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Disparate sense of exclusion between young people of color living within variable social infrastructures.

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DISPARATE SENSE OF EXCLUSION BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE OF COLOR

LIVING WITHIN VARIABLE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURES

By

James M. Joyce.

B.S., University of Louisville, 2020

A Thesis

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A Thesis Approved on

July 26, 2022

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DEDICATION

For Jon Hill Rieger, 1936 – 2020; and for Emma, 2005 – 2019.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Acknowledgment is patterned after the *Land Acknowledgement and Recognition* text provided by the American Sociological Association (2022) for their most recent annual meeting which "demonstrates a commitment… to dismantle ongoing legacies of settler colonialism and recognize the hundreds of Indigenous Nations." Before discussing sociology, infrastructure or exclusion, this thesis acknowledges the people of the first nations to live with the traditional land on which the University of Louisville is built. This University, as academic culture, continues to enact foundations of exclusion and erasure of people who are Indigenous of ancestry. I acknowledge centuries of abuse in the University's presence on traditional land of the Shawnee, Osage, Cherokee and Yuchi/ Uchee (Tsoyaha) nations, and I believe it is as important to recognize people with ancestry from Africa and Asia and who were or are enslaved or interned and who continue in the struggle with America. I pay respect to you, alive and dead, through this work. I would also like to specifically acknowledge the young people who participated in this research, as well as the two co-PIs of this larger study, and all four of the Sociology faculty on my committee. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my own family all for the fun, skills and love they have taught me and the hardships they have endured.

ABSTRACT

DISPARATE SENSE OF EXCLUSION BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE OF COLOR

LIVING WITHIN VARIABLE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURES

James M. Joyce.

August 10, 2022

I analyzed transcripts of listening sessions with youth/young adults of color in 2021-2022 for the purpose of addressing local racial inequity during COVID-19. I used inductive coding methods and found three themes on sense of exclusion to be most salient. These themes related to racial exclusion, exclusion of social infrastructures in the community, exclusion of young people of color by people working in schools and other public settings, and exclusion or disconnection of young people of color from opportunities for building community. I show how these themes vary across some dimensions of the local social infrastructure, and I discuss implications for developing more equitable policy solutions across local sites. This thesis concludes by presenting possible changes in local social infrastructure directly suggested and inspired by the suggestions of young people who participated in the study. This thesis adds to the many discussions of social infrastructure for this research context.

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INTRODUCTION

During the COVID-19 pandemic, many school buildings and libraries closed across the nation as school districts opted for non-traditional instruction (NTI) or online services. Public social infrastructure shut down, leaving many people to rely on the private sector and their personal resources. People with different resources have struggled differently with recent changes, and those with limited resources, even more so. Those relying on public assistance were greatly impacted by social and public responses to the pandemic, including building closures.

In much of the world, at least in the U.S., social response to COVID-19 coincided with an increased public awareness of the societal harms of racism in public institutions and social structures. A season of protests in response to the murder of Breonna Taylor in Louisville, KY criticized the police for their wrongdoing. People called for the city to defund the police and allocate those resources to more socially conscious, institutions such as schools, shelters, and other social services.

Racism, community safety, and city funding are impacting young people of color in ways that are inequitable when young people of color are prevented from accessing resources, treatment, and the opportunities they need from society in the way other groups can. These racial and generational inequities are part of the power relations in broader society. These power relations exclude the voices of young people, and the

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voices of people of color from the design of social policy and actions. This research centers the voices of young people of color in discussions surrounding local social policy.

This research will report on the local relationship between *social infrastructure* and inductive themes voiced by young people of color in 2021 about their social experiences and challenges. Aspects of social infrastructure—places people are meant to gather, including programs to facilitate gatherings and socialization such as parks, community centers, and libraries – have been associated with greater social solidarity and are considered to promote community safety while, on the other hand, buildings and neighborhoods with public areas that are inhospitable and/or difficult to surveil have been considered to impart a sense of lawlessness and force people into isolation (Klinenberg, 2018). Throughout this research, I am considering the issue of racism in social infrastructures to explore possible needed alternatives to traditional designs for local social infrastructure.

In this model (shown in Figure 1), social structure— the pattern or idealized system of interaction between groups and institutions in society— is a theoretical arrangement of society, including the practices, resources, and values of institutions, organizations, and cultures (Merton, 1957). Where we come from and where we are in relation to the social structure helps to determine the flow of many social processes around us such as how we act, perceive, and are perceived in each situation; and every day difficult experiences and/or problems arise when projected social structure does not match reality (Collins, 2009; DuBois, 1899, 2007; Smith 1987).

Figure 1. Theorized Antecedents and Consequences of Social Infrastructure

Social Structure — Social Infrastructure — Social Experience

f_2

f_1
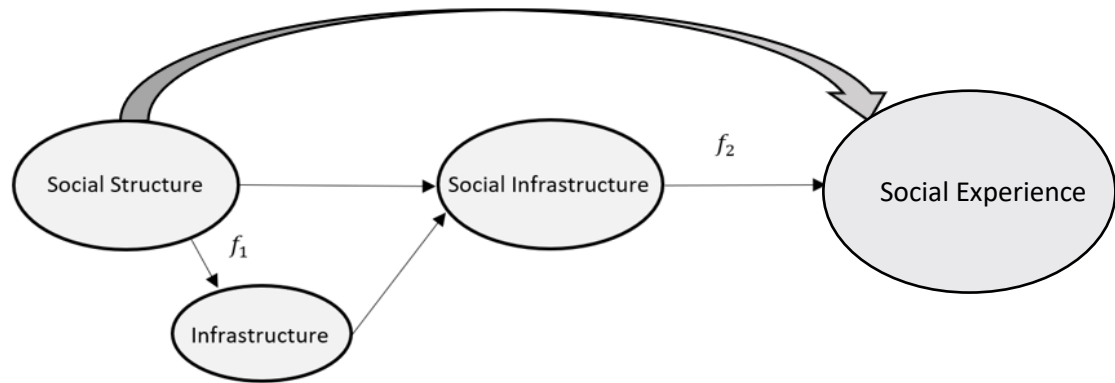
Infrastructure

In the model, social structure mediated through social infrastructures through f_2 influences experiences of society, social structure through f_1 influences infrastructures directly and so infrastructures and social infrastructures are both dependent on the influence and effects of social structure to develop and maintain their construction. It is suggested here then that social structures operate within the social environment to create infrastructures and social infrastructures which ultimately influence parts of social experiences (indicated in the model as Social Experience). Social environment is a term which here refers to surroundings of the model, and socio-material conditions of a person's experiences. Within the social environment, qualities of the social experience (often referred to as lived experiences) are diverse, convergent, and distributed across people's lived positions. By this figure (Figure 1), social structure is connected to each social experience in new two ways aside from the large arrow atop where social structure influences social experience directly through the social environment.

Social structure is connected to social infrastructure through patterned and systemic social processes which determine how social infrastructure is designed, used,

changed etc. I assume that social structure also influences social infrastructure through (f_1) its influence on infrastructure or physical infrastructures, and their influence on social infrastructure, (where to be, etc.). For the purpose of this research, infrastructures are the physical structures that are built-in underlying everyday life, created through processes of city planning and development to meet human needs and drives. Infrastructures are a product of society and are the responsibility of civil society and so are related to larger social forces of society, community, and social structure interrelatedly. Infrastructure being a certain way at a given moment is an indirect influence of society on itself, response/ability influencing support/ability mediated through public works to change living working environments and communities. Because of this, you might say infrastructure *reflects* social structure.

Then, the model suggests that *social infrastructure—* the built constructs underlying everyday life and mediating social structure's influence on social experience— are the product of social structure and infrastructure. The direct influence of social structure on social infrastructure patterns social systems and interactions at local levels with common ideas, or repeatable schema: *social infrastructure reflects social structure*. Social infrastructure is also directly influenced by infrastructure, which itself is a product of social structure; and so social infrastructure is both directly and indirectly influenced by social structure.

Finally, Figure 1 shows how social infrastructure is part of the root cause of various social facts and experiences. For example, the cohesion of a community, and the inclusion or exclusion of individuals in society might be influenced by social infrastructures: feelings and realities of inclusion and exclusion could be explained by the

inclusivity and exclusivity of relevant social infrastructures. More concretely, if a community program is holding an event, the program is mobilizing some of its resources and better resources would lead to a better event. Inclusion and cohesion as example qualities of social experience have been mentioned here, but many slippery social philosophical qualities of public life (i.e., safety, freedom, happiness, etc.) and more understood social scientific constructs such as neighborhood attachment or life satisfaction could be here as well. Finally, social structure is part of the social environment of this theoretical mechanism which determines qualities of social experiences, perceptions, beliefs, etc. So, social infrastructures are connected to various social facts or experiences because a person's social experiences like freedom and safety theoretically result from their relationships with social structure in social environment.

Social Infrastructure and Youth Development

From early work in the field of human development, with a grant from the National Institute on Mental Health, concerned with understanding "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families [In D.C.]," Liebow (1967) found that intergenerational "similarities" between parent and child can be explained by "the fact that the son [the younger generation] goes out and independently experiences the same failures [or successes], in the same areas, and for much the same reasons as his father [the older generation]" (p.233). Liebow continues to explain that the social reproduction of poverty is not a "dynamic, self-sustaining cultural process" with obscure micro-social sources isolated to *within* the areas and communities experiencing it, but to "a relatively simple piece of social machinery which turns out… independently produced look-alikes" (p.223). Now, this is not the most common take-away from Elliot Liebow's 1960's work

on "streetcorner" men and their society, but it is his words, and it relates closely to the original purpose of the study which he was commissioned for—to understand child rearing among low-income families. This idea helps to relate social infrastructure and social reproduction to social justice in youth development. Processes of social infrastructure—the local community practices shaped, and maybe limited; but never stopped by the range of possibilities available to a community through *static* socio-material structures—and the direct effects of social agents with culture and ideology from the broader social structure, in the sum of their effects may be the 'social mechanism' which Liebow identified.

Social Justice Youth Development

Prior discussions of social infrastructure typically do not make central the lives of urban youth of color as they experience social infrastructure. Centering lived experiences of young people of color is an essential step in understanding any problem of urban social infrastructure. Environmental Justice scholarship remarks that "environmental hazards disproportionately affect poor communities, communities of color, and other marginalized populations" (Pellow & Nyseth Brehm, 2013 p.235). Young people, particularly young people of color, often feel the most and greatest impacts from inequitable social infrastructure, particularly youth from marginalized and historically excluded positions in society.

In the 1980's, "early" youth development work was enmeshed with work seeking to explain "human development" through psychological sciences of the "natural stages" that human bodies were found to pass through over time (Ginwright and Cammarota 2002). The youth development research in this era focused on understanding how to limit

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"risks" of 'unhealthy development' such as "high drug use, dropout rates, violence, early sexual activity...[etc.]" (Ginwright and Cammarota 2002 p. 83-84). Policies practiced in this paradigm were racist, sexist, ableist and connected to fears of urban youth, resulting in criminalization of juvenile delinquency. In the 1990's, "positive youth development" began focusing on strengthening supports for youth. This meant new practices began to be recorded as occurring in addition to prevention tactics. Youth development workers were now shown to be consciously promoting pro-social interactions, opportunities, life skills, etc. (p.84-85).

Ginwright and Cammarota remarked that neither the model from the 80's or the 90's worked well for two reasons, first because they both "assumed that youth themselves should be changed, rather than the oppressive environments in which they live" and "influences of racism, sexism, homophobia, and poverty on the identities of young people" were largely ignored or "under-theorized." (p.85). To form a more equitable youth development practice, Ginwright and Cammarota (2002) theorize how "larger social… forces… [police brutality, neighborhood disinvestment, etc.] negatively affect the well-being of urban youth" and further how "local community practices" can construct a protective buffer from unhealthy/toxic social forces—like sexism and racism. They conclude with how certain local community practices are essential to "healthy youth development." (p.87).

Youth develop critical consciousness of their self, society, and global systems for social justice through taking part in actions for social change (Ginwright and Cammarota 2002). Essential to *social justice youth development (SJYD)* and young people's development of critical consciousness are "practices that encourage youth to address the

larger oppressive forces affecting them and their communities," (Ginwright and Cammarota 2002 p.87). These authors call these practices and the resulting change in young people's lives, ***social justice youth development***. Ginwright and Cammarota argue that SJYD practices should empower youth to take control of the community and bring about social change, because seeing society change in response to one's own actions is empowering and evidence how the rules of society are negotiable. Ginwright and Cammarota call work with young people to facilitate these experiences—helping to develop "critical consciousness" through actions for social change— the SJYD *praxis.*

In this way, the fostering of young people's **awareness** and consciousness of larger social forces and of local community practices is central to SJYD. Ginwright and Cammarota provide three stages of awareness fostered by SJYD; these stages are self-awareness, social awareness, and global awareness. Regardless of any suggested hierarchy or chronology inherent in the original theory, each of these three stages are clearly developed somewhat simultaneously or in an interrelated back-and-forth sort of way— i.e., learning global awareness teaches us more about our self and our society.

These various forms of awareness are essential in creating healthy relationships with social structure and social environments, and Ginwright and Cammarota suggest that young people's forms of awareness are learned though interactions with and within the surrounding social infrastructure. SJYD was developed because people of color, women and young people have been historically excluded and still are excluded from civic decision-making processes and these processes (among others) are helpful with developing an awareness of their own oppressions. I use this theoretical framework to understand and recognize in transcripts the ways in which people of marginalized

positions are responding to and resisting hegemonic social structures. I value the

possibilities for SJYD in the lives of research subjects, and I centered my analysis using

these values of social justice, awareness, and empowerment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Infrastructure

Klinenberg's (2018) book *Palaces for the People* describes social infrastructure as the social provisions of public physical structures, their cultural value, and how they are used. This view of social infrastructure remains closely interdependent with the public social life of a neighborhood or community. Even as he is focused primarily on what physical structures can provide, Klinenberg's (2018) speaks to the experiences of public workers, parents, and youth. The title of his work and the way it may be received still seems to overemphasize the function of "Palaces" (places and buildings) instead of the roles of the "People" (the developers, workers, youth, etc.) whom this is all for and about. I have chosen to define social infrastructure, myself, as such: the institutions, organizations and socio-material conditions which accompany individuals and groups as we re-define and navigate everyday life; or the built constructs underlying everyday life and mediating social structure's influence on social experience.

Much of the reasoning behind this definition is influenced by Hall (2020) who argues that in much literature on the subject, "[social infrastructure is] regularly defined as the equivalent of [material/physical] social spaces and community venues…" (p.88). She remarks how this definition creates policy which prioritizes the qualities of physical venues for gatherings to promote "community-building in community buildings" over

more intimate organizing and development work which needs to be done to build and foster a sense of community around any set of buildings and roadways. I am centralizing Hall's criticism of the discourse on SI and her discussion of the subject because she discusses 'social reproduction' and "social infrastructure" in a unified sense like how I conceptualize *development* regarding youth development and neighborhoods simultaneously.

Hall discusses both the social reproduction of immaterial culture in society [through "'patterns of social relationships' of all varieties - family, friendship, intimacy, strangers, acquaintances etc." (Hall, 2020 p. 90)] and the social reproduction of "material infrastructure" both as gendered, and both gendering spaces. I gather, then, the best research on social infrastructure available should reflect the work done to reproduce immaterial *and* material culture, as well as demonstrate effects on/of the work of social reproductions dually (social reproductions and physical reproductions). For example, Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank (2022) showed how, in Iran, physical infrastructure influenced gendered patterns of mobility. Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank (2022) show how parks and other public spaces have been "primarily appropriated by men," are not used by women as frequently, and construe women as "dependent on private and semi-private spaces," (p.455). Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank also refer to "place-making" and "agency" when they say, "it is important to acknowledge women's efforts in (re)defining spaces for social interaction" (Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank 2022 p. 459) In this way, they discuss the practices and beliefs of women and men and their hierarchical influence on women's choices through social and physical infrastructures of certain neighborhoods.

Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank (2022) show how patterns of mobility are defined by various physical infrastructures and concepts of social structure projected by men, across families and across public life. These physical infrastructures and concepts social of social structure are restraints like "time poverty" [due to expectations of care work], "religious restrictions," "high-rise houses," and "car-oriented streets" (Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank 2022). A discussion of Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank's (2022) topic informed by Hall (2020) might be more interested in how people are interacting within 'semi-private places' and public spaces they identify to construct varying degrees of safety. It is a slippery slope of misconception for readers to think the effect of a building itself on society is *a priori*, and not primarily negotiated through society, and only somewhat influenced by built environment, which is again, built by society. When researchers make this mistake, they ignore the independent social processes occurring to create social scenarios related to a space. For example, between one of their participants and theirselves, Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank's (2022) (p. 469) shared:

> All the participants who lived or worked in the established areas (7 out of 10) knew their neighbours and felt safe to walk even late at night. Participant 9-A said: 'The only thing we have here is safety and security. There are no thieves here; because everyone knows each other, and they are from a low (social) class. They don't have anything to be stolen.' The hierarchy of pedestrian-oriented streets in the established areas… created a sense of belonging among the residents. Mixed-use neighborhoods created 'eyes on the street', or natural surveillance throughout day and night."

Here, the participant is talking about a shared social class, talking about how everyone knows each other, and describing a causal link between these conditions and the area's lack of thievery, but the researcher's commentary is focused more on built structures and their uses (or provisions), claiming the material structures create the safety or so they "created 'eyes." In reality, the eyes are there, in the skulls of real people, who

are in this place and watching due to social forces rather than natural forces. Neither Eric Klinenberg, Sombol Mokhles nor Minna Sunikka-Blank's ignores the work being done to make spaces inviting or safe, but both make a few broad reaching statements about the impact of a material conditions.

I wanted to find a practical source who discussed social infrastructure in terms of the expectations set out by Hall (2020). The way that Dewees (1998) uses the term *social infrastructure* to refer to 'static' and 'process' aspects of social infrastructure meets this expectation. The static aspects of social infrastructure she referred to were schools and other social organizations. Process aspects she referred to included perceptual constructs of participation, inclusion, and trust. Look back to the beginning of this section at my own definition, now, and see how I have defined social infrastructure (SI) as the institutions, organizations and conditions which *accompany* or have a relationship with social interactions and development, broadly. This is rather than defining SI solely as the social interaction *processes* which occur in a community, or solely as the *static* buildings and organizations which shape [and are recreated by] social interactions.

By drawing from discourse on "community agency, local social action, and community economic development" Dewees (1998 p. 42) defined the term "social infrastructure" for a rural community in Kentucky as "qualities of group level social interaction that are posited to be related to community vitality" (p. 6) This definition of the concept is closest to how I understood the idea of social infrastructure for this study, with a slight adjustment. These adjustments I have made to her definition have been made to consider the unique positions of marginalized youth and young adults of color, particularly in terms of age, race, and social class. Mostly following Dewees' own

definition, I say qualities of a location's social infrastructure are qualities of the relationship between social interactions and local community conditions. This means that social infrastructures are composed of the institutions, organizations, and conditions that individuals and groups interact with in everyday life.

Social Exclusion and Connectedness

This section will discuss and define social exclusion and connectedness. Past research finds that these social experiences are influenced by social infrastructure. Social exclusion and connectedness exist as individuals and small groups are excluded from or connected to communities, infrastructures, and larger social groups. I have already defined social infrastructure, but before defining exclusion and connectedness, first I must discuss the meaning of community. "Community" refers to a group of people and is a useful "political construct" for describing and addressing social inequities like race-based exclusion because community as a political construct "operates within contemporary power relations of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, age, ability, nation, and race" (Collins, 2010 p.7). Now, when I talk about *social exclusion*, I am talking about the how communities' social infrastructures deny due care or concern or bar certain groups of people from belongingness or an equitable share in resources afforded to other groups.

Social exclusion is a subtle concept (when compared to more overt aggressive social action like expulsion, gross negligence, eviction or forced removal) but no less harmful for its subtlety, I believe, because Collins (2010 p.24-25) discusses how "formal boundaries" of exclusionary practices are "waning" while more "nuanced," unwritten forms of exclusion now create social inequity (Guinier and Torres 2002). For example,

young people may form relationships with adults more readily in "community-based spaces" which operate holistically based on community rather than in more "bureaucratic and hierarchical" spaces because the "[infra]structure [of community-based spaces] allow[s] for more culturally relevant… culturally sustaining… [and] equalized relationships between youth and adults." (Baldridge et al, 2017 p. 389). The exclusion of community-based practices from bureaucratic and hierarchical spaces thus denies connectedness between these infrastructures and the community.

For youth who are developing social experiences and identities, it does not feel good to be excluded from activities or aspects of society, and it certainly does not feel good for us to see a community we identify with be made to suffer frequently from social exclusion. However, the process which was just being shown here at the end of the previous paragraph (of how social exclusion is a barrier to feelings of connection between people, communities, and infrastructures) is important to note more deeply for its lasting harmful effects on lives and future communities. Barber and Schluterman (2008) showed how young people's *connectedness* is a varied concept in scholarly work but is often about a sense of community, or a sense of belonging within a group, organization or social space.

After time, Foster et al (2017) suggested that for low-income urban youth, working to build feelings of *connectedness* regarding school or family can be an effective personal development strategy. These statements about the function of *connectedness* are of course somewhat of a restatement for health-concerned audiences of Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory. Hirschi was regarding social control of delinquent behavior. Regardless of purpose they both place value on young people forming relationships and

feeling a *bond* or *connectedness* with other people and also to social infrastructures like schools. Finally, this presumed value of *connectedness* could also be a newer perspective on Lareau's (2003) theory of the value of *concerted cultivation*— a child rearing strategy characterized by the intentional constant involvement of young people in organized activities for the sake of promoting (what is considered to be) healthy development, presumably including *connectedness* to the communities and their infrastructures.

Carter et al (2017) discuss how the ongoing segregation of neighborhoods and schools exclude communities of color from resources and how "exclusionary and disparate disciplinary practices," are enacted within white dominated, 'racially integrated' schools in ways that young people of color are further excluded from society. They recommend that researchers and policymakers "examine… out-of-school suspension, expulsion, and school arrest data, as well as classroom disciplinary referral data, to ask what student groups seem to be disciplined disproportionately and to what extent decisions by school personnel play a role (Carter et al, 2017 p. 219; Losen, Hewitt, & Toldson, 2014). Losen, Hewitt, & Toldson, (2014, p.4) present data on how in the U.S., nationally, young people who are Black and/or Native American are at a significantly higher risk for out-of-school suspension compared to their same-gendered peers of another race.

In addition to surviving inequities in discipline, young people of color are also asked to continue to learn and to connect with schools, even while experiencing implicit bias of several forms, microaggressions, and the colorblind policies and stereotyping perspectives of peers and educators (Carter et al, 2017 p. 215-216). Enduring these added hardships because of harmful practices and facing unjust discipline is difficult for

anyone. I consider these harmful practices to drive a wedge between educational institutions and young people who suffer prejudice and may feel targeted and mistreated by authority. Many people will not feel connected to a system which causes them to feel punitively singled out and mistreated, leading to disconnection and possibly a sense of exclusion. Social exclusion is then arguably a significant and defining experience in the lives of young people of color in the United States.

Furthermore, Lareau & Horvat (1999) show how parents (and presumably students) feeling able to trust teachers and educators with their children or their own life is *cultural capital* or advantages in education to be negotiated between parents and educators. "Cultural capital" can be described "as institutionalized, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods, and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 156). Lareau & Horvat (1999) showed how educators were consistently not willing to 'meet' (figuratively) with working-class Black parents on many of their concerns, racialized issues especially, and actively made communication difficult; they related this to social exclusion based on privileging certain norms of cultural capital, and they remarked that this inequity is part of the social reproduction of inequality. For these reasons I have reviewed the concepts of social exclusion and connectedness and understand they could be associated with various social infrastructures in the social environments of youth and young adults.

DATA AND METHODS

Data and Methods Abstract

These findings to be presented in the following sections are based on virtual community listening sessions held by researchers affiliated with the Louisville Metro Office of Youth Development (OYD) and the Anne Braden Institute at the University of Louisville (UofL) to address racial inequity in the lives of young people of color and the recent public uncovering of racism during COVID-19. Audio from virtual community listening sessions was transcribed by a team of researchers assisted by Express Scribe transcription software and other transcription services. Transcripts were analyzed through qualitative methods using Dedoose online. In addition to transcripts, I also analyzed maps by zip code of session participants using geographic data from various public online sources. These sources represented aspects of social infrastructure from the same city. Qualitative themes from listening sessions were then analyzed for their variation across the differently mapped regions. This research furthers our understanding of how different surroundings and local social resources—social infrastructures—influence variation of experiences and stories shared by youth and young adults of color.

Involvement in Community Research

In 2021, I served as a graduate student research assistant for a community listening-sessions project concerned with uplifting the voices of youth and young adults of historically marginalized positions to inform policy suggestions. Dr. Melanie Gast and Dr. Aishia Brown designed these online (and in-person) community listening sessions to record the perspectives, concerns, priorities, and suggested strategies of youth and young adults of color. This research team also involved Dr. Rebecka Bloomer, Dr. Carrie Mott, Dr. Kelly Kinahan, additional UofL faculty, and several undergraduate and graduate students including myself. This project was developed in partnership with the Louisville Metro OYD, which is now being absorbed into the Office of Safe and Healthy Neighborhoods. With IRB approval from the University of Louisville, these sessions were conducted through mainly online Zoom individual and group interviews facilitated by the primary investigators. As a Research Assistant for this project, I helped with recruitment, transcription, session management, and communication with participants. I conducted my thesis research using the interview transcript data between Spring and Summer 2022.

We recruited youth and young adults of color (n=28) through targeted strategies. Through OYD youth program networks, we invited youth and young adults of color age 12 to 24 residing in Louisville to complete online consent forms and a brief demographic survey to enroll in the study. The survey included questions on age group, racial/ethnic identity, gender, sexuality, employment and education statuses, zip code, and needs related to internet technology. Then, respondents participated in online (Zoom) or in-person listening sessions (individual and group interviews), depending on scheduling and

availability, to discuss challenges related to systemic racism, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the youth development sector. This thesis research only considers data from 14 respondents/participants of the total 28 participants in the virtual community listening sessions. These 14 participants completed listening sessions during 2021, with the exception of one interview facilitated in January 2022 shortly before I began data analysis. I began analysis for my thesis research before the second half of data collection ended.

The research team conducted the listening sessions with the 14 participants considered in this thesis between April and November 2021, except for one Zoom interview, which occurred in January 2022. While we sought to include a maximum of five participants in each session, due to scheduling issues and limited numbers of participants enrolled in the study, most sessions consisted of one-on-one interviews with a few sessions involving two to four participants each. All but one out of the eight sessions occurred on Zoom. The one in-person session occurred at a youth/young adult program space in Louisville while following all pertinent COVID-19 guidelines and regulations for in-person gatherings.

I did not conduct or facilitate these sessions. Listening sessions were conducted by Dr. Melanie Gast, Dr. Aishia Brown and Dr. Rebecka Bloomer. The facilitators followed a semi-structured interview guide with questions on what barriers or challenges are faced by young people and the organizations which serve them and on strategies or priorities to address those barriers (an abbreviated version of the interview guide may be found in the Appendix). After asking about barriers and challenges broadly, facilitators specifically asked about the impacts of racial inequities and of COVID-19. We also asked

what organizations are supporting the success of youth and young adults of color, how they are doing this, and how youth programs could be improved. The sessions averaged 55 minutes long. All sessions were recorded and later transcribed. I analyzed both interview transcripts and survey responses in this research.

I analyzed these transcripts based on grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2015). By using grounded theory methods, I used a methodological approach designed to elevate and accurately represent the voices of the young people, the research subjects, who participated in the listening sessions. Thematic notation with important block quotes from participants allows this analysis and findings to inform readers about social infrastructure from the perspectives of youth and young people of color.

This project sought to listen to young people and elevate their voices to policy suggestions, and so it reflects the Social Justice Youth Development framework (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002) by linking young participants' voices to policy suggestions and possible city changes. I reviewed this concept of SJYD in depth in the introduction because, for one, it is foundational to the purpose of the data that I am working with. As young people participating in listening sessions discuss their experiences with social infrastructures (youth programs, their family, and their community), their stories and experiences related to SJYD to various degrees or in various ways can be heard across the participants.

Coding Procedures

As I said, I analyzed transcripts with procedures influenced most by the method of grounded theory according to Charmaz (2015). Grounded theory methods had been illustrated first in the methodological works of the following four authors: "Glaser [1], Strauss and Corbin [2], and Charmaz [3] …" (Singh and Estefan, 2018, p. 1) all of whom have some influence on the procedures used in this work.

I generated three stages of coding as informed by Chun Tie, Birks, and Francis, (2019). The first iteration consisted of initial coding by each instance using descriptive, and data-dependent *in vivo* (a.k.a., verbatim) codes to let the data— the voices of young people of color— speak for themselves. This is also what Deterding and Waters (2021) referred to as *indexing,* a process helping to initially make sense of qualitative data. For indexing, I used mostly gerunds. Coding *in vivo* and with gerunds are functional, stylistic choices attributed to the influence of Charmaz (2015). This gave me a few hundred individual codes by the end of the process, with names like "feeling excluded for race," "being treated differently because of skin color," "needing a place to go," "going to a community center," "participating in an event," "community centers being run down or not maintained," "an organization being uplifting, or wholesome," "needing greater minority representation in powerful positions," "feeling included," "needing to be able to talk to someone about actual things that are damaging to the community and then see those changes happening," "not being able to talk to teachers," "relying on friends and family…," etc.

Any initial inferences and realizations made throughout this process were recorded in memos. Memos were recorded using the "stop-jot" freestyle method of

memoing termed by Glaser (2013). I also recorded similar pieces of text after the next iteration of coding. I wrote memos on the relationship between SI and feelings of inclusion or connectedness and on the relationship between civic participation and SJYD to record important, informative, inductive revelations. Use of memos in this way is again the influence of Charmaz (2015). Researchers often write memos throughout the research process as during analysis we are creatively sensitive to potential theories. I was being sensitive to feelings of in(ex)clusion or (dis)connectedness, as well as to various feelings of civic work and of social justice. Memos and reports of analyses of codes and their associations formed the resulting findings section of this thesis.

The second iteration of coding generated focused codes where I grouped initial codes into substantive categories. Focused codes are used to group instances into substantive categories by taking words from literature and applying them as codes to label instances in the transcripts in a standard way to form categories in the text, the content of which may connect directly to certain literature (Chun Tie, Birks, and Francis, 2019). My second level of coding functioned as a secondary level of indexing which indexed for broader categories than the in vivo index (first level of code), and which also helped me to make sense of the excerpts. For this research, substantive categories I initially used were related to concepts in social scientific literature on "social infrastructure," "sense of community (or social experience)," "civic participation," "Social Justice Youth Development," and "Transportation;" however, only a substantive category of "sense of community, (or social experience)" was fully analyzed for this paper. The amount of text identified in the substantive category of social infrastructure alone within these transcripts I believed was too much to analyze in the course of this

thesis, using these methods. However, several instances coded for sense of in(ex)clusion were also coded for social infrastructure, and so these findings do discuss social infrastructure when it is relevant to social exclusion.

At this stage of the process (in the second iteration of coding) I defined SJYD for myself, somewhat holistically, as any moment where participants shared how they were able to feel like they had changed a situation that was negatively affecting them, and I coded for this as SJYD especially if it seemed as if they were saying they had learned something from this. For example, one young person talked about how she used non-violent conflict resolution strategies to confront a someone who was cyberbullying her, and it worked— the bully stopped and apologized. This was a good example of SJYD because there was an oppressive situation when a young person took self-driven action to remedy the situation, and became more aware of how people survive conflict in the process, or more aware of how friendship networks are maintained equitably, etc. I was trying to value these sorts of moments of young people's personal development through improvements to community and what they meant when I was coding and looking for other themes which these moments might indicate were important. The moments of SJYD which I identified are ultimately what led me to discussing the theme of social exclusion when there were several themes I could have discussed.

The last level of qualitative coding involved *theoretical codes*. Qualitative researchers usually find theoretical codes within substantive categories and use them to describe detailed aspects of theoretical processes (Chun Tie, Birks, and Francis, 2019). For this analysis, I applied three theoretical codes within the substantive category on *sense of exclusion,* which was the category which emerged as most salient during

memoing between the second and third iteration of coding. The theoretical codes which I applied to excerpts within the substantive categories of sense of exclusion were inductive and informed by a reading of these parts of the transcripts specifically. This third level of coding was not so often *in vivo* as the first level of indexing was, nor was this level shaped by the literature as much as the second level of indexing.

Theoretical codes related to *social exclusion* (a child code in the larger substantive category of "sense of community") were **exclusion by community/adults** (of individuals)," "**exclusion of community** (by policy)," and "**exclusion from community or shelter** (of individuals or of the group)." Each of these themes identifies a different exclusionary reality: 1) **Exclusion by community/adults** meant participants discussed individual people or their selves personally being made to feel excluded or kept out of activities at the hands of adults representing the community. This was different from peer exclusion, which was also coded for and identified when participants talked about young people not being inclusive among each other. 2) **Exclusion of community** meant participants were discussing how people, community, buildings, or systems in the community were being neglected or excluded from needed processes within the city, and how this affects people. Last, 3) **Exclusion from community** meant that participants discussed having a need for more access to culture and/or opportunities to socialize, and **exclusion from shelter** meant expressing concepts or feelings of home insecurity.

Critiques of Glaser's traditional approach led me to favor aspects of Charmaz's constructivist procedures. A Glaserian "researchers' influence[s] and values are denied" as there is a positivist assumption behind Glaser's approach (Singh and Estefan, 2018, p.7). This critique of the traditional approach, says it disregards literature, and this

critique steers me to respect what Strauss and Corbin are suggesting for how they intend to connect "local issues" to a "broader context" by being "selective to scholarly discourse" (Singh and Estefan, 2018, p.7). However, Charmaz also does this in a way. Charmaz's approach is "appropriate to develop a theory with full breadth and depth of a phenomenon in its local context…" (Singh and Estefan, 2018, p.7). With the research questions and origins of the research in mind, I attended to scholarly research as it mattered within focused coding (the second stage) to, as Singh and Estefan said Charmaz, put it: "aim to explore local issues for local context." (Singh and Estefan, 2018, p.7). This means, allowing concepts from the literature to shape coding only so much as to relate participant's words (to concepts of in(ex)clusion and work in social reproduction and/or social infrastructure) which are potentially descriptive of local realities.

Public Data Measures of Social Infrastructure

I measured regional aspects of social infrastructure and physical space using: (1) redlining maps for historical (dis)investment, (2) walkability and transit maps, 3) a count of recently active youth programs on the local Office of Youth Development's email listserv, and (4) a count of reservable park shelters maintained by the city parks department. This section will describe the background and justification of each of the measures, the aspects of social infrastructure, and explain how I measured and understood each of the maps.

Historical redlining maps represent community-wide aspects of social harm and marginalization. These were designed by the federally sponsored Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) and were historically used to deny home loans and other services from entire regions where racialized communities of American people of color were living in the late 1930's to the early 1950's (Nelson et al 2022). The HOLC (redlining) map for Louisville, KY is shown below in Figure 2. Redlining is primarily about housing, although the way that it has defined urban spaces is associated with several forms of social infrastructure. For example, redlining in Louisville remains associated with a greater denial of home loans as was the original, racist intention of HOLC, and their maps are also recently associated with less city building permits, and harmful zoning (Poe 2017). More scholarly research has shown historic redlining to have a consistent, current, and re-occurring impact on the everyday reproduction of inequality (Vargas 2021), in home financing (Aalbers 2016), in health (Henderson and Wells 2021), and healthcare (Nardone et al 2020). For these reasons, in this analysis redlining maps are considered as an indicator of reduced access to a variety of services provided throughout

the city. These maps are also considered a regional indicator of community

marginalization within the broader social structure.

Figure 2. Redlining map for Louisville, KY

In Table 1, the disinvestment column shows the analytical categories used to measure the disinvestment aspect of social infrastructure in each zip code on Figure 2. This map does not indicate zip codes, so I used an overlay to see where the zip codes were. There are three categories here, 1) historically disinvested, 2) historic mixed investment, and 3) not historically disinvested. I noted how consistent disinvestment zones were across each zip code: the integration of red and yellow zones. This meant looking at the shape and arrangement of borders between the colored zones, with minimal border space meaning the disinvestment was consistent. Redlining maps originally used green, blue, yellow, and red (in that order) to denote places of disinvestment. Potential homeowners in red zones were most regularly denied loans and homeowners in green zones were offered favorable rates. Because of this, I noted the presence of red and yellow as an indication of historic disinvestment (i.e. zip codes 1 and 2) Next, I noted whether blue or green zones were present and 'targeted' to mean if they were surrounded by yellow or red. Noting whether a zip code had a targeted investment zone meant that it would be considered a historically mixed investment zip code, (i.e., zip codes 3, 4, 5 and 6) When a zip code was not on the redlining map, or if it's blue and green zones covered more of the region than red and yellow zones, it was considered to be not historically disinvested.

Table 1. Categorical Qualities of Zip Codes

Disinvestment	Walkability	Walk to Bus	Youth Programs	Park shelters
Historically Disinvested [Zip codes 1, 2] Fully yellow / red	High Walkability Urban [Zip codes 1, 2] Fully green, with more area deeper green than faded green	Not long walks to the bus [Zip codes 1, 2] No pink or grey areas, all green	Numerous programs [Zip codes 1, 2, 3, 4] Count 7+ (in reality with this data, 10+)	Numerous shelters [Zip codes 1, 3, 4] Count 5+
Mixed investment [Zip codes 3, 4, 5, 6] 'Mostly' red / yellow + one contiguous blue / green	Moderate walkability [Zip codes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8] 'Mostly' faded green with 1 to 3 smaller areas of deeper green and 1-3 smaller areas of faded orange	Mostly short walks to the bus [Zip codes 3, 4, 5, 6, 8] 1-2 pink or grey areas, mostly green	Some programs [Zip codes 5, 6, 8, 9] Count of 3-6	Some shelters [Zip codes 5, 8] Count of 3-4
Not Historically Disinvested [Zip codes 7, 8, 9 10] More than one blue / green area or areas not on historical maps	Lowest walkability Suburban [Zip codes 9, 10] Substantial areas of faded orange and/or of dark orange	Mostly long walks to the bus [Zip codes 7, 9, 10] Mostly pink or grey areas	Little to no programs [Zip codes, 7, 10] Count of 0-2	Little to no shelters [Zip codes 2, 6, 7, 9, 10] Count of 0-2

Measures of walkability are theoretically a measure of the ease of access by foot to and from destinations within a region. Walkability is relevant here because social infrastructure is often associated with certain destinations like a community center. Walkability influences access to other types of social infrastructure, but walkability infrastructure also stands alone as a form of social infrastructure because walkability is a complex sociocultural construct that involves community policies, physical structures (built and natural), as well as perception of environment, perceptions of self and society (Ingram et al 2017). Similarly, walkability to bus stops measures access to the transit system, which is part of social infrastructure.

General walkability was measured using the National Walkability Index (EPA 2021). A map of walkability index values for different areas of Louisville is shown in Figure 3. A map of walkability to bus stops is shown in Figure 4. In Table 1, the walkability column shows the analytical categories used to measure the walkability aspect of social infrastructure in each zip code on the map in Figure 3. This map does not indicate zip codes, so I used an overlay to see where the zip codes were. There are three categories here, 1) high walkability, urban, 2) moderate walkability, and 3) least walkable. To group zip codes into these categories I made note of the portion of the area which were each of the shades of green and orange. Zip codes in the high walkability, urban category are fully green with more area deeper green than faded green. Zip codes I considered to have moderate walkability had 'mostly' faded green with 1 to 3 smaller areas of deeper green and 1-3 smaller areas of faded orange (i.e., zip codes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). Zip codes in the least walkability, suburban category had substantial areas of faded orange and/or of dark orange (i.e., zip codes 9, 10).

Figure 3. Walkability levels in Louisville, KY

EPA Office of Community Revitalization with Urban Design 4 Health and EPA National Geospatial Support Team | Esri, NASA, NGA, USGS | Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS, USDA
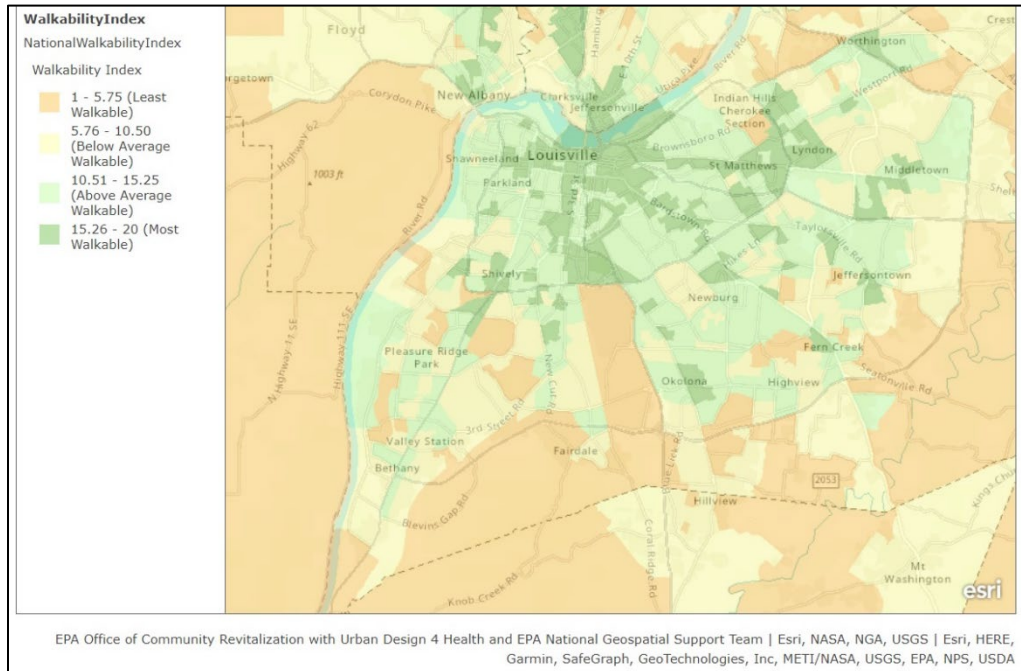
Figure 4. Walkability to Bus Stops for Louisville, KY

EPA Office of Community Revitalization with Urban Design 4 Health and EPA National Geospatial Support Team | Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS, USDA
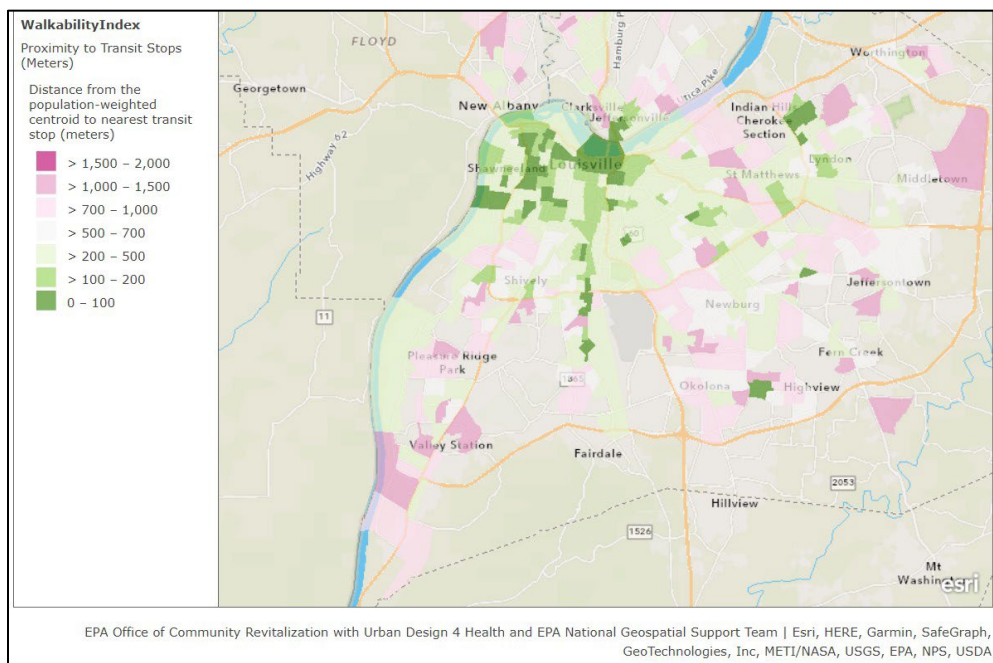
The National Walkability Index is a generally conservative measure of walkability which may be more useful for national/federal scope of analysis than a local scope of analysis. The National Walkability Index uses two mostly physical measurements, and two mostly social measurements as indicators of walkability. The two physical measurements are the intersection density (of streets) and proximity of transit, distance from the population weighted centroid to the closest transit stop. The two social measures are a number of abandoned houses (more occupied houses means greater walkability) and how mixed use the neighborhoods are (more businesses integrated with houses means greater walkability). The National Walkability Index does not consider urban heat island effect, tree cover and building shade, or temperature influences in any way, nor does it consider the influence of the local water table on walkability. The National Walkability Index also does not consider direct social determinant of walkability beyond looking at the occupation of houses and business in the area. Even with these issues, the National Walkability Index is a standard set of acceptable measures appropriate for this use in this research.

From the same online map tool, the EPA smart location database (EPA 2021), I drafted a second map (Figure 4) displaying only each of a census tracts' estimated distance of walk to bus within the zip code. I chose to calculate walk to bus (proximity of transit) as distance of the closest bus stop to the population weighted centroid of the zip code (provided by (EPA 2021)), divided by average walking speed (1 to 1.5 m/s). I isolated this item from the other items in the National Walkability Index, so this data was mapped twice. First as a factor in the general walkability map (Figure 3), and secondly *alone* in the walk to bus maps (Figure 4). Time walking to bus was understood as short

and long walks over and under the 5-to-7-minute line, meaning under 600 or so meters was considered a short walk, but over 800 meters was considered a long walk. I chose the distribution of these categories based on whether someone leaving home at the correct time to get to the bus stop five minutes early (the transit system in this city recommends people get to the bus stop five minutes early), but they got halfway to the bus stop before they realized they forgot something at home, and had to walk back, whether or not they could still get to the bus at the scheduled time for their bus to arrive. The walk to bus map were used in tandem with the more general walkability map to help me get a more accurate picture.

In Table 1, the walk to bus column shows the analytical categories used to measure the walk to bus aspect of social infrastructure in each zip code on the map in Figure 4. This map does not indicate zip codes, so I used an overlay to see where the zip codes were. There are three categories here, 1) Not long walks to the bus, 2) Mostly short walks to the bus, and 3) Mostly long walks to the bus. To group zip codes into these categories I made note of the portion of the area which were each of the shades of green and pink. Zip codes in the "Not long walks to the bus" category had no pink or grey areas, all green (i.e., zip codes 1 and 2). Zip codes I considered to have "mostly short walks to the bus" had 1-2 pink or grey areas, and mostly green (i.e., zip codes 3, 4, 5, 6, 8). Zip codes in the "mostly long walks to the bus" category had mostly pink or grey areas (i.e., zip codes 7, 9, 10). Readers may notice the only difference between how regions were ultimately coded for general walkability and the walk to bus measurement is that zip code number 7 has a slightly worse walk to bus than general walkability.

Programs for socialization and places for people to gather are essential

components in the definition of social infrastructure and so the argument for why the

counts of reservable park shelters and youth programs could each be considered as a

measure of social infrastructure is common sense, but the measure of a raw count must be

defended. What does counting the number of programs, or of places for people to gather

tell us in terms of the social infrastructure? A high count could indicate a high capacity

however one massive organization may have greater capacity than ten smaller ones. A

count for a given region also does not tell us about the distribution *within* the regions.

What the counts do provide is a numeric description of certain sectors of social

infrastructure. A greater number of programs indicates only a greater number of

programs, not necessarily a greater number of people or resources dedicated to programs.

So, I refer to areas with a greater count of programs as having *numerous* programs. For

the sake of this research, having numerous programs is considered as better than having

few or no programs because it is assumed to be better for people to have more options.

Additionally, each program or center on the list is a different program or center from the

next, and so being numerous can mean greater diversity in programming. I chose to

measure youth programs because besides how many youth programs offer essential

services to young people; they are where young people and communities who are

marginalized might find a sense of connectedness.

This could be like measuring reservable park shelters, as I measured an aspect of

social infrastructure, as they are low-cost and open spaces for communities to gather and

hold events such as a cookout, small local music, or small local sporting events. The

count of reservable park shelters however then is not to be misconstrued as a measure of

access to green space. This is a measure of social infrastructure that tells us how many individuals or organizations can hold an outdoor gathering in a different public facility in the same area at the same time, as well as how many options people in the neighborhood, in general, must choose from when selecting where to hold local outdoor events.

Table 2 shows the number of youth programs which were on the Office of Youth Development's listserv, after adjustments so the list included only youth-serving organizations without religious affiliation and after making additions from a list of community centers online by each of a participant's zip code in the column "Number of Youth Programs." (Louisville 2022a) This same table (Table 2) also shows the number of reservable park shelters counted from an online government tool made for reserving those same park shelters (Louisville 2022b).

Table 2. Number of youth programs and number of reservable park shelters by Zip Code

Zip Code	Number of Youth Programs	Number of Park Shelters
1	29	6
2	11	2
3	10	5
4	16	6
5	4	3
6	3	2
7	2	1
8	5	3
9	5	2
10	1	1

If I did not already have the zip code, I used Bing to find zip codes of youth-serving organizations on the list. In Table 1, the youth programs column shows the analytical categories used to measure the youth programs aspect of social infrastructure

for each zip code in Table 2. There are three categories here, 1) numerous programs, 2) some programs, and 3) little to no programs. To group zip codes into these categories looked for natural ranges grouping in the data. Zip codes considered to have numerous programs have more than 7 programs, (i.e., zip codes 1, 2, 3, 4) and this number goes as high as 29. Several of the programs in the one region with the most youth programs share the same street address and that may account for the higher number, but because this was already being grouped in the largest category, I did not see a need to correct for programs sharing spaces. Zip codes I considered to have some youth programs had 3 to 6 programs (i.e., zip codes 5, 6, 8, 9) and zip codes I considered to have little to no youth programs had 2 or less (i.e., zip codes 7, 10).

I also used Bing to find the zip code for each of the shelters on the list. In Table 1, the "Park Shelters" column shows the analytical categories used to measure the park shelters aspect of social infrastructure for each zip code in Table 2. There are three categories here, 1) numerous shelters, 2) some shelters, and 3) little to no shelters. To group zip codes into these categories looked for natural ranges grouping in the data. Zip codes considered to have numerous shelters have more than 5 shelters, (i.e., zip codes 1, 3, 4). Zip codes I considered to have some park shelters had 3 to 4 shelters (i.e., zip codes 5, 8) and zip codes I considered to have little to no park shelters had 2 or less (i.e., zip codes 6, 7, 9, 10).

Using each of these categorical measures I have just described and the coding procedures from the previous section, I will examine the quality of neighborhood social infrastructure as it is associated with themes of social exclusion. This is the aspect of Figure 1 noted as f_2 where social infrastructure influences the social experience. The

main theory which supports consideration of such data is, again, about how social environments impact youth development and quality of life. Each participant provided a zip code in response to a demographic survey response. Those zip codes they provided were used to link the experiences they shared during listening sessions to the qualities of their zip code according to these five measures of social infrastructure.

To conduct association analysis, I wrote a tag for how each zip codes' social infrastructure had been categorized and placed it next the pseudonyms of each participant living in that zip code. Next, I placed the thematic level of coding on exclusion for each participant in text next to the social infrastructure tags given to each of them. Then, I analyzed associations in the qualitative thematic codes of exclusion, across the five measures of social infrastructure. To do this, I counted the total of participants from each zip code category and divided this by the number of participants whose stories had been coded for each theme. I wrote these out as counts and percentages when the finding appeared like they might be significant. I also counted the total number of participants who had been given each thematic code and divided this by the number of participants who had been given thematic code from each of the three categories of all five social infrastructure measures. These results were written as counts and percentages too, when they appeared to be significant. The text used to perform the association analysis was then placed in the Appendix. The social infrastructure tags for each participant's zip code have been retained into the presentation of findings.

FINDINGS

Social Exclusion Themes Varying across Social Infrastructure

The theme of exclusion emerged while coding the qualitative interview transcripts, which refers to the denial of due care or of concern or barring a group of people from belongingness or resources afforded to another group or other groups. In some cases, respondents perceived that social infrastructure was not accessible, not maintained, or was set up to exclude or hinder a group of people, such as people of color. This theme was often related to social categories of age, race, culture, and/or ethnicity for each participant. I identified the following three types of exclusion: **Exclusion in Education/Schools, Exclusion of communities' social infrastructure by the broader society, and Exclusion from Community.** At least one of these three themes of exclusion which could be associated with a person's social location and qualities of the local social infrastructure were found in personal experiences shared with us by nearly all participants in the sample (13 out of 14). Within the stories of these 13 young people, these themes of social exclusion have meaningful variation across several dimensions of local social infrastructure. This section will present findings on the details of these complex themes, as well as on the variation of the three themes across each of the social infrastructure categories.

First Theme of Exclusion: Exclusion in Education/Schools

A total of 5 participants described being excluded (from various types of activities or opportunities for personal development) by the actions of a teacher, potential employer, or coach, etc. in social infrastructure or public service. Of all participants who shared experiences coded with this theme, (n=4) 80% live in zip codes of historic mixed investment, with moderate walkability, and mostly short walks to the bus. Of the total (n=6) of the participants from a historic mixed investment zip code with moderate walkability, and mostly short walks to the bus, (n=4) 67% identified experiences within this theme of exclusion from education/schools. There is not a strong trend across count of park shelters for this theme, however (n=3) 60% have numerous youth programs in their zip code. Lastly, this theme was not identified by participants living in zip codes which were not historically disinvested (n=0) 0%, nor zip codes with low walkability, mostly long walks (n=0) 0%.

L here speaks about being discriminated against and excluded from participating in a program. She connects it to larger social forces within the local "school system" which would need to change for L to feel supported:

> *Facilitator: Can you tell me a specific instance where that's [trails off] [the conversation before this about racial discrimination].*
>
> *L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Yeah, I was trying to go to get my [degree, professional certificate, or license], and this lady told me that I don't fit the part to work, to uh, go to their school. Um [pauses]… [and] because I really wanted to do it, I cried [real tears] and I didn't ever go back, and ever since then... I ain't been back, and I ain't ever going to get it again.*
>
> *…*

Facilitator: Yeah. [After pause] So, what would it take for you to feel supported in this city?

L: A lot of change.

Facilitator: [After pause] Tell me more about that.

L: Um, like [pauses] as far as, just everything [pauses]. Like with our school system. All that.

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth programs, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop): I don't know. I just [pauses], at this point [L starts speaking at same time], I'm done with [this city].

L: Cause, I feel like… our school system lets anybody through. Cause I know people that passed that wasn't supposed to pass.

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth programs, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Facts. Facts. [laughs]

*J: Cause a lot of them schools, I ain't gonna lie… **picks and chooses** or like [trails off].*

L: Yeah.

A: Cause it's a lot of teachers [be like] "Oh, that's my favorite person."

Here, L is speaking about her experience being denied or excluded from professional development, a sort of school or work program. L's story here demonstrates the problem of how "they" [the school system] "lets anybody through" at a one level of schooling, and then at the more professional levels are not determining fit but making decisions which seem to be based on race and/or ethnicity. She connects this experience to racism implicitly from the earlier conversation they were having. Afterwards, A and J, L's peers in the group, add how favoritism is an issue in the school system. The favoritism they identify is implicitly related privilege when an adult in the system "picks

and chooses" who to 'let through' and who to exclude or bar from participation or receipt of credentials. Similarly, Halley talks about her experiences being excluded from school athletics:

> *Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): "This may not be the best example, but for sports, I definitely feel like there's not as much fairness. Um, with me, being a Black individual, and I don't necessarily try to always talk about it because I don't want people to think, "Oh, she's just a bad player… blaming it on her race," but back in freshman year, when, I play volleyball, and when I even played for club teams, I was often the only Black person, or for my club team, I was the only Black person there, and at times, there would just be some weird comments that would be made that felt like microaggressions… And then, there were also times… for example, I didn't make the volleyball team [one] year, and it came off as odd to me because I had taken private lessons with the coach, and she saw the capabilities in what I was doing. Not to mention, like the first day of tryouts, I was getting every pass and everything... once I got it [the results of tryouts, who made the team], I was very shocked at the results [of tryouts, who made the team]… because I felt like, to an extent, I was better than some of the players that had made it [the team], and that they were **picking and choosing**… [who would play. The prior year], there was probably about five, no, four people of color on our team, and none of them made it [this year] …"*

Here, experiences of exclusion from education and personal development opportunities are about not being allowed to participate in the same activities or garner the same resources as peers. This is essentially in practice the same as or worse than *de jure* segregation and is deeply harmful to trust and connectedness because it involves young people 'trying out' or 'applying' themselves, expending resources to do so, all the while within a system which will not appreciate or accept their work. This form of exclusion seems to go unspoken by coaches and admissions departments, unwritten in

school policies, and enacted covertly so that it could potentially go unrecognized by young people of color and their families had they not talked about this, shared their experiences with each other and realized the discrimination. In the context of exclusion from community, we will circle back to this issue in terms of access to social infrastructure which is not only inclusive of but truly built to reflect and support the values, aspirations and needs of people and communities of color.

Second Theme of Exclusion: Exclusion of Community

A total of 8 participants (8 out of 13) identified exclusion of their community by policy or the broader social structure. 75% (n=6) of these 8 have numerous park shelters as well as numerous youth programs in their zip code. 63% (n=5) of these 8 are living in a zip code with moderate walkability, and mostly short walks to the bus. Similarly, 63% (n=5) of these 8 are living in a zip code which is historically mixed investment and 87% (n=7) are living in either a historic mixed investment or a historically disinvested zip code. Of the total (n=6) of the participants living in a zip code with numerous park shelters, 100% (n=6) identified this theme of exclusion of community's social infrastructure by the broader social structure, and of the total (n= 9) participants from either a historic mixed investment or a historically disinvested zip code, 78% (n=7) identified this theme of exclusion of community's social infrastructure by the broader social structure. Lastly, of the total (n=7) of the participants living in a zip code with numerous youth programs 85% (n=6) identified this theme. This implies having a sense of how one's community is excluded by the society is associated with living in the wake of disinvestment (living in an area that is literally excluded) and that consciousness of this exclusion or readiness and ability to discuss the problem may be associated with

having access to decent outdoor social infrastructure and numerous youth programs where people might already be discussing and recognize these issues. Participants in a focus group style listening session discuss the lack of funding for existing community centers and programs as an exclusion of their needs from city concerns:

> *Facilitator: So, what do you see as the challenges and needs of those youth serving organizations and programs [in historically marginalized positions] …?*
>
> *L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Money*
>
> *Facilitator: Yeah, the money. What else?*
>
> *D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop): Everything, basically. Cause [L speaking at same time] their volunteers [at a youth development facility located in a mixed investment zip code] ain't making no money"*

Here, L and D begin by explaining how a community center could be struggling with the need for funding and volunteers, and the need to compensate volunteers for their time. L, D the other participants in their session would also go on to discuss more of what the community centers needed in detail by talking about the need for money to pay for utility bills, food, and to provide counseling services to volunteers. Next, the group began to identify how the need for more community centers in general to be opened, well-funded, and for money to be spent in the "proper" way (to be able to help young people with issues of home and development) is a result of larger social forces which exclude the needs of the community:

> *Facilitator: So, what should organizations spend their money on to help youth?*

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop): The community! That's really what's all important…

Facilitator: What is it?

D: The community centers. In my experience, because that's the only thing that's really open for the youth downtown.

Facilitator: So, the community center… What do you think those organizations should spend their money on?

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth programs, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): They need to spend it on the proper things because… I don't feel like money goes where it's actually supposed to go, if that makes sense.

Facilitator: Can you tell me more about that?

A: I don't know, I just feel like they spend it on unnecessary things that we don't need, [Now, another participant mentions not needing "a new basketball room"]

A: [continuing] and there's a lot more things that we do need. It's like, for me, it's the homeless people that's out here. We got all this stuff that they building around this city, but no shelters for these homeless people to be in. It gets too cold outside. Like, when I see them, riding past through all the highways and seeing them, I'm hurt. That [with emphasis] breaks my heart. Because I just feel like that could be me one day. That could be me out there.

These young people acknowledged a *lack* of community spending on a need like shelter. In saying "We got all this stuff that they building around this city, but no shelters" A acknowledged mishandled resources in the broader city and connected this to an exclusion of the communities' needs from city planning concerns. This meant, personally for A, individual precarity: the risk of being "out there" and totally excluded by society and without shelter. This quote was coded twice and will reappear in the subsection on shelter.

Halley and Lyn also acknowledged both the lack of centers, and how the existing centers, "they do it the wrong way" and are not often enough opened or maintained by those who are mindful of their role and effects on a neighborhood with respect to the residents:

> *Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Some community centers, or community support… they do it in the wrong way. So, they'll put in a community center, but it's right in the middle of a neighborhood, which makes all the other prices go up and leads to gentrification… I definitely say they should, there should be more [community centers] in the West End. There's already a few, but over time, like, I feel as though people put them in and don't keep them updated. So, over time, they just become run down, and they're not as useful as they was before… [Someone should] put one [new community center] on like a plot of land that's not used… but make sure that the property values of the other house(s) around it don't go up… because you don't want to kick people out of their house in the process.*

Here, Halley shows how "they" will open a new community center in neighborhoods and cause "gentrification" which can displace whole groups of people. This is the concern that entire communities' lives have been excluded from development concerns, and that unconcerned developers could be a reason someone would "kick people out of their house in the process" or cause them to be displaced. Again, It is broader exclusion from development policy that is ultimately connected to total exclusion from shelter and place. Lyn also connects concerns for her area for basic needs to broader racist and exclusionary practices of society:

> *Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): You have racial inequity [the city] … because you have*

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the West End of [the city], predominantly black, where I grew up and
you don't even have a fresh produce store, grocery store… And then,
you can go on the other side of town, and you have Whole Foods,
Kroger's stocked out, all of that. That's one thing I think of, like, food
inequity, food deserts, that's one part of it, and then also look like
community centers, youth centers, youth engagement. It is something
we don't have access to… my community of the West End… we don't
have the resources that we need, like food, and shelter, and
opportunities for growth and for our youth… Like, I know we lived [in
a neighborhood in a mixed investment zip code] and… having the
[facility in the neighborhood] that they tried to renovate and reopen,
and it was… [difficult] trying to get that open and having it accessible,
and so many residents advocated around that... I was like, "Would they
had to do all this work [across the city, in the East End, in a majority
white area] to get a community center open?"

Early in the quote, Lyn acknowledges an exclusionary effect of redlining in
markets which excluded her neighborhoods from the benefits of outside corporations
(Whole Foods, Kroger, etc.) investing in development of healthy food systems. This is an
issue of racial inequity, which is recurrent throughout the quotes so far. Racial inequity is
also again considered to be present in a lack of community centers built intentionally and
maintained for young people of color. Lyn suggests that the people in her community are
having to spend more energy "trying" to maintain social infrastructure than people in
areas which are not communities of color. Later she would refer to this as "[the city]
dragging their feet." With this comment, Lyn tells us how people in communities of color
are being challenged bureaucratically in their regular efforts to create and maintain their
own communities' social infrastructures. This exemplifies an aspect of **Exclusion of**
Community where needs and concerns from the social structure exclude a communities'
needs while still influencing the social infrastructures of the same community. In this

way, the broader social structure's influence is to starve the community of needed

resources.

The lack of representation is the secondary aspect of the theme of **Exclusion of**

Community. C expresses disharmony between a minority community and the city (the

broader social structure of the city) through how people "do not feel supported by the

city" because of being excluded "by the language, [English]" or because of a social

"status":

> *C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth programs,*
> *numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to*
> *the bus stop): I will say that a lot of our families don't feel supported by*
> *the city, but I think it's mostly because they don't know the resources*
> *that are offered to [families] because of the language. And also, a lot of*
> *resources they need, like a social security number, or immigration*
> *status here, and a lot of our families don't have that…*

The exclusion of community members and their culture from shared social

infrastructure defines this aspect of **Exclusion of Community.** Sara and C both speak to

this.

> *Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth programs,*
> *numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus*
> *stop), I think a direct result of lack of representation is it takes a hit on*
> *your self-confidence because you don't see someone like you in*
> *positions of power. You kind of start to think… am I going to just keep*
> *trying and keep going to class and keep putting in the work and when it*
> *comes time to show what I have, I'm not even **picked or chosen** to show*
> *what I have?... We [students of minority status] don't know if we are*
> *going to find someone who is a mentor that has our best interests at*
> *heart or understands where we're coming from because to guide and*
> *mentor a minority student, that mentor is going to have to understand*
> *the problems that the student is going to face because they're not the*
> *same problems that our white counterparts will face…. at the end of the*

day, if you're a minority, you're going to constantly feel ostracized because of that underlaying feeling…

C discussed the need for a shared language, while Sara discusses the need for a shared understanding, both of which could be remedied by greater minority representation within public (shared) social infrastructure. Sara's reasoning here explains how the exclusion of a communities' individual people from powerful positions in social infrastructure of government and schools is inherently the exclusion of the whole community. Michael feels like there need to be more places which can meet the social needs of young people of color, especially regarding representation and access social interaction with members of a shared identity:

> *Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth programs, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop): I can see a lot of the kids in there's lives really being changed by these black leaders that they saw that they hadn't really previously seen before. Uhm, I think it's important to see black people in power and black leaders so that the kids know they can do that as well.*

Exclusion from Community

The final theme of exclusion found here is around exclusion from community, severe isolation, or a severe lack of access to both community and social infrastructure. A total of 6 participants expressed this theme. 67% (n=4) are from zip codes with very little park shelters which do **not** have numerous youth programs. 50% (n=3) are from zip codes which are not historically disinvested, with low walkability, and mostly long walks to the bus stop, while another 50% are from historic mixed investment or disinvested zip codes. Of the total participants (n=3) in this sample who are living in zip codes with low walkability, and mostly long walks to the bus stop, 100% are represented here (3 out of

3). Of the total participants (n=6) in this sample who are living in zip codes with very little park shelters, 83% identified this theme of exclusion.

To begin discussing this theme of **Exclusion from Community,** in a group session, two young people of color remarked a need for more places to congregate, vent, shelter, play games, make new friends, etc.:

> *Facilitator: Yeah, yeah. So, what, what do you think should happen in Louisville to support uhm youth, you know especially those of marginalized positions?*
>
> *Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth programs, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop): Maybe like, kinda like what he said, [Liam said] give 'em a place to…*
>
> *Liam: Congregate [interrupts softly]*
>
> *Billy Bob: [keeps talking] Either like go or to like vent their emotions or frustrations and stuff. Uhm, cause, I've been homeless before and like I didn't really have anywhere to go except with family and if I didn't have family, I'd be like on the streets, like, even right now, I'd be on the streets. So, maybe somewhere that's healthy… like somewhere where they can just go and feel safe or something like that.*
>
> *Facilitator: Yeah, Liam did you, were you saying somewhere to congregate? Like, kinda to go?*
>
> *Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth programs, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop): Yeah,* [at first, Liam does not speak to this topic, but continues later] *there used to be a place. I don't know the name of it. Back where I used to live at. And it was just a space you can go [and] you can… play games… make new friends. I guess, play basketball and stuff like that, and I don't know what happened to it. I think they closed down a couple years ago but that was like the closest place uhm to what I was talking about. That's kinda where I got the idea from.*

Billy Bob remarked a precarity to being without shelter as A did earlier. It is important to note I considered the potential theme of 'exclusion from community and/or shelter,' of the total (n=8) participants who identified this theme, 75% (n=6) were living in a zip code with only some or little youth programs and only some or little park shelters, while only 25% (n=2) of participants who identified exclusion from community and/or shelter were living in a zip code with numerous youth organizations and numerous park shelters. Liam discussed how there was a community center that had these types of services, but it is where he "used to live at" and this suggests there isn't something similar near his current place. Here, we see that opening new community centers could meet several needs for young people otherwise struggling with issues of home, safety, and socialization or play. Allie suggested holding events to meet some of these needs, especially for socialization and empowerment.

> Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop): I think like [we should have] more events. So, I'm part of this organization that my friend created… and it involves mental health, and recently… they had a mental health event there, and they said that it went pretty well. So, I think more opportunities to have events and maybe, there's like a stage where people can voice their opinions or what's on their mind, and everyone could just come together to relate and, um, meet and eat food and just socialize and talk about the world, and how we can do it [make change], because I think that would be a good network or connection and everyone can get, um, interactions with each other.

The ability of youth to have spaces to hold their own events may be a powerful way to encourage self-determination, feelings of safety, health and connectedness to community and social infrastructure. Lyn discusses how at some time, she had been able to meet with people and have gatherings in public spaces, but a lack of social

infrastructure during COVID-19 had taken this away. This loss is still understood here as

exclusion from community, even if temporary, as she notes it could have a lasting impact

on her professional connectedness. Sara also spoke to the disconnection because of

pandemic response, but is quoted here for how she speaks to more historical and

longstanding concerns of the infrastructure itself not being racially inclusive enough:

> *Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): I think it's a result of the pandemic, it's just less, like, group activities to do. It's less. Like, when I was a freshman [pre-pandemic], there was always something going on. Like, at [a local facility], you could go and have like a mixer or like a study session, or there was something at the [Campus Activity Center] like, grab food [there]. Like, there was always stuff to do and there was ways to meet people and talk to people, and not having that has been pretty difficult for myself because it's like you have your same group of friends, but you're not really able to meet and engage with new people on campus. You're not really able to build [new] relationships.*
>
> *And also, like professionally, professors are like people you use for references for jobs and stuff like that, so not having those connections is something like I'm worried about for the future because it's like, you know, if I start applying to law school or something like that, I need those connections*
>
> *[In another listening session]*
>
> *Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth programs, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop): One of the main issues I face is just the lack of representation [This participant was also quoted referring to the lack of representation in the previous theme], I feel like I don't – I'd say [this city] is one of the more diverse cities that I've ever lived in, which is saying something, I think. But I do see a lack of minority representation in faculty and administrators and people in powerful positions basically.*
>
> *Facilitator: Mhm.*
>
> *Sara: I do see an initiative, and I do see a start, and I don't want to discredit anyone's efforts to make this a more inclusive space because*

it is, and it is better than most, but I do think that that's one of the main issues I see, is just a lack – I just don't see many people like me, as many as I would want to see. I mean, I see Black people and other minorities, but that's because I know these people.

Facilitator: Mhm.

Sara: So, I'm looking for them. But from a kind of a more [pauses], a less focused perspective, there aren't that many minority students and it's even worse when it comes to faculty. I know that there's like less than 30 [professors who are Black].

Earlier, Sara discussed how this lack of representation impacts self-confidence, in the theme of exclusion of community by broader social structure: These themes are all closely interwoven, and certain statements participants made could be coded with all three forms of exclusion. For example:

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth programs, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop): I think that we would need uh more- more access to our people and our heritage uhm more uhm like uhm community buildings, community centers where you know you could play like rec centers like basketball you can play. You know different board games and stuff. Uhm where uh children of color… they can just like go to these areas and feel safe uhm without having to feel marginalized and just be around their people… cause I feel like that's very important.

Facilitator: Yeah so, what things do you think like what strategies or uhm like uhm what ways should the city address like these issues to help youth and young adults, like especially youth and young adults of color?

Michael: Like I said just opening more uhm community buildings in these different [racialized communities] … opening more buildings that allow access to the youth uhm in these communities to where they can just go in, enjoy themselves, feel safe and be away from all the trash that is America.

Michael discusses how people of color need "more access to our people and our heritage," and he says in his own words this is because social infrastructure *must* also involve people of color from all generations to assure young people of color have access to the benefits of community, culture, and infrastructures without feeling marginalized. Michael explains how community spaces should "feel safe," for young people of color and also be an enjoyable space. What I gathered Michael means when he identifies the need to "be away from all the trash that is America" is that he is referring to the social ecology of race in the U.S., and his experience being surrounded by white supremacists and other "trash." This shows how there is a need for social infrastructure to protect young people from violence of whiteness, hegemonic masculinity, and other damaging aspects of Americanism; and how community buildings and centers with respect to the cultural heritages of people of color are necessary for this.

Exclusion from community—isolation, disconnection, lack of access, etc.— may be a result of how the local infrastructures are inaccessible or are not even in place. For young people holding marginalized positions, exclusion from community happens not only because of insufficient physical structures and spaces, but also (and mostly) because of how community spaces are not "safe" or *inclusive* enough for young people holding marginalized positions.

Summary of Findings on Exclusion:

Trends in the social infrastructure measure offer some insight into how issues manifest in different regions across the city. To summarize these, exclusion from community was identified by people of color from all types of zip codes, however participants in this sample from areas with low walkability, and little or no park shelters or youth programs *always* identified the issue of being excluded from or having limited access to community and social infrastructure. Exclusion by social infrastructure was mostly identified by participants living in historically mixed investment regions, although participants from not historically disinvested regions still identified microaggressions and forms of racism in the broader community and participant from historically disinvested regions identified this when traveling out of their zip code. Finally, the exclusion of community and communities' social infrastructure by the broader social structure was always connected to the communities which have been historically excluded from resources by the broader social structure.

LIMITATIONS

The count of youth programs considered for each zip code excluded and libraries.
Libraries were closed during much of the pandemic from at least May of 2020 to the
following March 2021. The same may have been true for churches and religious
organizations. During much of the pandemic, organizations were asked to be refrain from
holding larger services. Since data collection occurred from April 2021 to January 2022,
libraries and churches could have been considered as influential here, but they were not
counted. I was thinking; since libraries and church services were closed during the
majority of COVID-19, measuring libraries and/or religious organizations like churches
would not have been an accurate measure of social infrastructure during COVID-19.
Similar studies which would expand our understanding of more longstanding inequities
in social infrastructure should count libraries in some way.

Churches can be important social infrastructure sites, and places of resistance,
especially for the Black community and, for many religious groups (Muslim, Buddhist,
folk religions, etc.) who are marginalized within Western society. The closure of these
institutions was felt in communities holding marginalized positions. These forms of
social infrastructure were not included in this analysis because I did not feel I could
accurately represent the variation of their influences across the city within the scope and
time constraints of this research however, branches of the YMCA and similar

organizations were still counted as youth programs. While a count variable of *static* infrastructure may be helpful to represent something like theoretical availability of park shelters, or the theoretical availability of space in a library, it would be better to have represented churches and libraries, and park shelters, and youth programs based also on the social *process* aspects of infrastructure they provide the community. This is an issue of data collection and sampling for social infrastructure measures.

Using zip codes as a unit of analysis also limits this because the zip code is not mapped perfectly onto the community. This means zip code boundaries do not coincide with actual neighborhood boundaries or with areas of social interaction. However, I tried to remedy this by consciously grouping the zip codes during analysis which were close to each other and had similar infrastructure, so the larger groups might have more accurately represented real social areas of interaction. Regardless, I did not have an accurate picture of transit patterns for these regions at all, but instead relied on participant's own reports of moving across regions to know when they were talking about an area outside of their zip code. Other issues with the geographic methods include how several areas were redeveloped since these historic maps had been made and how the scales of walkability are conservative measures of walkability. If redlining maps were to be redrawn today, some of the mixed investment regions may be considered as overall disinvestment regions. Criticisms of the measure of walkability being too conservative were addressed in the methods.

A third primary limitation here is also that I have not addressed the current composition of population of neighborhoods within zip codes in terms of race and ethnicity. The most recent U.S. census provides this sort of information. Data on the

percentage of people who identified as Black on the most recent U.S. census may actually be more strongly associated with some of the themes of exclusion found here than were social infrastructure measures of redlining. Further research may want to inquire into the variation of social infrastructures across the composition of population of neighborhoods in terms of race and ethnicity, and this research is limited because I am not directly addressing disparities of race and ethnicity in this way.

The first primary limitation of this research regarding the qualitative data of the community listening sessions may be that participants were not asked to provide their perspectives on terms used centrally in this analysis. This is true for terms such as exclusion and social infrastructure. Additionally, participants in community listening sessions were not asked specifically to report on elements of physical infrastructure such as the transportation system or physical buildings or spaces, such as parks, or walkable areas. Participants were asked about their experiences in schools and with community centers or youth-serving programs, and for their perspectives on local racial inequity. The facilitator prompts identified youth programs, but they do not identify or ask for information about outdoor social infrastructure (walkability, park shelters), or neighborhood disinvestment (redlining).

Any discussions of community disinvestment or outdoor social infrastructure was then incidental. Because of this, I don't have transcript data for how each of the aspects of social infrastructure influenced certain experiences unless participants happened to discuss it. These happenstance discussions did occur. Some participants talked about redlining, for example. However, it may be that the associations would differ if each

participant were specifically asked to report on the influence of social infrastructures (i.e., redlining, walkability, etc.)

Finally, several of the more complex qualitative themes occurring in these transcripts were not addressed in this work. For instance, I did not analyze all quotes coded for social infrastructure, or for SJYD, civic participation, sense of community, etc. A central tenant of the inductive research methodology would be to address the most important and salient concepts and exclusion *was* the *most* salient even while several other themes could be explored in depth. Research with less limitations might explore these themes in greater value. Themes of exclusion were also not reviewed by the youth and young adults who participated in the research before being presented. This lack of member checking and lack of breadth of analysis could be a significant limitation of the qualitative findings. Future research should attempt to address further qualitative themes of these transcripts in-depth, and with deeper involvement of participants.

DISCUSSION

These findings show various senses of exclusion through racial inequity felt and shared by young people of color during COVID-19. This provides insight into policy issues related to the pandemic crisis response, as well as to the situation of more longstanding inequitable relationships the society has with the communities represented in this study. Future research could consider comparing the feelings of exclusion and perspectives on the local social infrastructure of white youth and young adults with the feelings of exclusion and perspectives of youth and young adults of color. This could further our understanding of how this experience of exclusion is socially constructed along racial and ethnic lines.

In many ways, these findings presented in the previous section could be descriptive of the model from Figure 1. Each of these points could be understood in terms illustrated by Figure 1. For instance, if a lack of youth programs designed to meet the needs of certain communities (a product of social structure influencing social infrastructure) is associated with feelings of exclusion from community, then the lack in social infrastructure (and inherently, inequities in social structure) may be influencing the social experience. Likewise, disinvestment from the broader social structure may be represented through f_1 where lack of funding in infrastructure and social infrastructure influences the feeling or social experience that the needs of the community are being excluded from policy concerns.

Looking at these issues of racial inequity during COVID-19 through this modeled framework from Figure 1 suggests that possible actions to remediate feelings of exclusion might be as effective at the local infrastructural level as at the social structural level. This could be true for additional issues of racial inequity as well, in addition to senses of exclusion reviewed here. As the model shows issues of racial inequity have their ultimate root in the social structure, while actual experiences are also impacted directly by local social infrastructure and its reflections of social structure.

Advocates of social justice often suggest changes to social structure are necessary first steps to build more equitable and inclusive society. However, opponents of this strategy often complain how social structure is slow to change, or how social structural changes can cause unintended harms to other communities. Since there are static, socially constructed aspects of social infrastructure (such as community centers), it may be possible that changes to local social infrastructure could occur more quickly than changes to social structure as a whole and be equally impactful.

For instance, some of the changes suggested by young people in this study could be implemented almost immediately, without necessarily changing social structure: allocating or donating money to youth programs to fund community centers; building community centers designed to respect cultural heritage and social needs of people of color and other marginalized groups; including greater language accessibility and promotions for programs designed to serve marginalized communities; and having more people from traditionally marginalized positions in society in positions of power. Each of these solutions only requires a change to be made to the social infrastructure of a community, while social structure of previous generations could maintain itself relatively

unaffected until the next generation (influenced by the improvements on social infrastructure) begins to reconstruct social structure on our own.

Social Infrastructure Policy Suggestions

With this connection being made to the model, and the possibility for innovation in policy having been reviewed, it remains that I need to discuss how this research informs specific changes to social infrastructure. My findings on the social infrastructure categories associated with disparate themes in senses and stories of exclusion may provide policy professionals with a better understanding of how to change local social infrastructural conditions. These social infrastructure categories formed two main groups, and the policy suggestions are as follows:

Historically disinvested and mixed investment areas measured to have more social infrastructure had young people attributing problems in their community to racism from the broader society. This suggests that lack of certain forms of social infrastructure which were measured through park shelters, youth programs, walkable streets and transit access are possibly affecting how young people understand oppression and develop a social justice mindset to overcome historic disadvantages. **My findings suggest a need for allocating and donating more money to existing youth programs to fund community centers of historically marginalized communities and make central the needs of people and communities who are marginalized within society.** Youth and young adults in this study identified how community centers could offer necessary services around food, shelter, socialization, and physical activity, however my findings suggest the marginalized conditions of community center social infrastructures may be

exacerbating feelings/experiences of exclusion and marginalization among the young people of color who these community centers serve.

While it may be nice to say this implies that youth programs in historically marginalized communities are teaching about and preparing young people of their community for the realities of oppression which they will experience, I also see that youth are experiencing and learning about oppression through possibly less intentionally communicated perceptions of spaces as run-down and volunteers as overworked and underpaid because the city does not properly allocate resources to this infrastructure. What really drives this point home for me is that I found concerns of 'community centers suffering disinvestment' such as these were more salient in sessions with young people from the more urban regions near the urban core of the city, where racialized communities have endured centuries of disinvestment.

Additionally, suburban areas further away from the urban core of the city (areas I understood as having generally lesser social infrastructures) were strongly associated with young people's feelings of interpersonal exclusion and social isolation: being without access to peers and opportunities to interact with members of the community.

This suggests that the social infrastructure in the suburban regions is not designed for the sort of interaction that young people of color feel they need to succeed, be included, and be empowered. **My findings suggest a need for more community centers to be designed to respect the cultural heritage and social needs of people of color and other traditionally marginalized groups** living in areas where their culture and identity is not represented in the dominant social infrastructures.

Youth and young people of color from across the city and across all the social infrastructure categories measured identified a sense of exclusion enacted by adults working in public service or told stories of being excluded by adults working in public service. This meant not having access to the similar resources as more traditionally advantaged peers, such as knowing or having mentors in school or knowing of approachable and understanding adults working in public service. **My findings suggest a need for supporting more and better inclusion, language accessibility and promotions of civic youth programs across the city.** This is not only a need for a better culture of inclusivity but also authentic representation—an actual meaningful inclusion of people— which means having more people from traditionally marginalized positions in society in positions of power. This change is especially needed in organizations and institutions involving processes of social reproduction (i.e., education, youth programs, youth corrections, and other social work with young people) because of their impact on the lives of youth and young people of color who are traditionally being marginalized.

Senses and stories of in(ex)clusion from social infrastructure and allotment of the maleficent or beneficent (good and bad) aspects social reproduction were not exactly what I would have expected based on the literature. The sense of exclusion by education/schools was different than I expected because instead of being primarily about disproportionate disciplinary sanctions, (maleficent social reproduction) it was as much about how some organizations are denying access to valuable participation through informal measures. Young people of color in this study were as concerned (if not more concerned) with how care, beneficent social reproduction, is being denied as with how hate and violence and unfair disciplinary attention is impacting life.

When a participant explained that someone like a school worker had punitively harassed them, I would have coded this as 'mistreatment by adults in public service,' and 'exclusion by schools.' This is the sort of scenario that would be in line with the issues discussed by Carter et al (2017), but it was not central to the theme I found relating to these codes. As the collection of excerpts coded for 'exclusion by schools' and 'mistreatment by adults in public service' developed, I began noticing this stronger trend of negligence and prevention: Participants often identified either an actual experience or a fear of interacting one-to-one with a teacher or coach who would eventual neglected to recognize and respect the young person's participation in activities of the school, to the point of preventing them from achieving dreams, goals, aspirations, etc. This was not so much around disciplining improper behavior as the literature suggested: but this was around school officials judging, picking and choosing which students to support based on some cultural capital related to race and/or ethnicity. So, again, exclusion by schools is different than the literature suggested it would be. The difference is not because disparate disciplinary practices weren't there, but it is because these exclusions based on **picking and choosing** were more often discussed.

When young people talked about difficulty accessing conversations with teachers or finding time to talk to teachers during COVID-19, I found this was considered by young people in this study to have been made worse within the pandemic response environment of distance education. I found the issue of inaccessible teachers and administrators fit closely with 'exclusion from community' and 'exclusion of community' because the theme on exclusion from community was about (not) having practical access to opportunities to form healthy relationships, the infrastructure not being

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there, and exclusion of community was about the needs of a community being ignored by larger systems in society.

This suggests that the issues of a lack of accessible, caring teachers for young people in marginalized positions is really about the denial of these connections by the larger social structure. Connecting this to the model, the social structure which expects certain cultural capital, or expects people to be of a certain age, gender, race, or ethnicity, has influenced the processes of social infrastructure and social reproduction to operate with these same expectations. This in turn influences the social experiences of exclusion felt by young people who are being neglected and ostracized by the social infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

This research has reported on various experiences of exclusion with local social infrastructure related to variation in local social infrastructure (redlining, walkability, transit, youth programs and park shelters) for the areas which youth and young people of color who participated in this research were living in. Ultimately, a major conclusion of this thesis is that the social infrastructure measures used here do seem to be related to disparate senses of exclusion. What I have reported here should be seen as policy suggestions informed by thematic associations with actual social infrastructure.

These policy suggestions were shared with the research team in the context of uprisings for racial justice which occurred in Louisville during COVID-19— some of the most intense, recent public protests about racism in policing and other institutions. These policy suggestions also came at a time, the pandemic, when much social infrastructure was closed. During COVID-19 and after the 2020 protests in Louisville constituted a political moment when feelings and experiences of exclusion and racism were in the forefront of public consciousness. During this moment, many were able to see some of the complexities of these issues at multiple levels of the social structure differently and more closely than before. The way I have outlined voices of young people of color in this study shows a salient part of how social actions in this political moment could reshape our perspectives on solutions for longstanding social inequities.

The movement to defund the police may be framed in media and public consciousness as a popular, radical movement which calls for a total reformation of social structure. To call for the city to defund police is to recommend that the social policy designs of those who act with hate and ignorance be removed from social structures. This is not radical, and it is indeed an idea that matched with many of the perspectives of the young people of color who participated in this study… but it is not presented here. However, youth and young adults of color—people whose lives are often one of the biggest concerns of this movement— here have had their voices presented for how they discussed changes they would like to see in their city for better funding, maintaining, and support of the people and the social infrastructures supporting their communities.

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APPENDIX

Text form of Figure 1.

$$1]\ f_1 = -1(x)$$

$$2]\ f_2 = ?$$

$$3]\ Social\ Structure\ (SS)$$

$$4]\ f_1(SS) = i$$

$$5]\ Si = SS \times i$$

$$6]\ f_2(Si) = Social\ Experience$$

Abbreviated Interview Guide

In order to protect your identity so that no one can tie what you say in this listening session back to you directly, we ask that you come up with a pseudonym or fake name we can use in place of your name…

Okay, let's begin. Our first set of questions ask about your challenges and needs as youth/young adults living in Louisville and organizations/programs serving youth/young adults.

1. What do you believe are the main challenges of youth and young adults in Louisville, particularly those of marginalized positions? We use the term marginalized to describe a person or a community that is politically, socially, or economically excluded, discriminated against, or disadvantaged due to one or more of their social identities.

2. What would it take for you to feel supported in this city? What should happen to better support youth/young adults of marginalized positions in Louisville?

3. Can you name organizations that work closely with youth of marginalized positions? [If they cannot identify any, you can provide examples: after-school programs, community centers, schools, counseling groups, juvenile detention centers and courts, etc.]

4. How well do these organizations support youth from marginalized positions? (How effective are they?)

5. What are the challenges and needs of youth-serving organizations or programs in Louisville in serving marginalized youth and young adults?

6. What should be done to address the challenges and needs of youth-serving organizations in Louisville?

7. What should organizations or programs spend their money on? What should be the top funding priorities for addressing challenges and needs faced by youth and young adults in Louisville, particularly those of marginalized positions?

Our next set of questions ask about the quality of services of youth-serving organizations or programs during COVID19 & returning to in-person activities.

8. What were the main changes in schools or youth-serving organizations during COVID-19 that affected you?

9. What main changes occurred after 'returning' to in-person services?

10. What strategies should be used to improve the services provided to youth and young adults in Louisville, particularly those of marginalized positions?

Our next set of questions ask about your perspectives and concerns on racism, racial inequities, and COVID.

11.   What are your perspectives and concerns on racism and racial inequities in Louisville? What are the main types of racial inequities affecting you in Louisville?

12.   What should be the top city priorities and strategies for addressing racism and racial inequities affecting marginalized youth and young adults in Louisville What should be done to address racism & racial inequities in Louisville?

13.   How has COVID-19 impacted your education or work opportunities in Louisville? How has COVID-19 affected your thoughts about your future?

14.   What strategies should be used by organizations, programs or schools to help lessen the impact of COVID-19 on your life?

15.   Is there anything else you would like to share or questions that I have not asked about?

Thank you so much for sharing your thoughts & experiences!

Association Analysis

Notes for the association analysis begin on the following page. There may be typographical errors in the alphabetical text or visual aspects of this association analysis however all mathematically relevant portions should be accurate and reflect what you see in the main body of the thesis.

<u>Historic Mixed Investment</u> ($\sum n$=6)

Excluded by Education/Schools (n=4) 67%

Exclusion of community by policy (n=5) 83%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Discussed Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon" Exclusion from community,

<u>Not Historically Disinvested</u> (∑ *n*=4)

Exclusion from Community (n=3) 75%

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from shelter, exclusion of language

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, exclusion of language

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community,

<u>Historically Disinvested</u> (∑ *n*=3)

Exclusion of community by policy (n=2) 67%

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop), exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

Numerous Youth Organizations ($\sum n$=7)

      Exclusion of community by policy (n=6) 85%

      Excluded by policy (n=4) 57%

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon" Exclusion from community,

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

($\sum n=4$)

Exclusion from Community (n=3) 75%

Exclusion from Community or Shelter (n=4) 100%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, exclusion of language

Little Youth Organizations ($\sum n=2$)

Under sampled, no trend

Exclusion from community and shelter, (n=2) 100%

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community

Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from shelter, exclusion of language

<u>**Numerous Park Shelters**</u> ($\sum n$=6)

Exclusion of community by policy (n=6) 100%

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon" Exclusion from community,

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

<mark>Little Park Shelters</mark> ($\sum n$=6)

   Exclusion from Community (n=4) 67%

   Exclusion from Shelter or Community (n=5) 83%

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from shelter, exclusion of language

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, exclusion of language

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community

<u>**High Walkability**</u> ($\sum n$=3)

Excluded by Education/Schools (n=2) 67%

Exclusion of community by policy (n=2) 67%

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

<u>**Low Walkability, Mostly Long Walks**</u> ($\sum n$=3)

Exclusion from Community, (n=3) 100%

Displacement, (n=2) 67%

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community, access to socialization

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, access to socialization, exclusion of language

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community, access to socialization

Moderate Walkability, Mostly Short Walks (∑ *n*=6)

Excluded in Education/Schools (n=4) 67%

Exclusion of community by policy (n=5) 83%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon" Exclusion from community,

Exclusion in Education/Schools ($\sum n= 5$)

- historic mixed investment (n=4) 80%

- not historically disinvested (n=0) 0%

- moderate walkability, mostly short walks (n=4) 80%

- low walkability, mostly long walks (n=0) 0%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Exclusion of community by policy ($\sum n = 8$)

> numerous park shelters (n=6) 75%

> numerous youth organizations (n=6) 75%

> historic mixed investment (n=5) 63%

> moderate walkability, mostly short walks (n=5) 63%

> historic mixed investment and historically disinvested (n=7) 87%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon"

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

Exclusion from Community ($\sum n= 6$)

- little park shelters (n=4) 67%

- only some or little youth organizations (n=4) 67%

- low walkability, mostly long walks (n=3) 50%

- not historically disinvested (n=3) 50%

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from social infrastructure (education)

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, "dragging their feet," "Jargon", Exclusion from community,

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from shelter and community, displacement by policy

Exclusion from Community or Shelter ($\sum n= 8$)

- Only some or little youth programs + Only some or little park shelters (n=6) 75%

- numerous youth organizations + numerous park shelters (n=2) 25%

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from social infrastructure (education)

Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from shelter

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, "dragging their feet," "Jargon", Exclusion from community,

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

Displacement ($\sum n = 4$)

Under sampled, no trends

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, exclusion of language

Full Sample for Exclusion:

A (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, some park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Excluded by policy, Exclusion from shelter

Allie (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Peer exclusion, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification, Exclusion from Community

Amber Blue (zip code historic mixed investment, some youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Peer exclusion, Exclusion from Community

Billy Bob (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from shelter, exclusion of language

C (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy, Exclusion by language

D (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion of community by policy, Money, Volunteers

Halley (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Displacement by Gentrification

J (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, little park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Excluded by policy, picking and choosing

L (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Excluded by policy, Exclusion of community by policy, Money

Liam: (zip code not historically disinvested, some youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion through displacement from community, Exclusion from Community, exclusion of language

Lyn (zip code historic mixed investment, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, moderate walkability, mostly short walks to the bus stop): Exclusion of community by policy "dragging their feet," "Jargon"

Michael (zip code not historically disinvested, little youth organizations, little park shelters, low walkability, mostly long walks to the bus stop) Exclusion from Community

Sara (zip code historically disinvested, numerous youth organizations, numerous park shelters, high walkability, and short walks to the bus stop) Exclusion by policy, exclusion of community by policy, peer exclusion, exclusion from community and shelter, displacement by policy

CURRICULUM VITAE

James M. Joyce

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Education

> **Ph.D., University of Louisville, KY**
> *Applied Sociology, Department of Sociology, May 2025 (pending)*
>
> **M.A., University of Louisville, KY**
> *Department of Sociology, August 2022*
>
> **B.S., University of Louisville, KY**
> *Sociology 2020, (Focused Interdisciplinary work in Sustainability)*

Employment in Higher Education

2020 — Present, **Graduate Teaching & Research Assistant** at the *Department of Sociology, UofL.*

2018 — 2021, **Archives & Special Collections Assistant** with the *Ontonagon County (MI) Historical Society Photographic Survey,* Louisville, KY.

2018 — 2020, **Information Technology & Electronic Document Services Assistant** at *Louis D. Brandeis School of Law, UofL.*

2017 — 2019, **Sustainability & Community Hall Assistant** at *UofL.*

Internships/Research

Summer 2021, **STEPS Grants Planning**. *Kentucky Climate Consortium, University of Kentucky.* Lexington, KY.

Summer 2021, **Graduate Student Mentor.** *A&S Mentored Undergraduate Research and Creative Projects, UofL.*

Spring 2021, **Graduate Research Fellow**. *Cooperative Consortium for Transdisciplinary Social Justice Research, UofL.*

Spring 2021, **Social Media Analytics Intern**. *Solve Climate by 2030: Worldwide Teach-In on Climate and Justice, Conn Center for Renewable Energy Research, J.B. Speed School of Engineering, UofL* and *Center for Environmental Policy, Bard College,* Annandale-on-Hudson, NY.

Spring 2021, **Project Coordination**. Narrative, Data Collection & Analysis for *2020 Green House Gas Emissions Inventory, UofL.*

Spring 2020, **Project Coordination**. Narrative, Data Collection & Analysis for *2019 Green House Gas Emissions Inventory, UofL.*

2019 — 2020, **Undergraduate Research Fellow.** *Cooperative Consortium for Transdisciplinary Social Justice Research, UofL.*

2019 — 2020, **Undergraduate Community-Engaged Researcher**. *Superfund Research Center Community Engagement Core Community Advisory Board Member, Center for Environmental Policy & Management. UofL.*

Spring 2019, **Social Media Consultant**. *Free2Hope*, Louisville, KY.

2018 — 2019, **Sustainability Documentation (STARS) Intern**. *Department of Urban and Public Affairs, UofL.*

Awards/Grants

Trustees Academic Scholarship, 2015, 2019, 2020: $16,850
Kentucky Educational Excellence Scholarship (KEES) 2015, 2018, 2019: $4,968
Wilma S. Roseman Scholarship, 2019-2020: $5000
Transdisciplinary Consortium Undergraduate Fellowship, 2019-2020: $1000
Arthur D. Yocum Scholarship, 2019-2020: $1000

Other Public/Civic Engagements

2020-Present Member of *Kentucky Climate Consortium* at *University of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY.

2020-Present Treasurer of *Sociology Graduate Student Association, UofL.*

2018 Community Organizer for a Building-Wide Lighting Energy Audit at *Brandeis Law School Sustainability Committee, UofL.*

Courses Taught

Fall 2020 Intro to Sociology, Discussion Section Leader
Spring 2020 Intro to Sociology, Discussion Section Leader
Fall 2021 Intro to Sociology, Discussion Section Leader
Spring 2021 Intro to Sociology, Multiple Discussion Sections Leader
Fall 2022 Intro to Sociology, Discussion Section Leader