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CARE TO CRIMINALIZATION: HOW ADULTS WITH LIVED CROSSOVER KID EXPERIENCE PERCIEVE THEIR EXPERIENCES IN THE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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CARE TO CRIMINALIZATION: HOW ADULTS WITH LIVED CROSSOVER KID

EXPERIENCE PERCIEVE THEIR EXPERIENCES IN THE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

By

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THESIS

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Abstract

Crossover kids are youth who were/are in the child protection system and cross over into the juvenile/criminal justice system. Children who have been in the child protection system are 52% more likely to end up in the criminal justice system (Baidawi, 2020; Bateman, 2021; Turpel-Lafond, 2009). This creates a concerning trajectory for youth who are in the child protection system, through no fault of their own, because criminal justice involvement can follow them into adulthood. Children are entering a system of care that is criminalizing them and moving them into a system of custody. There has been scholarship using extant data from both child protection files and juvenile justice files to explain how this crossover is happening. What is missing from the literature is perceptions of those with lived crossover kid experience, actual conversations with this population of people. This thesis gives voice to adults with lived crossover experience about their experiences with the child protection system, the criminal justice system, and their recommendations to prevent future crossover kids. To further contextualize the perceptions of adults with lived crossover kid experience, I situate their experiences within a broader media analysis of Twitter posts made by researchers, professionals and agencies who work with crossover kids. This study is examined through a life course theory lens, as there are transitions into each system, turning points that start the transitions, and life trajectories can be affected.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Bala, Filippis and Hunter (2013) define crossover kids as those who are in child protection system and become involved in the criminal justice system. These children begin in a system designed around care and crossover into a system of custody, also known as the care-custody pipeline (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). Another term used for crossover kids is "dually involved" in both the child protection system and the criminal justice system (Bala et al., 2013).

Baidawi (2020) posits that these youth often start their criminal record at age ten (age of criminal responsibility in Australia). In Canada, the age of criminal responsibility is 12 years old (Barnert, Gallagher, Lei & Abrams, 2022). There is controversary about the age of criminal responsibility as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) suggests age 14 for criminal responsibility (Barnert et al., 2022) and Walsh (2019) suggests 15 years old. As research for this study was conducted in Canada, I will use the age of 12 for criminal responsibility when discussing the first time a youth comes into contact with the criminal justice system.

Cashmore (2011) argues that children under care of the child protection system are more likely to receive punitive treatment when delinquent behaviour is displayed due to increased risk factors. As youth who are in the child protection system are there for abuse/neglect, and/or maltreatment (Bhatti-Sinclair & Sutcliffe, 2013), these youth are at an increased risk of mental health issues and/or cognitive and language deficits (Romano, Babchishin, Marquis, & Frechette, 2015). According to Leschied (2011), the maltreatment experienced by youth heightens the likelihood that a youth will be violent and/or be a heavy substance user which increases the chances of criminal justice involvement.

Additionally, the older a child is when entering child protective care, such as a teenager (age 13), the higher the likelihood of getting involved in the criminal justice system due to experiencing trauma longer (Walsh, 2019). There have been several studies to describe this crossover from child protection services into the criminal justice system. For example, Baidawi and Sheehan (2019), Cashmore (2011), and Bateman (2021) have all found that children in the child protection system are nine times more likely than other children to have criminal justice involvement. Additionally, Baidawi (2020), Bateman (2021), and Walsh (2019) argue that 50% of youth in the juvenile justice system are known to the child protection system.

Research Problem

Crossover children are youth who spent time in the child protection system first and then moved to the juvenile justice system (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). Children who have been in the child protection system are 52% more likely to end up in the juvenile justice system (Baidawi, 2020; Bateman, 2021; Turpel-Lafond, 2009), creating a very concerning trajectory for many youths (Baidawi 2020). Children who have been apprehended by the child protection system are more likely to have poor life outcomes (Mendes, Johnson, & Moslehuddin, 2011; Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019) that can lead to the care to custody pipeline (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). In fact, studies show that crossover children tend to have contact with the police before age 12, and they are 13 times more likely to have a high number of criminal charges (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). Most of the scholarship available on crossover children has largely focused on how the child protection system and the juvenile justice system - although separate entities often deal with the same children who move from a system focused on care to a system focused on custody. The limited studies that have been done on crossover children have looked at extant documents from files the child protection system have on youth and youth justice documents. These studies have

been exploratory studies to define what a crossover kid is and to open discussions about the care to custody pipeline (see Baidawi, 2020; Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019; Baidawi et al, 2020). Although this research has provided important insights into the care to custody pipeline, what is missing in the literature is an understanding of the lived experiences of those who were crossover kids to prevent this phenomenon of "crossing over" in the future for youth who spend time in the child protection system (see Baidawi and Sheehan, 2019; McFarlane, 2018).

Objectives of the Study

This thesis addresses this gap in knowledge by exploring how *adults with lived crossover kid experience (1) perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice system, and (2) how they would change the child protection system and the criminal justice system to prevent future crossover kids.* To further contextualize the perceptions of adults with lived crossover kid experience, I situate their experiences within a broader media analysis of Twitter posts made by researchers, professionals and agencies who work with crossover kids.

Care-Criminalization Trajectory

In this thesis, my knowledge claim is that the child protection system is criminalizing the youth in their care. McFarlane (2018) describes this as a care-criminalization trajectory. McFarlane describes the care-criminalization trajectory as "the process by which inadequately trained and poorly remunerated staff who fail to understand and are unable to resolve conflict rely on police to manage children's behaviour" (2018, p. 416). This study done by McFarlane looks at youth who are in residential care or foster care and not necessarily crossover kids. As this thesis is about youth beginning in the child protection system and crossing over into the criminal justice system, McFarlane's examination of the care-criminalization trajectory is necessary to understand the experiences of adults with lived crossover kid experience.

Another cause for the care-criminalization trajectory for youth in residential care is that they are constantly under surveillance. While living in residential care youth are punished for engaging in small acts of deviance or misconduct, such as: breaking a mug while upset, running away, common assault, or breach of probation because staff call police for assistance to manage the youth's behaviour (Baidawi & Ball, 2023a; 2023b; Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019; Scully & Finlay, 2015). Drawing on the experiences and perspectives of adults with lived crossover kid experience, I demonstrate how the child protective system is perceived to be criminalizing youth in their care. To contextualize the experiences of those with lived crossover kid experience, I supplement the small sample of qualitative interviews with a media analysis of Twitter posts made by researchers, professionals and agencies working with crossover kids. My thesis gives space for adults with lived crossover kid experience to voice their concerns and how they feel the child protection system criminalized them to create their crossover experience.

Importance of this Study

A study of crossover kids is important to academia and policy as this population is understudied and their voices can shed light on ways to improve the system and enhance policy and practice. This study seeks to understand the experiences of crossover kids and how the child protection system is causing the youth in their care to be criminalized. I will build upon the findings from this study for my doctoral research where I will continue studying crossover kids, create and share policy briefs and look for ways to prevent the crossover from happening.

This study is also important personally because I grew up as a sibling to foster children, and as an adult, adopted two children that were at high risk of becoming crossover kids. My parents were foster parents to teenagers from my toddlerhood until early adolescence. My parents did not act as a group home, but instead, took in two teenagers at a time. It was always difficult to create attachments and friendships with these teenagers just to have them leave the

home and other teenagers move in. My dad always told me their lives were much more difficult than the sense of loss I felt, and that we needed to help them. Many of these teens were quite troubled, and many left within a week by running away, and getting themselves in trouble with the police. Others stayed much longer, months, and on a couple of occasions a year or so. These teens also got into trouble with the law, and the one I was closest too, ended up in prison when he turned 16. They were good kids, just troubled, and my parents did not always get to intervene soon enough to prevent their crossover.

Having only known a life of interacting with foster care children, I saw firsthand how the child protection system was failing these youth. These youth did not have stability, or true advocates for them. Child protection workers would come in regularly when the teens first moved in, but after they seemed to be settled, they would only come every couple of months. It takes a long time for a child/adolescent to build trust with a new family, and moving children in and out of foster homes does not create attachments within the family. Child protection workers were often changed, and it provided youth with decreased opportunities to create bonds with their workers.

Fast forward years later into my very early thirties, I was faced with my own involvement with the child protection system from a parental lens. My partner at the time and I fought for custody of his two children from the child protection system. I cannot count how many child protection workers these children had over the four years they were involved. The children's mother was openly abusing substances, neglecting the children, and they were placed in kinship care with their maternal grandmother. After several months of court battles, the two children came to stay with my partner and myself. As time passed, the father made similar choices as the children's mother did and many other poor choices. I fled the house with his two children and

my two children. Knowing what foster care can do to a child, having witnessed it myself, I chose to fight for, and subsequently adopt, my middle two children. It is still too early to know for certain, but I hope my early intervention prevented my children from becoming crossover kids.

Unfortunately, I cannot bring all the children at risk of becoming a crossover kid into my home and raise them myself. What I can do is study them, learn their stories and perceptions, and work towards the prevention of future crossover children by working to change policies and practice.

Scope of the Study

The research problem is how youth in the child protection system are crossing over into the criminal justice system. My major objective is to gain an understanding of the perceptions of adults with lived crossover kid experience, to understand where they feel there could be changes made to both the child protection system and the criminal justice system to prevent future crossover kids.

This study is qualitative in nature and was completed with a very short timeline. From contacting research sites to find participants, to the completion of this study was 18 months (May 2022-November 2023). The study was done where I currently reside to ensure I could spend time at the sites to interact and gain trust with the participants. Using a semi-structured interview approach, I interviewed four participants at St. Leonard's Cornerstone Transition House and Rosewood House. All participants were over the age of 18 and were involved with the child protection system and the criminal justice system. To contextualize the participants' experiences, I conducted a social media analysis of Twitter to include what researchers, professionals who work with crossover kids, and agencies that support crossover kids are sharing on "dually involved children" and "crossover kids". The media analysis provided definitions, assistance available for youth, and connections for how the child protection system and the criminal justice

system are interacting together for crossover kids. Together this qualitative study demonstrated gaps in services, gaps in how adults are interacting with youth, and how the child protection system is criminalizing youth in their care.

Thesis Overview

This thesis examines the perspectives of adults with lived crossover kid experience regarding both the child protection system and the criminal justice system. I situate their experiences within a broader media analysis of Twitter posts shared by researchers, professionals, and agencies that support crossover kids. Having reviewed the goals and objectives of this study, I will now provide an overview of how the research is presented.

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature on both the child protection system and the criminal justice system as it pertains to crossover kids.

Chapter 3 looks at the theoretical perspective of life course theory. In this chapter, I present life course theory before discussing how this theoretical perspective pertains to the experience of crossover kids.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology used. I begin by discussing the ethics procedures, my research methods, and the challenges I faced to get participants. I then describe how this study turned into a mixed methods study through the inclusion of a media analysis. I conclude the chapter by discussing how I coded and theorized the data.

Chapter 5 reveals how adults with lived crossover kid experience perceive their experiences in the child protective system, and the criminal justice system. I argue that the child protection system contributes towards criminalizing youth in their care.

Chapter 6 continues to look at how the child protection system contributes towards criminalizing youth in their care. I analyze how contributing factors lead to behaviours that are causing the crossover kid.

Chapter 7 concludes the findings from my data. Here I discuss the recommendations that adults with lived crossover kid experience suggest for the child protection system, the criminal justice system, and the prevention of future crossover kids.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis. I restate my research questions, discuss how life course theory pertains to crossover kids, and the limitations of life course theory. I also discuss the limitations of this study and how I could change the study to gain more participants. I conclude by outlining my recommendations and plans for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Examining the perspectives of adults with lived crossover kid experience is a relatively new phenomenon with a paucity of research. To set the stage for this thesis an in-depth review of the child protection system and the criminal justice system are needed. These are the two systems involved in the crossover kid experience. I begin this chapter by reviewing the literature on the child protection system by examining the perspectives from parents, child protection workers, governmental bodies, and the public in relation to how these can affect the crossover. A review of the literature on the criminal justice system follows where I explore the public perspective towards how juvenile delinquents are being handled in the criminal justice system. I then provide a short discussion on the current Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) that guides parole and correctional officers' interactions with delinquent youth, because these adults can change the criminal trajectory of youth into a less deviant trajectory. I conclude this section with an examination of how parole and correctional officers view crossover kids and their experiences. By reviewing current literature on the child protection system and the criminal justice system, I identify where there are gaps in knowledge about these two systems and how the perceptions of adults with lived crossover kid experience addresses this gap in knowledge and contributes to the discussion on both systems.

Child Protective Systems

Crossover kids start their care-custody trajectory through involvement with child protection system when they are being abused, neglected, maltreated, are receiving services at home, and are at risk of being placed elsewhere (Bhatti-Sinclair & Sutcliffe, 2013). The more involvement the child has with the child protection system, the more at risk they are for being placed into foster care. When deemed necessary for their safety youth are removed from their homes and placed into a foster care home within the child protection system.

<u>Governmental Influence</u>

In Canada, there are no federal standards, instead each province and territory hold their own authority over child protection concerns (Kufeldt, Simard, & Vachon, 2003). For example, the child protection system in Ontario is governed under the Child, Youth and Family Services Act of 2018 (Carranza, 2022). The lack of federal standardization creates differences between provinces and territories as there is no uniform reporting, especially if families and/or social workers move to another province or territory. According to Renke (1999) there are also problems around mandatory reporting regarding obligations, issues of confidentiality and liability for reporting which can create discrepancies on what is reported, who reports what and who is responsible for reporting.

The government in Ontario mandates child protection workers to preserve family values and utilize practices of least intrusion (Kufeldt et al., 2003) while also ensuring the Child, Youth and Family Services Act is followed. This Act causes quite the pendulum for child protection workers because often support for families is at the expense of the child(ren) or support for child(ren) is at the expense of family supports (Dumbrill, 2006a). For example, to practice least intrusion, a child protection worker must try to keep the child in the family home; however, the child protection worker may suspect abuse and/or neglect but does not have the evidence to prove it. On the other hand, a young parent struggling with discipline may cause a bruise on their child, and the child is removed, instead of the parent getting supports they need. This pendulum may fail both workers and parents as the worker/parent relationship is suffering; it appears that the system is unintentionally designed to fail both parties (Davies, 2008).

Sometimes children under the surveillance of the child protection system suffer horrific child abuse and/or death. These historical cases have prompted child protection workers to be

more proactive when they suspect abuse and/or neglect and remove children from their homes more quickly (Dumbrill, 2006a). Removing children can be seen as a repeating cycle as children who are often flagged as high risk are from parents who were in the child protection system themselves (Dumbrill, 2006a). This is intergenerational harm and shows how families may repeat what the previous generation (their parents) experienced with child protection concerns. Parents who have tried to break the cycle and work against the stigma of being parents who were in child protection services themselves, are still under surveillance (Dumbrill, 2006a).

Child Protection Workers

As the government creates the rules and laws that govern the child protection system, child protection workers are to ensure that children are adequately taken care of. Child protection workers determine the level of risk the child(ren) are in (Filippelli, Fallon, Lwin & Gantous, 2021), and directly influence whether a child goes into child protection care or stays with their parent(s). Child protection workers use risk assessments to determine the level of harm the child could be in. Turnell and Edwards (1997) warn that using risk assessments should only be half the deciding factor for involvement in the child protection system; the other half must look at how to keep the child safe currently and in the future. Child protection workers assess the family and the child during a risk assessment to determine the level of risk the child is in. A safety plan is a plan on how the parents are going to keep the youth safe in their care. Safety plans for the children need to be done with a risk assessment (Turnell & Edwards, 1997) to ensure the youth are getting the appropriate care from the child protection worker. Filippelli et al. (2021) further discusses the need for risk assessments and safety plans to be conducted thoroughly because the child protection worker has the capability with these assessments to predict future maltreatment of children and should not take this job lightly.

Parental Viewpoints on Child Protective Services

 Examining how parents feel about the child protection system is important because many parents have experience with the child protection system when they were young or know someone who did. Dumbrill (2006b) and Palmer, Maiter and Manji (2006) asked parents for their insight about their experiences with the child protection system. Both studies were qualitative in nature and discovered that parents held negative views of the child protection system and child protection workers. It is clear from the onset of child protection involvement that there is a power imbalance between the worker and parents as the child protection worker dictate the nature of the relationship (Dumbrill, 2006b; Turnell & Edwards, 1997). Child protection workers decide how much interaction there will be with the parents, and what the parents need to do to keep their children out of the child protection system. This relationship between parents and child protection worker continues to develop over the course of involvement with the child protection system. Through these interactions, parents felt invaded, threatened, or attacked by child protection workers (Palmer et al., 2006). Parents also reported that workers twisted their story to support the removal of children from the family home (Dumbrill, 2006b). As argued by Palmer et al. (2006), the relationship between the child protection worker and the parents was described as unfair with 31% of parents feeling judged, 26% of parents believing they did not receive enough information, and 21% of parents feeling misled and/or betrayed.

 Many parents have negative views of the child protection system; however, some parents have more positive views leading overall to contradictory feelings towards child protection workers. According to Dumbrill (2006b) a select few parents reported that they worked well with child protection workers and that they did not feel a power imbalance but were still cautious of workers and the child protection system. The caution parents have regarding the child protection

system is due to fear that their child(ren) will be removed from their home (Tufford, 2016).

Although parents said they did not feel a power imbalance when working with a child protection

worker, the mere thought that the worker could remove their child created a power imbalance.

The worker has the power to alter the familial home creating a hierarchy of power.

Although fearful, Tufford (2016) also discovered that most parents understand the duty to

report required of social workers. The duty to report requires a child protection worker to report

if they feel the child is at risk for abuse and/or neglect. This means a child protection worker

MUST share what they learned about the abuse and/or neglect to their immediate supervisor and

file the appropriate paperwork. According to Tufford (2016) some families were relieved for the

report as they were unable to make the report themselves. For example, it would be difficult for a

parent to make a report themselves if they are being abused by their partner, or if their child had

behavioural issues that were harmful to others, and they were trying to handle it on their own.

By having a child protection worker in the home, parents felt that their parenting was

called into question, and this created anxiety and fear for the parent. Further, parents may

experience denial about their poor parenting skills or blame the child protection worker for

reporting them (Tufford, 2016). Many parents feel that reporting their parenting practices is

harassment and not beneficial to the child (Palmer et al., 2006).

There continues to be contradictory information on how parents feel about child

protection workers. Many parents feel that the child protection workers are harassing or invading

their home; however, they do understand the duty to report, and some are relieved for assistance.

Public Views on Child Protection Workers

Lastly, public perception plays a role in how the child protection system and their

workers do their jobs and fulfill their responsibilities. Child protection workers should be free to

do the job they are trained for to protect children without public perceptions influencing their jobs. Unfortunately, public perception may make the child protection workers look like the "bad guys" because the public feels that child protection workers are not doing enough to protect children, yet they are also criticized for taking children away from their families (Dumbrill, 2006a). The public may believe that whichever choice a child protection worker makes is the wrong decision for the child. The public has seen in the media that there are many cases of child abuse and workers may not be doing enough for the children (Dumbrill, 2006a). Information about removal of a child or the injury of a child that was left in parental custody can be in the news or on social media, depending on the case. The public absorbs this information about the child to create their own views and feelings of whether a child should be removed or left in parental custody. It is important to note that information that is available to the public is not the full story of the family life or the child and this causes skewed viewpoints from the public (Dumbrill, 2006a).

The media (newspapers/radio/TV/social platforms) will also report cases of child protection workers removing children when unnecessary, and this creates a moral panic where the public is distrustful of child protection workers (Dumbrill, 2006a). Moral panics happen when the media creates a panic, for example child protection workers are removing all the children, and the community, in this case the parents, fight against it (Cohen, 1972). These moral panics and scrutinizing eyes of the public create havoc on the child protection workers as they are unable to make the right decisions according to public perception and thus creating distrust issues with the public.

Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system is the second system involved in the crossover kid experience. Understanding how the criminal justice system interacts with the child protection

system is important to understand the care to custody pipeline that creates crossover kids. Entering the criminal justice system creates a turning point in the youth's life, as they are no longer viewed as a child in need of care, but instead a child in need of custody and this affects their trajectory.

Public Perspective on the Criminal Justice System

Public perception not only affects the child protection system but also the criminal justice system. According to Silcox (2022) the media plays a large role in how the public views delinquent youths as the media creates an exaggerated focus on teen behaviour and sensationalizes crimes committed by youth. The media sends messages to the public that youth crime is on the rise and is out of control (Silcox, 2022).

As a result of this media sensationalization of youth crime (Ruigrok, van Atteveldt, Gagestein, & Jacobi, 2016), the public feels that youth is disrespectful and needs a firm hand to control youth behaviour (Schissel, 2010). There is a push for the government to get tougher on crime to stop youth offending and use incarceration to correct the youth (John Howard Society, 2008; Schissel, 2010). In addition, John Howard Society (2008) discuss how the public feels parts of the Youth Criminal Justice Act has weak components around extrajudicial measures, and this needs to be addressed to ensure that youth are being corrected for their crimes.

Outside of the media there are mixed views from the public regarding how youth are being managed in the criminal justice system. According to Barrett, Miers, and Lambie (2018) the public wants systemic issues to be addressed for youth such as racism and sensationalization of youth delinquency as the first step to assisting youth. Rehabilitation should be used next to assist youth in the criminal justice system, followed by punitive measures, prevention and restorative justice (Barrett et al., 2018). In opposition, Young, Greer, and Church (2017) discuss

how the public only wants rehabilitation and support for juvenile offenders to correct offending

as quickly as possible. There still appears to be a contradiction on how to assist offending youth

through the public perception.

These punitive actions and harsher sentences are difficult to enforce when we consider

that criminal justice laws are federal, and administration of justice is provincial/territorial, so

there are no unified youth correctional programs across Canada (Carrington & Schlenburg,

2008). This leads to a gap in the current criminal justice system as there is the lack of unified

youth correctional programs to best support youth.

View of Parole/Correctional Officers

Public perception of delinquent youth influences laws and how the government handles

offending youth. An important dealing with delinquent youth is how parole/correctional officers

interact with youth. To understand the perceptions of parole/correctional officers, a short

discussion of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (2003) is needed, as it guides criminal justice

interactions with youth. The purpose of the YCJA is to reduce the use of courts and custody,

improve effective response for serious crimes, and to divert less serious offences away from the

court and/or custody (Umamaheswar, 2012). This means that police officers have discretion in

their interactions with youth. For example, instead of charging a youth, an officer can choose to

use extra judicial measures such as giving a warning or taking youth home to parents to help

reduce the number of charges youth are receiving (Carrington & Schlenburg, 2008).

Parole and correctional officers are also in a unique position when working with

crossover kids as they are prominent figures in the last system the youth are involved in. Adorjan

and Ricciardelli (2018) and Umamaheswar (2012) studied the perceptions of parole and

correctional officers after the inception of YCJA. Both studies uncovered similarities in the way

parole and correctional officers felt within their roles to assist delinquent youth. Most

correctional officers believe that youth are not bad people; rather, they have made poor choices

(Adorjan & Ricciardelli, 2018; Umamaheswar, 2012). That is why the correctional/parole officer

position is so important, as correctional/parole officers can be a positive influence on youth. Both

studies discovered that it is possible for youth to do better in life if they want to because

parole/correctional officers – for the most part – believe in the youths' ability to change, and they

want to assist these youth with rehabilitation and learning the benefits of having goals and

ambitions (Adorjan & Ricciardelli, 2018; Umamaheswar, 2012). Parole/correctional officers

want to have influence in the lives of juvenile delinquents by teaching these youth how to make

good decisions and to stop offending (Umamaheswar, 2012).

It is more difficult for parole/correctional officers to be helpful when youth do not want

to engage with them or do not want to be rehabilitated. Adorjan and Ricciardelli (2018) discuss

that the rehabilitation of youth is rare and that these youth often end up under surveillance as

adults. Umamaheswar (2012) discuss how parole/correctional officers are frustrated because

many youths do not have the success stories they should have. As difficult as it can be to gain

trust with delinquent youth, parole/correctional officers report that building trust with youth is

the most rewarding part of their job (Umamaheswar, 2012) as they feel they can have influence

in the lives of these youth.

Correctional/probation officers believe that a more punitive approach to correct the

unwanted behaviour of youth comes first, and a rehabilitative approach second, to encourage the

youth to break the unwanted behaviour. (Adorjan & Ricciardelli, 2018). Correctional/probation

officers feel that disciplining youth harshly while teaching them how to correct their behaviour is

the best approach to avoid future recidivism.

Correctional/probation officers have a different role than police officers when dealing with youth who offend, as the crossover kid has already been created when correctional/parole officers begin their interaction with the crossover kid. The interactions parole/correctional officers have with crossover kids provides a unique opportunity to assist the youth to turn their trajectory around as they can influence the youth to get them on the right track. Although the crossover kid experience cannot be avoided at this point, the parole/correctional officers can act as support people and provide guidance to assist youth in making less criminal or deviant decisions after their release.

Conclusion

A review of the literature on the child protection system and the criminal justice system were completed as it pertains to the crossover kid experience. Regarding the child protection system: governmental, child protection workers, parental and the public views were reviewed to understand how the child protection system is criminalizing youth in their care. A review of public views on the criminal justice system was conducted as public views affect how the government and prisons run the criminal justice system. A discussion of the current YCJA was reviewed to understand how the criminal justice system is currently interacting with the youth. Although parole/correctional officers are unable to prevent the crossover, their perceptions were reviewed as they can influence the youth to lead a less criminal trajectory after their release from prisons.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter examines the life of an individual through life course theory (Elder, 1992).
Using life course theory, I will discuss how transitions and turning points can influence the
trajectory of an individual. An overview of major themes of life course theory is provided and
age-graded theory is discussed. Application of life course theory to crossover kids is discussed,
followed by risk and protective factors. Lastly, a discussion of delinquent youths and how family
factors affect the life course of an individual is included. By understanding the life course of an
individual, the experiences of crossover kids and the prevention of future crossover kids can be
understood.

Life Course Theory

Life course theory began in the 1960s by examining how longitudinal data can
demonstrate a life course of an individual (Elder, 1992). Longitudinal data is used to examine
how an individual changes over their whole life course, as many studies start when people are in
childhood and continue through adulthood. This theory encourages researchers to take a
retrospective approach at the life of an individual, as there is a record of the individual's life in
the particular area that is being researched. By taking a retrospective approach to analyzing a
person's life, a researcher can examine how turning points, the point in time that changes an
individual's trajectory and transitions, and how an individual transitions into a position in society
affect the trajectory of an individual (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Life trajectories, Sampson and
Laub (1993) explain, can be changed from criminal to non-criminal, or from non-criminal to
criminal depending on the turning points and the transitions the individual is experiencing. As a
developmental theory, life course theory examines the development of offending and antisocial
behaviour, risk factors at different ages, and effects of life events on the course of development
(Farrington, 2003). This developmental theory applies well to crossover kids as all three of these

areas are examined to determine how the youth became a crossover kid, and how to prevent the crossover kid experience.

<u>Transitions, Turning Points, and Trajectories</u>

Life course theory uses an approach that examines different periods in an individual's life to see how likely they are to be deviant or to commit criminal acts (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Theorists Sampson and Laub (1993) identify three components that function together to explore how individuals evolve as they age. These components are trajectories, transitions, and turning points. The first component, a trajectory, refers to events that occur within the life span of a person, such as the career paths they will take, relationships or criminal activities they will engage in (Sampson & Laub, 1993). In other words, the trajectory is the path their life is likely to take; however, these are not consistent and may change over time.

According to Sampson and Laub (1993), the second component, transitions, are embedded in trajectories and occur over a shorter period. Examples can include getting a new job, marriage, becoming a parent, or joining the military. Transitions mark a new phase in life that individuals are embarking on for potentially long periods of time but do not represent their whole trajectory. When a transition and trajectory interlock, they facilitate a turning point in the life-course of an individual (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Turning points redirect the path an individual is on to change their trajectory. For example, a youth that is involved in the child protection system engages in their first deviant act, such as assaulting another client in foster care, they will become involved in the criminal justice system. The turning point here is the assault which changes the trajectory of the youth as they are now considered an offender. The youth is now on a criminal trajectory; however, if the youth encounter a supportive person, such as a teacher or child protection worker, the youth's trajectory can change again into a less

deviant/criminal trajectory. This was demonstrated in my research, as one participant who was

on a criminal trajectory, found support at St. Leonard's, and began to get counselling/assistance,

which lead to working, and the stop of offending as a young adult.

<u>Major themes of Life Course Theory</u>

Along with trajectories, transitions, and turning points comes major themes of life course

theory. Sampson and Laub (1993) discuss three themes: social meaning of age; intergenerational

transmission of social patterns; and stability versus change. Through examining the social

meaning of age, Sampson and Laub (1993) discuss that there is an age-graded theory that

discusses the importance of social bonds and how those effect the trajectory of the individual. As

an individual ages, certain informal social control situations emerge, such as marriage and/or

employment, that create social ties and reduce the likelihood of offending (Sampson & Laub,

1993). It is important to note that marriage and employment do not increase social control; it is

the attachment to a spouse, job stability and commitment to these areas that increases social

control (Sampson & Laub, 1993).

The second theme identified by Sampson and Laub (1993) discusses how

intergenerational transmission of social patterns will affect an individual's life course. Parents

and/or caregivers' model appropriate or inappropriate behaviour to children starting in infancy

and continue through adolescence. The activities of parents and/or caregivers can affect the

youth by creating a similar trajectory for their youth that their parents and/or caregivers live.

This intergenerational transmission of social patterns can also be affected by major world

events, such as the Great Depression, WWI, WWII, 911 terrorist attacks, and the COVID-19

pandemic (Sampson & Laub, 1993). These events create a different generation with different

experiences and different trajectories than the previous one, and these major events will

influence children for generations to come. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic created more isolation as people needed to stay home and not interact with others. Due to this isolation, social ties and relations with others may be more difficult for this generation because they were not supposed to interact with others in person.

The last theme that concerns stability and change discusses how behaviour and personal attributes will change and evolve over time as well as criminal propensity (Sampson & Laub, 1993). As adolescents age they will grow and evolve into the people they are to become, and this includes their criminal propensity if they are exposed to criminal acts or associate with those who commit criminal acts. Based around transitions and turning points, life events can and will change an individual's trajectory, behaviour, and personal attributes. For example, a parent loses their spouse, and due to depression starts engaging in substance use that affects their care of their young adolescent child. The child protection system gets involved and removes the youth for their safety. The youth was originally a straight A student with plans to attend university but is now jumping between foster homes and is placed into a group home. The youth may then engage in deviant activities as other youths in the group home are criminally involved, drop out of school, explore substances, and end up in the criminal justice system. The turning point of losing a parent changed the behaviour of the parent and personal attributes of the youth, which in turn led to a different trajectory for the youth.

Age Graded Theory

As transitions and turning points can affect the trajectory of youth it is important to examine Sampson and Laub's age graded theory which looks at the turning points and transitions of an individual through their whole life, not just a moment in time (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Age graded theory explores three important concepts: structural context; strong continuity; and

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informal social capital. Delinquency is explained in childhood and adolescence through the structural context that can be interrupted by informal family and school social controls (Sampson & Laub, 1993). For example, if school and family provide consistent ties, commitment and control, the youth is less likely to participate in deviant acts. Without these consistent ties, youth can feel isolated and alone as they are not building attachment and relationships with others. Youth in foster care, particularly residential care, are more likely to offend, and reoffend as they have a harder time developing social control and social bonds (Reiss, 1951).

The second theme argues that antisocial behaviour begins in childhood and continues through adulthood (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Antisocial behaviour is behaviour that goes against social norms and can cause harm (Sampson & Laub, 1993). For example, stealing from the local corner store will cause harm to the store owners and future customers who have to pay higher prices due to previous shoplifting. Antisocial behaviour in childhood may predict antisocial behaviour in adulthood. Antisocial behaviour is one of the first signs that a child may become a delinquent adolescent.

Sampson and Laub's (1993) last theme posit that social capital, the strong social bonds in childhood that will extend to adulthood, can explain changes to trajectories predicted from child experiences. Turning points and transitions can change a delinquent trajectory into a non-delinquent trajectory and vice versa. For example, a youth that is experimenting with drugs and risky behaviour joins a basketball team with a supportive coach would likely stop using drugs and engaging in risky behaviour. The youth's brother does not join the basketball team and continues to engage in risky behaviour and drugs and gets charged with drug possession and is incarcerated. The positive experience of the basketball team and the supportive coach acted as a

turning point for the youth to engage in more socially acceptable behaviour. The other youth does not have the same experience and continues on the criminal trajectory.

These turning points can explain the differences when childhoods are the same as to why one adult is an offender, and another is not an offender. Everyone is not given the same experiences in life, and if one has the opportunity to accept a positive experience, they may be able to change their trajectory to a less criminal one. Likewise, a negative experience, such as one sibling being sexually assaulted as a child, could be a turning point into a criminal trajectory.

When discussing age-graded theory, we examine typical ages for developmental milestones, how specific cohorts of youth (e.g.: COVID-19 cohort) are different than other cohorts and look at the typical ages for transitions and events for individuals (Elder, 1992) to discuss predictive behaviour retrospectively. When examining typical ages through age-graded theory we are looking at ages when a youth begins offending, whether they are chronic or non-chronic offenders, and ages that youth are going through experiences such as engaging in delinquent behaviour.

Additionally, Elder (1992) argues that both an age-graded model and kinship model are necessary for understanding life course theory. The kinship model looks at how different generations are affected by world events, how intergenerational transmission happens and how life cycles tend to be repeated in families (Elder, 1992). Individuals tend to follow similar paths as the elders in their family, such as educational attainment, job stability, relationship stability and criminality. Different generations of people have different life experiences which will lead to similar trajectories for that generation of people. For example, youth involved with the child protection system during the COVID-19 pandemic were affected differently than other generations who had experience with the child protection system. During Covid-19 lockdowns,

people were required to stay in their own homes or place of residence as much as possible to stop the spread of the contagious virus. Having to remain at home could result in feelings of loneliness and isolation for youth. Being isolated from others outside of the home can affect attachment bonds youth had with other people. This generation of youth could grow up with fewer social bonds to school, work, family, friends, and community due to being in lockdowns off and on for two years.

Applying Life-Course Theory to Crossover Kids

Life-course theory is a developmental theory as it examines the evolution of an individual over their whole life span. Looking at changes, continuity and transitions over the life course allows patterns to emerge to understand criminality (Sampson & Laub, 1993). This can be seen in a youth's experiences between the child protection system and the criminal justice system as there are many turning points, transitions, and a new trajectory created which leads to the crossover kid experience. For example, a child who was neglected in their biological home was removed from the parents and placed into a foster home. This foster home ensures that the youth's basic needs are met and puts the child in an afterschool program for basketball. The turning point for the youth is the removal from the neglectful home, the transition is from neglectful home to caring home, and the trajectory for the youth likely would change as they are being supported and cared for in their foster home.

According to Farrington (2003) there are three paradigms among developmental criminology and life course criminology. When discussing the risk factor paradigm, developmental life course theory is examining risk factors that create offending and the protective factors that discourage offending (Farrington, 2003). By examining which factors are causal to crime and which factors prevent crime, a predictive pattern can be determined to apply to other individuals in similar situations. Farrington (2003) posits that the developmental

criminology paradigm examines the development leading to the offending behaviour while considering the risk factors. This paradigm looks at the developmental/maturation of the individual along with the risk factors for offending. Lastly, the life course criminology paradigm examines life events, transitions, development, and risk factors while determining why people offend (Farrington, 2003).

Developmental life course theories are more focused on the individual and individual reasons why someone will turn to offending. According to Loeber and LeBlanc (1990) early behaviours are predictive of later delinquency, meaning behaviours in young childhood can predict criminality in late adolescence and adulthood. Loeber and LeBlanc (1990) posit that there are three stages in the developmental process of offending. These stages are defined as: activation, aggravation in offending, and desistance from offending.

The first stage of developmental processes of offending is concerned with activation. Activation is focused on adolescents with a retrospective approach to children and youth (Loeber & LeBlanc, 1990). For example, an activation event for a crossover kid would be the first act of criminal behaviour, if it was the first time they were caught by police. When examining how the youth's early onset of behaviour happens during developmental phases, we can see where behaviour would be common. When taking a retrospective approach to life-course, early onset offenders, also known as chronic offenders, have their first arrest at age 13.9, whereas non-chronic offenders are 15.3 years old (Loeber & LeBlanc, 1990), according to the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (see Farrington 1988) on delinquent boys. Although there is less than a two-year gap between chronic and non-chronic offenders, the difference is significant.

The stage following activation is aggravation in offending. With the developmental stage of aggravation, antisocial behaviours come before more serious behaviours. A common sign that

deviant behaviours are progressing is through the use of drugs and/or substances (Loeber &

LeBlanc, 1990) not just criminal behaviours. Drug use may signify deviant behaviours are taking

over, and often drug use is accompanied by mental health struggles. This stage demonstrates that

offending is becoming more aggressive as the physical maturation and the individual's

personality is developed (Loeber & LeBlanc, 1990).

The final stage of the developmental process of offending is desistence. Desistence from

offending is not always reached because not all offenders stop committing crime (Loeber &

LeBlanc, 1990). To reach this final stage, an individual must completely stop offending. As seen

in my research, a participant stopped offending when they moved to the transition home and felt

supported and cared for. The turning point in this participant's life was the transition house

which led to employment and desistance from offending.

A more nuanced approach to developmental life course theories comes from Farrington

(2003) who posits that any developmental life course theory must be able to explain many

patterns that adolescents who offend are subject to or participate in. In each developmental life

course theory, there is a peak age of onset where the adolescent begins their offending and there

is a time frame when most adolescents stop offending (Farrington, 2003). A pattern of offending

and desistence from offending must be present for developmental life course theory. A second

pattern emerges to discuss how early onset offending can predict a criminal career (Farrington,

2003). The earlier an adolescent commits their first offence is a clear predictor of the type of

criminal trajectory the youth will follow and these youth often turn into chronic offenders.

A third pattern that emerges when examining the life course of an individual revolves

around anti-social behaviour. There is continuity between antisocial behaviour that begins as a

child and continues through adulthood (Farrington, 2003). Anti-social behaviours, such as lack

of social skills or poor coping methods, begin when the individual is in their childhood, and although the anti-social behaviours may change over the years (e.g., poor social skills escalate into aggressive adult behaviour) the anti-social behaviours are present over the life course.

Tying into the early age of onset for offending and how this can create chronic offenders, shows a pattern in the life course that many offences committed are done by a small minority of criminals (Farrington, 2003). When examining chronic offenders retrospectively, a pattern emerges that demonstrates that these individuals started their offending younger in life and are committing the most crimes, as they commit many offences over their life course.

Two other patterns that are necessary to developmental life course theories that Farrington (2003) discusses are being able to determine why offending is so versatile, and how criminal acts are often a sign of a larger anti-social issue. Life course theories discuss how people offend differently or how people choose different methods of offending. Reasons for different offending and methods can be seen by looking at the young life of a youth, how they are raised, and if their parents were criminogenic. By examining the young life of the offender, a pattern emerges where there is anti-social behaviour in the child and/or family structure that depicts a bigger anti-social issue from the familial roots. The prior life of a crossover kid affects how the crossover kid gets involved in the criminal justice system and whether they continue offending patterns. According to Baidawi and Sheehan (2019) youth in the child protection system are more likely to become life-course persistent offenders, meaning they will offend well into their adult years. For example, a young child removed from an abusive home will have different outcomes than an adolescent who was removed from the home as the adolescent lived within the abusive home longer. The young child may not become involved in the criminal justice system as they had a stable loving home at a young age, whereas the adolescent is more

likely to become a crossover kid having been harmed for a longer period. This is consistent with findings from Scully and Finlay (2015) as they found that the harm/abuse the youth endured for a longer period within the biological family before transitioning into the child protection system made it more likely that the youth would offend and enter the criminal justice system.

The last patterns that Farrington (2003) discusses for developmental theories include how teens commit offences together but commit offences alone as an adult, the reasons for offending, and the pattern in which offences are committed. Some adolescents continue with adult offending but not all the adolescent offenders continue with offending. Using a retrospective approach to examine how people offend, we can determine that fewer adults offend than adolescents. With fewer adults offending, it makes sense that teens commit crimes in groups simply because the population that offends in adolescence is higher than the population that offends in adulthood. While examining reasons for offending, we can look back at the life course of an adult to see patterns emerge among many offenders where their early life lacks stability, abuse/neglect may be present, families may be criminogenic, and lack turning points to change the life trajectory to a less criminal trajectory.

Lastly, the pattern in which offenders begin by committing smaller crimes first (e.g., shoplifting) and then move into more serious crimes (e.g., burglary) can be seen looking at the whole life-course of offending that the individual participates in. By taking a retrospective approach to look at the patterns examined by those who offend, we can see the patterns during the life-course of adolescents and/or individuals and are able to identify risk factors and protective factors for children and young adolescents.

Risk and Protective Factors for Crossover Kids

There are six large categories involving risk factors for early onset offending that can be predicted when youth are aged eight to ten: economic deprivation, family criminality, poor child rearing, school failure, hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention deficit, and child antisocial behaviour (Farrington, 1989). Many youths who need to go into the child protection system have families who struggle financially, have criminogenic family members, and their parents lack parenting skills. This all affects how the child learns and copes within societal structures, such as school. Among these large categories of risk factors, there are also individual, family, socioeconomic, peer, school, and neighbourhood factors that demonstrate how multidimensional risk factors are (Farrington, 2003). This second set of risk factors tends to affect youth more in their adolescent years when a crossover into the criminal justice system is happening. For example, friends that the youth make, where they live, and how invested the family is with them, all affect whether a youth who is in the child protection system will crossover into the criminal justice system. It is important to note that although a youth may have one or several risk factors does not mean they will become an offender. Risk factors are so variable that all the unique circumstances of an individual need to be taken into consideration.

Risk factors are examined to predict a potential offender. Unfortunately, risk factors are often examined retrospectively, and are often examined too late to put in early protective factors. By using a retrospective approach of current offenders, and what has been learned about risk factors, service providers could examine children aged eight to ten to determine if the youth is at high risk for offending. For example, school staff could be trained in risk factors, child protection workers could examine the risk for the youth in their care, and both sets of service providers

could use protective factors at an earlier age to help disrupt the care to custody pipeline that crossover kids are experiencing.

Protective factors tend to come later in adolescence into adulthood, where a once criminal trajectory can be changed. Protective factors can be described as turning points leading into transitions. Events that are considered protective factors include marriage, satisfying work, moving to a better neighbourhood, and joining the military (Farrington, 2003). Regarding crossover kids, protective factors could look more like adults who advocate for youth, after school programs, stability in the home, graduation from high school and a part time job. These protective factors can act as turning points and transitions for the youth to change from a criminal trajectory to a non-deviant and non-criminal trajectory. All these transitions have a positive influence on an individual by creating social ties/bonds to other people which can change a criminal trajectory. These transitions are supported by the social bonds the youth are forming with people as the follow the social contract set out by attachment in marriage, commitment with work, and involvement in their neighbourhood.

Delinquent Youths

Adults with lived crossover kid experience provide valuable information in determining risk and protective factors. Adults with lived crossover kid experience can identify what worked for them (protective factors) and what did not work for them (risk factors) in the child protection system. As risk factors are apparent and protection factors can be applied in the child protection system, it is imperative to include a discussion about delinquent youth to understand reasons for offending.

The highest risk for offenders is antisocial behaviour continuity (Loeber, 1982) whereby the antisocial behaviour begins in young childhood and continues throughout adolescence. It is

important to differentiate continuous antisocial behaviour and antisocial behaviour that is common to adolescents. Many adolescents display antisocial behaviour; however, it is a phase and not stable behaviour (Moffitt, 1993). During this antisocial behaviour, youth may engage in deviant acts or breaking the social contract and may begin to be seen as outsiders (Becker, 1963), as they are not acting within the normal limitations of society.

The largest study done on delinquents is the Glueck study which examined 510 delinquent youths (Sampson & Laub, 1993). In this study the Gluecks found that almost all 510 delinquent youth examined had antisocial behaviour and that the most common age for offending is between 17-25 years old (Sampson & Laub, 1993). This study demonstrates that there tends to be a common age for antisocial behaviour and offending which may create a trajectory of criminal activities into adulthood.

The causes of delinquency were well studied in the Glueck study and include: "low levels of parental discipline; erratic, threating and harsh discipline; weak parental attachment; and attachment to delinquent peers which affected delinquency regardless of family structure" (Sampson & Laub, 1992, p. 247). These findings in the Glueck study demonstrate that being around other delinquent youths is likely to create a criminal trajectory (Sampson & Laub, 1993) but also that the family structure and parenting play a large part in causal factors for future delinquency.

Family Factors

When examining delinquent youth, it is important to look at their familial roots to understand how delinquency can happen. Parenting and family factors were a large part of the Glueck study, particularly the parent-child relationship (Sampson & Laub, 1993). The Glueck study focused not only on the delinquent youths but also on parental criminality, parenting styles,

how each parent responds to the child, parental alcoholism, and supervision (Sampson & Laub, 1993). This study examined the life course of the delinquent youth to understand how the youth became delinquent. Sampson and Laub (1993) note that considerations of family relationships and dynamics are often kept out of discussions around delinquency; however, the Glueck study found that family values and parental deviance were better predictors for delinquency than antisocial behaviour in childhood.

With parental deviance and family values being a significant predictor of deviancy, intergenerational parenting is worth discussing. Caspi, Bem and Elder (1989) posit that difficult temperament children tend to have parents who also have difficult temperament creating patterns in families with similar traits. This intergenerational parenting aligns with family values and parental criminality as children learn and become what they learned at home. To break this cycle of familial criminality, Loeber (1982) suggests that intervention in high-risk families need to happen early. The poor parenting skills demonstrated within these families may contribute to antisocial behaviour in children. The youth would benefit from early skill development during preschool/school age years to correct the poor parenting received from home (Loeber, 1982). Intergenerational parenting happens because parents behave the way their parents did, as people tend to mimic their family home behaviours.

While discussing parenting and the family, it is important to note that family life in childhood is a significant part to the life course of the individual. From the way children are parented, how intact their homes are, intergenerational parenting and conflict in the home all affect the child. According to a study done by McCord (1979) it was discovered that it is more accurate than pure chance to predict criminality by examining a child's homelife not just juvenile offences. This study brings to focus how important the early childhood years are, and how

important the family structure is to the likelihood a youth will enter a criminal trajectory during their life-course.

Conclusion

Life course theory is being used to discuss the life of a crossover kid, or adult with lived crossover kid experience. By taking this retrospective approach, we can see what the risk factors are and where the protective factors could be beneficial to change the trajectory of a youth to avoid the crossover. Examining how delinquent youths and family factors interact with a youth provides a background in how the youth was raised. By understanding major themes in life course theory and Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory, the trajectory of a crossover kid can be understood. Using life course theory assists with understanding the perceptions of adults with lived crossover experience with their trajectories, where their turning points were and how they transitioned into crossover kids. Using the retrospective approach of examining adults with lived crossover kid experience opens discussion about how to prevent future crossover kids.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Having reviewed the relevant literature and theoretical framework, I describe the methodology utilized. This chapter begins with the process used to receive ethics approval to do research on human participants, and an overview of constructivist grounded methodology. I continue with my data collection methods including interviewing and a social media analysis. I then discuss how I coded the data and created a concept map. Lastly, I share the limitations of this study.

Research Ethics Board (REB)

After finding a supervisor and a second reader, my next step was to reach out to a potential research site and see if I could access research participants. In June of 2022, I reached out to St. Leonard's, an organization that supports people with mental health and addictions to assist people finding housing and employment. I spoke to a gatekeeper who oversees the transitional housing in Brantford. A gatekeeper is someone who has official capacity in a social setting to grant or deny access to a research site (van den Hoonaard, 2018). The gatekeeper was interested in my research and connected me with a transitional house called Cornerstone, which services adults aged 18-29 who are having difficulty with obtaining stable housing. Once I had established a research site, I sought ethical approval through the Research Ethics Board at Wilfrid Laurier University.

Throughout the year I had ethics approval, I amended the ethics application twice to widen my sample group. I did not use random sampling, where everyone at the research site would qualify if they chose to participate (van den Hoonaard, 2018). Instead, out of all the clients at the research site, I could only interview those that had both child protection involvement and criminal justice involvement. As this specific subset of people are difficult to find, I amended the first time to include Margot's Place. Margot's Place is run out of a church

and provides drop in programming for young parents and children. I reached out to the gatekeeper in August of 2022 and was able to share a recruitment poster. Unfortunately, I was still unable to find research participants and amended ethics again to include Rosewood House, another transitional house that supports adults with housing, addictions, mental health, and employment. In January 2023, I received permission to conduct research at Rosewood House.

Constructivist Grounded Methodology

The research method I used for my study was constructivist grounded methodology (Charmaz, 2014). Constructivist grounded methodology constructs theories from data by providing systematic, flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing data (Charmaz, 2014). This methodology encourages a researcher like me, to go back and forth with data, analyze what I have collected, and adjust my research methods and/or questions to learn more about the experience of crossover kids (Charmaz, 2014).

Constructivist grounded methodology encourages studying my early data to make analytical sense of what the participants are saying (Charmaz, 2014). By examining early data and using that information to continue to guide my data collection, I was able to see how similar the stories of adults with lived crossover experience were and I created themes such as mental health struggles, trauma, and a disregard for their feelings by adults in authority.

Through use of constructivist grounded methodology, it was also important to examine my personal experiences, social location, privileges, and perspective as these can affect how I collect and analyze data (Charmaz, 2014). I do have experience with the child protection system and do have children in my guardianship that are high risk for becoming crossover kids. I shared this information with all of the research participants as a way to build rapport by demonstrating my sincere interest in hearing their stories and learning about their experiences.

Constructivist grounded methodology aids with the theoretical perspective life course theory for this study. Iterative strategies that involve examining and re-examining how data is interacting (Charmaz, 2014) flow with life course theory because life course theory is an examination of the whole life of a person, especially retrospectively. As this methodological approach prioritizes data during collection and analysis while recognizing that researchers have theoretical ideas and frameworks (Charmaz, 2014), it is easily applied to the perceptions of peoples lived experiences. By examining childhood, adolescence and adulthood, iterative strategies are used to compare and draw theoretical concepts, which encourages me to use the data to tell the participants' stories.

Data Collection Procedures

Once I received ethical approval to conduct my research, I set up a schedule with St. Leonard's to attend on Mondays from 11am-3pm to collect research in one of their transitional homes for young adults. I was welcomed into Cornerstone House by the site supervisor and was given an office to conduct interviews. The gatekeeper explained the layout of the building to me and described the common area which had couches, an eating area, and a TV. Off to the side there was a small computer area and a video game station to encourage clients to come together in the common area. The gatekeeper explained that the common area was where I could hang out and build trust with the clients. Building trust with the clients was important to gain interviews because the clients are distrustful to new people in their space.

My first day at the research site proved to be different than what I was expecting. The staff had spoken to the clients about the study and had two research participants ready to interview with me. The staff on that day clearly had developed a rapport with the clients and built trust with them to encourage the participants to do the interview. For the remaining time I had there on the first day, I hung out in the common area, answering any questions the clients

asked about why I was there, what my research was about, and how my research could affect future clients. The clients I interacted with were very friendly and welcoming.

After my first day, I began to run into recruitment challenges. I would hang out in the common area ready to interact with the clients, but I had noticed that the research site was not busy during the day. I spoke with staff and moved my hours to the evening. I began hanging out with some of the clients and building friendly relationships with them to facilitate participation. I engaged in impression management where I worked to control the impression I had on the clients through demeanour, expression, and dress (van den Hoonaard, 2018). I followed the dress of the clients, did not wear make-up, and sat with them on the couches and discussed what they wanted to chat about. Some days we just sat and watched Netflix, and other days we chatted about their lives, and the goals they were working towards. I let the clients lead the discussions to build trust and rapport as I was a guest in their house. This did lead to one more interview from one of the clients I regularly had interactions with. The client was surprised that they qualified for the study when I was explaining it to a new client, and they interviewed with me that day.

After this interview, I went almost two months without another interview. I decided I needed to expand my research site and reached out to the Manager for Rosewood House, for another possible research site. The gatekeeper expressed interest in my study and felt at least some of the clients at Rosewood House would qualify for the study. Rosewood House gave me space for about five hours to conduct interviews. At Rosewood House, the staff did not want me to interact with the clients first, instead they asked around and found three clients interested in the study. Rosewood House did not open the floor for me to hang out and get to know the clients, they took the position of recruiting for me and let me know who wanted to participate. This was

different than my experience at St. Leonard's where it was encouraged to build rapport. I feel this may have affected my data collection opportunities because the clients did not know who I was, why I was doing the research, and how it could help people similar to them. Rosewood House had more clients than St. Leonard's and perhaps if I was given the opportunity to interact with all the clients, I may have been able to get a few more interviews.

Interview Guide

The interview guide (See Appendix A) provided a list of questions I intended to ask the participant (van den Hoonaard, 2018). The interview guide began with the research question "How do people with lived crossover children experience make sense of their transitions from child protective care to the juvenile justice system?"

I broke the interview into five parts. The first part was an overview of the study and determined eligibility for the study. For example, I used the question: "To qualify for this study, you must have been involved in the Children's Aid Society and had juvenile justice involvement, including but not limited to probation, anger management, juvenile justice such as being arrested, charged, or incarcerated. Do you have crossover kid experience?" This particular question stopped both Interview 002 and 006 from proceeding as they did not have both experiences.

The second part of the interview guide focused on when the participant began their experience with the child protection system and became involved in the juvenile justice system. One of the questions "Do you remember what age you were when you entered the child protection system?" was used with the following probing questions to gain more detailed answers (van den Hoonaard, 2018) "If you don't mind, how many years did you spend in the child protection system? How about the juvenile justice system? How many years? Did the juvenile justice system carry on into adulthood? These questions helped to build rapport with the

participant as they are basic questions and easy to answer. They also gave an understanding of when the participant started their child protection and criminal justice transitions, along with the length of time they spent in both systems.

Next, I moved into questions where I asked about the crossover experience. These questions required more thought, and more probing questions for the participant to tell their stories. For example, "What, if anything, do you feel should have been done differently by Child Protective Services to prevent your crossover experience?" with the probing question "Can you tell me a bit more about it?" This question gave the participants the opportunity to share what they did not like about the child protection system and how they would change it. Asking if they can tell me a little bit more about it, gave them the opportunity to think and elaborate on their first answer.

The fourth part of the interview guide dealt with questions around entering the criminal justice system. For example, I asked, "How would you describe your first interaction with the juvenile justice system?" and used the following probing questions: "How did child protective services react? How did you feel? If you could, is there anything about this interaction you would change? Can you elaborate?" As this is the turning point to becoming a crossover kid because the participant is transitioning from the child protection system to the juvenile justice system, this was a critical question to ask. This question encouraged participants to recall their first experience, if there was support from the child protection system, and what they would change about their interaction with the police.

Lastly, the interview guide focused on questions about how the participants felt they could change the crossover experience for future crossover children, such as recommendations and their personal ideas. One of the questions asked, "What if anything, do you feel needs to

change in society to prevent future crossover children?" This question was often followed by an explanation that if money was not a concern, what would you like to see happen? This gave the participants freedom to have unrestricted answers to what they felt would be best to prevent future crossover children.

In-Depth Interviews.

I attempted six interviews; however, Interview 002 and Interview 006 did not qualify for the study as one participant never got into trouble with the criminal justice system, and the other participant did not have personal involvement in the child protection system. In total, I conducted four in-depth semi-structured interviews. For ease of reading pseudonyms are provided for the four participants. Participant one will be known as Chase, participant three as Spencer, participant four as Josh, and participant five as Ian. Two of these interviews came from St. Leonard's, and the other two came from Rosewood House. These ranged from a 20-minute interview to just under an hour long. Three of the interviews were recruited by staff at the research sites, and one interview was a direct result of building rapport with the participant. Semi-structured interviews were conducted where the interview guide led the discussion, but extra questions or a variation of the order the questions were asked was used to create a conversation with the participants (Kleinknecht et al., 2018).

Before any of the interviews began the participant signed a consent sheet (See Appendix B) which was explained by me to ensure the participant understood the study and what was being asked of them, including compensation for participating. I audio recorded the interviews on both my cell phone and a recording device, afterwards both were uploaded to a WLU OneDrive with a secure folder.

Chase's interview came from St. Leonard's and was the first interview I conducted. After the interview, I engaged in memoing where I wrote personal notes for my own use based on the interview (Charmaz, 2014). My memoing notes included how I felt about the information I learned, how angry Chase felt about social inequalities, and how I could improve the next interview by probing more to understand the participant's experience better.

After several weeks, one of the clients I had built a relationship with discovered that they qualified for the study and agreed to participate. The interview with Spencer seemed to be the easiest for me to conduct as I had built rapport with this client, and we were more familiar with each other. It was easier to pull back the focus to the interview topic with this client, as I was more familiar with their conversation style and personality. This was my longest interview, and we continued to chat afterwards for my remaining time at St. Leonard's.

The interview with Josh was the hardest interview I conducted. This interview discussed sexual assault while in foster care and Josh was quite upset discussing those experiences. I asked Josh several times if they would like to continue the interview or to stop the interview and full compensation would be provided. Josh assured me that they wanted to continue the interview. I did not probe deeper into the experiences that Josh had in the child protection system because Josh teared up sharing their story, and I did not want to cause anymore stress. Josh did make it to the end of the interview and offered great insights. I audio recorded my memoing for this interview as there was so much emotion to the interview, I did not feel I could write it down fast enough. Although, this was the shortest interview, I felt as a researcher, probing in-depth into this participant's story of abuse would cause harm and was not ethically sound. I practiced flexibility by changing course of the interview and adjusting my questions as needed

(Kleinknecht et al., 2018). The interview was steered towards the criminal justice system and recommendations for future crossover kids and the prevention of crossover kids.

Ian's interview was the only interview to be cut short. I made it through all the questions but the last one before the Ian had to run off to a doctor's appointment. I assured Ian it was alright to end the interview early and that their doctor's appointment was more important. When I memoed this interview, I made note that the doctor's appointment was for new medication for their anger, and this may have driven the interview discussion around their need to control their anger as this came up frequently in the interview.

Interviews 004 and 005 were conducted at Rosewood House. I did reach out twice after my day at Rosewood House, but there were no more willing participants that qualified for the study. After Rosewood House, I went back to St. Leonard's twice to see if there were more participants for my study. I was not successful and felt that I had overstayed my welcome. I felt that I was becoming friends with two of the clients and it was crossing the lines of researcher and research site. As a parting gift for the staff and clients at St. Leonard's, I bought chocolates, candies and chips in single serve portions and put them in a huge bucket. I hand delivered this with a note to St. Leonard's to demonstrate my appreciation for allowing me into their space to conduct research. This was well received as I got an email later that day expressing their gratitude for the goodies and noting how St. Leonard's would always be available to me to conduct research.

Incorporating a Mixed-Methods Approach: Social media analysis

I had spent months attempting to collect data from those with lived crossover kid experience and only successfully completed four interviews. At this point, I felt an honest conversation with my supervisor was needed to see where I could go with data collection. Before

I approached my supervisor, I had a moment of serendipity that led to a new research area that would complement the original research plan (van den Hoonaard, 2018). I proposed adding a media analysis using Twitter to examine what researchers, professionals who work with crossover kids, and agencies that serve crossover kids, were saying about crossover kids and their needs. I felt this data would help contextualize the experiences of participants. After speaking with my supervisor, and getting the approval of my second reader, this study became a mixed methods study.

With the social media analysis, I was interested to see what researchers, professionals working with crossover kids, and agencies supporting crossover kids were saying about these youth. My research question for this part of the study was: How do researchers and professionals explain the lived crossover kid experience?

I went to Twitter and searched under my personal account for "dually involved children" and found 118 tweets. I found 88 of these tweets to be relevant. Some of the tweets were duplicates of others, and others discussed dually involved children as something different than involved in both the child protection system and the criminal justice system. I also searched "crossover kids" and found 99 tweets. Like the first search, I found 88 tweets to be relevant due to duplicates or referring to a youth's basketball team called "crossover kids". These tweets came from some of the researchers mentioned in the literature review/overview of crossover kids, some came from people working in either the child protection systems or the juvenile justice system, and lastly, they came from agencies working to support this subgroup of youth.

I copied and pasted all tweets to a word document and examined each one for relevance. For the tweets to be relevant, they had to discuss involvement in both the child protection system and the criminal justice system. I recopied the relevant tweets into a new word document to be

coded. Included in these tweets were pictures, advertisements, infographics, and posters. For

example, what I included as an advertisement was a study done on crossover kids, that

highlighted the abstracts:

This particular tweet, posted by Dr. Susan Baidawi, was included to demonstrate that researchers

are actively looking at crossover kids to study.

Another type of image I included was of a colourful pie chart demonstrating how most

youth begin in the child protection system before crossing over in the criminal justice system:
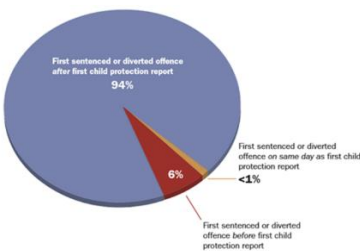
This pie chart, tweeted by the Sentencing Advisory Council of Victoria, is an agency that

informs, educates, and shares information with the public about sentencing issues. This pie chart

demonstrates how the child protection system is the first system of involvement for most

crossover kids.

Data Analysis

Before I could start coding the data from the interviews, they needed to be transcribed verbatim from the audio recording. Once transcribed, I deidentified the interviews to exclude names and any personal factors that could identify them. For all four interviews, I participated in initial coding to search for analytic ideas and to familiarize myself with the data (Charmaz, 2014). Before I began with initial coding, I recognized the importance of reflexivity because of personal experiences and knowledge of crossover kids (van den Hoonaard, 2018). Reflexivity forces me to question my own personal biases (Charmaz, 2014) such as I was not in favour of either the child protection system or the criminal justice system based on my previous experiences. It was also important for me to recognize that I have two children high risk for becoming crossover kids, and that this could affect my interpretation of the data. To mitigate my personal bias and remain objective to the data, I conducted initial line-by-line coding for the interviews and tweets for a close read of the data and to keep myself engaged with data (Charmaz, 2014). Using line-by-line coding prevented me from imputing my personal bias, knowledge, and experiences into the data as I was able to look at the data as new and from an objective perspective (Charmaz, 2014).

Some of the initial codes from the interviews included: child protective systems not helping, police not helping, child abuse, criminal charges, substance use and moving. I did not look for these codes specifically, however, my previous knowledge of this topic did guide how I labelled these codes. These initial codes gave me an understanding of the perceptions and experiences of adults with lived crossover kid experience. While initial coding tweets, I found In Vivo codes of "over-representation", "over-imprisonment" and "care to custody pipeline" were common and technical language in this field. Other initial codes I found included location, agencies, advertisements, and research publications. By using line by line, and in some cases

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word by word coding, I found these initial codes to be provisional because I followed the data

and was open to discovering different analytical possibilities (Charmaz, 2014).

After I completed initial coding, I moved into focused coding. Focused coding is where I

refined the codes that I created in the initial stage to further engage with data (van den Hoonaard,

2018). Focused coding allowed me to pinpoint and develop the most salient codes that could be

tested with larger batches of data and to move from just interaction to analysis of the data

(Charmaz, 2014). I placed all the interviews into NVivo software after initially coding them to

help sort and organize the data for further analysis. I created many focused codes such as child

abuse, child protection systems, criminal justice system, crime, crossover experience,

homelessness, mental health, parents, relationships, substance use, crossover experience,

research, and agencies.

I created sub codes within the focused codes to further sort the data into analysis. For

example, under the focused code 'child abuse', I further sorted the data into the following sub

codes: crossover kids in general, father abusing youth, foster parents abusing youth, mother

abusing youth, youth's parents who suffered abuse, and police who abused youth. Under the

focused code, 'child protection system', I created the following sub codes: age, location, aging

out of foster care, the child protection worker, advice given to the youth from child protection

workers, how the youth felt abandoned, youth's feelings towards child protection systems, good

foster placements, involvement with child protection systems, where youth felt they were not

helped, youth's parents childhood involvement and their perceptions on child protection systems.

The focused coding of the Twitter posts was a little different than the focused coding of

interviews. Instead of just having transcripts to code, I had posters, advertisements, and pictures

to include with focused coding. While focus coding the images, I examined the physical race of

the people in the images, the written words used, if they were advertising research, or sharing

statistics. Similarities with interviews include homelessness, child abuse, criminal justice system

and mental health. Differences include agencies that assist youth, call for future research, studies

done on crossover kids, advertisements for research, and publications. Race/culture was a

focused code for many tweets, with sub codes of Indigenous and more general mentions of youth

of colour.

After focused coding, I created a code book (see Appendix C) with all the focused and

sub codes used to ensure clarity in my coding process. NVivo created the codebook when I

finished focused coding. NVivo took the names of the codes and sub codes I had created and

made a table. I filled out the table with the definition for the codes. From these codes, I took the

ones with the most references in them from the interviews to create a concept map (See

Appendix D). A concept map helped me sort and organize my ideas into a visual where I could

see which codes connected to create themes (Charmaz, 2014). From here, I added the second

codes with the most references from the interviews to the concept map. Codes from the tweets

were added that had the most references. Then I began drawing lines to connect the codes

together to create my themes. This is where I realized that I did not answer my research question

and needed to formulate new research questions. From the concept map I came up with two

research questions that could be answered by the data: How do adults with lived crossover kid

experience perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice

system, and how would adults with lived crossover kid experience change the child protection

system and the criminal justice system to prevent future crossover kids?

Limitations of the Study

As this is a thesis for a Master of Arts Degree there were serious time constraints for data

collection. I began with a goal of conducting 10 interviews but only successfully completed four.

This is not a true representation of adults with lived crossover experience, rather these interviews are more exploratory in nature. Tweets were added due to lack of data from interviews to make connections between those with lived crossover kid experience and researchers/professionals who serve them. Another limitation for this study is that the only media used for the analysis was Twitter. Only two key phrases were used to collect data based on the short timeframe of this study. I choose to only search "dually involved youth" and "crossover kids" because these are relatively new terms and would provide the most information for the small population I was studying. Lastly, the population being researched are distrustful of others which makes it difficult to build enough rapport and gain participation. Building rapport takes time, and there were only 18 months available from start to completion of this study including development of this thesis. For this reason, only two transitional houses were used to gather participants and only in my current location. Choosing to stay local for this short thesis was a decision made by myself based around my life circumstances and inability to travel far for research collection at this time.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how I planned this study, how I obtained ethics approval, and how I gained access to research sites. Information about each interview and memoing was included for all interviews that were conducted. Realizing the difficulties with obtaining research participants, I shared how I changed this study into a mixed-methods study. I discussed how I went through initial coding for my mixed method data collection, and how I engaged in focused coding to familiarize and synthesize the data. Through my concept map, I realized I did not answer the original research question I was hoping to answer with the data I collected. The concept map led to new research questions that I was able to change due to the use of

constructivist grounded methodology. Lastly, I described the limitations of this study based

around personal circumstances, the struggle with the research population, and time constraints.

Chapter 5: Findings
Child Protection System and the Criminal Justice System

This chapter seeks to answer the research question: how do adults with lived crossover kid experience perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice system? I begin this chapter by discussing youths' involvement within both the child protection system and the criminal justice system Tweets from researchers, professionals working with crossover kids and agencies that are supporting crossover kids are included to contextualize participants experiences and demonstrate where there are gaps in support for crossover kids and the need for more research. From this analysis, I argue that the child protection system contributes towards criminalizing youth in their care.

Child Protective System and the Criminal Justice System

Age and Involvement

The entrance into the child protective system is the first step for crossover kids. Entrance into the child protection system were reported to be as early as age five or six (Josh) and as late as age 13 (Spencer). One participant could not recall the exact age they entered the child protection system but stated "my whole life, I've been in and out my whole life" (Chase). Similarly, participants described early involvement with the criminal justice system with less range in ages for first offence. Participants reported their criminal justice involvement began at age 12-13 (Chase, Spencer, and Josh) and age 15 (Ian). It should be noted that one participant started their involvement with the criminal justice system at the same age they entered the child protection system (Spencer). These findings for age of involvement are consistent with Baidawi and Sheehan's (2019) study where it was determined that 64% of crossover kids were first charged before the age of 14.

Other than one participant who reported ongoing child protective care into adulthood (Chase), child protection involvement lasted for one to two years (Spencer, Josh, and Ian) with one participant struggling to remember their length of time but reported "I can't remember because I was so young, it was a while, maybe like a year and a half, maybe" (Josh). Three out of four participants reported a short period in the child protection system, but all reported that they had criminal justice involvement. This is a significant finding as it does not appear to take many years in the child protection system to create a crossover kid. The Sentencing Advisory Council (Victoria, Australia) reported in a tweet how ">90% of crossover kids' child protection involvement started before their first offence" (@SACvic, 2020) demonstrating that child protection systems are often the first system the child is involved with.

Participants also describe the different ways that they entered the criminal justice system. These included familial issues, being at a party, using substances (at the time), and breaking and entering. As the following participants explained,

> First time I went to a party and the fireworks went off, but it was worse than that, the fireworks got shot at the cops (Spencer)
> I got caught smoking weed" (Josh)
> "I would be the one that would get the guys into the house [breaking and entering homes for theft]" (Ian)

These small acts of deviance facilitated the crossover from the child protection system into the criminal justice system for the participants in my research. This finding supports Baidawi and Sheehan's (2019) study results as they discovered that criminalization of youth in the child protection system starts out as small acts of deviance. These are not heinous crimes that the youth is being charged with, rather, they are common acts that many youths engage in. These early acts of deviance are also consistent with Loeber and LeBlanc (1990) discussion of activation where the youth begin their offending career.

Professional View on the Crossover Kid Experience

       The age youth enter both these systems and how they entered the criminal justice system

has created interest among researchers and professionals. "Criminalization", "genocidal", and

"over-representation" are words used on Twitter to explain the criminalization process.

> We must stop criminalizing kids, particularly those in residential care. It's all our
> responsibility to provide support and care to children and young people in child protection-
> not move them from institution to institution (@CFECFW, 2019)

> Children in the care system should be faced with stability, healing and compassion-not
> criminalization and a punitive system (@CFECFW, 2019)

These tweets discuss the belief that the child protection system is criminalizing the youth in their

care. The criminalization of youth in the child protection system often happens because police

are called for non-criminal reasons, such as running away or not complying with adults in

authority (Baidawi & Ball, 2023b). Risk factors for offending can be seen in these tweets, as the

youth are not receiving the love and care they should be, but rather being faced with punitive

treatment. Similarity, Walsh (2019) argues that youth in child protection services are being

charged because adults in authority are using police to control the behaviour of youth.

       These above tweets from The Center for Excellence in Child and Family Welfare

(CFECFW), an agency that is devoted to providing culturally appropriate training to those that

work with youth, are drawing attention to youth being criminalized and moved from system to

system instead of youth being met with care and compassion. Baidawi and Ball (2023b) support

these tweets with their discussion that more charges are given to youth in child protection

services because there is a criminalization of behaviours related to trauma, psychological

distress, neurodisability and that there is a greater surveillance on youth who are in child

protection services.

Researchers and professionals also used Twitter to highlight the over-representation of

children in foster care:

> …our recent 'Crossover Kids' reports identify possible reforms to reduce the over-representation of children known to child protection who have contact with the justice system (@SACvic, 2020)

> Children involved in Victoria's child protection system are substantially over-represented in the youth justice system (@SACvic, 2019)

Both tweets have come in response to the report on crossover kids from the Sentencing Advisory

Council, an organization that bridges the gap between government and community regarding the

criminal justice system, which demonstrates that the child protection system is leading to the

criminal justice system and creating the crossover. This overrepresentation of youth in the child

protection system who are also involved in the criminal justice system was found in Baidawi's

(2020) study that determined that 50% of youth in the criminal justice system are known to the

child protection system. This is a high statistic as it demonstrates that half of the youth in the

criminal justice system first began this trajectory with the child protection system.

Lastly, the crossover between the child protection system to the criminal justice system

was called genocidal on Twitter:

> Crossover kids who straddle the foster care system and youth criminal justice system. Both of these systems are genocidal (@MarthPaynter, 2020)

This tweet describes how the child protection system, and the criminal justice system are

separate entities, but both are genocidal as one system leads to another. Genocide in this

circumstance is the intent to destroy or harm youth who are in the child protection system

(Lafontaine, 2021). By having two systems with the intent to harm youth, these systems are

influencing the trajectory and transitions of youth in their care. For example, if a youth breaks

curfew in a foster home and the police are called, there is a turning point and transition into the criminal justice system. By the foster parents calling the police, they have created a turning point of criminal justice involvement. This leads to the transition from a child in need of care (foster care) to a child needing custody (police involvement).

Child Protective System: Failing Youth

Since the child protective system has been identified as a pathway to the criminal justice system, it is important to discuss how adults with lived crossover kid experience feel about the child protection system and child protection workers. Participants felt that child protection workers did not support a positive transition into the child protection system, did not support them while they were in foster care, and did not make the right decision when placing them into foster care. Relationships with the participant's biological family were harmed as a result of being placed within the child protection system.

Experiences with Child Protective System and Workers

Much of the discussion regarding child protection services was negative in nature. As one participant explained,

> …because how CAS was, they took me from my grandparents and from my dad, so I didn't want to be with another family. I wanted to be with my grandparents pretty much and all I wanted to do was call my grandparents and talk to them. I didn't want to be with this other family (Spencer)

This quote from Spencer discusses how they wanted to be with the family members they were most comfortable with. Finlay (2003) discusses many youths in child protection services felt the happiest when they were with their original family members.

Ian shares his negative experiences with the child protection system which appear to be continuing today with their own children:

> Well, personally, I don't have any good situations that occurred with CAS ever with myself or my kids…I don't like how they [child protection] handle any situation, my mom

threw me away when I was younger, and they [child protection] knew that, and I was on the streets, I was homeless at a young age, I was pretty much still a kid or whatever and the cops brought me to CAS and CAS handed me back to my mom. I'm like, why would they hand me right back to her, you know, and the same situation, she throws me away (Ian).

Ian explains how they were not happy with the decision of the child protection workers to move them back in with the person they feel threw them away. This can lead to frustration and anger (Day 2017) for the youth when they do not understand what is happening to them.

Josh shares his negative experiences with abuse and separation from sisters when child protection workers removed them from the home:

I only have one memory, uh, they [child protection], uh, they put me in a place with weird people that did weird things….like sneak into bed with me and stuff, and do gross things…I was so young, I didn't even know who my worker was, I just got put, me and my sisters all got split up, we got put into different places (Josh)

This one memory about child protection workers from this participant discusses how Josh was sexually assaulted but did not know how to communicate to the worker the problems that were happening with the foster family. As the youth was very young during this placement, the communication was poor from the worker (Day 2017) as the youth did not have the opportunity to reach out to the worker themselves. This undisclosed abuse can lead the youth to having feelings of shame and guilt as if they did something wrong (Snow, 2008) and feelings of being powerless (Day, 2017) to change their living situation.

Many of the participants discussed a sense of being unsupported by the child protection system. The following experience shared by Chase highlights the frustration and hurt they experienced during their time with the child protection system,

I don't even talk to them [child protection] anymore. They're like "Oh, we'll close your file" and I'm like "you guys won't even do anything anyways, you just send me money and tell me to fuck off" basically, and they want us to be successful when they throw this money at us, but they don't help us with anything… (Chase)

This experience is illustrative of the existing research on cross over kids and the lack of support they experience from their child protection worker which harms the transitions that a youth is experiencing (Finlay, 2003).

To further add to the negative feelings of child protection services, Chase describes an incident wherein they felt their child protection worker did not support them in court. As Chase explains,

> Like, you know like how they write stuff down and they're like talking to kids and stuff, they will like reword it, and then when they go to court, like with my mom and dad and stuff, and they'll say these words, they will be like, they didn't say that, that is not what they said, and they're like "well we have it right here…What me and my siblings say to them, they reword it, in a different way than what we would say, we would tell them you know "yeah, sometimes our parents get loud, because we do things that make them angry" but then they would be like writing it to sound like my parents were right fucked, I mean my parents have done stupid and fucked up shit too but like, but the way they [child protection workers] made it sound, was completely bogus, not believable (Chase)

Above, Chase describes how the child protection worker did not listen to them but instead rephrased what they said to make their situation worse. Experiences, such as the one described above, can lead to feelings of frustration and anger as the youth is trying to work with the child protection worker, but they perceive the worker to not be acting in their best interest.

As illustrated above, participants often discussed the lack of support they received from their workers, the lack of communication from the child protection system and how child protection workers would rephrase their words. The participants also discussed their negative feelings with the child protection services by discussing how they were not receiving help from their child protection workers.

> I needed the workers to help me out with getting better doctors, and they just went around it and nothing…Workers have done absolutely nothing, like I have a stomach problem, and I puke every single day, and I told my worker about it, and they don't do anything, and the case workers here [St. Leonard's] are concerned about how my health and well-being is (Chase)

> …we were talking to CAS and they were going to give us a $1300 loan or something, they had like a sponsorship program or something, when you turn a certain age, and they would give you money for it, and when we got here, they were like "Oh, yeah, yup, yup, we aren't giving you the money anymore, sorry, have a good day" (Spencer)

Child protection workers disappointed these participants by not assisting them when asked or giving false information (money) to the participant. This is another example of how child protection workers are not communicating properly to the youth which can lead to feelings of anger and frustration for the youth. The lack of support for the youth from the child protection worker is not assisting with a positive trajectory as health and monetary concerns are not being addressed.

Relationships with Families

Participants feel that the child protection worker is not supporting a positive transition for youth into the child protection system. Similarly, the child protection system is disrupting the relationships the youth in the child protection system have with other family members and the overall family unit. As the following participants explain:

> At one point, I couldn't see my dad because of them [child protection worker]. I wasn't allowed because it was a danger zone, because they would hear a lot of screaming and yelling, which I mean there was but that was because I was a five-year-old kid. I mean my little brother and I would get into it, I'd beat him up and my dad would have to scream at me and be like "you don't hit your fucking little brother, that's not nice, you stick up for your little brother" (Chase)

> I was with my grandparents, but I wasn't at the same time, because how CAS was, they took me from my grandparents and from my dad, so I didn't want to be with another family. I wanted to be with my grandparents pretty much and all I wanted to do was call my grandparents and talk to them. I didn't want to be with this other family (Spencer)

> I was so young; I didn't even know who my worker was. I just got put, me and my sisters all got split up, we all got put into different places (Josh)

As discussed above, many of the participants perceived the child protection workers to have removed them from their family – from the people they wanted to be with and who they felt safe with. These would be transitions for youth, the transition of being removed from their family home and siblings, that would be difficult to navigate on their own. These experiences left the participants with a negative perception of the child protection system. These adults with lived crossover kid experience remember not being heard, not being looked after, and being placed in foster homes where they were abused or unable to stay with family they trusted.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the research question: how do adults with lived crossover kid experience perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice system? I examined the experiences of adults with lived crossover experience within the child protection system and the criminal justice system. Tweets from researchers, professionals working with crossover kids and agencies that are supporting crossover kids were analyzed to contextualize participants experiences to demonstrate where there are gaps in support for crossover kids and the need for more research. From this analysis, I argued that the child protection system contributes towards criminalizing youth in their care.

Chapter 6: Findings
Crossover Kids

This chapter continues findings to answer the research question: How do adults with lived crossover kid experience perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice system? Specifically, I analyze how the impact of trauma, moving, family relationships, 2SLGBTQQA+, and race/culture are affecting youths involved in both systems. I situate the experiences of participants within a broader media analysis from researchers, professionals and agencies that support crossover kids. Factors that contribute to the creation of crossover kids leads into behaviours of personal substance use, anger, and memory loss for the participants.

Lastly, participants discuss their crossover experience to the best of their memory. Researchers and professionals support the discussion of the care-custody pipeline to contextualize the experiences of adults with lived crossover kid experience. I continue to argue that the child protection system is leading to the criminalizing of youth in their care. The experiences youths are having in the child protection system are making the youth more likely to use substances and have anger problems contributing to the likelihood of a criminal trajectory.

Contributing Factors to the Creation of Crossover Kids

Involvement in the child protection system is a necessary factor in the creation of crossover kids; however, there are other factors that contribute to the creation of crossover kids. In what follows, I review the key factors identified by participants, as well as those researching or working with crossover kids: trauma, race and culture, and sexual orientation. Traumatic experiences are targeted by researchers, professionals who work with crossover kids, and agencies that support crossover kids to describe how these experiences can be a contributing factor towards the creation of crossover kids. Gallitto, Lyons, Romano, and MAP Research

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Team (2017) posit that being involved in child protection services is a predictor of trauma, supporting the information that is being shared on Twitter. Race and culture are examined by researchers and professionals, and sexual orientation is discussed by participants. Lastly, moving homes often and relationships with family members (not parents) affect the youth and their decisions.

<u>Trauma</u>

Traumatic experiences can be common among crossover kids. Trauma is defined as a distressing event(s) that have a long-lasting emotional impact on a person (The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2023). Traumatic experiences can be seen with crossover kids during turning points of their lives such as a transition to a new home (Finlay, 2003), abuse, and the transition into the criminal justice system.

Traumatic experiences leading to substance use is seen with Josh as they recount being sexually abused in foster care and how the abuse led them to use substances to dull the pain:

> … I kind of just stopped trusting people, and then I became angry all the time, and just kinda, I just wanted to not feel, so I started drinking and smoking and hanging out with the wrong people and kinda just, I don't know, just kept getting in trouble, and like I explained, I was just angry and sad all the time and couldn't do anything about it, so I just tried to kill the pain and did dumb things when I was drunk, and I did dumb things when I was stoned (Josh)

The abuse Josh suffered during their foster care experience can be considered a traumatic event that led to a turning point in their trajectory. The participant describes how they were trying to dull the pain of their experience with drugs and alcohol which lead to a plethora of other "dumb things" such as getting involved in the criminal justice system. The turning point in this participant's life is the sexual assault, which lead to a different trajectory and a transition into the criminal justice system.

While my participants did not expressly use the word trauma during the interviews, they certainly discussed events that would be understood by professionals as traumatic. Participants lack the same training as professionals and are less likely to use the term trauma, but rather share their stories. Researchers and professionals shared openly on Twitter about the trauma crossover kids can suffer:

> Due to experiencing trauma, youth in foster care can experience behaviours that put them at risk of becoming Dually Involved Youth (DIY) (@ChildAdvocatesSV, 2023)

> Lots of my cases, the parent is doing really well. Issue is that the kid has been through so much trauma, still has not made it back. Sometimes, kid and parent love each other very much, yet aren't ready to live together. I have a lot of dually involved youth, JD and dependency (@LawyerParent, 2018)

> Children's Law Center: Improving outcomes for children dually involved in child welfare & juvenile justice systems conference has experts saying the same thing I say. Work 2 heal families, reunification has 2 b our focus, and better understanding and dealing with trauma (@UofSC, 2019)

The above tweets discuss how youth in the child protection system have experienced trauma. Trauma experiences fit well within life-course theory because a traumatic experience can be a turning point in the youth's life that changes their life trajectory. Scully and Finlay (2015) discuss how trauma for crossover kids begins in their biological family, as there is some sort of threat to the safety of the child and child protection worker must remove the child. The turning point is the traumatic experience that caused the child protection worker to remove the child, and the transition is the move from biological family to foster care. Researchers and professionals can identify trauma in a youth due to the special training they have. Adults with lived crossover kid experience may share traumatic stories but not refer to those moments in time as traumatic. Trauma may be so common in the lives of crossover kids that they may not realize they are experiencing traumatic periods in their lives.

<u>Race/Culture</u>

Trauma may be difficult for participants to define, and the same phenomenon is seen with race/culture. Participants did not discuss issues with race/culture; however, it was overwhelmingly discussed by researchers and professionals on Twitter. To examine race and culture, I must first discuss what intersectionality is. Intersectionality is defined as how a person's race, gender, gender ideals, sexuality and socioeconomic status intersect together resulting in racism from others (Potter, 2013). Each of these intersections create another layer of oppression that can affect the way others perceive the individual. If an individual looks or acts differently than the dominate group, they are marginalized thus leading to oppressive tactics by the dominate group. Intersectionalities affect crossover kids, and much of the research discusses race and culture being a contributing factor for the creation of crossover kids. Researchers and professionals further defined race/culture into children of colour and Indigenous when speaking about crossover kids. The following tweets discuss how minority children, especially Indigenous children, are more likely to be crossover children:

In my personal opinion, it might be because minorities often are part of these systems due to generational trauma or patterns (@Pandamh98, 2022)

The report finds that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were particularly over-represented among sentenced or diverted children known to child protection (@KazGurney, 2020)

We know the Aboriginal kids are over-represented in the justice system and in the child protection. We must hold government to account, and ensure that Aboriginal communities can design and lead support systems (@CFECFW, 2019)

The human cost of 'crossover kids' is a case in point- 75.2% of Aboriginal children and 60% of non-Aboriginal children who had a proven guilty offence had previously been reported to child protection (@IndigenousX, 2017)

These short tweets demonstrate that the race and/or culture of a youth can be a contributing factor towards the creation of crossover kids. Clarke (2011) discusses that in North America, all families and/or cultures are subject to North American policies, and this does not always coincide with other cultures, who were raised by different policies surrounding the welfare and health of a child. Intersectionalities may not be considered when the child protection system and/or the criminal justice system are contacted regarding a marginalized youth.

2SLGBTQQIA+

Participants may not have talked about their race, but they did talk about sexual orientation within their biological families and foster placements:

> … [foster dad] he didn't seem like he was with another guy, he was just by himself with another guy, and uh, my dad didn't like that, so my dad used to say something to the CAS worker that he [CAS worker] better go get me or he's going to get his ass over there and get his kid (Spencer)

> My mom is a lesbian, so she loves women, right, and I was, it was not really a big thing early 2000s, it was very different still…so I used to be called queer and a faggot, and I used to get beat up for it and shit (Chase)

Spencer and Chase shared their experiences around sexual orientation with their foster family and biological mother. Sexual orientation creates another intersection thus creating another oppression that affect youth entering foster care. These youth can be dealing with homophobia along with the plethora of other intersections, and this could potentially lead a youth to act out and become involved in the criminal justice system.

Similarly, researchers and professionals mentioned sexual orientation in a tweet that included race:

> Did you know that Black LGBTQ+ girls and nonbinary youth are at a higher risk for crossover—becoming dually involved in both the juvenile justice and child welfare systems—than their non-Black, non-LGBTQ+ peers? We need to address this in our systems (@CJJRGU, 2021)

As both participants and professionals are discussing sexual orientation, it appears that whether personal or familial, sexual orientation is playing a role in the lives of crossover kids. Sexual orientation adds another layer of oppression to the youth, and this increases the risk factors while they are dealing with bullying and racism. They are lacking peer support which is a protective factor against a criminogenic trajectory for youth.

Moving Homes

Moving homes was also identified as a risk factor for becoming dually involved. Switching homes may create more transitions for the youth to work through while navigating their childhood/adolescence. As Chase explains,

> People need to understand that, that kids are more than just these things can be shuffled around like a chess piece. Like me being in foster care and stuff, that was tough, moving from home to home, and like because you wanted, because it didn't situate right away, like you were just, you got kicked outta the home because you acted up, you know or you didn't do something wrong, then you have to go to another home until you find the right one….When you get tossed around too much, you start to not give a fuck, that when you end up in juvenile justice because at that point, you don't care what you're doing because no one cares about anything about you, so why care about anything else (Chase)

This quote from Chase demonstrates the frustration of youth who are in child protection services. These frequent moves cause negative feelings towards the child protection services, along with feelings of no one caring about them so they no longer want to care about anything (Day, 2017). It would be difficult for a youth to create any form of attachment to a family or siblings if they are being moved around often. As Chase points out, when you do not care what happens to you, the law and rules are not a deterrence anymore, and this changes the trajectory of the youth to a more criminogenic one.

Another participant describes how they were forced to move twice by the child protection system in six months (Spencer). Frequent moves can cause a disruption in the ability for the youth to plan for the future as they do not know how long they will be in a particular home (Day, 2017). The third participant describes how they moved between foster homes to the Youth Resource Center (YRC), which is a transitional house for adolescents,

> [After foster placement] Back to the YRC because it, that's before [foster placement], cuz in between there I was at the YRC and then in the end I was back at the YRC. I was at the YRC three different times (Ian)

Ian described how they were always back and forth between a foster home and the youth transitional housing. These frequent moves can cause disruption in the youth's life as it is difficult to establish attachments to people. When a youth is moved often, it becomes a risk factor for criminal behaviour as the youth is unable to have stable housing. As Chase reported, children in foster care should not be moved like "chess pieces" as Chase believes this leads to substance use and criminal behaviour.

Similarly, a recommendation made after the release of the third Crossover Kids report by the Sentencing Advisory Council in Australia calls to the government and child protection system to do better:

> When children do go into the child protection system, services and governments must do everything in their power to ensure stability. Kids should not be moving from placement to placement (@CFECFW, 2019)

There seems to be a consensus between adults with lived crossover kid experience and researchers/professionals that frequent moves are not beneficial for youth. Frequent moves in and out of foster homes, transitional homes or back and forth with biological family can create a lack of belonging, contributing to the creation of crossover kids.

The Fallout of Contributing Factors for Crossover Kids

Trauma, race/culture, 2SLGBTQQIA+, and moving homes contribute to the creation of crossover kids. Many of these factors are a result of the trauma that crossover kids may have experienced. According to the participants, personal substance use becomes normal, memory loss from childhood and early adolescence is present, and anger issues have developed.

Personal Substance Use

The use of substances was the largest theme with participants reporting personal use. Substance use includes both illicit drugs, cannabis, and alcohol.

> …I am an addict myself, I deal with a lot of issues on drugs and alcohol, because I don't really have the best coping skills…I got super drunk, and I got super suicidal, and I tried to jump off a bridge… I was super suicidal, and the cops and my CAS workers didn't give a fucking shit and you think they would give a shit when a 15-year-old kid is popping 15 oxi's at a time trying to kill himself, in a forest, or you know, snorting fentanyl, because I did that, snorted a gram of fentanyl trying to kill myself (Chase)

> Just been walking around toking weed now…My uncle and I, I'm not going to lie, has brought me over a pound a weed for like a long time, and he just drops it off and he's like "here you go, see you next week! Here's some edibles, see you next week, bye" (Spencer)

> I have two DUIs [driving while under the influence] back-to-back …I started drinking all the time and smoking weed all the time, and that kind of messed up my life more… I am an alcoholic and I'm only 20 years old (Josh)

Substance use was a major theme found through the interviews. The participants discussed how substance use is affecting their lives, how they turn to substance use to dull their pain, how they have criminal charges based on substance use, and how family members are supporting their use of substances. Substance use can also be considered a turning point in the trajectory of a youth, as they now transition into addict.

Anger

Like using substances, anger tends to be an emotion that results from contributing factors towards the creation of crossover kids. In fact, three out of four of my participants discussed their

anger issues. The following quote is illustrative of the anger and frustration participants

expressed,

> I have a lot of knowledge and wisdom that's come out of a lot of pain in my life. As much as I hate the pain, I wish it wasn't there, it taught me quite a bit, I'm not naïve, smarter than most people, that and I just don't give a fuck, so I have no remorse, so if somebody fucks me, I'll just bash their fucking head in, simple. You know what, screw people, screw society, screw cops. You know what, fuck squirrels, fuck my mom, the cops, fuck everything (Chase)

Above, Chase equates the pain they have experienced over their life with their "fuck everything"

attitude.

Josh discusses feeling angry about being sexually assaulted in foster care and frustrated

by the fact that no one was looking for the underlying cause of their anger: "All the time no one

knew why I was angry, no one knew why I was sad, and I spoke like an asshole but there was a

reason behind it" (Josh). Josh perceived their child protection workers as well as the other adults

in their life to not be interested in understanding why they had so much anger. Rather, Josh

perceived the adults in their life to only see their anger. Yet, by not examining the reason behind

the anger, the proper support could not be given to the youth to deal with the root cause of their

anger. Had an adult in authority intervened, this participant could have been given the support

they needed for being sexually abused, instead of just focusing on an "angry child".

Lastly, Ian discusses how they know they have anger built up from their experiences and

have taken steps to correct their anger:

> …I'm not proud of getting into trouble, I have anger issues, which I've been trying to work on …But I have quite a bit of anger built up inside of me so I have a lot of anger issues, that I'm trying to work on, I actually have a doctors appointment after here, but I get my new meds this morning for my anger, but I, I have a lot of anger built up and I don't know what do about it, but I've been trying to get that under control, the past few months, cuz its getting worse (Ian)

Ian is taking active steps to change their own life trajectory by dealing with their anger. Ian does not want to continue on their current path and is working on transitioning to a life that has their anger under control.

It is apparent that these adults with lived crossover kid experience are dealing with different levels of anger based on their life experiences. Whether they have developed an attitude/anger in response to pain they have suffered, have been seeking help for their anger, or are trying to understand their anger, all these participants are working on a transition from the person they were before and their past experiences.

Memory Loss

Lastly, it appears that a resulting factor from being a crossover kid is memory loss, with three participants discussing that they cannot remember parts of their childhood or early adolescence:

> …they were going to arrest me, and they told me to go, and then I beat up my buddy when I was drunk, and then they chased us down the road I guess, I don't remember any of this, my buddy told me this (Chase)

> I don't really remember how long I was there for, that's like the only memory [child sexual assault] I have (Josh)

> …I can't remember that far back when I was a teen, um, I can't remember my teen years (Ian)

These memory losses could be from substance use, trauma, or a plethora of other reasons; nonetheless, memory loss appears to affect adults with lived crossover kid experience. Josh only remembered a traumatic experience (sexual assault), but they do not have any other memories of this foster home. This is significant, because there were no other memories about the house or experiences, just of the assault, so memories may be repressed other than the assault.

Personal substance use, memory loss and anger issues are a result of the experiences

adults with lived crossover kid experience had in the child protection system. These resulting

behaviours are increasing the likelihood that a youth will begin/continue on a criminal trajectory

creating the crossover kid.

The Crossover Kid Experience

The transition from the child protection system into the criminal justice system is the

turning point that creates the crossover kid. Contributing factors are leading to behaviours that

make it more likely that a youth will lead a criminogenic lifestyle. I analyze the participants

discussions around the personal crime they have committed which created the turning point that

led to the transition into the criminal justice system. I also draw on broader media from

researchers and professionals to discuss the care-custody pipeline to situate the experiences of

adults with lived crossover kid experience. Lastly, participants share the first experiences they

remember about how they became involved in the criminal justice system and completed the

crossover kid experience.

<u>Personal Crime Committed</u>

Criminal justice involvement is a critical system that the youth must be part of to be

considered a crossover kid. Committing crime acts as a turning point in the trajectory of these

youth's lives as they transition into the criminal justice system. Participants share stories of times

they have been arrested, dealt with police officers, and were charged for crimes and actions they

committed themselves:

> I busted through a window and ran to my buddy's and then I lived on my own ever since,
> and from there, that's when I started busting into my dad's house and robbing his house for
> shit, you know, taking his stuff (Chase)

Chase discusses how they started their criminal trajectory by returning home to steal from their

dad. Spencer next discusses the incident that caused them to receive time in prison "…but I stood

70

up and punched him in the face pretty hard, and then I hit him with my scooter really hard"

(Spencer). This incident resulted with Spencer being charged with assault. Josh also received a

criminal charge of Driving while under the Influence "I got a DUI" (Josh) after sharing their

problems with alcohol. Lastly, Ian shares their involvement with breaking and entering into

homes for friends and how they were throwing rocks off a bridge with a friend:

> B&E's and stupid stuff…I didn't go into the house, I personally, couldn't do it, I'm not a thief, I couldn't do that personally, but I have done other things, like I said, I would smash a window or something like that, for whatever, I'd open the door or whatever, you know what I mean to get them in, but I would never be the one stealing the stuff, but I would be the one that would get, getting the guys in the house or something like and I would be the one getting charged for that, so just stuff like that…There's this one bridge and we were throwing rocks off of it, and they were like a big rock like this [holds open hands to show grapefruit size]and we dropped her off, and it hit a car that was driving (Ian)

This quote from Ian highlights the risk factor of delinquent peers that lead into a criminal

trajectory (Farrington, 2003), as Ian's friend was involved in the rock throwing.

Personal crimes reported varied from breaking and entering, theft, physical assault,

property damage, to operating a vehicle while under the influence. It appears most of these led to

criminal charges as a minor, and two participants (Josh, Ian) with an adult charge (DUI).

Although this may not be the first involvement with the police for these youth, these charges

facilitated the transition into the criminal justice system.

Care to Custody Pipeline

As crime committed by the participants was a prerequisite to be called a crossover kid,

researchers and professionals discuss the care to custody pipeline. The care to custody pipeline

describes how the child protection system is supposed to be a system of care but somehow youth

involved in the child protection system are ending up in the criminal justice system, a system of

custody.

To acknowledge the link between #childprotection & #youthjustice involvement, we need specialist court lists for 'crossover kids' to interrupt the 'care to custody' pipeline, to avoid over imprisonment of our most vulnerable, esp Indigenous kids (@crimsonchat, 2019)

Our CARE Team provides intensive intervention services to CLC's dually involved clients to stop the pipeline from foster care to criminal justice (@clccal, 2021)

CARE Program-Children's Law Center of California CLC provides critical interventions to youth in foster care who are particularly vulnerable including youth impacted by the juvenile justice system (@clccal, 2021)

We must stop criminalising kids, particularly those in residential care, it's all of our responsibility to provide support and care to children and young people in child protection-not move them from institution to institution (@ CFECFW, 2019)

Although these tweets are mostly advertising for programs and sharing results from a report, they are important to include as the crossover kid experience is a system of care to the system of custody. This care to custody pipeline is described as "care criminalisation" and is defined by "the process by which inadequately trained and poorly renumerated staff who fail to understand and are unable to resolve conflict rely on police to manage children's behaviour" (McFarlane, 2018, p. 416). This care to criminalization is referring more to residential care homes (group homes) over foster care homes (independent families) as they are run by paid staff. This phenomenon is further evidenced in the following tweets:

Looking forward to another excellent @SACvic report on 'Crossover Kids', while hoping for a positive, meaningful response by child welfare, OOHC & justice agencies to reduce the criminalization & over-representation of #kidsincare (@DrKathMC, 2020)

Elizabeth Stanley keynote-crossover kids (child protection and juvenile justice contacts) are 107 times more likely to be incarcerated by age 20 than kids with no child protection contact (@hayleyboxall1, 2017)

Vulnerable 'crossover kids' transition from child protection system to a future of crime and incarceration (@musk_shah, 2019)

Crossover Kids: Vulnerable children in the Youth justice System report found that children with some degree of involvement in the child protection system are over-represented among those appearing in the Victorian Children's Court (@HigginsDaryl, 2019)

The likelihood of a youth in child protection services crossing over into the criminal justice system is high, as McFarlane (2018) notes that 81% of youth from the child protection system have a criminal record. This crossover creates a life course transition from one system to another, with the turning point of the offense committed to enter the criminal justice system. My research supports these earlier findings and can contribute to a deeper understanding of the emergence of turning points for crossover kids.

Crossover Experience

Professionals and researchers working towards preventing the care to custody pipeline have important insights about the experience; however, adults with lived crossover kid experience have personal stories. Many of the adults with lived crossover kid experience were not aware of the exact crime that created the turning point for the transition into the criminal justice system, so they spoke more generally about this experience.

Many reflected on the stigma they experienced through their involvement with the child protection system. As Chase states: "…nobody helped us out because everybody looked at us and went "they're mistakes, they're trash, bye"". Chase is referring to being labelled as "trash" by everyone which is consistent with Day (2017) findings of how youth feel they are being labelled negatively by society.

Spencer discusses how they crossed back and forth for three years between the child protection system and the criminal justice system. Spencer describes the juvenile justice system as "it wasn't good, it wasn't bad". Spencer spent time in prison for an assault charge. This quote leads to indifference about the experience and the "*it is what it is"* mentality.

Ian's crossover experience led to anger and distrust of people as they stated they were always in trouble: "…just kept getting in trouble*"*. By continuously getting into trouble, Ian is

discussing the care to custody pipeline. This is consistent with Walsh (2019) who posits that

residential care is leading to criminalization often for reasons that could be handled differently.

As previously mentioned, Ian spent time at the Youth Resource Centre (YRC) which is a

residential care home for youth who are displaced. Within the residential care homes police are

used for behaviour management. For example, if a youth is experiencing anger due to their

situation and they break a cup by throwing it at the wall in residential care, the police are called

for behaviour management (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). Furthermore, Bala et al. (2013) finds

that only 20% of calls to police were for legitimate reasons (serious violence/assault/danger to

others) the rest of the calls were for things such as breaking curfew.

    Care to custody pipeline continued for Ian they describe how they got into trouble as a

kid; however, most of their charges came from adulthood: "I did get into some trouble growing

up" (Ian). Continuing to offend is common as Malvaso et al. (2022) found that in a 12 month

follow up study on youth in the criminal justice system that 78% of the sample reoffended. The

reoffending by many youths is consistent with life course theory as they are following a

criminogenic trajectory with each added criminal offense.

Conclusion

I continue to argue that the child protection system is leading to the criminalizing of

youth in their care. The experiences youths are having in the child protection system are making

the youth more likely to use substances and have anger problems contributing to the likelihood

of a criminal trajectory. Personal crimes committed were shared by the participants with

researchers and professionals contextualizing their experiences by describing the care-custody

pipeline. I discussed the contributing factors towards the creation of crossover kids and situated

the experiences of adults with lived crossover kid experience within a broader media analysis.

The resulting behaviours from trauma, race/culture, 2SLGBTQQA+, and moving homes brought about issues of personal substance use, memory loss and anger from the participants. All of these issues started with the participants experience within the child protection system and lead to the criminal justice system.

Chapter 7: Findings
Recommendations from Adults with Lived Crossover Kid Experience

Researchers, professionals working with crossover kids, policy makers and government bodies may have their own opinions on what crossover kids need; however, the real experts should be the ones who have lived crossover kid experience. Adults with lived crossover kid experience share their views and thoughts on child protection systems, the criminal justice system and how to prevent future crossover kids.

Many of the studies done on crossover youth only talk to youth currently in these systems (see Day, 2017; Snow, 2008) or are focused on extant data (see Baidawi, 2020; Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019). There is a gap in literature where adults who have lived crossover kid experience are approached and asked what they would change to prevent future crossover kids. This chapter shares where adults with lived crossover kid experience feel there should be changes to both the child protection system and the criminal justice system to help future crossover kids, or to prevent future crossover kids.

Child Protection System

All four participants shared their thoughts on how the child protection system could assist children better. Recommendations include listing to youth, child protection workers being more supportive, checking out biological and foster families better, and adding more services to support youth.

Chase describes how they feel unheard during their experience with the child protection system:

> …help me when I actually need help, when I'm actually going through something and when I say something fucking listen, not sitting there on your phone texting another client. It's kind of fucking disrespectful, and I hate when they do that …I feel like workers *really need to listen* to what kids say, just because we are kids, doesn't mean what we say doesn't mean anything, like, some of us are going through some real shit on a day to day basis, that are worse than some adults…like people don't listen to the little, little things,

and that's what causes the big problem, that's what causes the big issue. It could be that little thing that turns into a big thing because people keep pushing us aside… (Chase)

The above quote highlights risk factors present for youth in the child protection system and how protective factors are not being placed to avoid a transition into the criminal justice system. Protective factors that could be placed in this circumstance would be for the child protection worker to understand the youth's viewpoint by taking into consideration that they do know what they need. This would help to build social bonds with the child protection worker as the youth would feel validated and listened to by the child protection worker.

Age-graded theory applies here as the youth is unable to build social ties with the child protection worker because they continue to be pushed aside, ignored for other clients and are not being heard. Social bonds with anyone are important as a protective factor against a criminogenic trajectory (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Social bonds are affected when youth move often within the child protection system, as these youth struggle to grow attachment to their foster families.

Social bonds are broken with the biological family when a child is removed, and the youth does not always agree with the decision:

I feel a lot of people [biological parents] actually need them [child protection workers] to actually check out what is actually going on, because they [biological parents] are not doing what they are saying (Spencer)

Turnell and Edwards (1997) agree with Spencer by discussing that it is very important that child protection workers speak with all family members about all the concerns to get the whole picture of what is happening in the family. This is important when we consider that a removal from the home represents a turning point in the youth's life that leads to a transition into the child protection system and will affect their life trajectory.

Josh spoke about the importance of checking out the foster placements better to ensure

the youth are in a safe environment and getting what they need:

> I just think they need to do more research on who they are putting these kids with …
> [child protection workers should check in] once or twice a month, just to see how they are
> doing, and if they are not being abused, if they are eating good, stuff like that, just check in
> on them (Josh)

Josh highlights the importance of child protection workers being more available and accessible

to their clients. Similarly, Snow (2008) found that those in their study also wanted child

protection workers to be more consistent and reliable, not just show up when paperwork is

needed. More reliable child protection workers would increase the social bonds the youth have

with the worker, and act as a protective factor against crossing over into the criminal justice

system.

Ian took a different approach and requested better support from child protection services,

and to not be placed back with their biological mother who discarded them:

> …not to put me back with the person that threw me away…I want them to offer more
> supports for kids, for like anger, for everything…I think they [supports such as mental
> health, child protection workers, addictions, child advocates] should go into schools, I
> think they should go into homes, they should walk around the city, they should be every
> where (Ian)

This quote describes how there needs to be more accessibility to gaining help for youth and to

meet them where they are, whether it be on the street, in school or in their home. With positive

support people in the youth's life, the turning point of committing a criminal offense, and the

transition into the criminal justice system could be avoided. In Ian's case, the support person

could act as a turning point, helping the youth along a more socially accepted trajectory that does

not involve criminality.

As adults with lived crossover kid experience have a different perspective on how the

child protection system is running than professionals, they created their own recommendations.

Recommendations include listening to the youth in the child protection system and ensuring their needs are met, getting the whole picture from the biological family to ensure they are not removing youth too hastily, checking in and supporting the youth who are in foster care, and increasing the accessibility of support services for youth. These recommendations all start when the youth is young, before they become involved in the criminal justice system. These recommendations could potentially stop the youth from hitting the turning point of committing crime where they transition into the criminal justice system.

Criminal Justice System

Just as there were unique perspectives on the child protection system, adults with lived crossover kid experience discuss their recommendations for the criminal justice system. Three out of four participants offered recommendations, such as not being locked up the whole time when incarcerated, police to be more understanding, and for the police to hand out serious consequences when a youth could harm someone.

Spencer spent the most time incarcerated, and shares their recommendations on juvenile prison systems:

> Make it [prison] so not locked up all the time…like you're locked in a single cell, and usually when you are moving, every single cell from like the gym to like the kitchen, and back to A-block, and stuff like that, you are all shackled, everyone is shackled (Spencer)

Spencer recommends having more freedom, and less physical restriction while incarcerated. The juvenile prisons tend to hold the young offenders at a higher standard than they do in adult prisons with more punitive treatment and quicker punishment (Adorjan & Ricciardelli, 2018). This is like the criminalization of youth in residential care that I discussed earlier, as these youths are getting themselves into more trouble while incarcerated for typical behaviour, such as pushing back against the rules or arguing with a correctional officer (Adorjan & Ricciardelli,

2018). As half of the youth in the criminal justice system are known to the child protection

system (Bateman, 2021) there should be more consideration for the trajectory youth who are

incarcerated have lived, and a re-examination of discipline in youth prisons.

Josh was only in a holding cell until their mom could arrive; however, their thoughts on

the experience are powerful:

> I guess they're [police] just doing their jobs, but I mean they could have just drove me
> home and told my mom what I was doing, instead of taking me all the way into the holding
> cell and make my mom have to go up there, cuz then I got my ass beat after that one
> …[police could] be more understanding, like maybe when somebody does something they
> don't like, there's a reason behind why they are doing it, they aren't doing it to be bad,
> they're not doing it to be cool or whatever, there's like trauma behind it, and I think they
> [police] should try to realize that (Josh)

Josh wants police to be more understanding, to understand that there is trauma behind the actions

of a youth, it is not just bad behaviour. By not expressing empathy or having trauma training,

adults in authority could be causing the youth to have more traumatic experiences. Bala et al.

(2013) emphasizes that the real pipeline to the criminal justice system is trauma.

Recommendations from this participant looks at police having more empathy and understanding

for the unique life circumstances of a youth.

Lastly, Ian shares a different view on how the police should handle youth who are

offending when they recount throwing rocks off a bridge onto cars: "I think I should have gotten

into some shit" (Ian). This quote is calling for a more punitive treatment immediately following

the action, not the slap on the wrist they received. It should be noted that Ian is the oldest

participant in the study, and that may influence the different viewpoint from other participants.

Ian also feels that there is a lack of supports in the criminal justice system: "…there's not enough

bodies for supports, there's not enough funding for supports" (Ian). This may account for why

youth are not receiving quick discipline when offending. Much like how youth in the child

protection system feel that child protection workers are not supporting them enough, this quote speaks to the lack of support or assistance from police. The recommendation from Ian is to increase the manpower and funding for police services ensuring that youth are receiving quick discipline when offending.

The recommendations in this section are calling for police and correctional officers to have more training in empathy, better understanding of youth and more police officers. Having more police officers available to assist youth when they are in trouble will ensure that the youth get the appropriate attention when they offend. When a police/correctional officer acts with empathy and understanding, the youth would feel heard and less attacked. Although the youth has become a crossover kid when the police get involved, their criminal trajectory can be stopped, and a more socially acceptable trajectory of non-offending can emerge.

To Prevent future Crossover Kids

Recommendations were put forth for both the child protection system and the criminal justice system separately by adults with lived crossover kid experience. As these adults have personal expertise from being a crossover kid themselves, they put forth their own recommendations on how to prevent the crossover kid experience for future youth. These recommendations include listening to the youth, more illicit substance control, personal advocates, and creating buildings specifically catered to youth in the child protection system.

Chase stresses the need for parents and society to really listen to youth,

Parents need to stop being fucking dicks, and listen to their kids, and actually sit there and be like "what's wrong" and not being like "oh, it's just childish stuff", "Its just school…A human being deserves to be listened to and a human being deserves to be loved. We aren't just something that can be fucking tossed around (Chase)

This quote demonstrates the need for children to feel loved and heard, to create attachments with people and not just be moved all the time. Snow's (2008) study that was youth led, found that

youth felt like they were moved quickly from home to home, and they were talked about as if

they did not have any feelings. This lack of love and being listened to is contributing to risk

factors for a transition into the criminal justice system, as youth are unable to advocate for

themselves and feel heard. The recommendation Chase is putting forth is to listen to the youth,

see what their wants and needs are, and to stop moving youth around so much.

Spencer steers their recommendations to prevent future crossover kids towards the

government and how accessible illicit drugs are: "Drug problems…How much people are using

them now…" (Spencer). Substance use is common among crossover kids with 79% of them

having substance abuse problems (Bala et al., 2013). This is a significant finding and Spencer

further elaborates on drug use:

> …the crack heads you see at Timmy's… there's so many kids that are on Snapchat that are toking all the time, and stuff and it's like, like you're a kid still, you shouldn't be, you just, I get it, I started smoking when I was 16, but I wasn't toking and shit when I was 12 and 13 (Spencer)

Spencer admits to using cannabis, but they were older (age 16) and not young like the kids they

are seeing using substances now. Further along in this interview, Spencer alludes to the idea that

the government needs to step up and stop youth from having access to illicit substances, as the

government is not cracking down enough on "jewelers" (people who sell drugs to others). Bala et

al. (2013) stress that there is a lack of programming for youth as well as a lack of accountability

for who should be running programs for youth. Programs can include after school programs,

addictions, drug awareness; however, as discussed earlier, there is likely a lack of manpower and

funding for these programs.

As drugs seem to be easy to get according to Spencer, it would be safe to assume that

"jewelers" are known to the youth, allowing drugs to be in or near their schools and neighbour

hoods. According to Farrington (2003) this creates risk factors for the youth as high delinquency

in either school or neighbourhood is more likely to increase the likelihood of a criminal

trajectory. The recommendation from Spencer would be to keep drugs out of the hands of youth

to reduce the risk factors of being a crossover kid.

Josh is less concerned with risk factors, instead wants to instill protective factors for

youth in child protection services:

> I don't know maybe like instead of putting them in a house with random people they should get a building where all these foster kids could go together and like have, like good environments and like get them to do stuff like after school programs or something, just so they are not dealing with stuff in the wrong way…they would have more kids to talk to and if they got comfortable with the staff they would be able to go and talk to them if they ever felt sad or alone or anything, they would have kids to play with, they would make friends, like instead of being isolated, because some kids get put by themselves into foster homes…that's why think a building with a bunch of kids would be good because then they wouldn't have to go to foster care, they could just go there… (Josh)

This quote has a strong recommendation that requires buildings designed to be larger foster

homes instead of individual family foster homes. Josh wants wrap-around care available to the

youth 24/7, and for youth to be able to socialize with other youth who are going through the

same or very similar experiences that they are. This idea is consistent with Shilson (2019) as they

posit that when engaging with youth, you must engage with many adults to bring the systems

that have responsibility to youth together.

The recommendation of foster care buildings rather than foster care homes would aid in

youth building attachments to others, such as other children and staff, as they would stay in these

buildings, and not be sent to different foster families. As the youth are in child protection system

due to lack of care/abuse/neglect/parental issues, this building could act as a turning point for the

youth, for they would not be subjected to harm. The staff at the building would be able to assist

the youth on a socially accepted life trajectory that is void of crime or deviant acts.

Lastly, another protective factor for future crossover kids would be a single support person that was the child's advocate through their whole life:

> …someone to genuinely be there for me, like I had nobody, I was on my own from like a young age, my mom threw me out…Someone to stay in my life and stay there, not different people every month (Ian)

This recommendation of an advocate person for the youth is more of an individualized recommendation than an overall recommendation but is also a protective factor. This advocate would help a youth feel less alone and continue to be with them through their critical periods in their life (Finlay, 2003). These advocates can help the youth work through their transitions, assist with turning points, and change their life trajectory to one that is not criminogenic.

Conclusion

This chapter was focused on how adults with lived crossover kid experience would change the child protection system and the criminal justice system to prevent future crossover kids. Recommendations for the child protection and the criminal justice system were similar and included how youth need to be listened to, how adults in authority should look at the whole family or the whole circumstance before making assumptions, how more manpower in both systems is needed, and how empathy and understanding from front-line workers would be beneficial. These are all critical people in the youth's life and can assist with transitions and turning points for the youth, to avoid a further criminal trajectory.

The last half of the chapter was focused on the prevention of future crossover kids, how we can prevent youth who are in the child protection system from entering into the criminal justice system. Listening to the voice of the child came up again in this section intertwined with the need for these children to be loved. This falls along the same lines of empathy and understanding is needed from front-line workers and foster families. The government is called

upon to make changes to ensure young youth is not accessing drugs and to create a wrap-around

support building for youth who need protection to be housed and cared for. Lastly, personal

advocates for the youth who are consistent and reliable to assist youth with their critical points in

their life are a recommendation to prevent future crossover kids.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This chapter summarizes this thesis. I begin by discussing how my findings answer my research questions and discuss my knowledge claim. An application of how life course theory applies to my research and where life course theory has limitations regarding crossover kids follows. Lastly, I identify limitations of my findings, and recommendations for future research.

Research Questions and Discussion of Data Analysis

My initial research question was: How do adults with lived crossover kid experience make sense of their transition from the child protection system to the criminal justice system? My data does not answer this question, as the adults with crossover kid experience who I interviewed spoke only generally about this experience, or barely at all. Adults with lived crossover kid experience did share their juvenile justice involvement but were often unsure of the initial crime that created their crossover kid experience. Regardless of how I tried to explain it during the interviews, the participants had cloudy memories around their young adolescence and their first criminal justice involvement, which is when the crossover happens.

As I used a constructivist grounded methodology, I was able to change my research questions to fit the data I collected. The new research questions that fit my data were: *How do adults with lived crossover kid experience 1) perceive their involvement with the child protection system and the criminal justice system, and 2) change the child protection system and the criminal justice system to prevent future crossover kids?* These questions fit with the stories the participants shared and how they would like to see the child protection system, the criminal justice system and society as a whole change to prevent future crossover kids.

The media analysis used the research question: *How do researchers and professionals explain the lived crossover kid experience?* The media analysis supported that there is a clear crossover experience between the child protection system and the criminal justice system. This

was seen with the care to custody pipeline that researchers and professionals were tweeting about, and how there is a criminalization of those in the child protection system. The data was consistent with the knowledge claim that the child protection system is criminalizing the youth in their care.

The data revealed a retrospective approach to the experiences of youth in child protection systems and in the criminal justice system. The participants shared their experiences with child protection systems where themes emerged about moving, family relationships, and how 2SLGBTQQA+ relationships affected their experiences. Researchers, professionals who work with crossover kids and agencies that support them contextualized the participants stories by providing further insights into the role trauma, criminalization, and race/culture play in the crossover kid experience. All of these themes are consistent with Baidawi and Bell (2023b), Bala et al. (2013) and Walsh (2019) about how foster care is criminalizing the youth in their care.

The data also revealed where the child protection system is failing these youth by not having child protection workers do thorough reviews of the youth's home or their foster placement. Foster placements were not always safe, and choices the child protection workers made were perceived to harm the youth into adulthood. Participants also discussed the amount of moving they did while under child protection care, and this finding was echoed by researchers and professionals who work with and / or provide support to crossover kids. Frequent moving around led to feelings of no one caring about the youth (Day, 2017) which could cause frustration and anger. Switching homes often can create the inability to form lasting bonds to other people, and they felt like they had nobody in their corner supporting and advocating for them.

Regarding the criminal justice system, participants did not agree with many of the ways the police handled the situation. Some felt that the police were too punitive in their approach with them, while others felt that they should have been more punitive. Police have discretion the same way child protection workers do, and neither one of them will always get it right. It is noted though by Adorjan and Ricciardelli (2018) that youth in juvenile detention centres are punished more quickly and more punitively than those in adult prisons. This was demonstrated in one of the interviews with adults who have lived crossover experience who discussed that they are locked up all the time in juvenile detention centres.

Lastly, the individuals interviewed provided great recommendations toward the prevention of the creation of future crossover kids. One participant discussed that parents need to listen to their children, and that parents are responsible for the youth entering the child protection system. This recommendation also includes child protection workers listening to youth and treating the youth with empathy. This is consistent with the literature (see Day, 2017; Snow, 2008) that youth feel unheard and moved often without regard for their feelings. This recommendation calls for more parenting courses for parents, and more empathy training for child protection workers.

Josh wanted to see a place like Rosewood House for youth instead of being placed into individual homes. Group homes/residential care homes do run like Josh's suggestion but are on a much smaller scale. Josh described a place where 40-60 kids or even more could be, almost like an overnight school with all the resources present that youth may need in this residential care home. Shilson (2019) agrees that many adults should be involved in the care of youth. This recommendation gives the youth the ability to make friends, have trained professionals working

with them, and accountability measures in place if someone was to harm a child, or suspected of harming a child.

According to participants, the prevention of future crossover kids needs to happen at the child protection level. They are already a crossover kid when they enter the criminal justice system; therefore, interventions need to happen while in the child protection system to prevent the crossover. The media analysis supports this due to the criminalization of youth in child protection care. There needs to be a serious look into the policies and procedures of the child protection system for interventions to prevent these youth crossing over into the criminal justice system.

Theoretical Discussion of Data Analysis

The data revealed that adults with lived crossover kid experience were unsure of when their crossover from the child protection system to the criminal justice happened, but they all understood that they had crossed over at some point. The first interaction with the criminal justice system that a youth in the child protection system had, is the turning point discussed in the theoretical perspective section of this thesis. The youth transition from being a child in need of care to a juvenile delinquent, which often leads to the youth becoming an adult offender.

Life-course theory takes a retrospective approach to examining an individual's life to determine if there are reasons for offending. I took the same approach in examining crossover kids by interviewing adults with lived crossover kid experience. I was looking to determine how adults with lived crossover experience felt about their transition from the child protection system into the criminal justice system. I discovered that memories of the first criminal justice were not clear, and it was difficult for the participants to talk about that particular experience. These losses in memory demonstrate that the crossover kid experience was a continuum to the participants as there were many experiences in a short timeframe. These experiences include being caught by

police and not being charged or receiving police discretion. The transition into the child protection system, transitions with many moves between foster homes/biological home/transition houses, and the transition into the criminal justice system, was more important to adults with lived crossover kid experience than the exact point in time when they become a crossover kid.

The media analysis further demonstrated that once a child is in the child protection systems, the likely trajectory for the child is a criminal trajectory. Professionals and researchers all spoke about the care-custody pipeline or used terms such as "criminalization" and "genocidal" to describe what is happening to youth in the child protection system. There were calls for research to continue to investigate this trajectory and understand what is happening with kids in care.

Limitations to Life Course Theory

As with all theories, life course theory comes with critiques that question the validity of the theory. Applying life course theory to my knowledge claim that the child protection system is criminalizing the youth in their care and creating crossover kids is difficult. This is seen with the first set of critiques identified by Farrington (2003) that revolve around early onset of offenders. Early onset of offending begins in childhood and tends to predict a long criminal career; however, Farrington (2003) draws attention to how the theory does not address the frequency of offending, the seriousness of offending, how individuals differ in their offending or how individual risk factors may affect offending (e.g., was poor parenting the cause of offending or was delinquent peers the cause of offending). These varied factors make it difficult to generalize the theory to predict a trajectory of a youth in the child protection system. Many youths enter the child protection system, but not all youth crossover into the criminal justice system. Youth in the child protection system are 52% more likely to end up in the juvenile justice system (Baidawi, 2020; Bateman, 2021; Turpel-Lafond, 2009), making it difficult for life course theory to predict

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the trajectory of all youths involved in the child protection system. Life course theory would be more beneficial by generalizing findings and putting supports and resources in place for all youth before they begin offending.

Much like early onset offending, there are critiques that focus on the late adolescent to adult offenders. For example, Farrington (2003) posits that its clear that chronic offenders do commit more crime, but there is uncertainty if the crime is more serious than non-chronic offenders or how age and or opportunities affect the development of more severe crime. Life course theory does not delve deep into the types of crime committed, just how much crime the chronic offender commits, creating difficulties with understanding how risk factors may have influenced the crime. In addition, it is difficult to determine if stepping-stones to certain crimes (e.g., theft to burglary) are happening and if an age can be pinpointed to these developing criminal acts.

As the type and severity of crime is not analyzed through life course theory, it makes it difficult to apply to crossover kids and their experiences. It is difficult to determine if the youth is committing crime based solely on life experiences or if continuing crime is happening as a result of the first criminal charge. Labelling theory would be helpful here to see if the label deviant or juvenile delinquent is reinforcing continued offending and not just the life course events.

More critiques around the adult offender include what causes the crime and why an offender stops offending and then later restarts (Farrington, 2003). There are many questions around causal effects of offending, such as individual factors, underlying causes, or both (Farrington, 2003). The theory is unable to discern whether an activity or behaviour is the cause of crime. For example, Farrington (2003) posits that heavy drinking could cause antisocial

behaviour or heavy drinking could cause crime, or antisocial behaviour is the reason for heavy drinking. This makes it exceedingly difficult to look at risk factors or to provide protective factors when discussing youth in the child protection system.

While interviewing adults with lived crossover kid experiences, it came up often that people in their lives did not help them through transitions or turning points, and the participants would do "stupid" or "dumb" things referring to the use of substances and then to criminal activities. It is difficult to determine whether the lack of support from adults in the lives of the participants are the reason for offending, or their use of substances caused the offending.

Lastly, when examining how an offender starts offending, the reasons for stopping offending and then the reasons for resuming the offending, life course theory tends to ignore these important transitions. Life-course theory does discuss the protective factors or transitions that stop offending and how losing these protective factors can start offending again (Farrington, 2003); however, there are no other reasons or explanations given for these. Adults with lived crossover kid experience do discuss if child protection workers and those working in the criminal justice system listened and understood their experiences, that these people could advocate for the crossover kid and change their experience. One particular adult with lived crossover experience discussed how the transition house that they are living at was the first place that anyone cared about them, worried about their health, and were caring towards their experiences. This transition house with supportive staff is acting as a protective factor against future recidivism.

There is limited discussion about adults and their transitions, and more follow up with older adults need to be examined to determine how long this childhood life course theory continues. Further, more information needs to be gathered to see if trajectories can change into late adulthood, and how transitions and turning points throughout later life can change

trajectories. Most of the participants were around the age of 20 but one participant was in their early 30s suggesting that the crossover kid experience can last well into adulthood. More interviews with participants who have lived crossover kid experience at older ages would be beneficial to see if there are still struggles into mid life and beyond as a result from being a crossover kid.

Limitations of Findings

This was a small study, with only four individuals who participated in an interview. I kept the research sites local to the city I am living in and did not expand my research out to bigger cities. The media analysis only searched "dually involved" and "crossover kid" on Twitter to see what information researchers, professionals who work with crossover kids, and the agencies that support crossover kids were saying about this small group of people. I was unable to determine how the transition from the child protection system into the criminal justice system affected the participants as they were unsure of when that turning point happened. I only used findings that affected three to four participants, and not some of the data that only affected one or two participants.

As this study was exploratory in nature, I used the Twitter results to contextualize the findings from the participants. I did mention race/culture and 2SLGBTQQA+ discussion from both participants and researchers/professionals but did not do a deep dive into how these intersections could affect current and future crossover kids. I also did not separate gender, or attempt to, as all four participants were male presenting.

Recommendations

As mentioned in the literature review, many of the studies done on crossover kids look at extant data by examining files from the child protection system and criminal justice systems. I feel these studies have determined that there is a need to study crossover kids as the child

protection system is criminalizing youth and leading them to a criminal trajectory. Front-line staff including child protection workers, police, correctional officers, and counsellors may not have lived crossover experience, and may not understand the experiences of crossover kids. These front-line staff are speaking on behalf of what crossover kids need based on their years of experience but are missing the feelings and perceptions of those who are crossover kids. More research needs to be done talking to these crossover youth, either while they are adolescents or adults with lived crossover kid experience. There is a dire need to hear more of their voices to continue to learn what they needed and how they felt during their transitions between the child protection system and the criminal justice system. Four interviews do not do this population justice in making determinations on how to prevent future crossover children.

A large struggle of this study was finding research participants and gaining access to research sites. With both sites used, I made good connections with the staff and management, and I am sure I will be welcome back to seek out and find new research participants during my doctoral studies. Relying only on St. Leonard's and Rosewood House will not gain a large number of participants because not all clients meet the criteria for the study. Also, it takes an incredible amount of time to build trust in research sites, so I should use more sites with less frequency to establish friendships with long term clients, and to catch the more transient clients. To continue researching crossover kids, I would need to reach out to more transition houses and expand my research sites past my hometown. It would also be beneficial to enter prisons because the people in prisons have definite involvement in one system that is part of the crossover kid population. It would also be helpful to include rural areas and not just urban areas, as their experiences could be different.

I grew up as a sibling next to foster children as my parents fostered adolescents my whole childhood. I do know many people who qualify for this study and would be willing to speak about their experiences to help future crossover kids; however, it is not ethical for me to interview people with whom I have personal relationships. In order to interview people, I have personal relationships with, I could reach out to fellow students to complete these interviews for me during my doctoral studies.

Lastly, it would be helpful to gain ethics approval to interview minors. Interviewing minors would give a different perspective as they are currently living the crossover kid experience and have fresher memories. Group homes, the child protection system, schools, after school programs, youth programs, and juvenile justice facilities would be the place to look for these participants, and gain access to interviewing a younger population.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Research Question: How do people with lived crossover children experience make sense of their transitions from child protective care to the juvenile justice system?

Section 1: Introductory Remarks

Hello, my name is Clarissa, and I am the researcher for this study. This study is about crossover children, what led to the crossover, and how the crossover can be prevented. Crossover children are defined as children who were in child protective services, here in Brantford they are known as Children's Aid Society or more recently Brant Family and Children Services and entered into juvenile justice systems. I am seeking to understand how the crossover experience happened, how you felt, and if any changes can be made at the child protection level to prevent future children from crossing over into the juvenile justice system.

As this study deals with discussions of your criminality, you should not disclose any criminal activities to me about specific criminal activity that has not yet been before the justice system and dealt with; accordingly, for example, diverted, withdrawn, convicted, acquitted. If you do disclose this information to me, I may not be able to maintain confidentiality if summoned to testify about it in court.

Are you still willing to proceed?

Question 1: Do you need clarification on what a crossover child is or what the crossover experience is?

Question 2: To qualify for this study, you must have been involved in the Children's Aid Society or Brant Family and Children Services and had juvenile justice involvement, including but not limited to: probation, anger management, juvenile justice such as being arrested, charged, or incarcerated. Do you have crossover child experience?

Question 3: Now that we determined eligibility, do you have any questions about the consent forms you signed? Do you need any clarification?

Transition Statement: With the consent sheet signed and edibility criteria met, we are ready to start the interview process. Are you alright to proceed with the questions?

For clarification purposes, any time I say "Child Protective Services" that will include all Children's Aid Societies and Brant Family and Children Services. When I say "Juvenile Justice Systems" it will imply any interactions with the police, lawyers, court, jail and/or probation. Do you understand how I am using these terms?

Section 2: Body

Warm-Up Questions

Question 4: Do you remember what age you were when you entered child protection services?

- *If you don't mind, how many years did you spend in child protective services?*

- *How about the juvenile justice system? How many years?*

- *Did the juvenile justice system carry on into adulthood?*

Question 5: How would you describe your experience with Child Protective Services?

- *How did you feel about your experience?*

- *Are you able to provide a few examples?*

Question 6: How would you describe your experience with the juvenile justice system?

- *How did this experience make you feel?*

- *Are you able to provide a few examples?*

Transition Statement: We have discussed your feelings of both child protective services and juvenile justice systems. I would like to discuss the crossover experience now and how you felt during that experience.

Central Questions

Question 7: How would you describe your first interaction with the juvenile justice system?

- *How did child protective services react?*

- *How did you feel?*

- *If you could, is there anything about this interaction you would change?*

- *Can you elaborate?*

Question 8: What if any supports did Child Protective Services have for you during this crossover to the juvenile justice system?

- *How did you feel about the support or lack of support you received?*

Question 9: What, if anything, do you feel should have been done differently by Child Protective Services to prevent your crossover experience?

- *Can you tell me a bit more about it?*

Transition Statement: Thank you for sharing your experiences with me about your crossover child experience. That experience was a very critical part of your life. I would like to get your thoughts on how we can help future children in Child Protective Services avoid crossing over into the juvenile justice system. I feel your insight and experiences will be very beneficial for current and future children.

Cool- down Questions

Question 10: If you could, what is one thing you feel should be changed at the Child Protective Services level to assist children currently involved in Child Protective Services or future children?

- *Can you elaborate on that?*

Question 11: If you could, what is one thing you feel should be changed at the juvenile justice level to assist children currently involved in the juvenile justice system or future children?

- *Can you elaborate on that?*

Question 12: What if anything, do you feel needs to change in society to prevent future crossover children?

- *Can you tell me a bit more about that?*

Transition Statement: You have shared some very great insights and ideas with me. I really appreciate that you took time out of your day to discuss your thoughts on your crossover child experiences.

Section 3: Closing Remarks

Question 13: Is there anything you would like to add that we have not talked about?

Question 14: That's all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you so much for your help in understanding the crossover child experience. If you do have any more questions or comments, you have my information to contact me. Thank you again for your time.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Perceptions of those with Lived Crossover Children Experiences
Principal Investigator: Clarissa Kurzawski, MA Student, Department of Criminology
Co-Investigators, and faculty advisors/supervisors: Dr. Lauren Eisler, PhD, Department of Criminology;
Dr. Carrie Sanders, PhD, Department of Criminology

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to understand the perceptions of those with lived crossover children experience. The researcher is a Laurier graduate student in the Criminology program working under the supervision of Dr. Lauren Eisler.

This study will be asking for your experience and feelings in both the Child Protective Services and the Juvenile Justice System.

Information

Participants will be asked to share their experiences of their crossover child experience by participating in a semi structured interview. The interview will take about 1 hour to complete. Data from approximately 10-15 research participants with lived crossover experience will be collected for this study.

- As a part of this study, you will be audio recorded for research purposes. You have the right to refuse being audio recorded. Only Clarissa Kurzawski and Dr. Eisler (in a supervisory role) will have access to these recordings and information will be kept confidential, using secure WLU OneDrive. You will be able to preview these audio recordings. The audio recordings will be transcribed by November 30, 2022.
- The audio recordings will not be used for any additional purposes without your additional permission.

Risks

As a result of your participation in this study you may experience discomfort recalling difficulties from your crossover experience. The following safeguards will be used to minimize any risks/discomforts:
- To minimize the psychological or emotional risks to participants, the PI (Clarissa Kurzawski) will remind participants that their participation is voluntary, the participant can choose not to answer any question, can skip questions, and can choose not to answer any questions if they are feeling distress. Also, that the interview can be stopped and/or removed at any point from publication until thesis requirements are met, with no penalty to themselves or compensation they are receiving.
- If distress happens, the staff at Rosewood House is trained in de-escalation and emergency counselling procedures and is available for the participant.

You are free to discontinue the study at any time and to choose not to respond to any question *without loss of compensation.*
Benefits

Participants may benefit from the participation in this research project by:

1. Collect data from those with lived crossover children experience and give a voice to this population about changes they feel would have been helpful.
2. Produce a case study using interviews where the participants can share their stories.
3. Provide researcher an opportunity to engage in community-based research and network with service providers. This project will contribute to the knowledge around the child protective services and the juvenile justice systems.
4. Researcher will have the opportunity to publish findings in peer-reviewed academic journals, and present at conferences.
5. Requirements for researcher's Master of Arts thesis will be met. A final report will be created for community partners and service providers.
6. Researcher will gain experience in ethical research training, qualitative research methods, data analysis, software skills, report writing, presentation skills, and collaborating with community partners and thesis supervisors. In addition, the researcher will have the opportunity to network with service providers and members of academia through conference presenting and authoring journal articles.
7. The participants will have an opportunity to tell their stories, which may facilitate the development of understanding the crossover children experience better and possibly lesson the number of future crossover children. While this project brings a retrospective approach to an experience that has little research currently, it is important for the participants to have their voices heard. The perceptions of the participants could enact policy changes at the child protective level to prevent the crossover to the juvenile justice system. The research will contribute to the body of literature/knowledge on the period of time that the crossover child experience happened and how those with lived crossover child experience felt during this time. The findings of this study will help to understand what a child may need to prevent the crossover into the juvenile justice system and provide recommendations to child protective services.

Confidentiality

The confidentiality of your data will be ensured by keeping audio recordings on encrypted files on secure WLU servers. Identifying data from the transcripts will be removed before extracting quotes. Personal information will be kept separate from transcripts and audio recordings. Any hard copies of the data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the PI's (Clarissa Kurzawski) home. The data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and on a password protected computer and through the use of secure WLU OneDrive servers located at PI's (Clarissa Kurzawski) home, and WLU servers.

- Identifying information will be stored separately from the data and will be kept for 3 years and will then be destroyed by the principal investigator.
- The de-identified data will be stored indefinitely and may be reanalyzed in the future as part of a separate project (i.e., secondary data analysis).
- Rosewood House may know your identity for participating in the interview and as they are assisting with recruitment; however, they will not have any access to the information you have shared during the interview. Only the location you have your interview with, may know your identity.
- While in transmission on the internet, the confidentiality of data cannot be guaranteed.
- If you consent, quotations will be used in write-ups/presentations and will not contain information that allows you to be identified. You will be able to vet your quotations by reading your coded data and approving or disapproving of all information before it be used.

Compensation

For participating in this study, you will receive $20 Tim Horton's Gift Card. If you withdraw from the study prior to its completion, you will still receive this amount.

- Any compensation received related to the participation in this research study is taxable. It is the participant's responsibility to report the amount received for income tax purposes and Wilfrid Laurier University will not issue a tax receipt for the amount received.

Contact

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study you may contact the researcher, Clarissa Kurzawski, at kurz1730@mylaurier.ca or 519-209-8524

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University Research Ethics Board (REB# 10012886), which receives funding from the Research Support Fund. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Jayne Kalmar, PhD, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-1970, extension 3131 or REBChair@wlu.ca.

Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer any question you choose. In addition, you can choose to skip questions and continue the interview.

If you withdraw from the study, you can request to have your data removed/destroyed *by* contacting Clarissa Kurzawski by email or phone (provided above) until May 31, 2023.

Feedback and Publication

The results of this research might be published/presented in a thesis, course project report, book, journal article, conference presentation, class presentation.
- The results of this research may be made available through Open Access resources.
- An executive summary of the findings from this study will be available by August 30, 2023.
- You can request the executive summary by e-mailing kurz1730@mylaurier.ca OR if you choose to provide your e-mail address for this purpose at the end of the study, the executive summary will be e-mailed to you by September 30, 2023.

Consent

I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Name: _____ Preferred email/phone: _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

It is advised that you save this consent form in the case that you have any questions or concerns.

 I agree to being audio recorded.   Yes_____ No _____
I agree to having my words being quoted in publications. Yes_____ No_____

Participant's Signature: _____   Date: _____

Investigator's Signature: _____   Date: _____

Crossover Kids

Name	Description
#carenotcustody	Invivo Code: youth should be cared for and not put into jails
Adults in Authority	Adults that are directly responsible to take care of youth, exception parents. Includes those who work in service sectors serving youth and their needs
Age-grow up	Participants description of how they had to accept adult responsibilities or change their ways
Agency	Service sectors that serve youth and their needs
alienated by society,	Feelings of not being part of society, cast away by society
American Money	How American money is used in youth jails and a basic history of American money
Anger	Feeling angry, having anger issues, angry with government, authority figures, child protection systems, criminal justice system, angry with police
helping younger people out	Participant sees anger in younger person and helps them out (e.g.: talking to youth, offering food/coffee)
Anger Management	Attending classes/courses to manage anger feelings
Asking for help	Asking for help from people who should be able to assist youth
CAS	Asking for help from Children's Aid Society (child protective services)
police	Asking for help from the police officers

Name	Description
Call for Further Research	Researchers identify gaps in their own research and state what next steps of research should be done
Canada	A country, one that the participants live in
care to custody'	Invivo code: children are in a system of care (child protection system) and crossover into a system of custody (criminal justice system), includes juvenile justice system
care to custody' pipeline	The trajectory of being in a system of care (child protection system) and then moving to a system of custody (criminal justice system), includes juvenile justice system (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2019)
Child Abuse	A form of harm against a child that is physical, emotional, and sexual. Also includes neglect
CK	Child abuse that crossover kids suffer, spoke in general terms for all of crossover kids
father	Abuse to youth from biological father
foster parents	Abuse to youth from the foster parent(s) taking care of them
mother	Abuse to youth from biological mother
parents	Youth's parents who suffered child abuse
police	Abuse to youth from police
Child Protection System	Agencies that protect the welfare of children, includes Children's Aid Society and Brant Family and Children's Services
Age	The age youth were when involved with the child protection system

Name	Description
aging out	Youth who reach 18 years old, and no longer fall under child protection services
cps worker	The social worker or child protection worker that was assigned to the youth's case
cps worker advice	What the social worker or child protection worker told the youth to do about a situation
feeling abandoned	Feelings of being forgotten, neglected by child protection services and their workers.
feelings toward cps	Participant's feelings towards the child protection services as a whole
good foster placement	Foster placement that the youth speak about fondly and in good terms
involvement	Any involvement the youth had with the child protection services
own children	Participant's own children's involvement with the child protection services
not helping	Reports of child protection systems and their workers not helping the youth
parents youth involvement	Parents of participant's involvement as a child with child protection services
perception of cps experience	Participant's feelings towards their experience with the child protection services
own children	Participant's feelings about their own children's experience with the child protection services
Coping Skills	Activities the youth participated in during foster care placement to help with difficult situations (does not include substance use)

Name	Description
TV	Watching tv
COVID 19	Global Pandemic that began in 2020 and ended in 2023
Crime	An activity or action that is written into state law that is subject to a state sanction (Eisler et al., 2022
against participant	A crime against the participant
against police	A crime against the police
father murdered	The crime: murder. The participant's father was murdered
others	A crime against others, includes family and friends
personal	A crime committed by the participant
criminal justice system	"Contains all of the agencies, organizations, and personnel that are involved in the prevention of, and response to, crime; persons charged with criminal offences; and persons convicted of crimes" (Griffiths, 2019, p.21)
age	Age participant was when they were involved with the criminal justice system
court	All areas of court including remand, trials, being charged, or the process of the criminal justice system surrounding the court
criminalization	Youth who are getting into trouble (entering the criminal justice system) as a direct result of their involvement with the child protection services
diversion programs	Programs that help divert a youth away from committing further crime (Griffiths, 2019)
feelings towards cops	Participant's feelings towards the police

Name	Description
incarcerated	Being held in jail
involvement	Any involvement with the criminal justice system
juvenile	Involvement that was only during adolescent years
laws changing	Criminal justice laws that have changed regarding youth charging/diversion/incarceration
not charged	Not charged for a criminal act
not helping	Reports of police services not helping youth
over imprisonment	Over charging/incarceration of youth
parents involved	Youth's parents who were/currently involved in the criminal justice system
police advice	Advice a police officer gave to a youth
reintegration	The process where a youth is prepared for release from child protection services and/or the criminal justice system back into regular society (Griffiths, 2019)
thought it was cool	Thinking committing crime was cool
youth jails	Jails for youth under 18 years old
Crossover Experience	Perception from participants about their first time getting involved with the criminal justice system
Society creating the crossover	How society is creating this crossover experience
The Crossover	The experience of being in a system of care and moving into a system of custody

Name	Description
Crossover Kids Studies	Studies that have been done or are in progress about Crossover Kids
Definitions	Description of terms used by researchers
Fear	Feeling fear
Financial Assistance	Monetary assistance that is offered by agencies to youth, or that youth have heard about
genocidal	Invivo Code: the deliberate attempt to incarcerate or punish youth who are in child protection services
Homelessness	Not having a home to live in, living on the streets or with friends
crossover kids	References to homelessness experienced by crossover youth in general
living with friends	Living with friends instead of parents
no where to go	Not having anywhere to go to sleep
personal	Homelessness experienced by participant
Human Being	A person
Illness	Being physically sick
Learned lessons	Not repeating juvenile mistakes as an adult
LGBTQ2+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Queer, 2 spirted, plus to include all gender identities and all sexual identities
Living alone	Living by oneself
Loss	Loss of family members, grief
Memory loss	Not remembering parts of childhood

Name	Description
Mental Health	State of psychological and emotional well-being (Government of Canada, 2020)
crossover kids	Mental health that affects crossover kids in general
personal	Participant's own mental health
Missing Kids	References to children missing
Moving	Changing living arrangements often
Nova Vita	InVivo Code: A women's shelter for women who have experienced domestic violence
Over Representation	Large amounts of youth in child protection system also being involved in the criminal justice system
Over-imprisonment	The over incarceration of youth who were/are involved in child protection services
Parents	Participant's parents
domestic violence	Domestic violence (physical, sexual, emotional abuse) from one parent to another
own relationship breakdown	Participant's relationship breaking down with other parent of their own children
relationship breakdown	Breakdown between parents of Participants
toxic behaviour	Behaviour that is harmful towards each other
unable to see dad	Participants not being allowed to see their father
Participation with interview	Participation with this study

Name	Description
wanted to	Wanted to participate in the study
Perceptions of Society	Societies thoughts on crossover youth, youth involved with child protection services, or youth involved in the criminal justice system
police brutality	Police violently attacking a civilian
Problem Solving	Solving problems
figure things out	Participant's belief that they will figure out what to do in different situations
ran away	Running away from home to avoid problems in the home
Race or Culture	Physical description of a person, the group they belong to, or the values and upbringing they believe in
children of colour	Children who are not white
Indigenous	People who are Indigenous
Relationships	Attachments to other people
family	Attachments to family members
father-child	Father and child relationship
mother-child	Mother and child relationship
other	Attachments to other people, includes friends and all others that do not fall under family
own children	Attachment to participant's own children
parent-child	Parent and child relationship
Research Advertisements and Pictures	Twitter advertisements of research completed, or progress. Pictures attached to advertisements, and other twitter posts.

Name	Description
Research Lectures	Lectures by researchers who study crossover kids to undergraduate students
Research Location	Place the research took place (city/county/country)
Research Recommendations	Recommendations by researchers to stop the crossover
Research Reports	Written reports created based on the information gathered from researching crossover kids
sad	Feeling sad
School or Work	A place where children learn or a place where people work
Statistics	Percentages and numbers used in advertisements.
Substance Use	The use of drugs and/or alcohol
crossover kids	Crossover kids in general using drugs and/or alcohol
family	Family members using drugs and/or alcohol
father	Father using drugs and/or alcohol
kids in general	Kids in general using drugs and/or alcohol
mother	Mother using drugs and/or alcohol
others	Other people using drugs and/or alcohol
personal	Personal use by participant of drugs and/or alcohol
Systemic Racism	Racism embedded in social institutions
Systems not helping	Agencies that service children are not helping crossover kids
failed crossover kids	Agencies failing crossover kids
lack of accountability	Agencies are not taking accountability for crossover kids

Name	Description
no one listens	Reports of agencies not listening to youth
Trauma	Exposure to an incident or many incidents that can have lasting effects on mental/emotional/physical health (Centre for Health Care Strategies, 2022)
unable to speak about it	Participate makes it clear that they are unable to speak about a certain topic
Vivid Dreams	Dreams that are clear and well-remembered
What CK wants	What crossover kids want to see happen, their recommendations
cjs	Crossover kids' recommendations for the criminal justice system
cps	Crossover kids' recommendations for the child protection system
prevention of CK	How crossover kids feel the crossover could be prevented
YRC	Youth Resource Centre, transitional housing for youth

Appendix D: Concept Map