Chapter 10
Preventing New Liquor Licenses Through Youth–Community Participatory Action Research

Andrea Romero, Elisa Meza, Josefina Ahumada, Oscar Ceseña, Michele Orduña, Juan "Johnny" Quevedo, and Michal Urrea

Abstract This chapter examines how youth-led participatory action research to map the locations of liquor licenses in their city led to youth and adult collaboration to prevent new liquor licenses. Alcohol accessibility is a significant factor associated with adolescent alcohol use. Youth living in lower income neighborhoods often have higher than typical exposure to alcohol accessibility. In many ways, this chapter demonstrates how the South Tucson Prevention Coalition (STPC) worked together to create community transformational resilience because they were able to transform their environment in order to limit risk factors for adolescent alcohol use in a manner that would impact all youth in the city for many years. Their example demonstrates how a community can transform their environment to enhance opportunities for youth positive development and to limit exposure to risk factors.

A. Romero, Ph.D. (✉)
Family Studies and Human Development, The University of Arizona,
650 North Park Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85719, USA
e-mail: romeroa@u.arizona.edu

E. Meza, M.S.W.
San Francisco Unified School District, San Francisco, CA, USA
e-mail: mezae520@gmail.com

J. Ahumada, M.S.W.
School of Social Work, Arizona State University, Mesa, AZ, USA
e-mail: josefina.ahumada@asu.edu

O. Ceseña • J.J. Quevedo
Pima Community College, Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: cesenao@yahoo.com; Tucsonhigh12@yahoo.com

M. Orduña, M.Ed.
House of Neighborly Service, Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: miorduna@gmail.com

M. Urrea
John Valenzuela Youth Center, Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: cookie_michal@hotmail.com; michal.urrea@gmail.com

A.J. Romero (ed.), *Youth-Community Partnerships for Adolescent Alcohol Prevention*, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26030-3_10

Keywords Liquor licenses • Alcohol accessibility • Alcohol availability • Youth leadership • Alcohol mapping • Youth-led participatory action research

Youth are often left out of sociopolitical spheres and thus, they are also left out of decision-making about how to improve their communities (Flanagan, 2003). However, engaging youth in transforming systems of inequity in their community may lead to honest youth insight into how to generate community health assets while also limiting risky factors for students (Walsh, DePaul, & Park-Taylor, 2009). Giving students the tools to understanding the context of their health behaviors can build their own capacity within their communities and provide their families with their own positive developmental resources. In fact, minority youth can become more empowered when they understand how their community is shaped by racial inequities associated with education, health care, and a hostile receiving context for immigrants. Engaging youth in their own environments through meaningful roles is likely to expand their understanding of the influence of environment on their lives. Moreover, it is an innovative way to develop community transformational resilience, where youth can lead transformations in their community to increase more protective factors and reduce risky factors.

In this chapter, we will discuss a youth–community partnership for a participatory action research project to limit alcohol availability in one city. This collaborative study examines how to utilize research and collective action to create a healthier community with youth-promoting resources that also limits access and availability of risky health behaviors. We present here the experiences of the youth and adult allies who participated in a liquor license-mapping project that was used to connect Positive Youth Development (PYD) and asset-building community models for alcohol use prevention. As youth became advocates for social justice and health, they also became resourceful assets to their community as a whole. This chapter demonstrates how context can shape the life of minority adolescents, and also how agency and education can be leveraged to create change in those contexts that contribute to youth and community resiliency. However, it was all the work prior to this activity that led to increased community awareness of alcohol norms and alcohol availability. It was the increased capacity of the community members to work together effectively and the fact that community leaders were listening to youth. This activity was also critical to community acceptance and embracing of research because it was led by youth and community members in partnership with university students and researchers. In this chapter, we will tell the story of how participatory action research principles for collective research, collective action, and most importantly the humanizing of minority youth lead to the success of preventing new liquor licenses in one city, which also lead to changes in city policy to promote protective factors and limit risky factors.

10.1 Limiting Alcohol Availability as a Community Strategy

Specific environmental strategies often focus on alcohol regulations and alcohol availability through targeting enforcement of existing laws (e.g., minimum age purchase), server/seller training, reducing use of false identification. It was the process of youth-led participatory action research and coalition collective action that lead to consensus about a need in South Tucson to control alcohol outlet density because of the specific geographic boundaries and the higher than usual count of existing alcohol outlets. The coalition agreed that limiting new alcohol retail licenses would be a proactive and strategic method to further limit the growth of alcohol availability in their community.

Availability refers to the time, energy, and money that must be expended to obtain a commodity (e.g., alcohol, marijuana, and cigarette); in other words, the more resources required to obtain something, the lower the availability. The research on availability could not be clearer; when the availability of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco is limited, the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs goes down (Burrow-Sanchez, 2006). STPC focused on availability of alcohol in the following few years with youth alcohol-mapping projects and sharing of data. This is the time during which the coalition engaged the most seriously in participatory action research. **Regulation** includes laws, rules, and policies that specify acceptable and unacceptable behaviors and that specify sanctions for violations. Regulations can specify who may use alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs (e.g., minimum age restrictions, sale of certain drugs by prescription only), where alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs may be used (e.g., designated smoking areas, restrictions on drinking in public places, workplace drug policies), who may sell alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (e.g., licenses for alcohol and tobacco retailers, controlled substance numbers for doctors), and where, when, and how alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs may be sold (e.g., restrictions on sales of alcohol at community events or at gas stations, restriction on giveaways and discounts, restricted hours of sale, and ban on cigarette vending machines).

During the final few years, the coalition was prepared and ready to focus on issues of regulation and to work most directly with the local government. This was achieved after several years of raising awareness of adolescent alcohol issues, adolescent prevention programs to develop critical consciousness and leadership capacity, and coalition development work. The STPC chose to focus on limiting alcohol outlet density in the community by targeting new requests for liquor licenses; this was partially based on the results of their community-led surveys (see Chap. 9) but also based on the youth-led research for alcohol mapping.

An extremely important ecological factor when working with youth directly in the City of South Tucson is their contextual environment. A city that seems divided within the larger city of Tucson creates a border illustrated by obvious differences with sociogeographic markers (i.e., billboards prominently advertised in Spanish, more pedestrians, street vendors, etc.). Civic education in understanding these

ecological differences as compared to their peers located on the north side of Tucson can become a developmental asset to their community by the ways youth view the potential of seeing their community grow. The City of South Tucson is a city within the greater city of Tucson where context dissimilarities are obvious and observable. Unequal resource allocation and provisions of support need to be considered as risk factors for youth alcohol outcomes (Dupree, Spencer, & Fegley, 2007). Yet, central to success of STPC is that youth were included as equal partners in the coalition to develop prevention strategies; this decision was based on previous research and theories such as the Community Readiness Model for Change and Participatory Action Research.

10.2 The Importance of Youth Leadership: Humanization of Youth of Color

Males (1996) argues that the USA is one of the most anti-youth societies, because there are few human rights extended to youth, yet there are a significant number of restrictions (e.g., curfews) and consequences (policing policies) specific to youth behavior. Even though youth in general have positive outcomes and many problematic issues are decreasing, such as substance use, school dropouts, and teen pregnancies (Males, 1996), they are still often portrayed in a negative and stereotyped light as if they are disaffected, uninvolved, and unsuccessful. Furthermore, views of ethnic minority youth are often even harsher than the views of youth in general, and they are portrayed as not fully human or deserving of rights or voice (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). For example, Latino youth are most often portrayed in society in a negative light. Stereotypes are negative generalized assumptions of an entire group; stereotypes of Latinos and Native Americans include assumptions that they are heavy drinkers, gang-affiliated, and with little education (Flores Niemann, 2001). These views of youth of color can be stigmatizing and can be even more pervasive for individuals who live in neighborhoods with high poverty.

Youth living in the City of South Tucson discuss being negatively stereotyped by those in the outside community; they describe being portrayed as being involved in gangs, crime, school dropouts, poor, and immigrants (see Chap. 7). These are just a few of the reasons why YPAR and CBPR are important methodological strategies to working with marginalized, yet resilient, communities, because it offers one way to rehumanize them within a group setting through offering respectful ways of interaction and the dignity of sharing their voice and their action as a group. Thus, working with youth in South Tucson had a clear mission to begin with respectful treatment of youth to provide settings with dignity and safety.

Central to Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) is that the youth are situated as constructors of their own reality, as researchers and as leaders (Torre & Fine, 2006). In fact, researchers across many studies have found that ethnic minority

adolescents are eager to provide sharp critique of the system they see around them and to challenge the current strategies; however, the majority of this research has been focused on educational outcomes or civic engagement (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Ginwright, Noguera, & Cammarota, 2006; Rodríguez & Brown, 2009). Furthermore, many of the published studies focus on the work with youth and youth allies, and do not discuss the outreach and work done to engage community leaders and other adults who may not be youth allies (Ginwright et al., 2006). While, many of these studies discuss the importance of civic engagement and development of youth as citizens, few have been able to link youth work with actual policy changes (Cahill, Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008; Ginwright, 2008). While YPAR is highly relevant and useful for educational settings, we also argue that this approach to youth organizing and policy making is applicable to health promotion and alcohol prevention even though there are few published YPAR projects specifically for substance use prevention (Allen, Mohatt, Beehler, & Rowe, 2014; Berg, Coman, & Schensul, 2009).

There are several key elements of Youth Participatory Action Research that have been described by Ginwright and Cammarota (2007) and Rodríguez and Brown (2009) that include (1) youth have human rights; (2) youth have agency to transform the status quo of their environment; (3) youth work needs to be inquiry based in a manner that considers youth experiences within their economic, political, and social contexts; (4) youth positive development is a ***collective response*** to current marginalization of all youth; and (5) equal youth participation is necessary for all stages of knowledge production. We follow these key principals in much of our work with youth. Each of these principles really focuses on how adults view youth, and each is a reminder about the humanity and autonomy of youth. These principles are emphasized because so often youth are dehumanized and infantilized because they are not adults yet and do not have adult individual rights (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). By considering the broader context of youth health and focusing on collective responses to create change, YPAR hones in on the means by which to create societal level changes to improve youth health.

10.2.1 Youth as Civic Leaders

Martín-Baró et al. (1994) argued that the action and reflection cycle that is inherent in the PAR process is essential to youth development as civic activists. Ginwright (2008) argues that a central goal of YPAR is to develop youth as active participants in the democratic process; however, this takes on a new and unique meaning when working with youth and families in South Tucson, given that many parents are immigrants and almost one-third of youth are immigrants (U.S. Census Burearu, 2010). This reality puts into question the use of the term citizen and the meaning of the democratic process as something much more complex than voting alone. Thus, our inclusive view of civic and sociopolitical engagement lays out multiple ways in which individuals of all backgrounds can still have voice and impact on the political

structures within their communities (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). We rely on the definition of citizen put forth by Cahill and colleagues (2008), which states that citizenship is "being recognized as a decision maker and an agent of change." Yet, the focus should not only be on their future participation of youth in the voting process but also what they can do as adolescents by emphasizing the presence of their voice and their perspective in order to shape policies and legislation, particularly those with direct relevance for their lives.

Effective engagement with civic activities has been linked to positive youth development, via self-esteem and political self-efficacy (Morgan & Streb, 2001). However, it is not only community service that matters, it is the community service component when linked with critical consciousness that can truly lead to collection action and activism to change the existing community structure (Sherrod, 2007). In sum, there is evidence that youth who are involved in community issues are more likely to report feelings of social responsibility, social connectedness to their community, higher self-esteem, and a better understanding of social issues (Ginwright et al., 2006; Yates & Youniss, 1996). A key component of individual empowerment has been defined as sociopolitical control which includes self-efficacy, motivation, competence, and perceived control within a sociopolitical sphere. This specifically includes aspects of leadership competence and policy control (Peterson, Peterson, Agre, Christens, & Morton, 2011; Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991). Christens and Peterson (2012) demonstrate the critical role of perceived sociopolitical control as a mediating variable between ecological supports and positive development. Peterson et al. (2011) found that youth with more perceived sociopolitical control were also more likely to be engaged in their communities and less likely to report alcohol use.

A fundamental aspect of STPC's success with youth was that there were continuous opportunities for youth to participate in after-school prevention programs (Omeyocan YES and VOZ), and the programs were always based on cultural assets with a critical pedagogy to understand health within a larger societal context. Watts and Flanagan (2007) suggest that youth first develop a critical worldview of their environment, and then youth are significantly more likely to be involved in sociopolitical behaviors, that include civic voice, activism, organizing, as well as voting. As such, sociopolitical development is critical to linking youth of color with the civic processes of their community as an essential part of their healthy development into adulthood. Opportunities for this type of sociopolitical development and civic engagement in general may be particularly important for immigrant adolescents or adolescents with immigrant parents who may find unique challenges to access socialization into the US civic processes. Schools are often traditional sources of democratic socialization; yet researchers found that there are few opportunities for open climates in the public schools that allow for discussion of controversial political issues, including immigration (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014). It is also crucial to note that civic education classes in public schools seems to have become less of a national priority due to the health of the nation as a whole (Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007). These are reasons why low income and immigrant communities may need to offer additional opportunities for open discussion with adults and inclusion of adolescents into adult civic activities. In fact, adolescent's immigrant

context and ethnic minority status are likely to inform their contributions to their community in a manner that is based on their own experiences of inequity and social justice (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002).

10.2.2 Youth and Adult Community Partnerships

In order for youth to effectively be engaged in civic activities, there is an intergenerational component that must be integrated, and this may mean moving outside the sphere of working with adult allies. The presence of opportunity structures to teach youth and to support opportunities for action is essential to the process of youth sociopolitical development (Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Watts & Guessous, 2006). Youth cannot move alone; they are more likely to have success if they can work in partnership with adults (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). Moreover, in order to ensure the continued democratic participation of any community, it is important to consider how youth are being socialized to participate in the democratic process, not only through voting but also through volunteering, using their voice and gaining knowledge about the political process (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Some empirical studies have demonstrated that opportunities for youth experiences and for social interaction rooted in civic changes are the strongest predictors of youth agency and political awareness (Yates & Youniss, 1996). Yet, at times when sociopolitical contexts are changing rapidly, some adults choose to further exclude youth; however, some argue that this is exactly the critical time to increase participation of youth in their community civic activities (Christens & Peterson, 2012; Ginwright & James, 2002). Youth involvement is likely to increase the inclusivity and diversity of democracies. Moreover, some argue that conscious exclusion of youth in civic process is a form of age discrimination or age segregation (Christens & Peterson, 2012). Often because of stigma against youth, and especially youth of color, they are most often excluded from decision making about services aimed at teens (Watts & Guessous, 2006). However, several scholars also remind us that the most effective blends within programs find a way to balance youth-led opportunities with adult-guided structure and support (Flanagan, 2003). Zeldin, Christens, and Powers (2013) argue that the most effective programs have the following definitive elements: meaningfulness, authenticity, opportunity to impact others, collaborative action, and partnerships with adults. Towards the middle and through the end of the STPC project, it was clear that all of these elements were in place and functioning together. It was these factors that contributed to the success of youth-led research and then collective action of youth and community partners to affect decisions about liquor licenses.

The Y2Y attended retreats out of state, in California, for the International Youth-to-Youth Conference. At those retreats, the youth were able to connect with others throughout the nation, expanding their networks and building a wider analysis of the sorts of issues other youth face in their communities. This made the alcohol

availability issues within the City of South Tucson seem like reoccurring themes throughout the nation, which reminded the youth that they were a part of something a lot larger than what they initially realized. Juan "Johnny" Quevedo, Y2Y leader, comments about the importance of the international conferences to build the youth leadership skills and confidence.

> Attending the annual Y2Y international conference, we gained information from other people, our peers. The discussions that we would have were much more different. (Other youth groups) would describe their "battles" against drugs and alcohol, and we were there to give advice. Everyone else had issues, like offering drinks and drugs, and I would say much more than they would ever imagine, like, talking about us doing the liquor count, their community wasn't as involved as we were (even though we were a small city).

The conferences also provide new opportunities for South Tucson youth to be leaders at a national level, and both Oscar and Juan became leaders at the national conference. As minority youth on a national stage, they also found ways to embrace and share their experiences about their ethnicity and language. While, it was one thing to talk about cultural and language assets in the bicultural community of South Tucson. It was also transformative for Juan to share his personal story about immigration and learning English on that national stage. He describes it as:

> The best time was at the annual conference in California. We were so excited to let others know about what we did. I was a speaker. I talk about my life story at the conference. There were 700–800 people. I was asked to speak because my life story was fascinating to others, coming to a new country, not knowing the language, feeling lost, stupid, I felt really really behind. The center and the fun things that I would do, to help elementary school age children—it helped mold me into something great. The fact that they invited me to speak, I talked about where I was from, and how confusing my life was, being a teenager, being Mexican, being gay, and coming out to my adopted family—and being Arizona. It was a lot, but I managed to do a lot more.

10.2.3 Alcohol Retailer-Mapping Proximity to Youth

The Alcohol Retailer-Mapping Proximity to Youth (ARMPY) project was funded by the Arizona Governor's Office for Children, Youth, and Families. Given the previous success of the youth-led prevention public service announcements (described in Chap. 9), a very similar method of implementation was used again, with youth leaders who were chosen to carry out the alcohol retail mapping. They were recruited from the Y2Y and the South Tucson Explorers group. Adult allies also worked with youth, including Jessica Alderete (JVYC Youth Specialist), Dr. Andrea Romero, City of South Tucson Planners, and Michele Orduña (STPC Coordinator). Youth engaged in several hours of group participation in planning and organizing.

Their goal was to collect data about liquor license density and proximity to youth activities. They did this through collecting data in order to map the locations of the liquor licenses in the City of South Tucson. They also specifically identified whether the liquor licenses were on-sale (e.g., consumed on the site where they were sold,

such as in a restaurant) or off-sale (e.g., consumed off the location where they were sold, such as in a grocery store or market) and the youth attractions (locations where children and youth gather, such as schools or youth centers). Juan "Johnny" Quevedo, Y2Y youth leader, describes some of what the youth found as part of the process, "*There were so many good things, library, fire station, convenience stores, Walgreens, restaurants, local stores, famous restaurants, I was surprised that there were a lot of places to visit, store, museum, one pet clinic (we didn't know about), barber shops, things you always pass by and you miss. I liked the fact that we, the teenagers, got that done, with the help of STPC. It is appreciated much more when it is hands on and not just listening to an adult talk to us. We learned that we had several businesses in the city that are beneficial to the community. We also learned how to work with one another.*"

In the City of South Tucson, youth found 22 liquor license businesses, 15 of which were on-sale retailers and 7 were off-sale (see Fig. 10.1). They also found that there were 52 youth attractions within .25 mile radius of the liquor retailers. Youth attractions were defined as any place that youth can go under the age of 21, such as schools, day cares, parks, churches, community centers, auto shops, restaurants, and grocery stores. Youth also took pictures that demonstrated the proximity of liquor sales to locations where children and youth spent a lot of time (see Fig. 10.2).

10.2.4 Youth-Identified Benefits of ARMPY

Youth participants identified the benefits they experienced as a result of the ARMPY, which include (1) Leadership, (2) Knowledge, (3) Teamwork, and (4) Responsibility. The aspects of leadership were for both youth and adults. While youth learned leadership skills, they also contributed leadership to the coalition by helping to make the community better. Youth learned leadership through the mapping project because they saw how they were making the community better through putting their best foot forward. By their work doing research to gather knowledge and to share their findings, they helped lead to future innovative ideas for prevention strategies in the community.

Even though all the youth were from South Tucson, they also felt that they gained knowledge through their participation because it helped them to understand how many liquor retailers were in the community. They acknowledged that their research on the liquor retailers helped them distinguish between important nuances, such as on-sale and off-sale vendors. This distinction was important to understand how drinking in restaurants and bars differed from buying alcohol and taking it home. Yet, this distinction also shed light on the neighborhood phenomenon of individuals who bought alcohol and drank in the streets. These individuals were often passed out or drunk in the streets or near the location selling alcohol. It also increased youth and adult awareness about how easily alcohol was available in all the local grocery stores and convenience stores. Youth noted how near alcohol was placed to healthy

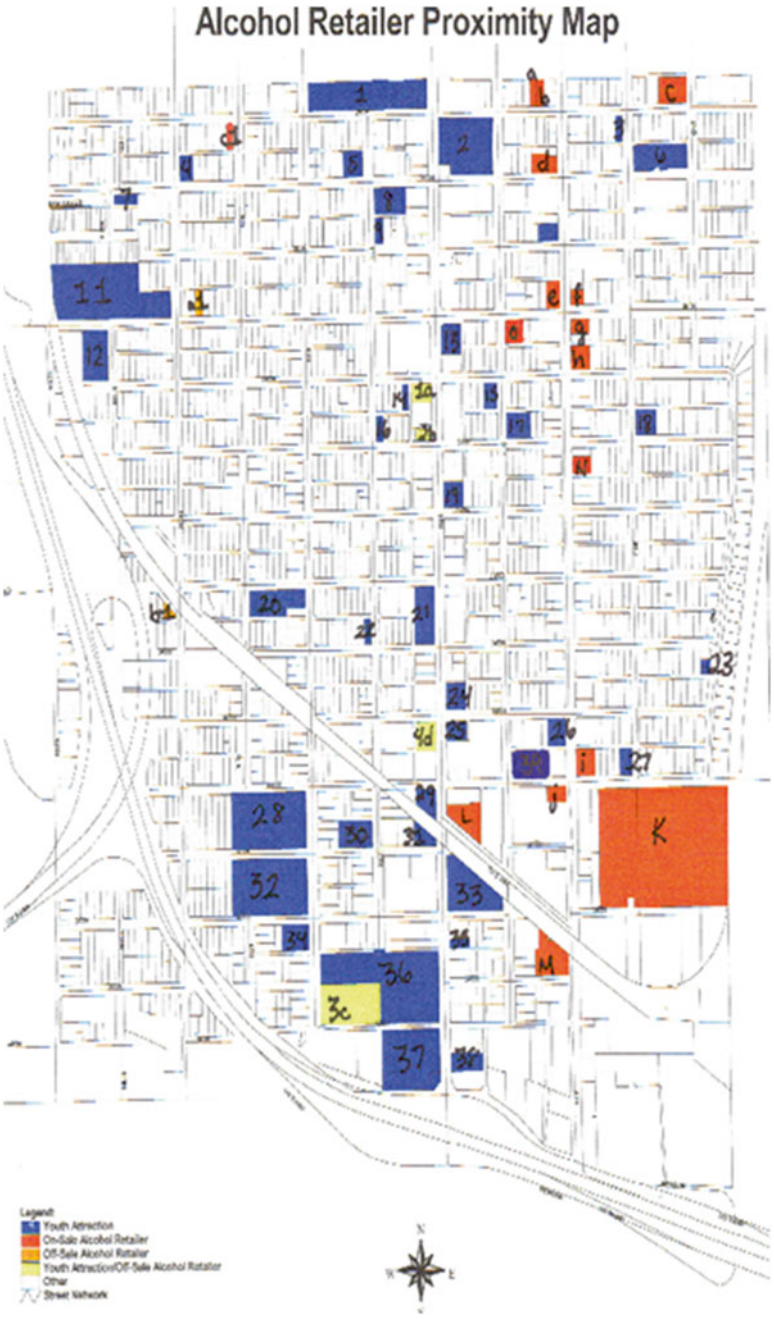

Fig. 10.1 Alcohol retailer proximity map, youth attractions are numbered and that on-sale alcohol retailers are lettered. Off-sale alcohol retailers have numbers and letters

Fig. 10.2 Youth pictures of alcohol retail proximity to youth. These pictures depict the proximity of beer sales to healthy food and areas where children are present

foods, such as fruits and vegetables. They stated "*There are too many liquor places close to youth attractions and it's affecting our youth because it seems so easy for them to acquire liquor.*" This comment gets to the heart of the community alcohol norms on availability. The tangible visual results of this project helped youth to share their knowledge and to make a strong rationale to limit the number of liquor licenses (see Fig. 10.1 for map).

Through this process, youth also identified teamwork as a benefit. They learned to work together through the process, as they gathered information. The project was too big for only one or two people. As a result, the teens learned to rely on each other to gather information in different sectors of the community. The resulting map pulled together all their efforts into one cohesive tangible result. They also felt that sharing the results with STPC and other adults through town halls helped them understand that prevention was a community level issue. They realized that to create change in the community, it would require more teamwork beyond just youth members. Lastly, they felt that one of the benefits was responsibility. The youth reported feeling that they learned responsibility because they were accountable to adults and other youth to be on time and having to report their findings to the team after data collection activities. They felt that this was a positive benefit of the activities.

10.2.5 Youth-Identified Community Benefits of ARMPY

Youth participants also identified community benefits that they felt resulted from the ARMPY, which include (1) raising awareness and (2) ideas for future projects. To begin with, the youth felt that awareness about on-sale versus off-sale liquor licenses was important for the community to be aware of. Additionally, they felt that the awareness about the proximity of alcohol selling to location where youth spent a significant amount of time was important for adults to be aware of. Often adults overlook youth activities and locations that youth frequent because it is not very conscious; it can be almost invisible to adult perception. One of the results of the map was to demonstrate to adults exactly where youth spent time in the city. This helped raise adult's awareness about youth activities. Yet, the map also raised awareness about how close in proximity adult activities, such as drinking, were in relation to youth activities. It also raised awareness about how adult activities could impact youth and children who witnessed their actions in the community. Another key benefit for the community was to increase ideas for future prevention strategies, both youth-led and adult-led. The youth were very inspired and motivated by their findings, and it led them to come up with more ideas about youth-led projects that could identify environmental factors to reduce underage drinking.

The information from the ARMPY project was presented by youth and adult allies during the Fiesta de La Comunidad on April 26th, during a STPC town hall on May 13th, and to the Mayor and City Council in the same month. Youth proposed that the solution to the issue of too much liquor sales in near proximity to youth attractions was to reduce alcohol advertising outside of buildings in off-sale locations, like local markets (see Fig. 10.2). Not long after these presentations, the City Council chose to pass an ordinance to stop advertising alcohol outside of off-sale locations.

The second solution proposed by youth was to reduce liquor licenses or prevent new ones. This proposed solution was reached after much reflection on the data collected by youth. Youth at the JVYC were committed to bringing attention to the variations within the City of South Tucson by participating in community-mapping projects to highlight the excess presence of alcohol consumption throughout their community. Youth became critically conscious of the negative impact of so many liquor licenses within one city. However, initiating this solution to prevent new liquor licenses was still a process, and it required collaboration of youth and adults. The first opportunity that presented itself was in the middle of the national economic recession in 2010; Walgreens, a large corporate pharmacy and market, entered 135 applications to sell alcohol across Arizona. Michele Orduña, STPC Project Coordinator, recalls first being contacted by Gloria Hamelitz-Lopez, JVYC Executive Director, to ask if STPC would support a youth protest against Walgreens's liquor license application in South Tucson.

> Gloria called me, in the 3rd year of the grant, and said 'Michele, have you read the paper? There is all this stuff about how all Walgreens in the state want to apply for liquor licenses.' At first, I said 'I don't understand what this has to do with us at all.' She said 'The teens

> want to protest the liquor license.' I remember thinking 'They want to do what? Gloria, I don't even know what that entails, I don't even know what that means?, but if they want to . . She (Gloria) was asking 'they (youth) want to know if the coalition will help them' I replied 'sure, I don't know what that means, but yes, why not.' With that, at the next meeting we brought it up and the coalition as a whole wanted to do it, and we then embarked on a 9-month journey about protesting this liquor license. It is a lengthy process to begin with, once you apply for a liquor license, you need community input, a community recommendation, it goes up to the board, then a two-week waiting process. So we agreed to stand beside the youth as they made this protest, and this argument against this liquor license.

As part of this youth-led and adult-guided model, there were several meetings with youth and adults to critically think through how to protest the liquor license application. One of the most critical decisions that they made together was how to craft the campaign message. The youth and adults agreed that making a social argument, such as to deny the liquor license because of underage drinking, overconsumption, theft, nuisance, or stealing, would fall flat because the decision is primarily a business decision, rooted in the quality of the business, and how it would add to local and state economy. So, they reached consensus that the campaign message would be "We don't want one more liquor license in South Tucson." This message was derived from their previous alcohol-mapping research, from which they knew that Circle K already had a liquor license and was only 88 feet away from Walgreens. Moreover, they felt that they could argue that South Tucson was oversaturated with liquor licenses, and there was no need for an additional one. Michele describes some of the reasons why this campaign message was important and effective:

> We just don't want another one (liquor license), it is close to schools, it is in our community, it is on a major intersection, it is right in the center of South Tucson. It was made clear early on, and this was important to everyone in the fight against the liquor license, that we don't have an issue with Walgreens, because everybody loved the Walgreens, you can find everything there, and it was the only pharmacy in South Tucson. We just didn't want to do it as a whole blanket that Walgreens was bad because they wanted the liquor license, or that they were no good now, it was 'We just don't want the liquor license, we don't want one more.'

Youth collected over 600 signatures on a petition to protest the liquor license in a city with approximately 1500 people. Michele describes the next steps of a public march and rally to protest the liquor license in front of Walgreens (see Fig. 10.3) "*Youth went on public sidewalks in front of Walgreens one day and held signs and protested that they didn't want a liquor license, and it was a cold and windy day that day. They did press releases that day and they got some media coverage. We started a petition and asked everybody to sign that petition.*"

Youth also attended the City Council sessions, along with over 100 other locals who filled up the room. There was extensive discussion, and a second City Council meeting had to be scheduled to continue the discussion. During the call to the audience, many people including youth stated that they were against the approval of this liquor license. Youth presented the petition signatures to the City Council; there were another 200 signatures collected by a former city council member. Michele states "*Mayor and council were very open, they were, I think, a little taken by surprise at the presentation the youth gave, how much thought, effort, and energy went*

Fig. 10.3 Youth protest against the liquor license

into it, and how much they were willing to go up in front of mayor and council and speak and tell that story. Mayor and council validated their argument and offered to not recommend to the liquor board." That was all that the City needed to do, was to not recommend the application for the liquor license; however, this denial only moved the final decision to the state liquor license board.

Michele describes the next stage of the process that moved to the state liquor license board meeting in Phoenix, the state capitol. The state liquor license board meets monthly and is comprised of a 7-member bi-partisan committee that has set term limits. The board often strongly represents the business community at the state level.

> Once (the license application) gets to the board review, there are not many people come to provide an argument, you are allowed to send up all this information and all these arguments on paper. The reason that I say this is that the room is small where the committee meets. It is usually, maybe two people from the neighborhood associations, never a group of people. When we went, we decided, well, this is a community-based effort, we are going to take teens, we are going to take fire, police, JVYC staff, UA staff, so it was going to be a cross-section of people who live there and some that don't work there too. It was a weekday and we had to caravan up to Phoenix, they had a schedule, but we didn't know there was a lot of waiting, there were a lot of other applications being reviewed that day. So, we go, and it is real intense, you can cut the tension with a knife, and there is almost no one in the room.

Youth mobilized so that they and other STPC members could attend the state board meeting; this was in the state capital (1½ h away) on a school day. This required quite a bit of organizing, obtaining permission to leave school, and obtaining transportation.

The representation from the City of South Tucson was strong at the state board meeting, with representation from at least nine youth and many adults including the City Manager, City attorney, a representative from the City police, STPC director (Michele Orduña), John Valenzuela Youth Center Director (Gloria Hamelitz), and Dr. Romero (see Figs. 10.4 and 10.5). So, in this very formal business-like and government setting, there sat the liquor license board and about 15–20 townspeople from the City of South Tucson. Michele describes what happens next.

> We are excited, we are ready, we are prepared. We waited hours. The room is really quiet, and you are not supposed to react to thing. They figured out we are not going anywhere, we are from Tucson, so we are not going anywhere. So they make some changes to the agenda. They were not used to that many people coming up to protest a license, and we find out that not everyone can speak, only 4–5 people can speak. We had to figure that out quickly. The

Fig. 10.4 Preparing to go into the state liquor license board meeting in Arizona State Capital, Phoenix

Fig. 10.5 Celebrating after the state liquor license board decision to deny the liquor license

> city manager and the city attorney went—because you have to be represented through the city attorney, because you have to be represented by the local government, which is the City of South Tucson. If we didn't have him (the city attorney) there we wouldn't have been allowed to speak. So we decided who was going (to speak) and in what order. It was one of the most intimidating things I've ever done in my life, kind of like this whole journey was. You didn't know how finite these rules are or these regulations or this policy or how things are conducted, so it is kind of scary the first time. So, we give our argument. A couple teenagers testified, the police chief (or staff), I testified, and Dr. Romero. The argument was the same—'We don't want another one (liquor license)'.

All city reps, Ms. Orduña, Ms. Hamelitz-Lopez, two youth, and Dr. Romero provided sworn testimony and responded to questions from the Walgreens representative lawyer during this session. Afterwards, there was at least 20–30 min of discussion by the board. Michele describes some of the public discussion by the board members.

> A board member said, this is a really tough decision, and it shouldn't be, because Walgreens is an upstanding reputable business. I've never known any Walgreens to have any issue with a liquor license, they've never been on probation, they've never been pulled, they are a good company. This is a business decision, because this is sales to the state. Why would we deny money coming into the state, and why would the city deny that because that trickles down? But then I am looking at the people who are here and make this argument, and it is a different argument then we usually get. So they couldn't easily justify one more liquor license. Other board members felt challenged about what decision to make. In that moment, you are like, I don't know if it is going to work or not, and there is no recourse. **They came back and officially denied the liquor license. We stood our ground**.

In the end, the board voted unanimously to deny the liquor license to Walgreens in the City of South Tucson location; in fact, it was only 1 of 2 applications denied to Walgreens in Arizona that year. There was an op-ed written by the STPC Project Director, Michele Orduña, published in the main local newspaper that describes the prevention of the liquor license (see Fig. 10.6).

June 11, 2010 12:00 am • Michele Orduña Special To The Arizona Daily Star

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This spring the Walgreens in the city of South Tucson was one of 30 Walgreens stores applying for new liquor licenses.

South Tucson officials, teens, parents and children became concerned when the South Tucson Walgreens, at 1900 S. Sixth Ave., was identified among the others, because of the efforts of South Tucson's mayor, council and administrators to reduce liquor licenses in our community.

Just a few decades ago we had over 40 liquor licenses in our 1.2-square-mile city at bars and liquor stores. Today, there are about half that number of licensed alcohol vendors, and most of those are restaurants.

Teens from the South Tucson John Valenzuela Youth Center (JVYC) were among the first to protest the new liquor license. JVYC's mission is to continue the vision of South Tucson police Officer John A. Valenzuela by promoting the positive development of youth with recreational and educational programs that espouse healthy living.

JVYC leaders had often shared their concerns about underage drinking and its connection to the many liquor outlets in our tiny city. In 2006, they participated in an alcohol-mapping grant funded by the Arizona Governor's Office of Children, Youth and Families. The youth walked and charted the proximity of youth attractions to liquor outlets.

That mapping exercise inspired JVYC to make the community healthier and more drug-free.

Fig. 10.6 South Tucson pulls out all the stops to prevent a new local liquor license

In May, Walgreens went before the Arizona State Liquor Board to make its case for another liquor license in South Tucson to sell beer and wine.

Back in March, the city of South Tucson's mayor and council held two public hearings to get input from community members before making their official licensing recommendations to the liquor board. JVYC youth helped organize a public protest in front of the South Tucson Walgreens store, with children and teens holding posters stating, "No more liquor licenses."

Next, the teens collected over 600 signatures to enter as official opposition at the City Council meeting. Ildefonso Green, a resident and former city of South Tucson council member, collected another 200 petition signatures.

Based on those efforts, Mayor Jennifer Eckstrom and the council voted unanimously for a "disapproval" recommendation against the South Tucson Walgreens.

During the Arizona Liquor Board hearing in Phoenix on May 6 sworn testimony was given from the South Tucson city attorney, the city manager, the deputy police chief, two local teens, a University of Arizona professor, and the director of the John Valenzuela Youth Center. Based on the testimony of those community members, the board denied the South Tucson Walgreens liquor application.

One member of the liquor board later said that he had never seen "as many community members attend a license board hearing." South Tucson residents, youth and organizations like the Pima County Community Prevention Coalition, went to Phoenix to fight the South Tucson Walgreens liquor license application.

Fig 10.6 (continued)

It was a huge victory for a tiny city, inspired by the leadership of our JVYC youth. It could have gone differently; after all, the great majority of businesses that request them are granted liquor licenses.

But that day we had decided that there would not be even one more liquor license in South Tucson.

That effort by our teens and other community members was a wonderful reaffirmation of how diligent, civic duty by youth and adults has its rewards.

Michele Orduña is director of the South Tucson Prevention Coalition. E-mail her at MiOrduña@gmail.com.

Fig 10.6 (continued)

10.3 Youth Reflections on the Liquor License Prevention Success

Oscar discusses the evolution of the efforts of Y2Y and STPC that ultimately led to the successful protesting of Walgreens. He links the work of the alcohol-mapping project to the decision and the work to protest the liquor license:

> …but other than that we've done, alcohol-mapping grants where myself and a couple of Y2Y members, we went out and we actually walked the entire city counting how many liquor establishments there were next to youth attractions and there's, right now there's like 22 liquor establishments and which is better than, like a couple years ago when it was like 52. So, you can see how over the years it's gone down a lot. But it was really cool, because we mapped the entire city, we broke it down into four quadrants and for a month we walked down, um, the entire quadrant, all of us. And then we gave all the data to, the people on the STPC board. And what was cool about that is that it got nationally recognized, where they actually did a whole presentation about it in Tennessee. So myself and one of the other Y2Y members, that was part of that, we got to go over there and see it. So that's pretty cool. And then, more recently they wanted to do a liquor license at the Walgreens here so we really protested that. We went to the city council and we told them that we think another building with another liquor license would be bad for the city and stuff. And they listened and they agreed with us. So they, denied the request, but they [Walgreens] took it up to Phoenix for the, what is it? The alcohol board, or something like that? So, we went up there and, thinking that, because they were giving us all these stories like 'Oh, they never deny. They just want to give them blah blah blah.' But we went up there thinking all these kids from like the Barrio where people say, so it was really rewarding where we stayed there for like seven hours and seeing everybody else's alcohol applications get granted (approved). But we were the one of two that day that were the only one of two that got denied that day. So that was [a] big accomplishment for us.

There was a tremendous feeling of success, especially being aware that it was rare for licenses to be denied. Youth realized that they could make a big difference, and that they were ready to advocate for their city, even by going to the state capital and speaking in front of the state liquor license board. Michal was a part of that mapping project and remembered how it made her feel to become civically engaged in her community:

> When we went to the City Council and went to them about the liquor license, yeah…doing that was a really big thing for us because we were thinking, "Wow, we can really do something our own community." Because back then, we'd think no one wanted to listen to us, they're just kids, ya know? And that made me realize things like, "Wow, this is really helpful, we can really do something."

10.3.1 The Importance of Community Awareness to Create Change

Community awareness of adolescent alcohol use and alcohol availability is key for real change to occur. According to Oscar, community awareness was critical to their success, "*There's a lot more youth involvement because, just everything that's going on now, it's more awareness, like as opposed to five years ago*." Oscar asserts that increased awareness results in increased involvement. From a CBPR perspective, and one that Oscar agrees with, giving the community an equal voice greatly increases the effectiveness of their efforts.

> …back then if we would have said to the youth 'Oh can you help us out protesting this alcohol request?' We would have gotten like ten and now it was like 50 of us outside of Walgreens protesting and asking them not to do that. So, it's really grown a lot. So, there's more peer pressure in a good way now-a-days. I'm hoping there is, anyway.

The increase in awareness of alcohol norms really has worked well for this community; so much so in fact that the community of South Tucson was able to block a local Walgreens from receiving a liquor license.

10.3.2 Adult-Identified Community Benefits

Adults also identified community benefits from the process of protesting the license. One of the benefits was the ability to go through this process, yet to be able to maintain positive relationships with the businesses. This was achieved because of the campaign message that was agreed up on by all partners, which emphasized the liquor license density, and did not spread negative views of businesses. For example, Michele states, "*As time went on, and even though it was a pretty lengthy process, adults and other key stakeholders, it is a good idea not to have another liquor license, especially with the argument, it did not become so personal, it wasn't just*

oh those bad kids or those homeless people." Michele is commenting here that while the protest of the liquor license took a long time, it was also effective at changing the minds of many adults in the community who were less aware of adolescent alcohol issues. Additionally, with the campaign focusing on "not one more liquor license," the argument was not internal to the youth; it was a message that the community could embrace. Additionally, it did not put any further negative messages into the community about youth drinking or youth who were bad kids; this was very important and conscious to the youth and adults because of the existing negative messages about youth in South Tucson. Josefina, STPC member, also adds "*today there is a positive relationships with Walgreens, (they) are a stakeholder that supports community in South Tucson.*"

One of the benefits identified by adults was that their perspective of the youth in the community changed. It became much more positive in part because youth behaviors challenged their previous low expectations about youth involvement. Michele states, "*What was pleasant too, because it was such a lengthy process, and there were all these things you had to do by a certain time, and make sure you filed with the state and stuff like that and paperwork had to get in, and the teens never wavered in their enthusiasm about going through this, I didn't know how long it would take and if this was going to tail off.*" In effect, Michele was commenting on the ability of the youth to remain focused and to keep the leadership in this long-term strategy. Jaime explained the changes he noticed within the youth:

> For me, work was about the youth…and to watch the youth change and become their own thinkers…and realize their life and how great it is, and show them something new, show them something different, and make them realize how big the world really is and how beautiful it really is and to watch them kind of come into their own.

10.4 Expansion and Institutionalization

It was during this period that the City of South Tucson also made several policy changes in response to the work and the policy advocacy of the youth. Despite their victory over Walgreens, their efforts have since shifted to a new threat that has arisen within the community. Earlier Oscar mentioned K2, a drug that is becoming increasingly popular across the country. Oscar went on to discuss what Y2Y has been doing most recently to try and curtail the use of K2 by youth.

> Cause K2 is kind of a legalized marijuana substance that kids and everybody are smoking now because there's no drug test. You can't really get arrested for it, and it's legal, it's basically like legal marijuana. And it's, synthetic, synthetic something, but it's it does the same effects, if not stronger, and there's been a lot of causes already. I think there are a couple states that banned it already. But we, um, we found out that two smoke shops in South Tucson were selling K2. So we do a presentation, a PowerPoint presentation on all the dangers of K2 and so that's what our next step is. To work on getting a, a ban in the state. Cause we already got a ban in South Tucson.

The result of the work was that the City of South Tucson created several changes to their city code and one new ordinance. In this way, they addressed the concerns of the youth about proximity of alcohol advertising and selling of medical marijuana. Specifically, they created a new section to prohibit the selling of K2 (synthetic marijuana) (see Fig. 10.7, Section 7-34 (e) Restricted Smoking Material) to anyone under 21 years of age. They also responded to the youth-led research and mobilization to create more access to local parks by enforcing a new slum-lord policy that would allow the city to take over abandoned houses where drug-addicted adults would gather. Several of these factors were taken into consideration in the changes to the Neighborhood Preservation City Codes (Fig. 10.7). In the changes to the city code, they also limited alcohol advertising so that it could be not be within 500 feet of youth attractions (see Section 7-34 (c) Outdoor Alcohol Advertising Regulations). All of these new regulations were also associated with enforcement that was assessed as a civic penalty of a fine of $500 per day and a second violation of $1000 per day. They also put into a place a medical marijuana zoning ordinance (Figs. 10.8 and 10.9) that ensured 1000 fee setback from any education or activity facility where children were enrolled; they also had to be over 2000 feet from any other medical marijuana dispensary.

Conclusion

Thus, Michele sums it up "*it was such a big validation to **everybody**, that, again, collectively working together with the youth, with the power in the city of south Tucson, the agency, the university, that collectively we made this body that said if we wanted to we could change it.*" It wasn't just about that one liquor license; it wasn't just about the youth having a success. It was about the community's ability to come together, to work together to create change in this low-income community with so many challenges. Connections between environments, education, and positive youth development are crucial to shifting our focus from simply telling youth to "say no" or only to provide after-school programs, but rather to invest more time and resources into developing community spaces for youth and adult partnerships that are built on research and action in a manner that reflects the key principles of participatory action research. For youth of color, their experiences include structural inequalities and socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts, which shapes their understanding of health issues and also shapes their recommendations for solutions to health issues with teens (Rubin, 2007; Sherrod, 2007). In the end, it was about one community's ability to recreate their environment into the community that they wanted for themselves and for their families.

SOUTH TUCSON CITY CODE

CHAPTER 7: NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION

Article I: General Provisions, Sections 7-1--7-9

Article II: Maintenance Standards, Sections 7-10 --7-19

Article III: Slum Property, Sections 7-20--7-29

Article IV: Unlawful Acts, Sections 7-30--7-39

Article V: Administration and Enforcement, Sections 7-40--7-59

Article VI: Abatement, Sections 7-60--7-69

Article VII: Administrative Appeals, Sections 7-70--7-79

Article VIII: Liability; Conflicts; Severability; Acknowledgment, Sections 7-80--7-99

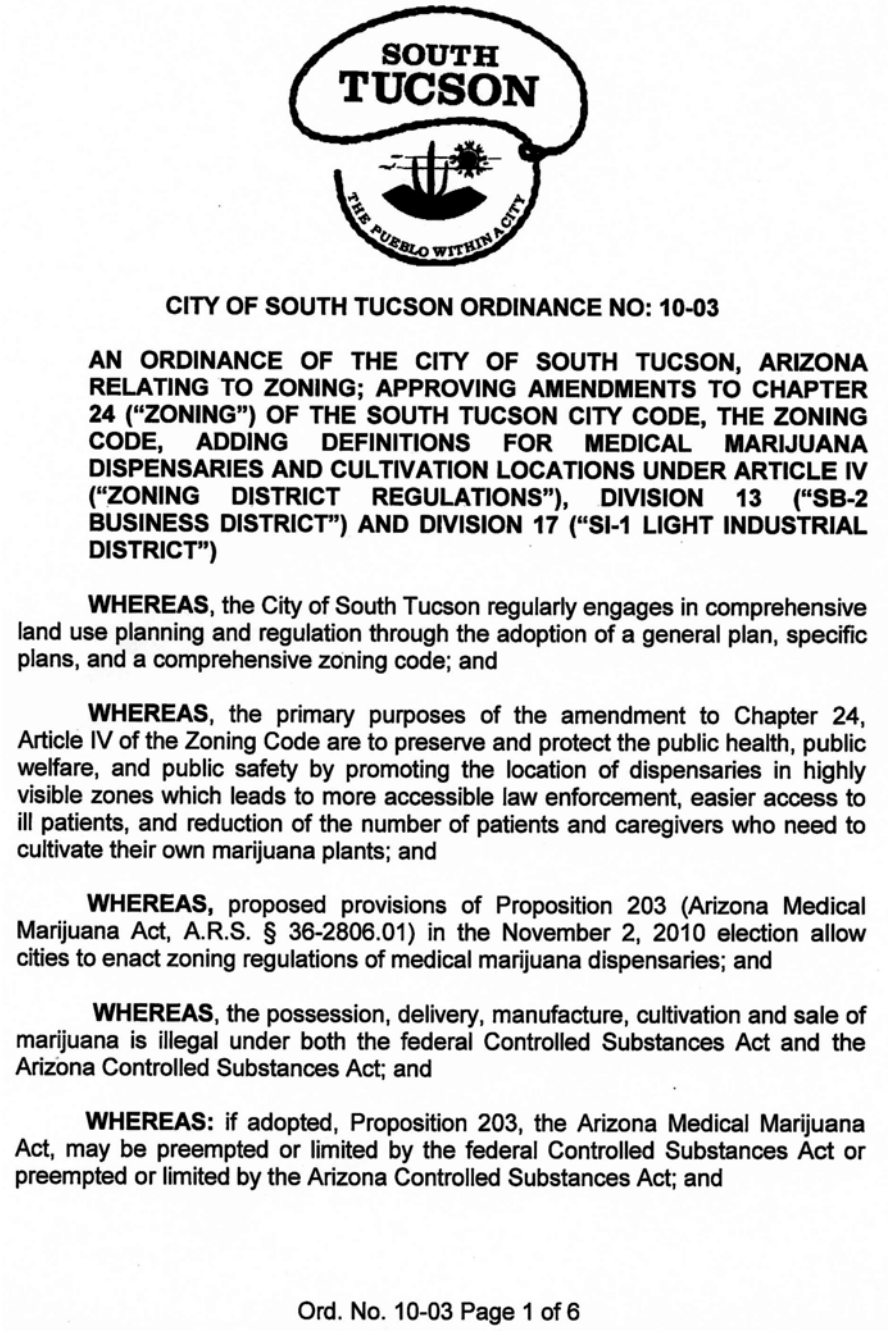
Article I. General Provisions

Sec. 7-1: Title.
Sec. 7-2: Purpose And Scope; Application Of Other Codes.
Sec. 7-3: Definitions.
Sec. 7-4: Permits Required.
Sec. 7-5: Reserved.
Sec. 7-6: Reserved.
Sec. 7-7: Reserved.
Sec. 7-8: Reserved.
Sec. 7-9: Reserved.

Article II. Maintenance Standards

Sec. 7-10: Scope.
Sec. 7-11: Building Interior.
Sec. 7-12: Building And Structure Exteriors.
Sec. 7-13: Exterior Premises And Vacant Land.
Sec. 7-14: Dilapidated And Vacant Buildings And Structures: Buildings And Structures Constituting A Nuisance.

Fig. 10.7 Neighborhood preservation city of South Tucson code



SOUTH TUCSON

THE PUEBLO WITHIN A CITY

CITY OF SOUTH TUCSON ORDINANCE NO: 10-03

AN ORDINANCE OF THE CITY OF SOUTH TUCSON, ARIZONA RELATING TO ZONING; APPROVING AMENDMENTS TO CHAPTER 24 ("ZONING") OF THE SOUTH TUCSON CITY CODE, THE ZONING CODE, ADDING DEFINITIONS FOR MEDICAL MARIJUANA DISPENSARIES AND CULTIVATION LOCATIONS UNDER ARTICLE IV ("ZONING DISTRICT REGULATIONS"), DIVISION 13 ("SB-2 BUSINESS DISTRICT") AND DIVISION 17 ("SI-1 LIGHT INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT")

WHEREAS, the City of South Tucson regularly engages in comprehensive land use planning and regulation through the adoption of a general plan, specific plans, and a comprehensive zoning code; and

WHEREAS, the primary purposes of the amendment to Chapter 24, Article IV of the Zoning Code are to preserve and protect the public health, public welfare, and public safety by promoting the location of dispensaries in highly visible zones which leads to more accessible law enforcement, easier access to ill patients, and reduction of the number of patients and caregivers who need to cultivate their own marijuana plants; and

WHEREAS, proposed provisions of Proposition 203 (Arizona Medical Marijuana Act, A.R.S. § 36-2806.01) in the November 2, 2010 election allow cities to enact zoning regulations of medical marijuana dispensaries; and

WHEREAS, the possession, delivery, manufacture, cultivation and sale of marijuana is illegal under both the federal Controlled Substances Act and the Arizona Controlled Substances Act; and

WHEREAS: if adopted, Proposition 203, the Arizona Medical Marijuana Act, may be preempted or limited by the federal Controlled Substances Act or preempted or limited by the Arizona Controlled Substances Act; and

Ord. No. 10-03 Page 1 of 6

Fig. 10.8 City of South Tucson ordinance for medical marijuana zoning to limit proximity to youth attractions

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