miller, 2016). The capacity for empathy and mutual care is a key component to developing relationships (Surrey, 1985). Although these traits are typically framed as weakness, the power I observed within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance suggests otherwise. Girls Rock participants form deep bonds where the creativity and empowerment of self-development can truly take place.

Gender-responsive youth programs are organizations that intentionally incorporate the needs of girls and gender non-conforming youth into organizational policies, practices, and activities. Because relational connectivity is essential to the healthy development of gender-marginalized people, Girls Rock is meeting the needs of participants by facilitating authentic relationships via its programming. Among the many ways that Girls Rock impacts participants, the organization contributes to individual's development of a secure self-identity, through its core phenomenon of authentic relationships.

Critical Consciousness

The ecosystem of Girls Rock includes many of the hallmark strategies of gender-responsive programming (e.g., private spaces for gender marginalized people, sharing power with youth, facilitating self-efficacy). Among these strategies is the development of critical consciousness in participants. Helping participants develop critical consciousness and engage in activism is an additive component of gender-responsive youth programming compared to non-gender-responsive youth programming (Muno, 2014). I directly observed each stage of critical

consciousness development during my time as participant observer. Because gender-responsive youth programs were formed in an effort to curb gender inequality, helping youth develop a critical consciousness is essential to gender-responsive youth programs. When gender-marginalized youth develop critical consciousness, it empowers them to challenge systemic inequity (Diemer & Blustein, 2006).

Critical reflection is the foundation of critical consciousness, because awareness precedes action. These youth gained critical reflection through political education activities such as workshops (e.g., media literacy and zine making). Critical reflection lays the foundation for critical motivation, which is the second component of critical consciousness. Critical motivation refers to an individual's sense of agency to respond to the injustices that they see in their environment. Girls Rock helps youth build their agency through music self-efficacy and modeling empowered action. Lastly, critical action refers to the ways that marginalized people respond to the injustice in their environments. Critical actions are behaviors enacted by an individual who is aware of social injustices and believes they can play a role in rectifying them.

The construct of critical consciousness emerged from Paolo Freire's *Pedagogy of The Oppressed* (1972). Freire suggested that in order for individuals to be liberated from oppression, they must develop critical awareness about societal conditions and this awareness will lead them to action. Traditional education maintains inequality, as teachers retain power and act as oppressors over students. Critical pedagogy is the antithesis, in which the teacher and the learner develop a reciprocal relationship and learn from one another. Within the context of this egalitarian relationship, both parties expand their knowledge through dialogue.

Much of what I observed at Girls Rock is rooted in critical pedagogy. The interactions between adults and youth are grounded in shared power and intergenerational learning. Adults at

rock camps enact critical pedagogy by creating spaces for and valuing the voices of young people. According to Freire (1972), this dialogue prepares people to take transformative action against the unjust societal conditions of the world. Girls Rock reinforces young people's desire to enact social change. At Girls Rock, transformation emerged in the form of critical actions expressed via music and art.

My review of the literature suggests that conceptions of critical action be broadened for youth populations, who have restricted access to traditional methods of civic engagement and civil disobedience due to their age. The literature regarding social activism among adolescent girls considers activities such blogging, sharing social media posts, and creating art to be political (Keller, 2012). Creating media demonstrates political agency (Harris, 2010). For the purposes of my study, I considered media creation to be a political act. Youth at Girls Rock camp engaged in political acts via the political songs and artwork they produced at camp and shared to a wider audience at the showcase. Advocates for including media creation as political activism argue that doing so recognizes them as the modalities of resistance frequently used by girls and gender non-conforming youth. Media creation is most often how youth of marginalized genders participate in sociopolitical discourse. Although these acts may not be recognized as civic engagement by dominant society, my study revealed that they also may not be recognized by the youth themselves. Campers in my study found the musical elements of Girls Rock more salient than the political elements. This trend occurred despite the political knowledge campers displayed in group discussions, written song lyrics, and visual art. While youth participated in media creation, they may not have considered it an act of political agency. Media creation diverges from traditional definitions of civic engagement. Youth may be susceptible to seeing

their political agency in antiquated terms and not recognized the many forms of resistance they enacted while at Girls Rock camp and beyond.

Despite the limited academic research that has been done on the Girls Rock Camp Alliance, the organization is a pioneer in creating effective gender-responsive programing for youth. During the course of my participant observation study, I observed every gender-responsive strategy, previously documented in the literature, within the multiple levels of Girls Rock. Elements such as private spaces for gender-marginalized individuals, critical consciousness development, and creating opportunities for youth agency are hallmarks of gender-responsive youth programs that were all prominent in my analysis of Girls Rock. Furthermore, the themes that I developed from my analysis mirrored those found in the existing literature about what makes gender-responsive youth programs efficacious. Girls Rock stands apart from other programs because the organization at its core is not about a strategy but is instead about relationships. Prior to my study, I was only able to find one study (i.e., Apolloni, 2008) of the use of gender-responsive programming strategies in rock music specifically. This study contributed an important piece to the literature, involving more rigorous methodology than present in the existing literature base.

Implications for Practice

My two-year deep dive into the Girls Rock Camp Alliance taught me one thing – Girls Rock works. The youth and adults who participate in Girls Rock programming have transformative experiences. The success of Girls Rock, as a music specific gender-responsive youth program, has relevant implications for all gender-responsive youth programming. As noted in my analysis, music was not the crucial ingredient of Girls Rock—authentic relationship building was. Music was intentionally not included in the explanatory model of Girls Rock,

because the key pathways to authentic relationships found in Girls Rock can be activated without using music as a tool. Some Girls Rock organizations in my study have successfully piloted other non-music art forms in their programming. The grounded theory model of Girls Rock developed from this study can be used to facilitate gender-responsive youth programs in a variety of disciplines (e.g., math, science, sports).

The successes of this grounded theory Girls Rock Camp Alliance model can inform how other gender-responsive youth programs are designed, implemented and researched. As long as the major components of the model (i.e., private space for gender-marginalize people, positive culture, critical consciousness development, political education) exist within the context of authentic relationships, then participants can be expected to experience the benefits of gender-responsive youth programming. The strategies I observed at Girls Rock are highly adaptable, paving the way for similar programs to similarly inspire and empower youth and adults alike.

One of the greatest successes I observed at Girls Rock was the level of critical action from the young people who participated. It is vital that organizations such as Girls Rock help youth build critical action, because schools do not provide comprehensive avenues for political engagement (Stoneman, 2002). The results of my study suggest that although Girls Rock was successful in supporting youth taking political action, these youth did not always internalize their actions as political. Girls Rock's tendency to practice implicit rather than explicit feminism might explain why campers produced political (and often feminist) content but had difficulty verbalizing their creations as such.

Girls Rock uses implicit political education as a strategy to retain Girls Rock's intersectional feminist mission without alienating community support, particularly when they were located in conservative areas. Giffort documented the same concern in a 2011 study on a

Girls Rock camp in the midwestern United States. In her study, Giffort termed this practice "implicit feminism," referring to the ways that feminist ideals are communicated using more widely accepted language. For example, camps marketed their social justice ideals as "anti-bullying" and "self-love" to remain marketable to parents.

The tactic of implicit feminism mirrors the implicit forms of political education I observed in my study. Implicit feminism relies on showing campers what feminism looks like in practice. Rather than teaching intersectional feminist theory, Girls Rock engages campers in activities that are inspired by an intersectional feminist ethos. Critical media literacy, valuing camper autonomy, shifting power between adults and youth, and media creation are staples of the Girls Rock culture and curriculum born out of radical feminist ideology. Girls Rock provides campers with a foundational feminist education but does not always give campers the language to describe their experiences as such. I observed myriad examples of campers' critical consciousness development. Campers being able to enact feminist ideals, despite lacking the academic language to explain feminist principles, is evidence that Girls Rock is efficacious.

Limitations of the Present Study

The qualitative portion of my study was incredibly rich. I interviewed adults in three different countries and five vastly different geographic locations. I also had the opportunity to be a participant observer in two different, immersive Girls Rock environments – the annual conference and a week of camp. Because these environments were so immersive, I chose to interview my study participants immediately following the events, in order to obtain their immediate reactions to their experiences. However, the timing of the interviews prevented me from transcribing and coding my interviews between participants, in the truest form of grounded theory. Throughout data collection, I kept notes of my developing ideas and findings in my

research journal. I modified interviews as I went along and incorporated pertinent ideas from early interviews into the questions asked in subsequent ones. Using this strategy, I was able to gather an impressive depth and breadth of data. However, collecting my data in chunks immediately following the conference and following summer camp is technically a limitation to the current study.

These qualitative data provided an excellent glimpse into the Girls Rock Camp Alliance experience. Empirical research on gender-responsive youth programming is sparse. Such programs often have similar mission statements but vary widely in curriculum and age group. Girls Rock offers a unique opportunity to engage in direct comparison between organizations with a shared mission statement, similar curricula, and comparable age groups. Future research on Girls Rock should involve a more robust mixed method design by securing more quantitative data. This will likely require scale development to provide an adequate quantitative measure for data collection. The Girls Rock Camp Alliance Core Survey was designed by borrowing items from existing validated measures and inventories. This approach undermined the survey's validity for inferential use, which limits its utility in quantitative analysis. Upcoming scholarship exploring the Girls Rock phenomenon must first develop more appropriate tools before examining the quantitative elements of the organization.

Recommendations for Future Research

My foray into the world of Girls Rock brought to life many well-documented practices found in the literature. The unique environment of Girls Rock also revealed elements that I did not come across in my literature review but were ultimately out of the scope of the present study. These novel elements are excellent next steps for future scholarship in the area of gender-responsive youth programming.

Volunteer Experience

Most existing literature has been devoted to the importance of gender-responsive youth programming for participating youth. My study of Girls Rock revealed that adults benefit immensely from facilitating these programs and by sharing the environment with youth. In fact, the portion of the model that outlined volunteer experiences was the most complex and interacted significantly with many other domains within the model. Relationships between adults and youth created pathways for adults to internalize positive messages and for youth gain agency via witnessing empowered action. Far from being auxiliary, the volunteer experience is integral to the successful implementation of a gender-responsive youth program. Future research should be directed to explore the adult experience of organizing and delivering gender-responsive content to youth. Many adults who facilitate these programs experience gender marginalization as well. Future researchers can document the changes that occur in adults and if those changes are similar or different than the benefits given to youth.

Implicit Feminism

Campers gain much more than musical knowledge from participating in Girls Rock but articulated musical gains most readily. This trend suggests that while critical consciousness development occurs at Girls Rock, it may happen via latent learning. Campers' implicit knowledge of feminist values mirrors the implicit feminism they receive through implicit political education at camp. However, campers' apparent latent learning might be an expression of their developmental level rather than the way the information was presented to them. It would be interesting to compare youth programs that practice explicit vs. implicit feminism to see if there are differences in how campers report what they have learned. Future researchers should

examine the mechanism through which youth at rock camps encode and express the political knowledge they gain throughout the week.

Community Impact

Alongside understanding the impact of Girls Rock on campers and volunteers, I hoped to examine how Girls Rock camps change the communities they are a part of. While interviewees shared community interventions their organizations offered (e.g., gender bias or bystander intervention training), there was not sufficient data available to examine the impact on community. However, I did take note of examples of where Girls Rock camps had positive impacts on the communities they are a part of. Communities with rock camps touted an increase of women and gender expansive musicians as adult volunteers initiated their own musical endeavors outside of camp. There was also a reported increase of music venues and organizations being held accountable for booking all-male shows. My model suggests that the work of Girls Rock proliferates far outside the walls of the annual conference or summer camps. The organization's values appear to spread further than individual relationships and create lasting change in their host communities. Next steps in scholarship should include an in-depth analysis of how having a Girls Rock camp affects the sociopolitical culture of the surrounding community.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the GRCA

The Girls Rock movement, like its predecessor Riot Grrrl, is not without its racial tension. A major critique of many feminist movements is that women of color feel like their experiences and womanhood are not accurately and appropriately represented by the often predominantly White movements (e.g., Wald, 1998). Similar issues emerged at every level of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. The POC Caucus at the conference is one setting where the racial

grievances adult volunteers experience at their home organizations are aired in the comfort of a POC-only space. Many of these concerns were similar, with volunteers of color feeling tokenized, burnt out, and that their feedback about the lack of diversity was dismissed or derailed by White volunteers.

A full exploration of the racial tension within Girls Rock was out of scope for the current study. However, I highlight these experiences, because they provide further confirmation of the grounded theory model of Girls Rock. Many volunteers of color felt frustrated and isolated at their home camps, where they are one of very few volunteers of color. This was the case with interviewee Anna who was the only queer person and person of color on the board of her organization. The major topic of my interview with Anna was her frustrations with the racial dynamics within her organization. About five months after our initial interview, I was informed that Anna was considering leaving her organization. I conducted a follow up interview with Anna and discovered that she had taken several steps back from her local camp as a result of her frustration and burnout. Unfortunately, Anna's experience is common to many people of color at Girls Rock.

Although Girls Rock has a stated mission of intersectionality, individual member camps do not express this mission equally. Whereas the value of gender justice seems to be strong within the movement, racial justice lags behind in many areas. Some member organizations seem to lack true intersectional feminism. Rather, they appear to operate from a white feminist framework that prioritizes the gender oppression of cisgender White women and girls but lagged in their attention to the needs of non-White and LGBTQIA+ people (Daniels, 2015). When camps do not practice intersectional feminism, participants connect to the mission of gender justice without the space to bring the fullness of their other identities.

It is not surprising that isolation among people of color was common within such organizations, because white feminism violates several of the pathways (e.g., volunteer connection, political education, critical consciousness) to authentic relationships that I outlined in my analysis. White feminism undermines participants' ability to form authentic relationships. The practice of white feminism makes spaces unsafe, because it only honors the experiences of some identities (e.g., white womanhood) while further marginalizing others. The lack of safety disrupts the capacity for authentic relationships, because it prevents individuals from being their genuine selves within the environment. Vulnerability is one of the core components for authentic relationship building, and the lack of safety created by white feminism makes vulnerability impossible. White feminism also disrupts the phenomenon of political education because political education from a white feminist perspective is incomplete. As a result, the pathways that allow political education to create increased understanding of other, critical consciousness development, and self-exploration are also interrupted. Authentic relationships reciprocally influence each phenomenon in the grounded theory model so that when authentic relationships cannot form, the integrity of the entire model is compromised.

Despite the grounded theory of authentic relationships being disrupted in the home organizations of volunteers of color, the POC Caucus space renewed the conditions for the model to take shape. Within the POC Caucus space, volunteers of color experienced privacy on two dimensions of their identity (i.e., racial oppression and gender oppression). When volunteers of color had access to the privacy of the POC Caucus, it afforded them the safety to be their genuine selves that was impossible in white feminist organizations. POC volunteers also experienced intersectional political education that allowed them to reflect deeply on their experiences (e.g., like Candy's racial identity exploration) leading to increased understanding of

self and others. Within the POC Caucus space volunteers were able to form authentic relationships with one another. These relationships reduced isolation, created solidarity, and contributed to the year-round network of POC volunteers who maintained relationships on digital platforms. The negative experiences that many volunteers of color have in majority-white Girls Rock spaces underscores how essential authentic relationships are to the success of the Girls Rock Camp Alliance. When authentic relationships can form, the movement is successful. When there are barriers to authentic relationships (i.e., white feminism) participants experience isolation and dissatisfaction because they are unable to access Girls Rock's active ingredient.

The racial dynamics within the GRCA could comprise its own study with rich potential contributions for the movement. I realized during my data collection process that the way racial tension manifests in Girls Rock was a vital piece of the phenomenon, but racial tension was secondary to my stated goal of understanding gender-responsive practices within the organization, so I did not pursue it in this study. Future scholarship should be directed toward the racial politics within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance global movement. Rock camps exist on six continents around the globe. As such, there is wide racial and ethnic diversity within the GRCA. The organization encompass vastly different race-related concerns depending on cultural context. A qualitative analysis of how different member camps navigate racial identity individually would provide a clearer understanding of how well Girls Rock practices intersectional politics on a global scale. This information would be vital not only for Girls Rock, but for other global solidarity movements that operate across varied racial and ethnic contexts.

Conclusion

Girls Rock originated in 2002 with humble beginnings as a college class assignment. Since then, Girls Rock has grown into an international organization with over one hundred

camps globally uniting under the title Girls Rock Camp Alliance. Over the last nearly two decades, Girls Rock has clung to its original mission of improving campers' self-esteem while simultaneously bringing gender equity to music. The Girls Rock Camp Alliance has developed into a political movement with its own unique affirming culture. The GRCA movement fosters critical consciousness in its participants and benefits the adults involved as much as the youth. The longevity and success of Girls Rock hinges on the deep and meaningful relationships that people within the organization form with one another. These relationships span neighborhoods, states, countries, and continents. They also transcend generational divides, identities, and interests. Girls Rock effectively uses music as a meeting point, allowing individuals from all over the world to connect with one another and struggle in solidarity toward a more equitable future.

As long as gender inequality exists, organizations like Girls Rock are an invaluable resource in the fight to combat inequality. Girls Rock targets gender oppression through multiple channels and begins intervening with participants at a young age. Regardless of age, participants are left with relationships forged in an environment where they were free to express their authentic selves. These relationships create solidarity among gender marginalized people that is necessary to accomplish the difficult work of shifting global gender norms. Solidarity is the foundation of collective action (Bell, 1996). The Girls Rock Camp Alliance movement is an essential piece of this fight and paves the way for other forms of gendered resistance born out of friendship, comradery, and acceptance.

The grounded theory Girls Rock Camp Alliance model produced by this study is an essential contribution to the Girls Rock movement and to literature on gender-responsive youth programs. I was unable to find any previously existing research that outlined the pathways

through which individual gender-responsive youth programs use relationships to impact individuals and coalesce into a worldwide movement. Furthermore, this grounded theory Girls Rock Camp Alliance model explains many of the necessary components to produce an efficacious gender-responsive youth program in any discipline. As such, the model contributes a valuable framework to other bodies of literature that focus on girls' experiences in youth programs (e.g. robotics, sports, visual arts). It also outlines pathways to make such programs gender-responsive. The model developed through this undertaking serves as a blueprint for creating programs that empower future generations to combat gender injustice around the globe.

EXHIBITS

Table 1.

Participant Demographics

Group	Name	Region/Country	Age	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Education complete	Disability Status	Tenure (years)	Role
Adult	Buffy	Rural Canada	31	Woman	White Canadian	Masters	None	5	GRCA Board
Adult	Anna	Southern U.S.	40	Woman	Black American	Bachelors	None	3.5	Local Board
Adult	Jess	Urban East Coast	30	Nonbinary	Black/White/Indigenous American	Bachelors	Learning	3	Camp Director
Adult	Candy	Eastern Sweden	33	Woman	Persian	Masters	None	3	GRCA Board
Adult	Ray	Southern Coastal U.S.	24	Nonbinary	White/Asian American	Bachelors	None	4	Organizer
Youth	Natalie	Midwestern U.S	14	Girl	White American	9th Grade	None	1	Camper
Youth	Iris	Midwestern U.S	15	Girl	White American	9th Grade	None	2	Camper
Youth	Tracy	Midwestern U.S	9	Girl	White American	5th Grade	None	1	Camper
Youth	Laurie	Midwestern U.S	10	Girl	White American	4th Grade	None	1	Camper

Table 2.

2018 Girls Rock Midwest GRCA Core Survey Results

Item	Pre (N = 31)	%	Post (N=33)	%
I have good ideas.	30	96.8%	33	100%
It is easy for me to work together with people I do not agree with.	17	87.1%	23	69.7%
I feel good about my body.	25	80.6%	30	93.7%
If I try to do something and it does not work out, I will try again.	29	93.5%	29	87.9%
I really enjoy working with other girls my age.	29	93.5%	31	93.9%
I stand up for myself without putting others down.	28	90.3%	30	90.9%
I spend a lot of time thinking about messages in the media (on TV, in movies, on the internet, in magazines, and in music).	25	80.6%	22	66.7%
I really try to understand what other people go through in their lives.	29	93.5%	33	100%
I can usually handle whatever challenges come my way.	26	83.9%	31	93.9%
It really bothers me when people think boys and girls should act differently just because of their gender.	27	87.1%	33	100%
I can pretty much determine what happens in my life.	14	45.2%	20	60.6%
Singing or playing music is a good way for me to express my feelings, thoughts, and ideas.	30	96.8%	33	100%
When I see people treated unfairly, it makes me want to try to help.	28	90.3%	32	97.0%
*How likely are you to share your opinion about an important social issue (either in person or online)?	24	77.4%	27	81.8%

Note. The values in this table are the number/percentage of participants who "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with each statement.
*Indicates items where responses were "somewhat likely" and "extremely likely"

Table 3.

2018 Girls Rock Canada Pre & Post Camp Survey Results

Item	Pre (N = 60)	%	Post (N=60)	%
I know how to write a song	30	50.0%	43	71.7%
Even though girls and non-binary folk can play music, guys are usually the best at it.	2	0.03%	2	0.03%
When I'm having a hard time, I can be tough on myself or judge myself harshly.	19	31.7%	17	28.3%
I have good ideas.	36	60.0%	49	81.7%
I care about girls and non-binary folk in my community	49	81.7%	52	86.7%
It is easy for me to work together with people I don't agree with.	20	30.0%	22	36.7%
If I wanted to start a band, I think I could do it.	40	66.7%	40	66.7%
I know about some of the problems that girls, women, and/or non-binary people face because of their gender.	41	68.3%	45	75.0%
* How would you rate your musical skills?	52	86.7%	60	100%
* How good are you at making friends?	53	88.3%	52	86.7%

Note. Numbers/percentages of participants who "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with items.
*Indicates items where responses were "average," "above average," and "excellent"

Table 4.

Girls Rock Midwest (N=31) and Girls Rock Canada (N=60) Pre-Camp Camper Goals

Theme	N = 91
Music	79
Play Music	5
Gain Musical Skill	40
Create a Band	6
Improve Vocal Ability	8
Gain Musical Knowledge	5
Write a Song	5
Successful Performance	8
Recording Experience	2
Interpersonal	33
Make New Friends	26
Become Less Shy	2
Help Others	2
Practice Socializing	2
Improve Collaboration	1
Self-Efficacy	13
Gain Confidence	5
Self-Discovery/Expression	3
Conquer Stage Fright	3
Leadership	1
Respect	1
Overall Experience	27
Have Fun	18
Learn New Things	5

Create Band Merch	4
Did Not Answer/Did Not Know	9

Note. Responses include 1 camper cohort (n=31) from Girls Rock Midwest and 2 camper cohorts (n=60) from Girls Rock Canada. Responses from both camp locations have been combined (N=93) into themes. Campers could identify between 0-3 goals. The mean number of goals listed was 1.7 and the mode was 3.

Table 5.

Girls Rock Midwest (N=33) and Girls Rock Canada (N=60) Post-Camp Accomplishments

Theme	N=93
Music	48
Play Music	5
Gain Musical Skill	35
Made a Band	1
Improve Vocal Ability	2
Gain Musical Knowledge	2
Write a Song	3
Recording Experience	1
Interpersonal	34
Make New Friends	19
Positive Adult Relationships	3
Became a Good Listener	2
Became More Accepting	5
Improve Collaboration	7
Self-Efficacy	18
Gain Confidence	7
Authentic Self Expression	4
Improved Body Image	1
Bravery	2
Patience	1
Manage Stress Under Pressure	1
Acceptance of Self	2
Social Justice	14
Feminism	6

Empowerment	4
Agency to Create/Do It Yourself	3
Solidarity with Others	1
Overall Experience	20
Have Fun	11
Learn New Things	2
Made Art (e.g., T-shirt, zine)	3
Did Not Answer/Did Not Know	4

Note. Responses include 1 camper cohort (n=33) from Girls Rock Midwest and 2 camper cohorts (n=60) from Girls Rock Canada. Responses from both camp locations have been combined (N=93) into themes. Campers could identify between 0-3 goals. The mean number of goals listed was 1.4 and the mode was 1.

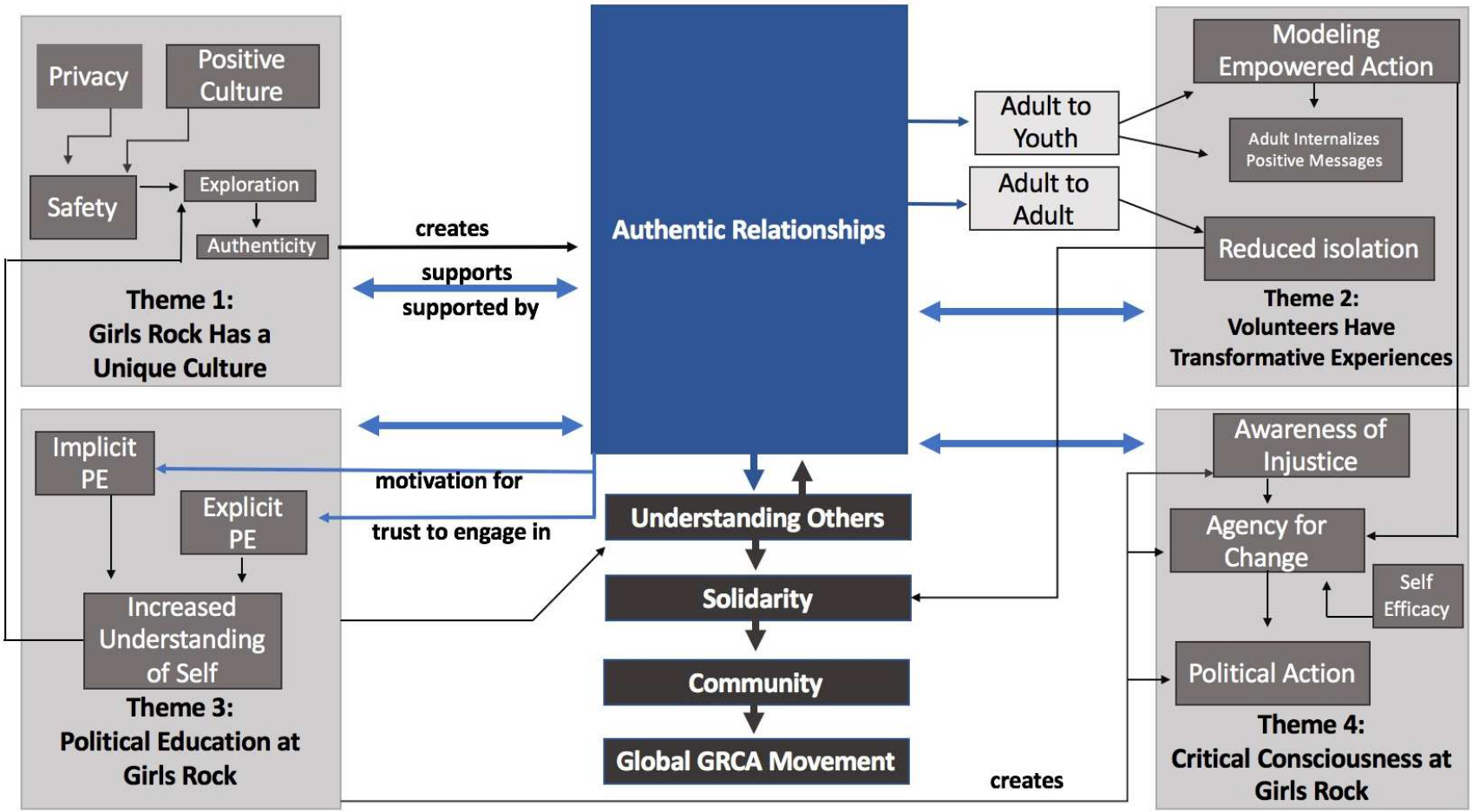

Figure 1: Grounded Theory of Authentic Relationships within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULTS

Which Girls Rock camp(s) are you affiliated with?

_____

How long (in years) have you been a volunteer for Girls Rock?

_____

Pseudonym: (for the research report): _____

Pronouns (for the research report): _____

Personal Information (All questions are optional, if you would prefer not to answer, please feel free to leave an item blank)

Age: _____

Race:

- Black or African American
- Asian
- White
- American Indian or Alaska native
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Multi-racial (please specify _____)
- Self-Identify _____

Are you of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin?

- No, not of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, other Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin (please specify _____)

What is your gender?

- Agender
- Bigender

Gender queer

Man

Transgender

Woman

Self-Identify _____

What is your highest level of education?

Less than a high school education

High school or GED

Some college education

Associates degree/technical degree

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

Doctorate or professional degree (e.g., MD, JD, PhD)

Disability Status: check all that apply

Sensory disability

Mobility disability

Cognitive disability

Psycho/social disability

Learning disability

No disability

Other: _____

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CAMPERS

How many times have you participated in Girls Rock?

_____

Pseudonym: (for the research report): _____

Gender Pronouns (for the research report): _____

Personal Information (All questions are optional, if you would prefer not to answer, please feel free to leave an item blank)

Age: _____

Race:

Black or African American

Asian

White

American Indian or Alaska native

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Multi-racial (please specify _____)

Self-Identify _____

Are you of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin?

No, not of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin

Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano

Yes, Puerto Rican

Yes, Cuban

Yes, other Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin (please specify _____)

What is your gender?

Agender

Bigender

Gender queer

Man

Transgender

Woman

Self-Identify _____

What is your highest level of education?

Entering 4th grade

Entering 5th grade

Entering 6th grade

Entering 7th grade

Entering 8th grade

Entering 9th grade

Entering 10th grade

Entering 11th grade

Entering 12th grade

Disability Status: check all that apply

Sensory disability

Mobility disability

Cognitive disability

Psycho/social disability

Learning disability

No disability

Other: _____

APPENDIX C

GIRLS ROCK CAMP PRE-CAMP SURVEY!

Hi! We're so excited to rock out with you! But first we want to learn a little bit more about you. 1) This survey is anonymous... that means that no one is going to know who answered it. Please do not put your name on it. 2) There are no right or wrong answers. This is your opinion. 3) Please work alone and work quietly until everyone else is done (THEN we can rock out!). Also, we love reading and writing, so we are happy to read it to you and write for you, if you want. 4) If you have any questions, please raise your hand and we'll come and help you out. Thank you!

1st letter of first name: ___ 1st letter of last name: ___ 1st letter of birthday month: ___
Age: ___ Race/ethnicity: _____ Have you attended Girls Rock Camp before? Yes __ No __

Please circle only one answer.

1. I have good ideas.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

2. It is easy for me to work together with people I do not agree with.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

3. I feel good about my body.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

4. If I try to do something and it does not work out, I will try again.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

5. I really enjoy working with other girls my age.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

6. I stand up for myself without putting others down.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

7. I spend a lot of time thinking about messages in the media (on TV, in movies, on the internet, in magazines, and in music).

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

8. I really try to understand what other people go through in their lives.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

9. I can usually handle whatever challenges come my way.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

10. It really bothers me when people think boys and girls should act differently just because of their gender.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

11. I can pretty much determine what happens in my life.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

12. Singing or playing music is a good way for me to express my feelings, thoughts, and ideas.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

13. When I see people treated unfairly, it makes me want to try to help.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

14. How many adults would you feel comfortable going to for help with a problem? *(write number)* _____

15. How likely are you to share your opinion about an important social issue (either in person or online)?

Extremely Unlikely Somewhat Unlikely Somewhat Likely Extremely Likely

What are three things that you hope to achieve as a result of attending Girls Rock Camp?

1)

2)

3)

Please list any questions or comments below.

APPENDIX D

GIRLS ROCK CAMP SURVEY CONSTRUCTION BACKGROUND

This document was created to provide background to the process for the creation of an updated Core Survey and Optional Questions for the Girls Rock Camp Alliance (GRCA). Its intended use is by members of the GRCA for program evaluation purposes. Constructs included in the Core Survey and the Optional Questions reflect the expressed missions and interests of members, as compiled via the Annual Member Survey and expanded upon through the work of the Measurable Outcomes Committee of the GRCA and the Evaluation Subcommittee of Girls Rock! Rhode Island. Drs. Kelly Brooks of Roger Williams University and Hilary Jones of Girls Rock! Rhode Island used the direction of these committees and expanded upon this work using peer-reviewed literature and best practices from the fields of psychology and youth development to create survey questions, which were piloted with youth.

Question	Response Options	Construct Addressed	Flesch-Kincaid Readability Score	Used on our Core Survey in past?	Designation (required or optional)	Question source	Notes
1. I have good ideas.	Strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly disagree	Self-esteem	.7	Yes	Required	Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (1984)	
2. It is easy for me to work together with people I do not agree with.	Same	Collaboration	5.9	No	Required	Adapted from California Kids Health Survey (2013)	

3. I feel good about my body.	Same	Body image	3.9	Yes	Required	Created by GRR!	Questions 3-5 together address the general concept of "healthy identity"
4. If I try to do something and it does not work out, I will try again.	Same	GRIT / Resilience	4.6	Yes	Required	Adapted from Duckworth & Quinn, Short GRIT Scale (2009)	Questions 3-5 together address the general concept of "healthy identity"
5. I really enjoy working with other girls my age.	Same	Collective self-esteem / Relational aggression	4.9	No	Required	Adapted from California Healthy Kids Survey (2013)	Questions 3-5 together address the general concept of "healthy identity"
6. I stand up for myself without	Same	Self-advocacy	4.9	No	Optional	California Healthy Kids Survey (2013)	

putting others down.							
7. I spend a lot of time thinking about messages in the media (on TV, in movies, on the internet, in magazines, and in music).	Same	Media literacy	11.4	No	Optional	Adapted from Pinkleton, Austin, Chen, & Cohen (2013)	
8. I really try to understand what other people go through in their lives.	Same	Empathy	5.8	No	Optional	Adapted from California Healthy Kids Survey (2013)	
9. I can usually handle whatever	Same	Self-efficacy	6.7	Yes	Optional	Adapted from Schwarzer & Jerusalem, General Self-	

challenges come my way.						Efficacy Scale (1995)	
10. It really bothers me when people think boys and girls should act differently just because of their gender.	Same	Understanding sexism	6.9	No	Optional	Adapted from Modem Sexism Scale; Swim et al., (1995)	
11. I can pretty much determine what happens in my life.	Same	Locus of control/agency	4.8	No	Optional	Levenson's Internal-External Control (IPC) Scale (1973)	Locus of control is a component of "empowerment"
12. Singing or playing music is a good way for me to express my feelings,	Same	Self-expression	7.0	No	Optional	Created by GRR!	

thoughts, and ideas.							
13. When I see people treated unfairly, it makes me want to try to help.	Same	Advocacy for others	7.7	No	Optional	Adapted from Public Service Motivation Scale, Kim & Vandenabeele (2010)	
14. How many adults would you feel comfortable going to for help with a problem?	Open-end ed	Social support	6.7	No	Optional	Based on concept from Search Institute's 40 Developmental Assets	
15. How likely are you to share your opinion about an important social issue (either in	Extremely Unlikely, Somewhat Unlikely, Somewhat Likely,	Behavioral projection for activism	11	No	Optional	Created by GRR!	

person or online)?	Extremely Likely						

APPENDIX E

VOLUNTEER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Directions:

A. **Greetings and introductions.**

Hi, I'm _____.
It's nice to meet you.
Thank you for agreeing to participate in a short interview today.

B. **Explain the purpose of the interview.**

The purpose of the interview is to find out about your experience with Girls Rock.

C. **Thank the participant at the end of the interview.**

Questions:

Tell me about your experience with Girls Rock

Follow up questions:
1. How/why did you become involved in Girls Rock camp?
2. What is your favorite aspect of participating in Girls Rock?
3. What is the most challenging aspect of participating in Girls Rock?

Has your local Girls Rock camp changed your community?

Follow up questions:
1. In what ways does your Girls Rock camp collaborate with your local communities (especially queer communities, communities of color, and indigenous communities)?
2. What strategies has your Girls Rock implemented to maintain successful community partnerships?
3. What triumphs and struggles have you experienced when working within your community?

Do you think that Girls Rock benefits the campers who participate?

Follow up questions:
1. Does Girls Rock Camp have an impact on campers' self-esteem?
2. Have you noticed an increase in campers' self-efficacy? Overall? Regarding activism?

3. Have you noticed a change in campers' social awareness during the week of Girls Rock camp?
4. Does Girls Rock Camp increase campers' compassion for those with marginalized identities outside of their own?

Do you consider your Girls Rock camp to be an inclusive organization?

Follow up questions:
1. What steps is your Girls Rock camp taking to be as inclusive as possible?
2. Has your camp considering changing its name to reflect gender inclusivity?

What unique challenges does your Girls Rock camp face?

Follow up questions:
1. Does your Girls Rock camp experience any challenges specific to its geographical location (e.g., rural vs. city camps)?
2. Does the political climate of the country/your region impact what programming you are able to offer at camp?

Sample Probes:
- Can you be more specific?
- Tell me more about that
- Anything else?
- If you had to pick one answer, what would you choose?
- What do you think?
- Which of these feels the most important to you?

APPENDIX F

CAMPER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Directions:

A. Greetings and introductions.

Hi, I'm _____.
It's nice to meet you.
Thank you for agreeing to participate in a short interview today.

B. Explain the purpose of the interview.

The purpose of the interview is to find out about your experience with Girls Rock.

C. Thank the participant at the end of the interview.

Questions:

1. How many times have you participated in Girls Rock camp? _____
2. When did you participate? What years or grade levels? _____
3. When you think about what you learned from your participation in Girls Rock, what stood out?
4. Has Girls Rock influenced how you think about magazines, movies, and TV shows?
5. Has Girls Rock influenced the ways you think about boys and girls are treated?
6. Has Girls Rock influenced the way you feel about yourself?
7. Did (or do) you ever use what you learned in Girls Rock in your life?
8. Did (or do) you use what you learned in Girls Rock at home? At School?

9. Did (or do) you ever use what you learned in Girls Rock when making decisions in your life?

10. Has Girls Rock impacted the way you interact with your peers? Adults?

11. Do you think that participating in Girls Rock has made you a better person?
    Yes? No? Maybe? In what ways?

12. Has Girls Rock impacted your desire to get involved in your community?

13. Would you recommend Girls Rock to a friend?

APPENDIX G

LETTER TO GRCA BOARD

Hi y'all!

My name is Seyi Amosu. I'm a black woman from Atlanta who is getting her Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology from Southern Illinois University. I'm also a volunteer for Girls Rock Carbondale!

I'm at the point in my academic career where I need to propose a topic on which to write my dissertation. My dream is to write my dissertation on Girls Rock Camp.

A dissertation in the field of psychology is typically an in-depth research project on a clinical issue, domain, population, or phenomenon. The project takes at minimum 1-2 years from the initial proposal to completion and is about 100-200 pages in length. I hope to use the methods of participatory action research (PAR) which is an approach to community research grounded in collective inquiry, personal experience, and social history/context. PAR seeks to address questions and issues that are significant for the communities and organizations involved. I want my dissertation to be a research project that is socially relevant and has direct, tangible, and practical applications to an organization that I am passionate about.

For the past several years, I've collaborated closely with the director of Girls Rock Carbondale, in Illinois in the United States. One of the things that we have been interested in is collecting data that could help us apply for grant funding. We generated an initial list of questions that we thought would be provide compelling information for grants. We also included questions that were of personal interest to us based on our experiences at camp. I am interested in doing a multi-camp study (of camps across the world) that answers some of the questions (and likely many more I have yet to think of) listed below.

My experience with GRC is centered on the Carbondale camp which has its own unique strengths and challenges that may not mirror those of other camps. In keeping with my goal of making this research project accessible and participatory, I would love any and all input, ideas, revisions, and concerns on my initial list of questions. My questions and the nature of this project will likely transform as the project takes shape and will require continual refinement and collaboration. My priority is choosing questions that both the board and membership of GRCA feel will produce the most impact on the work that we do. My hope is to be finished by May of 2019, so I would like to keep the scope of the project within that time frame. Other than that, anything goes!

My aim in doing this research is not to prove if GRC is effective. We know that GRCA *works.* It changes the lives of campers, volunteers, and radically alters the communities it's a part of. I am specifically interested in *how* GRCA works, and here are some of my preliminary questions:

Question 1: How does Girls Rock Camp change communities?

a. How does Girls Rock Camp contribute to an increase in creative spaces in rural communities?
b. How does Girls Rock Camp (especially volunteers and counselors) combat rape culture in local music scenes?
c. What is the experience of campers vs. counselors?
d. How do campers interact with their peers as a result of Girls Rock Camp?
a. How are camps collaborating with their communities (especially queer communities, communities of color, and indigenous communities)? What strategies can we learn from their triumphs and struggles?

Question 2: How does Girls Rock Camp increase camper awareness?

a. How does Girls Rock Camp increase campers' self-efficacy – specifically regarding activism?
b. How does Girls Rock Camp increase campers' racial consciousness and social awareness?
c. Does Girls Rock Camp impact campers' understanding of institutional and systemic oppression?
d. How does Girls Rock Camp increase campers' compassion for those with marginalized identities outside of their own?
e. Do campers feel prepared to utilize resources in their communities after Girls Rock Camp?

Question 3: Does Girls Rock Camp have a positive impact on campers' overall well-being?

a. Do we see improvements in the general mental health of campers as a result of Girls Rock Camp?
b. Does Girls Rock Camp have an impact on campers' self-esteem?
c. Does Girls Rock Camp increase campers' problem-solving ability? (or self-efficacy as it relates to problem solving)

Question 4: What steps is the Girls Rock Camp Alliance taking to be as inclusive as possible?

a. Which camps have changed their names to reflect gender inclusivity?
b. How have camps altered their policies and practices to include diverse campers? What strategies can we learn from their triumphs and struggles?
c. How are camps actively working to make camp a safe and inclusive space?
d. Which camps have been successful in their endeavors? Which camps have been unsuccessful (and potentially even harmful) in their efforts?

Question 5: How do GRCA camps compare to one another?

a. How do the challenges of rural camps differ from city camps? (e.g., how might the political climate of the region impact what programming is able to be offered at camp?
b. How do older camps compare to newer camps?
c. How can GRCA identify camps that are doing things well vs. camps who are potentially doing things harmfully?

I am interested to know if these questions sound like a useful exploration of the movement's work, and if they need to be refined or expanded. My capacity for in-depth data gathering is likely between 15-20 camps and member organizations, and I would interview and gather data directly from member organizations that would like to participate from April 2017 to April 2018. Ideally, I would like to work with 12 camps (which is subject to increase or decrease based on the breadth and or depth of the questions). If this project is appealing to the board, I'd be happy to write an invitation for participation that could be sent out to membership.

Thanks for your time and consideration!

Seyi Amosu
seyiamosu@siu.edu

APPENDIX H

CONSENT FORM—PARENTS

Research Project: Gender & Youth Programming at Girls Rock Camp

Seyi Amosu, Graduate Student
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to examine resistance to conventional gender narratives at Girls Rock Camp. Participants will be interviewed about their experience at Girls Rock Camp. The results from this study may be used in academic publications including journals and books.

Participation:

You and your child have been chosen for this study because of your involvement with Girls Rock
Camp. If you choose to take part—and let your child take part—in this study, you will both participate in a semi-structured interview. This interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed so it may be referenced most accurately. The recordings will be destroyed by **August 1, 2019**. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour to complete. There are no foreseeable risks due to your participation. Completion of this interview will advance understandings of gendered interactions at Girls Rock Camp and contribute to planning effective programs.

Your Rights and Your Child's Rights:

Your participation and your child's participation is *voluntary,* and you may withdraw from this interview at any time. You and your child are free to present questions or concerns to the interviewer at any time before, during, or after the interview. You do not have to answer any question they do not want to answer. If there is a question you wish not to answer, you, or your child, may request to "skip it."

Confidentiality:

I will take all reasonable steps to protect your child's identity. All information gathered from this interview will be kept in a locked private office. Basic demographic information such as race, age, gender identity, income, etc., will be gathered, as well as general background information such as education and their experiences with Girls Rock Camp. Names will not be published, and only the researcher associated with this study will have access to all records.

Your Child's Participation:

I ___ agree ___ disagree to let my child participate in this study.
I ___ agree ___ disagree to let my child be audio-recorded.
I ___ agree ___ disagree to let the researcher quote my child in her papers.

I have read the material above, and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand a copy of this form will be made available to me for the relevant information and

phone numbers. I realize that I may withdraw my child without prejudice at any time.

Thank you for supporting this study. If you have questions regarding this study, please email: seyiamosu@siu.edu. You may also contact Dr. Kathleen Chwalisz, at chwalisz@siu.edu or (618) 453-3541.

Parent's signature Date

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail siuhsc@siu.edu

APPENDIX I

ASSENT FORM—YOUNGER CAMPERS

Research Project: Gender & Youth Programming at Girls Rock Camp

Seyi Amosu, Graduate Student
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Purpose:
This study looks at gender at Girls Rock Camp. You will be interviewed about camp activities and what it is like to be a camper. The results from this study may be used in school journals and books.

Participation:
I want to ask you some questions because you have been to Girls Rock Camp. If you choose to take part in this study, I will ask you some questions. This interview will be recorded and typed out so that I can re-read our conversation. I will delete the tapes by **August 1, 2019**. Our conversation will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour to complete. This study will not hurt you in any way. Finishing this interview will help me understand what it means to be a camper at Girls Rock Camp.

Your Rights:
Answering these questions is *voluntary* and you can stop this interview at any time. Please feel free to ask me questions before, during, or after the interview. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. If there is a question you wish not to answer, please ask to "skip it."

Confidentiality:
I will do my best to protect your identity. All of your answers will be kept in a locked private office. I will ask you about your race, age, gender identity, and experiences with Girls Rock Camp. Your name will not be published, and I am the only person who will know your answers.

I ___ agree ___ disagree to participate in this study.
I ___ agree ___ disagree to be audio-recorded.
I ___ agree ___ disagree that the researcher may quote me in her papers.

Thank you for supporting this study. If you have questions regarding this study, please email: seyiamosu@siu.edu. You may also contact Dr. Kathleen Chwalisz, at chwalisz@siu.edu or (618) 453-3541.

Participant's signature Date

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail siuhsc@siu.edu

APPENDIX J

ASSENT FORM—OLDER CAMPERS

Research Project: Gender & Youth Programming at Girls Rock Camp

Seyi Amosu, Graduate Student
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to examine youth programming focused on gender identity at Girls Rock Camp. Participants will be interviewed about their experience at Girls Rock Camp. The results from this study may be used in academic publications including journals and books.

Participation:

You have been chosen for participation because you are involved with Girls Rock Camp. If you choose to take part in this study, you will participate in a semi-structured interview. This interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed so it may be referenced most accurately. The recordings will be destroyed by **August 1, 2019**. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour to complete. There are no foreseeable risks due to your participation. Completion of this interview will advance understandings of gendered interactions at Girls Rock Camp.

Your Rights:

Your participation is *voluntary* and you may withdraw from this interview at any time. Please feel free to present questions or concerns to the interviewer at any time before, during, or after the interview. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. If there is a question you wish not to answer, please request to "skip it."

Confidentiality:

I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity. All information gathered from this interview will be kept in a locked private office. Basic demographic information such as race, age, gender identity, income, etc., will be gathered, as well as general background information such as education and experiences with Girls Rock Camp. Your name will not be published, and only the researcher associated with this study will have access to all records.

I ___ agree ___ disagree to participate in this study.
I ___ agree ___ disagree to be audio-recorded.
I ___ agree ___ disagree that the researcher may quote me in her papers.

Thank you for supporting this study. If you have questions regarding this study, please email: seyiamosu@siu.edu. You may also contact Dr. Kathleen Chwalisz, at chwalisz@siu.edu or (618) 453-3541.

Participant's signature Date

VITA

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Special Honors and Awards:
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Dissertation Paper Title:
A Qualitative Understanding of Gender-Responsive Youth Programming Within The Girls Rock Camp Alliance

Major Professor: Dr. Kathleen Chwalisz