

# A STUDY OF RACIAL IDENTITY & BEHAVIOR IN BLACK INCARCERATED YOUTH

by

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(Under the Direction of Edward A. Delgado-Romero and Brian Glaser)

## ABSTRACT

Black youth are disproportionality detained in juvenile justice facilities in the United States; however, there is a lack of culturally specific interventions for incarcerated youth. The first step in developing effective interventions for this population is to develop a deep understanding of their racial identity and behavior. Utilizing a mixed method concurrent triangulation design, this study: (1) evaluates racial identity attitudes in Black incarcerated youth and (2) provides an understanding of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and behavior. For the quantitative portion, the researcher collected Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) surveys and Detention Assessment Inventory (DAI) scores for 120+ Black incarcerated youth. The results were analyzed via cluster analysis and regression analysis. For the qualitative portion, the researcher conducted 10 semi-structured phenomenological interviews, which were analyzed using deductive and inductive thematic analyses.

Quantitative, deductive (qualitative), and inductive (qualitative) results supported the hypotheses that youth primarily reported a Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitude, which was related to anti-social behaviors. Based on the findings, it is recommended that interventions promote of racial pride and integrate cognitive behavioral therapy based techniques (i.e. traditional CBT, TF-CBT, DBT, ACT).

INDEX WORDS: Incarcerated youth, Black youth offenders, racial identity, behavior, interventions, mixed methods.

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by

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Black youth who are **enslaved** in the United States Juvenile  
**IN**justice system.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xvi
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Context of the Criminal (In)justice System .....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	10
Purpose & Significance.....	11
Definitions of Key Terms .....	11
Research Questions & Hypothesis.....	13
Relevance to Psychology .....	13
Relevance to Counseling Psychology .....	13
Summary .....	15
2 LITERATURE REVIEW .....	16
Identity .....	16
Racial Identity in Adolescence .....	17
Racial Identity in Education.....	17
Racial Identity in Psychology: Nigrescence Model.....	18
Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS).....	20

	Racial Identity Attitudes in Black Youth.....	21
	Behavior of Incarcerated Youth.....	25
	Summary .....	27
3	PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE.....	29
	Paradigm .....	29
	Ontology .....	29
	Epistemology .....	30
	Axiology .....	30
	Reflexivity.....	31
	.....	
	.....	
	.....	
	Theoretical Frameworks .....	38
	Critical Race Theory (CRT).....	38
	Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST).....	44
	Summary .....	48
4	METHODOLOGY, MIXED METHODS DESIGN, AND PROCEDURES.....	50
	Review of Research Questions .....	50
	Mixed Method Design .....	50
	Methodology .....	53
	Quantitative Procedure.....	54
	Qualitative Procedure.....	58
5	RESULTS .....	65

Quantitative Results .....	65
Qualitative Deductive Results.....	69
Qualitative Inductive Results .....	101
Summary .....	124
6 DISCUSSION .....	127
Limitations .....	127
Conclusions .....	128
Recommendations.....	133
Summary .....	143
REFERENCES .....	144
APPENDICES	
A Philosophy of Science Chart.....	166
B Interview Questions Protocol.....	169
C Interview Questions Chart .....	173
D Deductive Codebook.....	184
E Inductive Codes .....	188



## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Descriptive Statistics .....	65
Table 2: Clusters .....	66
Table 3: Descriptive Statistics (Part 2) .....	67
Table 4: Miseducation Pro Black in Previous Study .....	67
Table 5: Miseducation Pro Black in Current Study .....	67
Table 6: Scatterplots .....	68
Table 7: Deductive Qualitative Results .....	78
Table 8: Inductive Qualitative Themes .....	101
Table 9: Inductive Qualitative Results.....	108
Table 10: Supplemental Themes.....	124
Table 11: Triangulated Results .....	125

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: PVEST.....	45
Figure 2: Mixed Methods Concurrent Triangulation Chart.....	53

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*“The fate of millions of people-indeed the future of the Black community itself-may depend on the willingness of those who care about racial justice to re-examine their basic assumptions about the role of the criminal justice system in our society.”*

- Michelle Alexander (2012), *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*

#### **Background and Context: The Criminal (In)justice System**

##### Disproportionate Minority Confinement/Contact (DMC) in Juveniles

The United States (U.S.) prison population is the largest in the world (Sundt, Salisbury, & Harmon, 2016). There are over 2.2 million people residing in the nation’s prisons or jails, which is a 500% increase over the past thirty years (Government, 2012). The majority of the incarcerated population are racial/ethnic minorities, who are often classified as Black, Latinx, Asian-Pacific Islanders and Native American (Primm, Osher, & Gomez, 2005). Black individuals are largest racial group in prison, representing 47% of the prison population (Primm et al., 2005; BOP, 2019) despite only being 13% of the U.S. population. This is one of the largest social justice issues in U.S. society and it is a direct reflection of historical oppression casted upon Black people (Alexander, 2012).

Black people, the majority of whose ancestors were brought to the U.S. as slaves, have undergone a history of prejudice, violence and murder. They have endured systemic inequalities engrained in every aspect of society, including psychology (Guthrie, 2014) and the justice

system. Given that Black people are not inherently criminal (Cross, 2016), the overrepresentation of Black people in the U.S. prison system is likely due to systemic inequity in the justice system. This overrepresentation was originally termed *disproportionate minority confinement* (Chapman, 2006). In 2002 the federal government transitioned to the term *disproportionate minority contact* (DMC) due to evidence that minorities, particularly Black people, are disproportionately represented in every phase of the (in)justice system process (Mallett & Stoddard-Dare, 2010; Armour & Hammond, 2009; Chapman, 2006).

There have been numerous organized attempts to abate DMC amongst juveniles: the federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) of 1974, the juvenile detention alternatives initiative of 1992, the Burns Institute juvenile justice initiatives, and many state initiated actions in the 1990's (Armour & Hammond, 2009). However, from 1997 to 2006, there was only a reduction of one fifth of the disproportionate Black: White ratio in juvenile detention placements (Davis & Sorensen, 2010). Furthermore, Lieber and Rodriguez (2011) stated: "Although there has been some decrease in the 2000' period in the extent of the overrepresentation of minority youth in the juvenile justice system, racial disparities exist and are still quite pronounced especially at arrest, secure detention, and transfer/waiver to adult court" (pg. 116). Although Black youth comprise 16% of the youth population in the U.S., they compromise 26% of juvenile arrests, 44% of youth in detention centers, 46% of youth who are judicially moved to criminal court, and 58% of youth admitted to adult prisons (Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, 2016). Thus, DMC amongst youth remains a critical social justice issue in the U.S.

Causes of DMC: Institutional Racism

DMC may lead to the common misconception that Black youth commit the majority of crimes, however studies show that although Black and White teens commit the same quantity of crimes, Black youth are more likely to come in contact with the juvenile justice system (Davis & Sorensen, 2010). Thus, DMC is an example of institutional racism, or “the patterns, procedures, practices, and policies that operate within social institutions so as to consistently penalize, disadvantage, and exploit individuals who are members of non-White racial/ethnic groups” (Better, 2008, p.19). Several institutional factors perpetuate DMC including media, poverty, trauma, the school to prison pipeline, and racial biases in the education system.

### Media

Media, which includes television, the Internet, radio, and literature, has an influence on individuals’ attitudes and perceptions of their reality (Graziano, Shuck, & Martin, 2010). For many Black people, media is problematic due to the overarching themes of White supremacy and Black inferiority (Burrell, 2010). Negative stereotypes of Black individuals have dominated the media for generations (Adams-Bass, Stevenson, & Kotzin, 2014). Black people are often depicted as violent, poor, aggressive and dangerous. The news, which is one of the primary forms of media, typically relies on police accounts for sources of information on criminal activity however, there is a growing realization in the U.S. that police are often racially biased (Graziano, Shuck, & Martin, 2010). In sum, the media’s misconstrued depictions of minorities has led to the general public’s assumption that the perpetrators of most crimes are Black (Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000) which fuels stereotypes that Black people are inherently criminal (Guthrie, 2003; Sue & Sue, 2003). These stereotypes also impact White people, as they socialize White people to fear Black people (Sue & Sue, 2003); and justifies the racial status quo, White supremacist attitudes, and contemporary racist thinking such as color blind ideology. These

attitudes have been shown to correlate with racial prejudice, racial anger and racial fear (Neville et al., 2013). Furthermore, media biases lead to internalized racism amongst Black people, which Cross termed *miseducation* (Cross & Vandiver, 2001).

## Poverty

Living in poverty is defined as an individual or family with a before-tax cash income below their level of need (i.e., the poverty threshold), based on their family size and composition (National Center for Child Poverty, 2017). The 48 million people living in poverty (Gillespie, 2014) are almost uniformly racial/ethnic minorities (Kockhar & Fry, 2014). The wealth gap between White and Black people can be explained by the historical context within the U.S. where Black people suffered through approximately 246 years of enslavement and 88 years of Jim Crow laws that led to contemporary systemic forms of oppression. Although White citizens profited from the work of slaves, Black individuals were not given any reparations when slavery was abolished, which has had a long-term effect on the finances of Black people (Alexander, 2012). Critical Race Theory (CRT) asserts that the racially oppressive economic system in the U.S. continues to advance the financial class of Whites over Blacks.

While 10% of White children live in poverty, 27 % of Black children live below the poverty threshold (State of Working America, 2016). Many Black Americans still struggle due to limited affordable housing, job discrimination, and a lack of access to healthy food (Alexander, 2012). Naturally, when people struggle to provide basic necessities such as housing, food, and safety, they will utilize to extreme measures for survival purposes (Butler, 2013). These survival techniques are sometimes considered antisocial behavior, or criminal activity (Ginner-Hau & Smedler, 2011).

Juvenile crimes are often organized into the following categories: violent crimes (assault, theft, weapons possession, etc.), drug and alcohol violations (drug possession, intent to sell drugs, etc.), Sexual Offenses (rape, prostitution, etc.), and Status Offenses (curfew violations, truancy, etc.) (Einstein Law, 2016). However, “Roughly half of all youth arrests are made on account of theft, simple assault, drug abuse, disorderly conduct, and curfew violations” (Einstein Law, 2016). According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP, 2016), theft (often used synonymously with stealing and larceny) is the primary juvenile offense (OJJDP, 2016).

“Juvenile theft is the unlawful taking, carrying, leading or riding away of property from the possession of another by an individual under 18 years of age” (Brown, Newman, & Rhodes, 2005). Theft can be committed with or without the use of a weapon or force. Furthermore, theft is categorized as: theft by taking and theft by receiving. Theft by taking is the actual act of obtaining property that belongs to another individual. In contrast, theft by receiving is the act of gaining the property that was stolen (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014). While many juveniles commit theft as an isolated occurrence, there are a small percentage of youth who commit juvenile theft on a consistent basis. Some of the common reasons for juvenile theft include, but are not limited to kleptomania, meeting basic needs, and peer pressure (Brown, Newman, & Rhodes, 2005).

In addition to attributing to increases in theft amongst youth, living in low-income communities also increases the likelihood of being exposed to traumatic experiences (Rawles, 2010), which is also a risk factor for incarceration (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001).

#### Trauma

Crosby (2016) stated, “African American youth are more than twice as likely as White youth to be raised in poverty-stricken areas, increasing their overall exposure to crime,

community violence, stress, and trauma” (p. 6). Further, early exposure to violence, and other traumatic events are more likely to occur in low-income neighborhoods (Rawles, 2010). Studies have shown that exposure to violence is a risk factor associated with aggression, and externalizing high-risk criminal like behavior (Buka et al., 2001). Thus, the Black and Latinx youth, who are more likely to live in poverty, are also primarily impacted by community violence, which is a risk factor for incarceration. Moreover, African-American children are more likely to be exposed to other forms of trauma such as physical abuse (Dakil, Cox, Lin, & Flores, 2011), which is correlated to a higher likelihood of being arrested for violent, non-violent, and status offenses (Lansford, Miller-Johnson, Berlin, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2009).

### School to Prison Pipeline

The American Civil Liberties Union (2017) defined the school to prison pipeline as, “the policies and practices that push our nation's schoolchildren, especially our most at-risk children, out of classrooms and into the juvenile and criminal justice systems. This pipeline reflects the prioritization of incarceration over education” (p.1). Many studies have found a strong correlation between school as suspension and expulsion practices and juvenile delinquency (Monroe, 2005). Four of the most aversive school to prison pipeline contributing factors are the War on Drugs, the zero-tolerance policy, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), minority suspension and expulsion, and other racial biases. Each factor is explained below.

War on Drugs. The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) documented that White youth are just as likely—or even more likely—to be involved with illegal drug use and sales (Armour & Hammond, 2009) than Black youth. However, Black youth are arrested at much higher rates for drug related crimes than their White peers (Alexander, 2012). This disparity amplified in 1971 when President Nixon started a “War



on Drugs,” although Nixons advisor, John Ehrlichman, later revealed that War on Drugs was actually a war on Black people, (Huffington Post, 2017). In 1986, President Reagan implemented an executive order further enforcing the “War on Drugs.” Ironically, “President Ronald Reagan officially declared the current drug war in 1982, when drug crime was declining, not rising” (Alexander, 2010, p.76). Racial bias not only impacted those getting arrested, but it also influenced the decisions for who served time and who did not. Black and Latinx people were more likely to serve time for drug related crimes (Alexander, 2012) than Whites. While it may be argued that Blacks and Latinx people are more likely to sell drugs in public spaces, making them easily accessible to police (Goode, 2002), it is also argued that police disproportionately stop and search Black people. Specifically, Black people are 28 times more likely to be stopped and searched (Dodd, 2012) than Whites. Thus, the War on Drugs was U.S. government policy that disproportionately targeted Black people.

Zero Tolerance Policies. Zero tolerance rules were originally enacted by congress in 1986 to enforce strict punishment for drugs and alcohol in the school setting (Act, 2011). In 1994, the policy expanded to include guns, which mandated a one-year expulsion for students who brought a firearm to school. While these laws were being implemented, youth, particularly Black and Latinx youth were categorized as *super predators* by sociologists Wilson and Dilulio (Act, 2011). By 2011, “Zero tolerance, once focused on drugs, alcohol, and guns, now targets an ever-expanding range of behaviors” (Act, 2011, p.20). Although the use of zero tolerance rules expanded, one aspect of the policy remains consistent: Black youth are disproportionately targeted. One small mistake can lead to a lifetime of consequences. For example, talking out of turn in class or getting into a fight could lead to a misdemeanor and extensive court fines. Thus,

zero tolerance policies disproportionately targeted Black youth, criminalize a wide range of behaviors, and are still used in schools across the nation (Crain, 2016).

No Child Left Behind (NCLB). NCLB which was proposed by President George W. Bush and ratified by congress in 2002, became the largest education intervention in U.S. history (Hursh, 2007). Although it was intended to diminish the learning gap between Whites and students of color, it had the opposite effect. NCLB implemented a nationwide strict curriculum and standardized testing to assess teaching effectiveness and student progress, with harsh penalties for schools that did not meet adequate yearly progress (AYP) (Hursh, 2007). NCLB generated a plethora of adverse effects for urban schools, and led to increased education inequality. School districts felt pressure to perform to standards due to the threat of losing finances, administrators, respect, and control over schools, while principals and teachers feared losing their jobs. Teachers struggled to connect with students due to a mandated narrow curriculum that left little room for culturally sensitive and relationship building activities (Hursh, 2007). Perhaps the worst impact was the parents' loss of their faith in the school system, and children's loss of confidence in their skills due to racially biased mandatory assessments. Minority students were negatively impacted when their schools struggled to meet the federal requirements, subsequently leading to a depletion in funds and making it nearly impossible for schools to improve (Hursh, 2007). By 2014 the goals of NCLB were not met. Instead of every child scoring proficiently in every subject (regardless of learning disabilities and language barriers), schools that served racial and ethnic minorities were either closed, overcrowded, financially depleted, and/or in overall worse shape than they were pre-NCLB (Hursh, 2007). The high school graduation rate for racial/ethnic minority students dropped (Hursh, 2007) and student

drop out contributed to an increase in juvenile delinquency (Sum, Khatiwada, McLaughlin, & Palma, 2009).

Racial Biases. Thomas, Coard, Stevenson, Bently, and Zamel (2009) found that socialization impacts teachers' perception of behaviors of minority students. The majority of teachers in the U.S. educational system are White females and most teachers report being unprepared to work with minority youth (Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2008). Thus, if the majority of teachers are White females who feel unprepared *and* are potentially socialized to believe that children of color are unruly, they are likely develop unconscious or conscious racial biases and are more likely to give harsher punishments to minorities. Harsher punishments, such as suspension and expulsion, often lead to more problematic behaviors outside of school, and incarceration (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). Education discrimination and unequal treatment in the academic setting occurs as early as preschool. Black children make up 18% of preschool enrollment and 48% of those children who are suspended. Later in life, these suspensions become arrests. Black students represent 31% of all arrests yet only compromise 16% of all students (Rovner, 2014). In sum, educational discrimination leads to disproportionately more Black children in detention centers (Alexander, 2012).

Racial biases have been a consistent theme amongst all of the contextualized systemic and institutional systems. While explicit racism is undoubtedly harmful, implicit racism can be equally impactful. Beckett and colleagues (2006) state:

Direct, overt racist motives are not necessary for race to matter; race may have important effects even in the absence of overt racist motives. Indeed, an emerging body of research on implicit bias suggests that racial stereotypes shape perceptions of the seriousness or dangerousness of particular situations and social problems ( p.106).

Critical race scholars contend that racial biases are prevalent amongst all systems in society, and that racism is ubiquitous and not aberrational (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Various manifestations of what has been termed *modern racism* (e.g, implicit bias, microaggressions, color blind ideology) have direct and indirect negative impacts on Black youth.

As stated above, systemic risk factors include media representation and internalization, living in poverty, trauma, the school to prison pipeline, and racial biases. Although these are the most commonly identified risk factors in the literature, other risk factors for incarceration include: a history of domestic violence or child abuse, poor attachment, having a young mother, familial gang involvement, peer rejection, and availability of weapons (Lipsey, Howell, & Kelly, 2010). Numerous studies have found that the most common interpersonal risk factor for violence, drug offenses, and other delinquent activity is antisocial behavior (Loeber, 1990; McCuish, Lussier, & Corrado, 2015). According to McCuish and colleagues (2015) there are four main categories of antisocial behaviors: (1) authority conflict (e.g., stubbornness, defiance, rebellion against authority figures), (2) covert behaviors (e.g., deceitfulness, dishonesty, lying frequently), (3) overt behaviors (e.g., physical aggression and violence), and (4) reckless behaviors (e.g., driving under the influence or dangerously, unprotected sex). The phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST), which is a model commonly used to evaluate identity and coping in minority youth, asserts that Black youth are more likely to engage in perceived antisocial behavior due to their environment and systematic factors (Brittian, 2012); their behavior is not a reflection of innate personality concerns.

#### Statement of the Problem

Two consistent and prevalent themes regarding incarcerated youth are: 1) they are disproportionately Black and 2) they are disproportionately punished for antisocial behavior

(McCuish, Lussier, & Corrado, 2015; McCuish et al., 2015). Although there are a plethora of institutional racism factors that produce DMC, individual racial identity attitudes may also influence antisocial behavior, which is the primary individual risk factor that leads to incarceration. Currently there is a lack of culturally specific interventions for incarcerated youth. The first step in developing a culturally specific intervention is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between racial identity and behavior in this population.

### Purpose & Significance of the Studies

This study will contribute to the knowledge on racial identity in Black youth. Furthermore, it will elaborate on Worrell, Andretta & Woodland's (2014) study, which is the only study that specifically evaluated racial identity attitudes in Black incarcerated youth. The current study intends to develop an understanding of how racial identity impacts behavior, and generate guidelines for potential interventions with this population based on the connection between racial identity and antisocial behavior. The present study uses a mixed methods design. The quantitative portion provides information on the racial identity attitudes that Black incarcerated youth demonstrate based on the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), while simultaneously providing background information on youth behavior by contextualizing the offense severity. The qualitative individual interviews provide information the youths' racial identity attitudes, racial identities' influence on behavior, and potential interventions.

### Definition of Key Terms

#### *Race*

Race is a social construct, developed based on physical characteristics and created to develop separation of groups and a distribution of power based on this separation (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The primary race discussed in this paper is that termed Black. However, at times African-

American, which is an ethnicity, will be used because of various study's ethnic specificity. Of note, the African-American ethnic group falls within the Black racial group therefore when the term African-American is used, it is applicable to the present study of Black youth.

### *Racial identity*

Racial identity is defined as an individuals' salient attitudes, values, and behaviors based on their racial background (Stevenson, 1994). In Black people, it is the aspect of one's identity that establishes ones view of themselves, and connection with other Black people (Brittian, 2012). For the purpose of this paper, the term *racial identity attitudes* will be used rather than racial identity stages due the current adjustments to the CRIS studies, which indicate that youth are demonstrating racial identity attitudes, or their perception and understanding of their race.

### *Antisocial behavior*

“Antisocial behaviors are disruptive acts characterized by covert and overt hostility and intentional aggression toward others. Antisocial behaviors exist along a severity continuum and include repeated violations of social rules, defiance of authority and of the rights of others, deceitfulness, theft, and reckless disregard for self and others. Antisocial behavior can be identified in children as young as three or four years of age. If left unchecked these coercive behavior patterns will persist and escalate in severity over time, becoming a chronic behavioral disorder” (Health of Children, 2015, p.1). Of note, this study utilizes the term antisocial behavior to describe specific actions, not a disorder. A disorder is characterized by internal traits, whereas the behaviors of the youth in the present study are influenced by external factors (neighborhoods, trauma, etc.) and labeling them with a disorder is inappropriate. (This is further explained in Chapter 2).

## Research Questions & Hypothesis's

### *Question 1*

What are the racial identity attitudes, as measured by the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), of Black incarcerated youth?

### *Hypothesis*

It is hypothesized that Black incarcerated youth will have the Miseducation pro-Black racial identity attitude, which will be revealed in the CRIS scale and the qualitative interviews.

### *Question 2*

How does Black incarcerated youths' racial identity attitudes relate to anti-social behavior?

### *Hypothesis*

It is hypothesized that the Miseducation pro-Black attitudes will be significantly positively related to anti-social behaviors (e.g. theft, aggression, addictions).

## Relevance to Psychology

Social justice has been an emerging theme of modern psychology. Melba Vasquez, the first Latina elected to the presidency of the American Psychological Association stated (2012) that the goal of social justice is to decrease human suffering and to promote human values of equality and justice (Vasquez, 2012). She argued that psychologists have a rationale to become invested in applying psychological knowledge to social issues based on the mission, vision goals and ethics code of APA.

## Relevance to Counseling Psychology

Although the psychological field is rooted in racism, sexism, and homophobia (Guthrie, 2003), the Counseling Psychology (CP) subfield has emphasized multiculturalism, social justice and advocacy as emerging defining values of CP (Delgado-Romero, Lau & Shulman, 2012;

Forrest & Campbell, 2012). Key historical changes that led to this emphasis include: the increased number of racial/ethnic minority students and faculty of color in CP programs, integrating cultural competency requirements into the training curriculum, providing diversity guidelines, creating diversity values statements, and encouraging students and faculty to get involved in public policy (Forrest & Campbell, 2012). Prominent individuals who contributed to the shift towards social justice and advocacy are Derald Sue, Melba Vasquez, Rosie Bingham, and Lisa Porch-Burche, who founded the first National Multicultural Conference and Summit (NMCS) in 1999 (Forrest & Campbell, 2012). NMCS is a biennial conference sponsored by several divisions of APA, including the Society of Counseling Psychology. The primary purpose of the conferences is to have difficult dialogues about race, culture, sexuality, and gender and encourage social justice work and advocacy (Forrest & Campbell, 2012).

Due to the work of the founders of NMCS and many others, CP has developed a distinct professional identity. Although CP relates to other subfields of psychology in terms of dedication to research, therapeutic interventions, assessment, and consultation, the core values of CP provide the basis for the identity of the field. Some of the core values include social justice, advocacy, multiculturalism, appreciation for diversity, open-mindedness, respect for persons, interpersonal relationships, and a holistic perspective. The two core values that stand out are the commitment to social justice and advocacy (Bieschke & Mintz, 2012). Social justice in CP includes working towards equity, being an activist, and providing resources, opportunities for marginalized populations (Toporek, Kwan, & Williams, 2012). Advocacy in CP includes taking a social justice stance, defending the rights and well-being of clients. Thus the current project is rooted in the values of Counseling Psychology.



## Summary

DMC is a salient social justice issue in the U.S. due to institutional racism. Counseling Psychology (CP) research and practice is rooted in social justice, multiculturalism, and advocacy. Therefore, DMC in the juvenile (in)justice system is a relevant topic for CP. The current study evaluates racial identity attitudes in Black incarcerated youth, while examining the influence of contextual factors, using several theoretical frameworks. Specifically, the purpose of the study is to gain an understanding of Black incarcerated youth racial identity attitudes and behavior, with the ultimate goal of developing a culturally specific intervention for this population.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Identity

Identity formation is a developmental process where the individuals' context *and* perceptions of themselves influence the characteristics they use to internally define themselves (Brittian, 2012). Most psychologists study identity development in adolescence due to the fact that adolescence is a period of exploration, and development of the cognitive ability to understand abstract concepts such as "Who am I?" (Brittian, 2012). Erik Erikson (1950, 1963) asserted that adolescents experience one of two identity statuses: Identity Achievement or Identity Confusion/Diffusion. Identity achievement describes an adolescent who engages in an identity search and develops one that matches their innate biological, psychological, and social characteristics. In contrast, Identity Confusion refers to an adolescent who fails to commit to an identity. Marcia (1966;1980) contributed to Eriksons' assertion by adding two additional identity statuses: Foreclosure and Moratorium. Foreclosure occurs when the adolescent does not search for an identity, but one exists based on the youths' willingness to accept the ideology placed on him/her by society. Moratorium exists when the adolescent does not commit to any identity, however he or she is in a "crisis," where they has a desire to obtain identity achievement (Brittian, 2012).

Erikson and Marcia's theories of identity formation led to the expansion of research on various forms of identity (Brittian, 2012), including but not limited to gender, (Egan & Perry 2001), sexual orientation (Chung, Szymanski, & Markle, 2012), and racial identity (Sellers,

Smith Shelto, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Helms, 1995). Racial identity has been studied for Black (Cross, 1991), White (Helms, 1995), Biracial (Poston, 1990), and Filipino populations (Nadal, 2011). The present study focuses on Black racial identity.

### Racial Identity in Adolescence

Racial Identity is an imperative phenomenon during adolescence, as physical appearance impacts teenagers' experiences and sense of self. Specifically, the phenotypic characteristics that one holds influences the level of discrimination experiences in adolescence, subsequently impacting their identity (Brittian, 2012). Thus, "African American youth in the United States are not only expected to undergo typical development experience that are the hallmark of adolescence, such as physical growth and development (Susman & Dorn, 2009) and developing a desire to assert their independence (McElhaney, Allen, Stephenson, Hare, 2009); they are also coping with a world in which they may be normatively expected to experience racial prejudice (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003)." (as cited in Brittian, 2012, p.3).

### Racial Identity in Education

The majority of research on racial identity exists within the educational context. Nakulla and Toshalis (2006) and Sadowski (2008) discussed racial identity and the impact that it can have on adolescence on a broad spectrum, emphasizing the effect race and racial stereotypes can have on standardized testing. People acknowledge race as early as 2 years old and typically identify with the race that they externally (phenotype-based on skin color, hair texture) represent to society. Racial identity can become salient to students when they are asked to fill out racial categories on forms and before standardized tests (Nakulla & Toshalis, 2006), thereby enacting internalized stereotypes about race and intelligence (Sadowski, 2008). Thus, stereotype threat, or

the fear of verifying a negative stereotype associated with your race, can impact the performance of students who must acknowledge race prior to taking a test (Steele, 2010).

### Racial Identity in Psychology: Nigrescence model

Although the field of education has studied racial identity broadly, the psychological field has studied specific aspects of racial identity, such as racial identity development and attitudes. Several psychologists have developed models of racial identity development, including Janet Helms, Ph.D and Robert Sellers, PhD (Leong, 2014).

Arguably, the most influential racial identity model is the Cross nigrescence model, which is accompanied by an empirically based measurement called the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). The original Nigrescence model stated Black people experience 4 stages of fluid racial identity development. These stages include the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization stages (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). Racial Identity Attitudes are the distinct worldviews individuals hold based on their perception of their race. Pre-encounter attitudes de-emphasize being Black and assimilate with Eurocentric characteristics and values (Worrell et al., 2004). The Encounter stage reflects a surprising event or circumstance where ones racial status becomes elucidated (Worrell, et al., 2004). This encounter makes individuals question their pre-encounter attitudes. In the Immersion/Emersion stage, individuals take pride in their Black racial identity and reject Eurocentric dominance. Lastly, the Internalization stage is characterized by a multiculturalist attitude. That is, individuals take pride in their Black Identity, while simultaneously accepting multicultural groups. The original nigrescence model which was developed by Cross in 1971, also included a 5<sup>th</sup> stage, Internalization-Commitment, which is when attitudes are transitioned into action. However, this

stage was combined with the Internalization stage in the revised Nigrescence theory (Worrell et al., 2004).

The revised Nigrescence theory also clarified differences between the reference group orientation (RGO) and Personal Identity (PI). RGO's are defined as additional group memberships and identifications, such as ethnicity. PI refers to "personality traits and psychological functioning" (Worrell, et al., 2004, p.2). The revised model notes that RGO's and PIs are applicable for each individual.

Perhaps the most prominent change in the model was the integration of multiple distinct *attitudes* which are prevalent across all identity/Nigrescence stages except for Encounter (Worrell, et al., 2004). The pre-encounter stage includes Assimilation, which means that individuals attempt to mimic Eurocentric culture and values; and Anti-Black which is the integration of self-hatred and anti-Black. In other terms, individuals accepts negative stereotypes about Black people. The Immersion-Emersion stage includes an Anti-White and a Pro-Black attitude. Lastly, the Internalization stage includes three attitudes, which are Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist. Black Nationalist is associated with Black people "who were internalized and committed to uplifting the Black community" (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004, p.2). The Biculturalist attitude reflects an individual's ability to give equal importance to their American and Black identities (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). Lastly, the Multiculturalist attitudes indicate that an individual has three or more accepted reference groups.

The final Nigrescence Theory is the expanded version. This version includes the same 4 identity stages (Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization), and the RGO and PI's. The final 6 attitudes are as follows: Pre-Encounter includes Assimilation (PA), Miseducation (PM), and Self-Hatred (PSH). Encounter does not include any attitudes.

Immersion-Emersion solely includes Anti-White (IEAW). Lastly, Internalization includes Afrocentricity (IA) and Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMCI). This revision was based on the results of decades of empirical work and represents the recursive cycle of theory to research to theory using the CRIS.

### Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)

Worrell, Cross, and Vandiver (2000) used the nigrescence model- expanded version, to develop The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et. al, 2000). The CRIS measures the six racial identity attitudes based on 40 self-report questions. It includes 5 questions for all 6 subscales and 10 unscored filler questions. The 6 subscales measure (1) Pre-encounter-Assimilation (2) Pre-encounter-Miseducation (3) Pre-encounter-Self-Hatred (4) Immersion-Emersion-Anti-White (5) Internalization-Afrocentric, and (6) Internalization-Multiculturalist Inclusive. All of the six subscale cronbach alpha scores are above .80, with the exception of the Pre-encounter Miseducation (.78) (Worrell et al., 2004). The CRIS was normed on a population of African-American college students, however the reading level is approximately the 6<sup>th</sup> grade. According to the *Handbook of Multicultural Measures*, “A series of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses across the six phases of scale development have affirmed the six-factor structure of the CRIS with college students with an average age of 21 (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). The validity of the CRIS structure was also supported later by Simmons, Worrell, and Berry (2008) and it has also been supported in studies with emerging adults (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002), adults (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004), and school-aged adolescents (Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007)” (as cited in Glenn, Liang, & Der-Karabetian, 2011, p. 22).

## Racial Identity Attitudes in Black Youth

Although the majority of studies using the CRIS evaluated adult populations, Worrell & Gardner-Kitt (2007) conducted a study evaluating racial identity in Black adolescents (age 11-18) from middle schools and high schools in the greater New York City Area. Results indicated that middle school adolescents were more likely to have Afrocentric attitudes, while high-school students were more likely to have Multiculturalist attitudes (Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2007). However, in Worrell's (2008) study, which used the CRIS with adolescent, emerging adults, and adult populations, results indicated that adolescents endorsed higher Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-hatred attitudes.

A study by Worrell et al. (2014), assessed: (1) CRIS internal consistency and structural validity when administered African American adolescents involved with the juvenile justice system, (2) if the attitudes found with adult populations are generalizable with at-risk adolescence, and (3) do youth in varying racial attitude clusters differ in psychological functioning? 477 incarcerated African-American adolescents (age 12-19), took the CRIS, and the Conners (CBRS-SR; Conners, 2008), which measures mental health symptoms in children and adolescence (age 8-18). The 6-factor structure of CRIS was supported and the subscale scores were reliable as indicated by alpha estimates of internal consistency above .70, indicating that the CRIS was psychometrically sound with this population. In reference to generalizability, Worrell et al. (2014) reported that, "extant (CRIS) studies show that profiles generalize across three different regions of the country, and the results of this study extend racial identity profiles to adolescents as well" (p. 576). Specifically, cluster analysis yielded five racial attitude profiles, and four of the profiles were similar to profiles found in previous studies. While Multiculturalist, low race salient, conflicted self-hatred, and conflicted anti-white attitudes have been noted in

other studies, the Miseducation Pro-Black phase had not been previously reported. Miseducation Pro-Black was the most common racial identity attitude, which means that youth had positive affirmations related to being a member of their race (Black), but negative associations with Blackness, such as aggression. Of note, the conflicted profiles means that the profiles had elevated Self-hatred, Anti-white, and Afrocentricity scores, indicating a clash in scores. However, the Self-hate or Anti-white was more elevated in two of the profiles (conflicted self-hate; conflicted anti-white). Individuals in the Conflicted Self-hate racial attitude profile, reported higher levels of psychological syndromes than all of the other profiles.

The Conflicted Self-hate group, which accounted for 9.2% of the participants, demonstrated comparatively elevated scores in all four psychological profiles: Major Depressive Episodes, Manic Episodes, Generalized Anxiety Disorder, and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder. The authors stated that the participants who fell in the conflicted self-hate group:

Dominated by high self-hatred scores, individuals with the Conflicted-Self-Hatred profile also endorse negative stereotypes about African Americans, disliking being Black; they prefer to be called American rather than African American, but they also want to live by Afrocentric principles and want to be seen as multiculturalists (Worrell et al., 2014, p. 577).

Individuals in this profile are typically not happy with themselves and the authors contend they could benefit from counseling interventions (Worrell et al., 2014).

Conflicted-Anti-White participants, which reflected 10.5% of the participants, endorsed above average Self-hatred and Afrocentricity scores, however, their Anti-White scores dominated the profile. This group demonstrates negative sentiments solely towards White people. The authors stated: “Nonetheless, a fifth or more of this group had scores in the clinically



significant range, suggesting that they may also benefit from psychological interventions (Worrell et al., 2014, p. 577).

The Worrell and colleagues study (2014) corroborated previous studies, (Whittaker & Neville, 2010; Telesford et al., 2013) which show that the multiculturalist profile is associated with higher scores on psycho-logical well-being and lower scores on psychological distress. The multiculturalist group, which accounted for 21.4% of the participants, demonstrated a strong racial (Black) identity, and the ability to feel connected to other groups, including White people. This enables the Multiculturalist to adapt to their surroundings and protect themselves from race-related stress (Jones, et al., 2007). Furthermore, this attitude buffers them in the academic setting as it reduces susceptibility to stereotype threat. ,

The Low Race Salience group, which encompassed 26.4% of the participants, endorsed scores that were below the mean across all profiles, although assimilationist attitudes were often the highest scores on the profile and Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes are always substantially below the mean. This group does not think about themselves in terms of race, and they limit their thoughts regarding racial engagements and constructs. The Low Race Salience group endorsed the lowest scores on the four psychological syndromes. Similar to the multiculturalist group, this group demonstrates lower levels of psychological distress and higher levels of psychological well-being which was also found in Whittaker and Neville (2010). Typically, low race salience is one of the most common profiles that is endorsed (Worrell et. al, 2014), however, this study found that more youth fell into the Miseducation-Pro-Black attitude.

The Miseducation pro Black racial identity attitude group, which accounted for 32.5% of the participates, was first found in Worrell et al. (2014). These participates endorsed elvated Miseducation and Afrocentricity scores. In other terms, these youth accept negative stereotypes

about Black people, however Afrocentricity is salient to their identity. Worrell et al. (2014) indicated that it would be beneficial for other studies to evaluate if this profile is specific to adjudicated Black youth or Black youth in general.

Andretta, Worrell, Ramirez, Barnes, Odom, Brim, and Woodland (2015) studied the effects of racial identity and priming in African-American youth who had previous juvenile contact. Youth in the study fell into the Self-Hatred (8.4%) Anti-White (11.1%), Multiculturalist (24.8%), Low Race Salience (25.2%), and the Miseducation-Pro-Black (30.5%) group. In sum, both studies found that adjudicated youth primarily fall into the Miseducation pro-Black racial identity attitude. Due to the fact that the Miseducation pro-Black group accepts negative assumptions about their racial group, this is an example of internalized racial oppression.

#### Miseducation Pro Black RIA as an example of Internalized Racial Oppression

While there have only been two studies discussing the Miseducation pro-Black racial identity attitude (Worrell et al., 2014; Andretta et al., 2015), there is more research on Internalized Racial oppression. Oppression, which has been a norm in the U.S. for minorities, is the use of power to dominate, mistreat, and/or exploit groups of people in political, economic, social, and cultural contexts. Any marginalized group can be subjects of oppression: minorities, women, LGBTQ+, poor individuals etc. Therefore, racial oppression relates to the overuse of power and state of distress particularly based on race (Pyke, 2010).

Black people have experienced a history of racial oppression due to enslavement, segregation, and current racial encounters (microaggressions) in society (Alexander, 2012; Sue, 2010). There are unjust racist assumptions that Black Americans are unintelligent, unattractive, and uncivilized. These beliefs are so common and universal that individuals who identify as Black American often accept them (Adams-Bass, Stevenson, & Kotzin, 2014). Thus, internalized

racial oppression is defined as, “the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one’s racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one’s race and/or oneself” (Pyke, 2010, p.553). This term is often used synonymously with ‘internalized racism’ ‘racial self hate’ ‘internalized White supremacy’ and, ‘internalized Whiteness (Pyke, 2010). Regardless of the term used, it is a social and psychological process that negatively affects Black people as a group and individually (Bryant, 2011).

There is limited research on the impact of internalized racial oppression with Black adolescents. However, Bryant’s (2011) study found that internalized racial oppression serves as a mediator for African American youths’ propensity to violence. This study evaluated youth ages 14-19 from a Philadelphia high school, African-centered charter high school, a youth detention center, and a program from youth on probation or parole. Internalized racial oppression served as a mediator to violence, which is commonly referred to as antisocial behavior. Thus, this study further explains how the Miseducation Pro-Black RIA could lead to “antisocial or maladaptive behaviors.”

### Behavior of Incarcerated Youth

PVEST asserts that identity and behavior are linked, bi-directionally (Brittian, 2012). In other terms, identity precedes behavior *and* identity is reinforced by behavior. Thus, racial identity in Black incarcerated youth should not be discussed without evaluating arguably the most common behaviors in this population, antisocial behavior.

Antisocial behaviors can be defined in many ways. According to the Encyclopedia of Children:

Antisocial behaviors are disruptive acts characterized by covert and overt hostility and intentional aggression toward others. Antisocial behaviors exist along a severity continuum and include repeated violations of social rules, defiance of authority and of the rights of others, deceitfulness, theft, and reckless disregard for self and others. Antisocial behavior can be identified in children as young as three or four years of age. If left unchecked these coercive behavior patterns will persist and escalate in severity over time, becoming a chronic behavioral disorder (Health of Children, 2015, p. 1).

Therefore, the antisocial construct can be conceptualized as a state or a trait (disorder), and it is imperative that the two are distinctly defined. In the book *Criminals in the Making* by Wright, Tibbetts, and Daigle (2008) the two constructs are distinguished. States are similar to trajectories or pathways. A person's behavior at any given time may be determined by the state in which he or she is acting. Similar to trajectories, states are not always permanent and may be altered by transitions and turning points. Traits, on the other hand, are individual characteristics that persist over a person's life. Behaviors resulting from traits may change over the life course, but the traits themselves are not variable. States can be an expression of a trait, but they do not indicate an innate characteristic. For the purpose of this project, antisocial behavior will be referred to as a state, not a trait; rather than a diagnosis, it is a response to a particular environment or situation. The Diagnostic Statistical Manual 5 (DSM5) further supports this separation in its criteria for personality disorders. The fourth criteria listed for the Antisocial Personality Disorder is, "The impairments in personality functioning and the individuals personality trait expression are not better understood as normative for the individuals developmental stage or sociocultural environment" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p.

659). Most juvenile's antisocial trait expression/states are not indicative of a disorder based on the fact that they are considered normative for the sociocultural environment. Simply stated, this project does not aim to label juvenile offenders with the antisocial personality disorder. Instead, it aims to provide alternative explanations for their normative contextual engagements.

In a study conducted by McDougall, Campbell, and Santor (2013) results indicated that youth with more serious offenses had more significant histories of antisocial behavior than those with lower offense severity. Associations between antisocial behavior and juvenile delinquency can be associated with post incarceration trajectories as well. Self-reported anti-social behavior has been utilized to predict recidivism in young male offenders (Ginner Hau & Smedler, 2011). Therefore, it is expected that antisocial behaviors will be prevalent in juvenile offenders.

### Summary

Adolescence is an essential time period for identity development, particularly for Black youth given the extent of racial discrimination they encounter. While racial identity has been studied in many fields, the psychological field has honed in on specific racial identity stages (Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, Internalization-Commitment) and attitudes (Assimilation, Self-Hate, Miseducation, Afrocentric, Anti-White, Multiculturalist) that most Black individuals experience (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Studies conducted with youth who were detained and youth on probation validate the CRIS scale, which is most commonly used to evaluate racial identity attitudes. Results from these studies also indicated that adjudicated youth are most likely to fall into the Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitude profile. According to PVEST, identity and behavior interact with one another. The most common behaviors in incarcerated youth are labeled, anti-social behavior. This study will utilize a distinct philosophy

of science to develop a new understanding of these phenomena's (racial identity and behavior) in Black incarcerated youth.

## CHAPTER 3

### PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

The philosophy of science is the conceptual foundation of the development of scientific knowledge. Researchers develop new knowledge based on a paradigm, ontology, epistemology axiology, subjectivity/reflexivity, and theoretical framework(s).

#### Paradigm

Paradigms are essential in all research, however they prominent in qualitative research. A paradigm is a conceptual framework based on the researchers' assumption of the world (Ponterotto, 2005). It is the researchers' worldview. The primary paradigms are positivism, post-positivism, constructivist/interpretive, pragmatism, subjectivism, and critical. The critical framework "serves to disrupt and challenge the status quo," (Ponterotto, 2005, p.129) due to its' criticism of power structures.

The current study is concerned with power relations between and within the educational, political, criminal justice, media, economic, housing, and social systems oppressing Black youth. Specifically, this study acknowledges how these systems have led to their detainment, and simultaneously gathers more information about their racial identities relationship with behaviors that led to their detainment. With a critical paradigm, the researcher is also able to address how the systems of power relations and oppression influence their racial identity.

#### Ontology

Ontology refers to the beliefs the research holds regarding reality (Ponterotto, 2005). What is reality? Is there a single reality? Is reality created? Is it constantly changing? Critical

researchers allude that realities are socially constructed by power structures. The critical perspective addresses the racial, cultural, gender, social, and political influences on individuals' realities (Ponterotto, 2005).

This study evaluates Black incarcerated youth's perception of their race based on their reality. The objective is to evaluate if these socially constructed constructs (race & reality) are salient indicators of behaviors that lead to incarceration. The critical ontological stance implies that their reality/racial identity will be impacted by systems of power, in addition to their culture, gender, neighborhood, etc. Thus, the findings can be utilized to evaluate how societal (external) factors could positively influence their realities and racial associations, therefore influencing the behavior of Black youth.

### Epistemology

Epistemologies are concerned with the acquisition of knowledge and the relationship between the researcher and the participant (Ponterotto, 2005). Critical theorists develop a transactional relationship, where the participant is empowered and uplifted (Ponterotto, 2005).

In the present study, the researcher acquires knowledge through interactions with marginalized participants. The researcher is a Black educated female therapist. Thus, the interview itself has the opportunity to empower the participants through the interaction with a positive Black individual who ended the interview with uplifting words and validation of their Blackness.

### Axiology

Axiology is the role of the researcher's values within the study. "Because critical theory concerns itself with unequal distributions of power and the resultant oppression of subjugated groups, a preset goal of the research is to empower participants to transform the status quo and



emancipate themselves from ongoing oppression.” (Ponterotto, 2005, p.131). The researcher values social justice, Black pride, mental health, and empowerment. The study aims to address the need for a racially specific intervention for Black incarcerated youth, a subsequently addresses Black identity, mental health concerns, and the need for empowerment. The ultimate goal is to empower the participants, (discussed in the epistemology section) and develop an intervention to transform the status quo of Black detainment. Therefore, the critical axiology is aligned the researchers’ values, experiences, and goals, which can be further explored through the researchers’ subjectivity statement.

### Subjectivity Statement

“Data gathering is reflexive in that it requires the researcher to engage in critical self-reflection” (Suzuki et al., 2007, p. 296). As a Black female who is passionate about working towards a socially just juvenile justice system, I need to evaluate how my past experiences, personal history, assumptions and biases impact the quality of data collected. Fortunately, this can be done using the theoretical perspective of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Scholars of color have a unique vantage point when using CRT. “CRT asks the critical qualitative researcher to operate in a self-revelatory mode, to acknowledge the double (or multiple) consciousness in which she is operating” (Chapman, 2007, p. 158). As a Black psychologist in training with a salient racial identity, I should acknowledge my racial identity development as well.

As a young child, I was an example of Cross’s pre-encounter racial identity stage (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004); I did not believe that my race impacted me and I accepted the racist Eurocentric society in which I lived. While growing up in liberal California, I perceived the individuals who surrounded me as open-minded and friendly. In public places, people were social, smiled when passing, and I believed that they usually did not judge others on

their race. I attended primarily White, Christian, private schools, where I believed that every child and teacher was loving and courteous. Outside of school, I attended Black churches, played on Black basketball teams, and attended primarily Black summer camps. My positive interactions and comfort level within both groups led to my belief that all people were equally loving and accepting; however, I had an unconscious yet engrained perceptions of White people as intelligent and Black people as fun.

During my high school years, I experienced many *encounters* (2<sup>nd</sup> stage of the Cross model) of racism as a student at a Catholic high school, a member of the 2009 Tournament of Roses Royal Court, and a community member. Specifically, one of my White classmates used physically assaulted my good friend, who was one of only two Black males in my class, and called him a “n\*\*\*er”. This student was suspended for one day and he received no remediation or cultural sensitivity training from the school. As a member of the Royal Court, I can vividly remember the older White male doctor who administered our flu shots being extremely gentle with the White, Latina, and Asian royal court members, yet aggressively stabbing me in the arm. Furthermore, I can recall hearing the stories from my White classmates about their weekends partying all night under the influence of drugs and alcohol. They told me that when the police arrived at their gatherings, they were kind and let everyone go, regardless of their behavior. Due to the fact that I was not engaging in these activities and preferred to socialize with the Black community in my city, I witnessed the police shut down parties, sometimes questioning, patting down, and arresting Black youth. These experiences made me aware of the fact that being Black is not only different from being White, but it is also accompanied with on-going racial and racist conflicts.

Recently, I wrote a post on Facebook to combat a one-sided article entitled *The Pasadena*

*Blood Zone* in the Pasadena Black Pages (2017). It was written after several shootings of people who I either knew personally or knew of in my hometown, Pasadena, CA. This post further describes the city that I was raised in, explains my encounter experiences, and highlights some of the reasons I work with at-risk youth.

*Just a week after the new year, which is a VERY big deal in Pasadena, CA, my timeline (once again) was flooded with RIP posts. While I have read many articles on the recent murders in my city, this one (<http://www.pasadenablackpages.com/pasadena-blood-zone.html>) included some particularly disturbing statements and I cannot keep quiet.*

*"Everything isn't so rosy in the City of Roses. We have a serious problem that is clearly on this rise."*

*-TRUE. Pasadena is known for many things. The City of Roses. The Rose Bowl. The Rose Parade. Prestige. Wealth. Cal Tech. Jackie Robinson. And Oh Yea... the Bloods. Oh you didn't know? It's definitely not Compton, however, Dena (what Black Pasadena natives call the city.. our part of the city) is hurting, mostly due to gang violence.*

*Disclaimer\*\*\*\* I am not stating that any of the recent victims or perpetrators were gang affiliated because I do NOT know that as a fact, but I do know that Pasadena is not exempt when it comes to gang activity. This is not a secret in Dena, but possibly unknown to most people in Pasadena. It's a problem and it needs to be addressed.*

*"Parents are directly to blame for what's going on in the city at this time."*

*-FALSE. Although parenting is imperative, I know Pasadena natives who have been involved in gang activity, shot at, or killed regardless of the cultivating parenting that they received. Please do not blame those hurting the most.*

*"If the schools started suspending kids for gang activity, paraphernalia, or discussion, things would start to change. The only way is through the people in Northwest Pasadena."*

*-FALSE. This is the root of the school-to-prison pipeline. When you suspend children/adolescents (primarily Black & Latino/a) from school, you significantly increase their chances of becoming incarcerated. How about we acknowledge the vast financial gap between NW Pasadena and the rest of the high-class bougie city? How about we acknowledge the drastic differences between the elitist private schools that are ranked amongst the top in the nation and the public schools that are ranked amongst the worst in the state? How about we provide more guidance and support in our school system instead of kicking our students out? Rather than playing the blame game, how about parents, school boards, city council members, recreational leagues, college prep programs, and anyone else who cares about the livelihood of potentially positive and influential members of society unite and work towards eliminating these discrepancies? People join gangs for many reasons. In my work with youth who are gang affiliated I have learned that they typically join due to (1) their desire for a strong community that supports them (2) money, and (3) lack of positive role models who look like them. The people listed above could easily mitigate these problems and Pasadena has too much money to allow people to suffer like this.*

*Rest in Heaven to all of those who have lost their lives due to cruel shootings in Pasadena. I am sorry that the city of roses failed at nurturing you so that you could blossom.*

(There is currently a documentary being produced that reflects the vast discrepancy of experiences I described in the post regarding Pasadena

[:https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=41&v=2SqcNf-w\\_Y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=41&v=2SqcNf-w_Y)). The discrepancy in my Black social life and White academic environments in Pasadena (contributed to my desire to attend Spelman College, a Historically Black College in Atlanta, GA. While I was *immersed* (3<sup>rd</sup> stage) in Black culture, I learned to love ALL of myself. For the first time in my life, I was in an educational setting where people looked like me. My surroundings reflected Black love, pride, success, and confidence. I was also encouraged to remember where I came from; to think about my many Black friends from home who did not have the private education or nurturing opportunities that I was blessed with. Instead, they were victims of the school to prison pipeline.

These experiences led to my graduate studies where I feel as though I finally entered the Internalization, the 4<sup>th</sup> and final nigrescence stage. As a master's student at the University of Pennsylvania, I was able to engage with people from other cultures and appreciate their differences, while still loving my Blackness. Because of this, I can now work towards my goals of uplifting the Black community through my research, activism, youth interventions, and community engagement in the juvenile (in) justice system. As a member of the Juvenile Counseling and Assessment Program (JCAP) at UGA, I was able to begin to work towards my purpose and passion. I served as a mental health intern at a Regional Youth Detention Center (RYDC), where I provided counseling and conducted assessments with detained juveniles. It is imperative that I reflect upon this experience, because I was an advanced practicum student at the facility for 9 months before to conducting my dissertation project.

Prior to my first day at the RYDC, I was bombarded with comments intended to warn or deter me from working at the RYDC. I heard, "We have never had a student at (name of facility)," "The kids there are in REAL gangs," "You are going to be with the murderers," "That is the largest and most dangerous detention center in Georgia," "Are you scared?" I thought to

myself, how could professors, fellow students, probation officers, friends, and family members all have negative comments, and no exposure to this specific population? As I entered the facility with excitement, determination, and newly developed sense of tentativeness, I looked around and I thought to myself, “These are just kids.” They were teenagers in either all navy blue or orange jumpsuits, and they acted in the same way as most teenagers do, energetic, impulsive, and naïve. The only difference that I noticed was that some of them were confused, scared, and overly exposed to the dangers in life. They experienced trauma, poverty, and racial biases within the juvenile (in) justice system. Yes, they committed crimes, some more severe than others, however they were not innately bad people. They were people with good morals and values that were not reflected in their previous actions due to unfortunate circumstances, negative influences, and/or poor decision-making. They did not deserve to be detained in small white rooms for hours at a time because of their past mistakes, rather they deserved rehabilitation. They needed a support system, resources, positive role models, and people who believe in them. They needed people who could look at them and tell them that they are important, intelligent, and capable of recovering from their past experiences to live a successful life. I was determined to be that person.

Although my perspective helped me conceptualize the detention center from a person centered and strength-based view, it was not always easy. I was concerned about the poor conditions, suicidal ideations, trauma, pain, engrained criminal mentality, institutional racism/societal barriers, lack of resources, long days, turmoil, and hopelessness. I experienced additional emotional barriers, such as wanting serve all of the youth, but only having about 33% of the youth at the facility meet the minimum criteria to be placed on the caseload (if they were taking medication, or actively suicidal). Furthermore, I wanted to stay in contact with youth post

incarceration to continue to help them, but this is not allowed. However the hardest part was that the youth looked like my family members, my friends, and they looked like me. With one poor decision, or one instance of being caught, I could have been in their position. I quickly learned that I would need personal coping mechanisms during times when I had deep hate for the juvenile (in) justice system, mourned over the traumatic stories that I heard, and questioned why I was blessed with the grace that followed me through my life and allowed me to be the individual that could walk out of the detention center at the end of the day. Although I have several self-care techniques, gospel music is by far the most effective. Without God, I could not do this work.

In sum, my racial identity process and the detention center practicum provided me with a plethora of knowledge, exposure, and assumptions about the outcomes of the study. I automatically assume that youth would love being Black because I heard their pride in their voices when they discussed Black music artists, athletes, friends and family members. However, I also know that they engage in anti-social behavior because they explicitly shared with me stories of their previous criminal engagements. Therefore, I can acknowledge my bias while conducting and analyzing the interviews. In addition to having a research team for accountability and multiple perspectives, I needed to minimize my personal perspectives to evaluate the data gathered. This is accomplished through bracketing or bridling.

### Bracketing & Bridling

Bracketing encourages the researcher to remove or suspend their previous knowledge, experiences, and perceptions to conduct the study (Vagle, 2009). However, the primary researcher opted to utilize a newer and more realistic process, bridling. Bridling encourages the researcher to *minimize* their previous knowledge, experience, and perceptions from informing the

results, however the researcher's background is inevitably integrated throughout the study (Vagle, 2009). Bridling encourages the researcher to use the reflexivity statement and memo'ing to acknowledge the researchers relationship with the phenomenon. I used my reflexivity statement and a memoing process to separate my research expectations from my conduction of the study through personal accountability and reflexivity. When my biases are acknowledged and accounted for, CRT and PVEST can acknowledge the context of racism in society and empower a marginalized population by giving them voices in the study.

### Theoretical Frameworks

Both quantitative and qualitative researchers choose a theoretical perspective prior to conducting a study. Theoretical perspectives, or theories, "provide complex and comprehensive conceptual understandings of things that cannot be pinned down: how societies work, how organizations operate, why people interact in certain ways" (Reeves et al., 2008, p. 631). Therefore, perspectives/theories are imperative because they provide a lens that researchers can apply throughout all phases of the study. This paper will focus on Critical Race Theory (CRT), which is a perspective that aims to critically analyze and alter societal norms (Reeves et al., 2008) and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) which provides researchers with a framework to critically evaluate Black adolescence identity development given their environmental, cultural, and social, and economic contexts (Spencer, 2008).

#### Critical Race Theory (CRT)

CRT emerged in response to the lack of progress from the civil rights movement in the mid 1970's (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Howard, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Instead of rapid racial reform, the post-civil rights era was filled with neo-conservative policies. Therefore,



professor, writer, and public speaker Derek Bell developed CRT using the basic principles of critical legal theory, which itself is derived from legal theory. The CRT movement was “a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 3). Some of the most influential activists and early contributors were Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). They wanted to provide researchers with a framework to evaluate the relationships of “power, race, racism, and oppression”, and “encourage positive social change” (Crosby, 2016, p. 7).

Over the past decade the use of CRT has spread widely in education and psychology, with many scholars now considering themselves critical race theorists. CRT has been evaluated and transformed slightly, but according to Delgado and Stefancic’s (2012) most recent edition of *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, CRT contains four basic tenets. First, CRT argues that “racism is ordinary, not aberrational” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 7). The United States has a history of racial oppression of many minorities, including Black, Native Americans, Latinxs, and Japanese people. Although it may be insensitive to compare oppression, some conceptualize the experiences of Black Americans in the U.S. as more gruesome and longer lasting than other racial injustices. Black people were subjugated to 246 years of slavery and 88 years of segregation and dehumanizing maltreatment. Although overt racism and discrimination has allegedly decreased since slavery, covert racism is still ubiquitous. People of color experience forms of racism every day, usually through covert experiences such as microaggressions. Microaggressions are, “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri,

Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007, p. 271). Often, microaggressions are often derived from messages that are cultivated in society and institutions, such as the thought that Black people are not as intelligent as other races. In sum, racism is prevalent in spaces that people of color are forced to navigate daily, such as school and work.

The second tenet of CRT is *interest convergence* or the assumption that racism benefits both White elites and working class Whites. In other terms, efforts to eradicate racism must be incentivized by advancing the White population in some capacity. CRT scholars explain this phenomenon using the results from the *Brown vs. Board of Education* trial. Although the verdict allowed Black people to integrate school systems, the decision was also encouraged by the need for the United States to be respected and supported by other countries that condemned segregated schools (Ladson-Billings, 1998). “In many countries, the credibility of the USA had been damaged by the widely broadcast inequitable social conditions that existed in the USA in the 1950s” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 16). Similarly, the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action have been White women, as they are often hired before people of color. “Even after 20 years of affirmative action, African Americans constitute only 4.5% of the professorate (Hacker, 1992). In 1991 there were 24,721 doctoral degrees awarded to U.S. citizens and noncitizens who intended to remain in the USA, and only 933 or 3.8% of these doctorates went to African American men and women” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 12). A modern day example of interest convergence is the BlackLivesMatter protests that have been prevalent on college campuses nationwide. During the 2015-2016 school year, students at the University of Missouri protested to make people more aware of the institutional racism on campus, the lack of diverse faculty members, the universities history of racism, and ongoing racial concerns. Students felt as though the president of the university was not upholding a commitment to diversity and inclusivity;

therefore they requested that he step down from his position. After months of conversations on race and peaceful protests, the president refused to resign. It was not until all of the Black football players declared that they would boycott the next football game that the president stepped down. A CRT perspective would assert that he only resigned because the universities football team brings in a large sum of funds to the institution, which benefits the White people in high positions. Thus, many people in power are not motivated to do the right (moral) thing, but are only motivated when their interests are threatened.

Thirdly, CRT asserts that race is a social construct. “Race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.8). Individuals are categorized by physical appearance, which minimizes the distinct internal characteristics of the people- personality, morals, intellect, and behavior (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This tenet argues that although historical aspects of each racial group are consistent, individuals within these groups may have intersecting identities that make them different from their primary racial groups. Although White people have the advantage of using their Whiteness as a beneficial property (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004), “no person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 10). For example, A Latina women may also identify as a lesbian, conservative Christian. Therefore racial assumptions should not be used to describe a person; as there are various complex factors that describe individuals. However, race is one characteristic U.S. society has opted to use to describe and categorize people.

The final CRT tenet places a significant value on Revisionist History, also referred to as storytelling from voices of color. “The ‘legal storytelling’ movement urges Black and Brown

writers to recount their experiences with racism and the legal system and to apply their own unique perspectives to assess law's master narratives" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 10). The primary advantage of storytelling is to demystify stereotypes, contextual factors, and allow the oppressed to be heard, seen, acknowledged, and respected. An example used by Ladson-Billings (1998) is Gregory Williams, a man who moved from Virginia to Indiana in 1995. He was able to explain how his life was altered when people perceived him differently after he moved. In Virginia he was considered White, but in Indiana his social status dropped because he and his family were seen as a Black family. His ability to tell his story provided insight to how racial factors can impact an individual (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

All four of the previously stated CRT tenets guide the current study. (1) CRT argues that race is ubiquitous. It has been engrained in every aspect of society, including the juvenile (in)justice system. It is arguable that the juvenile (in)justice system is the most significantly impacted system because of DMC. DMC is a direct result of racial injustices in the legal system, educational system, and psychological field. This study will further evaluate how these systems lead to DMC through a CRT lens. (2) It is imperative to note the influence of *interest convergence* in the juvenile justice system. It could be argued that the more Black youth that are incarcerated, the more elite Whites profit from the incarceration of Black people. Consequently, incarceration can be used to maintain and advance the material interests of Whites in society. (3) The racial identity portion of the study touches on the *race is a social construct* tenet of CRT. It is hypothesized that the participants believe in the stereotypes that have been developed by society. Specifically, they believe that being Black is synonymous with being a criminal, which is connected with their antisocial behavior. (4) Lastly, I intend on using interviews as my primary form of data collection to give youth the opportunity to tell their story or share their

narratives.

Tenets of CRT have been integrated into other theoretical frameworks, such as PVEST, due to its acknowledgment of privilege and power.

#### Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST)

Margaret Beale Spencers' Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, 1997, 2006, 2008) provides a framework to evaluate the societal, cognitive, developmental, ecological, and cultural impacts on the identity formation process for youth of color. The cyclical and bi-directional model incorporates aspects of individual vulnerability, stress, coping, identity, and outcomes given the underpinning difficulties for Black youth in US society. PVEST is an extension of prominent scholarly traditions such as classic phenomenology and ecology, identity development models (Erikson, 1963; Marcia, 1980), and largely the Bronfenbrenner Ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

Phenomenology acknowledges that the individual's perspective is based on their social cognitive functioning. In other terms, youths realities are a reflection of how they making meaning of their experiences, which is typically influenced by their environment and reasoning. Further, ecological perspectives acknowledge the environmental influence on youth. The combination of the phenomenology and ecology allow researchers with an individual and contextual framework for understanding "how" development may vary for adolescence development occurs (Spencer, 2008). "PVEST combines social cognition relevant phenomenology themes with ecological systems theory to provide a heuristic device for understanding the unique experiences of diverse group members as had at varying developmental periods." (Spencer, 2008, p. 698).

Identity formation models by Erikson and Marcia (See Chapter 2) are beneficial for addressing identity adaption, but fail to adequately describe the identity development process. This shortcoming led to the development of Developmental systems theories (DSTs) such as Bronfenbrenner, which asserts that individuals are a part of a multilevel ecology (Brittian, 2012). PVEST, another DST, provides a model to explain the sociocultural multilevel ecology and innate individual characteristics that influence adolescence identity adaption (Brittian, 2012). In fact, PVEST was developed primarily based on Bronfenbrenner (Spencer, 2008)

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model provides an understanding of how external sociocultural systems have an impact on an individual's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Adolescence is a crucial time for identity development, therefore, sociocultural influences are particularly essential in their development. In the current study, it is imperative to consider how Black incarcerated youths various sociocultural systems may look different than most adolescents. While PVEST incorporates aspects of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem Bronfenbrenner addresses (Bronfenbrenner, 1993), it also addresses aspects of race, power, and privilege (Spencer, 2008). Furthermore, PVEST extends from Bronfenbrenner by addressing the individuals perspective, and interpretation (phenomenology) of events and interactions with societal systems. In other terms, the child plays a role in their identity development process because their perception impacts their identity; they are not solely being influenced by their surroundings. Therefore, PVEST is a more appropriate DST for youth of color.

#### PVEST Components

PVEST has five key components: the net vulnerability level, net stress, reactive coping strategies, emergent identities, and life stage outcomes.

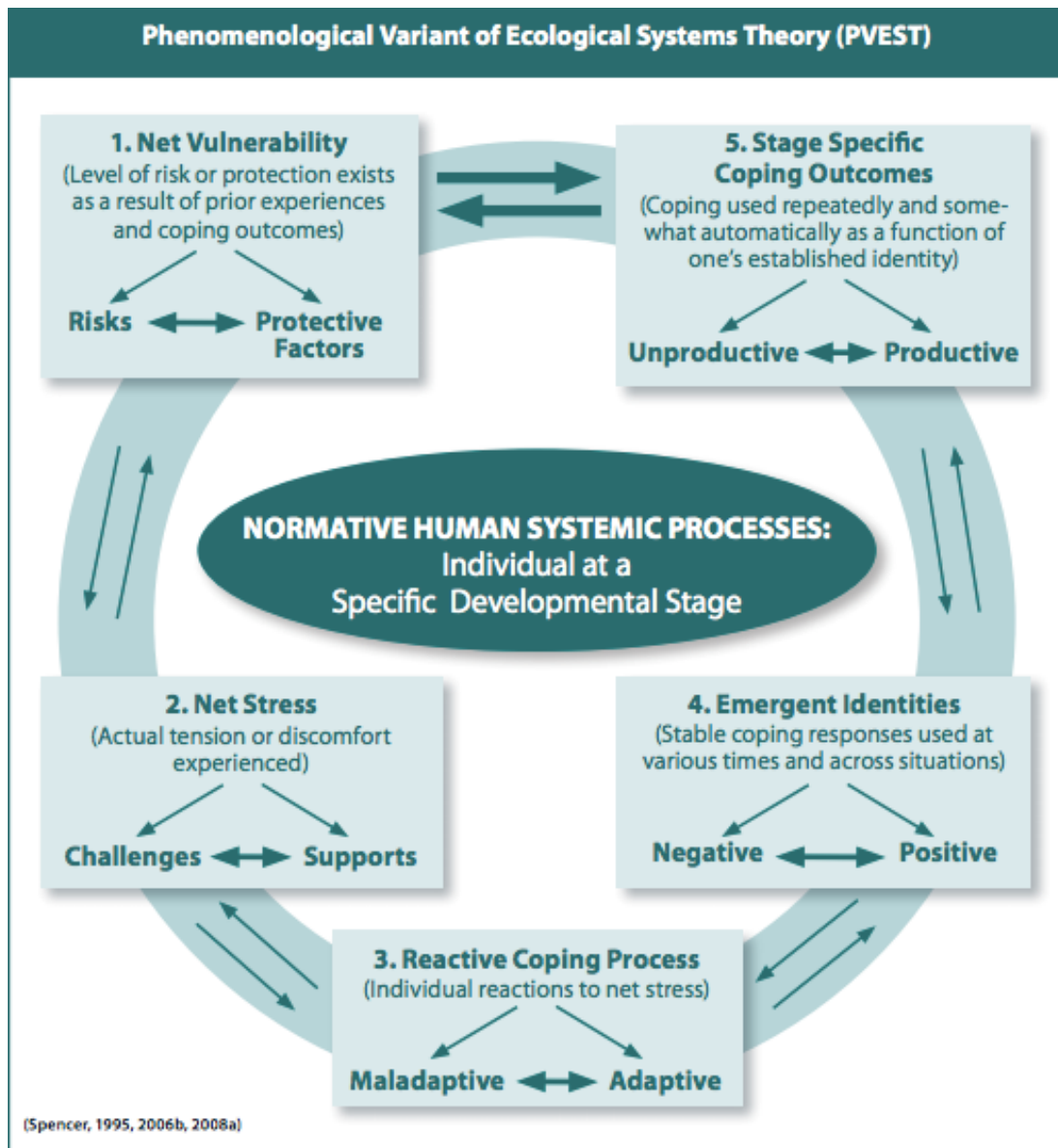


Figure 1. PVEST (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008)

Net Vulnerability level refers to the balance of risk and protective factors that a youth has developed as a result of prior experiences (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008). For example, a risk could be living in an impoverished neighborhood, and a protective factor could be having a loving and attentive parent. The balance of the risk and protective factors (net vulnerability) impacts the net stress that youth experience. PVEST theorist intentionally used the term vulnerability as the primary component of the first tenet. Risk is often used interchangeably with vulnerability,

which ignores the possibility of protective factors balancing the risk (Spencer, 2008). While youth may be vulnerable to risk factors, protective factors could facilitate varying outcomes. Through the PVEST cycle, net vulnerability is imperative because it eventually impacts the character (productive or unproductive) of the net coping mechanisms, first through net stress.

Net stress refers to the tension or discomfort experienced by youth as result of their vulnerability (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008). This discomfort can hinder their overall well-being. Therefore, it is imperative that youth receive an adequate level of support to balance the challenges causing stress. Recognizing privilege is imperative when referencing net stress, because the more privileged an individual is, the less net stress they have. Given the CRT assertions, Black youth would typically hold less privilege than White youth, therefore their net stress would be greater.

Due to the net stress remaining from the challenges and supports, the individual must respond. The third tenet of PVEST is the individual's response, or reactive coping. The model indicates that individuals can demonstrate adaptive or maladaptive coping, however they are categorized based on the environment. In other terms the same coping response may be adaptive in one setting, but maladaptive in another. Far too often, Black youths' coping in one setting is perceived as inappropriate, while it may be adaptive in another setting. For example, if a youth response to a frustrated teacher with anger, they may be perceived negatively. In contrast, responding to frustration with anger may be a method of survival in their neighborhood. Coping is also paired with resiliency in the PVEST model. Specifically, when youth cope successfully regardless of their risk, resiliency is formed (Spencer, 2008). Coping and resiliency explains how some youth of color experience traumatic childhoods yet still healthily thrive in society. They received enough support (component 2) to balance their net stress and enables flexible yet



adaptive coping responses. PVEST asserts that coping behaviors and is linked with identity (Brittian, 2012).

The fourth component of PVEST asserts that once a youth's coping response is repeated consistently, they become part of the youth's identity (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008). "Youth begin to assume an identity that is synonymous with the coping they have adopted." (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008, p. 20). In other terms, they develop an identity based on their adaptive or maladaptive coping responses. (Brittian, 2012). For example, a Black youth could believe that they are aggressive due to their consistent aggressive coping/or protective responses in the neighborhood and academic setting.

Consistent reactive (component 3) coping leads to consistent identity associations (component 4) and specific coping outcomes (component 5). In PVEST, coping outcomes are considered productive or unproductive. Productive coping include, "Behaviors leading to good health, academic achievement, positive relationships, beliefs held about self as a learner, and high self-esteem." (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008, p. 20). However, unproductive coping could include creating enemies by immersing themselves into gang activity or using recreational drugs. Thus, coping responses easily become risk factors or protective factors, continuing the cyclical model (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008).

#### PVEST in the Present Study

Given the extensive detail, incorporation of various fields, and holistic evaluation of youth development in their contexts, PVEST is the most widely used developmental systems theory for the evaluation of Black youth's identity development (Brittian, 2012). It is beneficial in the present study, due to the framework that describes the process through which Black adolescence develop their racial identity through the exploration of context, cognitive processes,

and coping. PVEST provides a concrete model to acknowledge racial factors as researchers explore Black adolescence identity, similar to previous studies. (Fegley, Spencer, Goss, Harpalani, & Charles, 2008; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Spencer, & Tinsley, 2008).

Many youth in the present study appropriately fit into the PVEST model. For example, a youth who lived in a high crime neighborhood, may have more risks (gang proximity, limited resources) than protective factors (Strong family involvement, cultural pride), which leads to vulnerability and stress; the stress causes strain on their well-being, therefore they need more supports (positive extra-curricular activities, church group, etc.) to balance the challenges. However, if the child does not have any supports, they may protect themselves by joining a gang to provide a sense of security. Security, however, may be excessive fights, and threats towards other community members or opposing gangs. However, fighting and threats are a maladaptive response in the school environment. This child's maladaptive behavior in the schools settings leads to suspensions and expulsions, which overtime builds becomes their identity. This child now believes that school is not for him, and they are only good at "gangbanging." Due to the fact that identity is inextricably linked with race, this youth's racial identity formation is also paired with gang activity. The present study seeks to explore the how adolescents' racial identity relates to their behaviors. This youth could choose to use recreational drugs to cope with the experiences that he has had, which may lead to an unproductive outcome and restart the cycle.

### Summary

Earning a Doctorate of Philosophy signifies that a student researcher has become an independent researcher through the generation of new scientific knowledge. Thus, a detailed orientation to the researchers' philosophy of science, or theory of how new knowledge is

developed, is essential. The present study develops new knowledge based on a critical paradigm, with an ontological stance that realities are based on perception and influenced by power structures. This study evaluates Black incarcerated youths' perception of their race and behavior through interviews that provide participants with space to share their narrative. Ultimately, the interview process empowers them, reflecting the critical epistemology. The axiology is concerned with how the researchers' values influence the study, which is reflected in the researchers' subjectivity statement.

I am a Black female Christian social justice advocate, who has matriculated through Cross's racial identity stages, ending in the final stage: internalization-multiculturalist inclusive; I find myself studying this population due to personal interest and connection. Thus, I needed to process own my identities, biases, and experiences and keep them in mind as I study this construct, which I find highly personal, (which is being done through bridling). Nonetheless, the Critical race theory (CRT) and PVEST provide research lenses that allows my social justice values and critical approaches to be reflected throughout every aspect of the study.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY, MIXED METHODS DESIGN, AND PROCEDURES

#### Review of Research Questions

##### *Question 1*

What are the racial identity attitudes, as measured by the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), of Black incarcerated youth?

##### *Question 2*

How does Black incarcerated youths' racial identity attitudes relate to anti-social behavior?

#### Mixed Method Design

Mixed Methods studies include the collection and analysis of both quantitative (e.g., Surveys, polls) and qualitative data (e.g., interviews, focus groups, ethnography; Creswell, 2015). In mixed methods studies, rigorous multifaceted designs are used to overcome the limitations within a single design. While the order in which data is collected may vary depending on the design (sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, concurrent triangulation), the data is always interpreted congruently to answer the research questions.

Quantitative methods enable researchers to reliably and concretely evaluate constructs (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Strengths of quantitative methods are that they utilize numerical values and statistics to test theories, eliminate subjectivity, and are representative of a larger population (University of Leicester, 2017). Further, quantitative methods are efficient because they investigate relationships within data, examine probable cause and effect, and control for bias (Creswell, 2015). In the current study, the quantitative methods will provide a

statistical determination of youths' racial identity attitudes and the relationships between racial identity attitudes and behavior. Results could corroborate the Worrell et al.'s (2014) previous study that evaluated racial identity in Black incarcerated youth and evaluated several specific diagnosis. Furthermore, the current study provides an extension of Worrell et al.'s (2014) study by quantitatively providing information on offense severities/risk level. However, quantitative research methods are limited in that they are impersonal, provide a limited understanding of the participants, and fail to give voice to participants (Creswell, 2015).

Qualitative research methods are utilized by scholars because of their unique ability to capture detailed and personal information; information that is impossible to gather with quantitative methods (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008,). Participants are heard, understood, and appreciated, which enables researchers to capture the voices behind the numbers (Patton, 2001). In Seidman's (2012), *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*, he states that one of the major differences between the natural sciences and the social sciences is that, "the subjects of inquiry in the social sciences can talk and think" ( p. 8). Thus, scholars are able to hear personal narratives, feel the energy in the room, observe non-verbal communication, and identify themes within dialogue. Due to the fact that this study evaluates racial identity attitudes, which is personal to individuals, these qualitative advantages are imperative to gain a holistic understanding of how the individual perceives their racial identity. Furthermore, qualitative methods enable the researcher to directly inquire about behavior, and suggested intervention methods. Therefore, qualitative interviews are essential in the present study. The study also utilizes CRT. which highlights the importance of telling narratives, and PVEST's second component, which asserts that knowledge of an individual's perceived stress levels, challenges, and supports, is imperative for intervention purposes. Thus, qualitative methods implement

aspects of the studies theories. However, qualitative research methods have several disadvantages due to their limited generalizability, subjectivity, and lack of numerical analysis.

While both quantitative methods and qualitative methods have advantages, each method independently will not sufficiently gather a full understanding of the phenomenons (race and behavior). The ability to balance the inherent strengths and weaknesses of both methods for this study validates the use of a mixed methods design.

While there are numerous mixed methods designs, the three of the most common are sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, and concurrent triangulation (Creswell, 2003). Sequential explanatory methods enable the researcher to collect and analyze quantitative data first, then use the results to inform the collection and analysis of qualitative data (Creswell, 2003). The qualitative results are utilized to further explore and interpret the quantitative results. Sequential exploratory methods enable the researcher to collect and analyze qualitative data prior to collecting and analyzing quantitative data. This approach is primarily used to explore a phenomenon or develop and assess a new instrument. (Creswell, 2003). The method used for the present study is Concurrent Triangulation, which is when quantitative and qualitative data collection is simultaneous and analyzed separately. Results are interpreted together to corroborate the findings (Creswell, 2015). Typically, researchers use this method to overcome weaknesses in using one method.

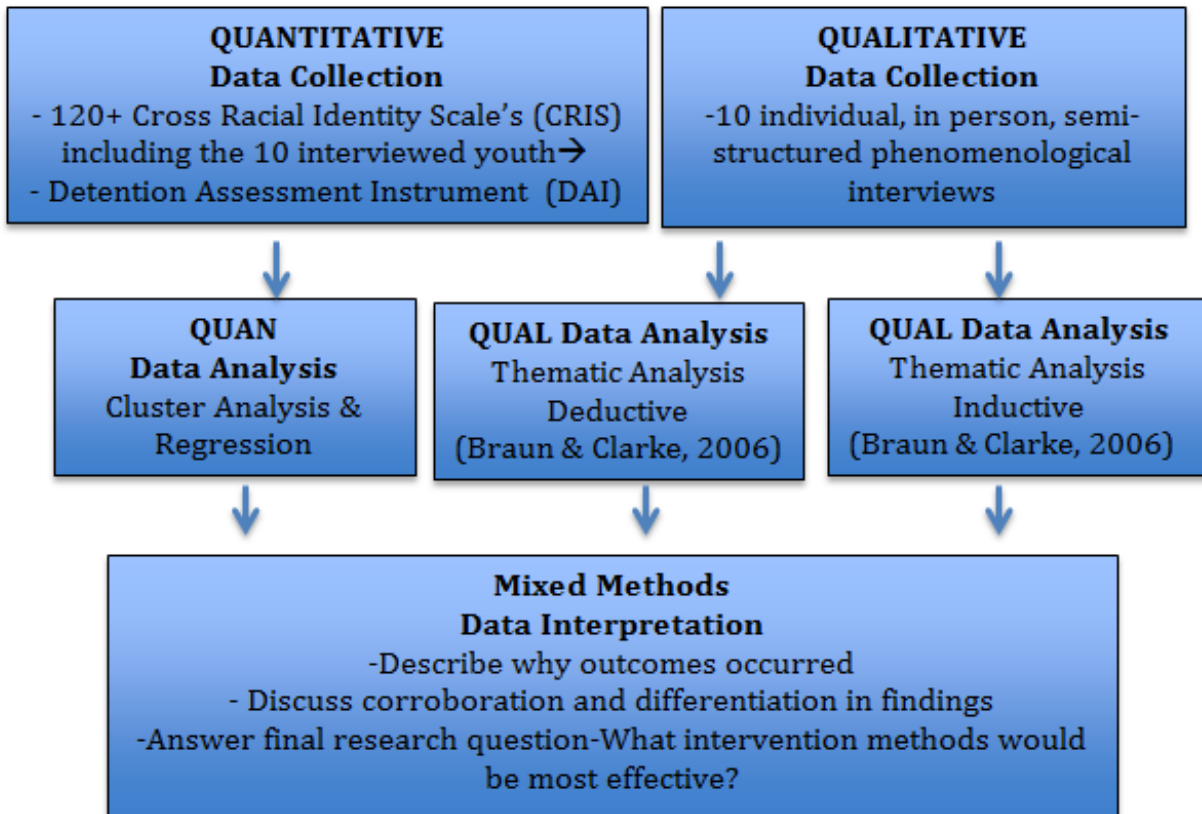


Figure 2. Mixed Methods Chart

### Methodology

Phenomenology is a methodology that allows the researcher to evaluate the participants' perception or understanding of a particular phenomenon. "Studies that draw upon this theoretical perspective concentrate on exploring how individuals make sense of the world in terms of the meanings and classifications they employ" (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p. 631). Psychologists have used a phenomenological design in a plethora of studies to gain more insight on both objective and subjective topics (Giorgi, 2012). In this study, I would strive to learn how Black incarcerated youth perceive their race and their behavior. Given previous research, it can be assumed that their lived experiences and surroundings (Spencer, 1997) would have influenced their perception of these two phenomena (race and behavior). Therefore, phenomenology is the

perfect research design for the current study as it “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.” (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p.631)

The methodological framework is essential for coherence. Coherence ensures the entire research project (including the purpose and research question, interview questions, data collection methods, analysis and presentation of results) consistently addresses phenomenology. (Kline, 2008). In the present study, phenomenology was adequately integrated throughout the process. The two research questions were based on the participants’ perception of the phenomena of race and behavior. Furthermore, every interview question (Appendix C) addressed phenomenology. Data collection methods incorporated phenomenology by tasking the participants to describe their lived experience and asking them directly about how they perceive their race. The researcher used a thematic analysis to evaluate themes related to the phenomenon’s being studied. Moreover, one of the theoretical frameworks, PVEST, is based on phenomenology, which inundates the study in the phenomenology methodology.

### Quantitative Procedure

#### Participants

Participants consisted of 121(100 male, 21 female) self-identifying Black youth offenders aged 13-17 (mean age 15.7) detained in a large detention center in the Southern region of the United States. Charges range from violation of probation to murder.

#### Measures

CRIS. The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) was utilized to measure racial identity. It was developed by Worrell, Cross, and Vandiver (2000) based on Cross’s nigrescence model (Vandiver et. al, 2000). CRIS is intended to measure six racial identity attitudes established by Cross’s nigrescence model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; See chapter 2): Assimilation,



Miseducation, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentricity, and Multiculturalist Inclusive. The measure consists of 40 (six subscales with five questions each and 10 test questions) self-report questions. CRIS was normed on a population of African-American college students, however the reading level is approximately the 6<sup>th</sup> grade. The subscales include five questions that are rated on a Likert scale (1-strongly disagree; 7-strongly agree). The six subscales measure (1) Pre-encounter Assimilation (2) Pre-encounter Miseducation (3) Pre-encounter Self-Hatred (4) Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (5) Internalization Afrocentric, and (6) Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive. Cronbach's alpha scores were above .80 for all subscales, except the Pre-encounter Miseducation (.78) (Worrell et al., 2004). According to the Handbook of Multicultural measures, "A series of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses across the six phases of scale development have affirmed the six-factor structure of the CRIS with college students with an average age of 21 (Cross & Vandiver, 2001), was also supported later by Simmons, Worrell, and Berry (2008) which has also been supported with emerging adults (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002), adults (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004), and school-aged adolescents (Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007)" (Glenn, Liang, & Der-Karabetian, 2011, p.54). A recent study performed by Worrell et al. (2014), assessed the reliability and validity of the CRIS when administered to African American Adolescents involved with the juvenile justice system. The six-factor structure of CRIS was supported and the subscale scores were reliable. Additionally, five nigrescence profiles were identified: Miseducation-Pro-Black, conflicted-self-hatred, multiculturalist, low race salience, and conflicted anti-White.

DAI

The detention assessment instrument (DAI) is utilized to assign youth with a score that indicates the level of severity of the youths risk behaviors. This score also determines whether or not the youth can be detained. (DJJ policy). According the DJJ policy, scores of 7 or less is low risk (unconditional release); scores between 8-11 are medium risk (release with conditions) and scores of 12 or more are high risk (detainment). Therefore, all of the youth detained are likely to have a score of 12 or higher score, however there are instances where judges override the DAI score and detain youth. The questions used to determine a youth's DAI score are detailed below:

The *most serious current offense class* includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value that adds to the final score: Class A Designated Felonies, Class B Designated Felonies, All other Felonies, All Misdemeanors, Lesser Acts including but not limited to CHINS, VOP, etc.

*Additional delinquent charges* pending adjudication that are not on the referral (number of charges not events) includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value, that adds to the final score: none, one, two or more. In other terms, these are the number of charges that the youth already has that have not been adjudicated or disposed, regardless of the amount of charges that the youth is currently referred for (caught for). Essentially, this means that the child has been charges, but is still in the community and has accrued new charges prior to their court date. Those previous charges are accounted for within this measure.

*Prior escapes and failures to appear* for a delinquency court hearing includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value that adds to the final score: none, one or two, three or more. This includes escapes from detainment, group homes or other placements, escape during transport, and failure to appear. These charges are rare, however failure to appear is the most common endorsement in this measure.

*Prior adjudicated delinquent charges*, includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value that adds to the final score: none, one or more misdemeanor (only charges), one or more charges including at least one felony. This is any crime that the youth has been previously charged adjudicated with, except for Violation of probation, violations of conditional release, or contempt charges because they are considered technical violations, not delinquency.

*Prior adjudicated probation violations and administrative revocations (delinquent only)* includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value that adds to the final score: none, one through four, five or more. This includes Violation of probation, violations of conditional release, or contempt charges that the child has acquired.

*Is youth currently under judicial supervision for a criminal or delinquent offense* includes the following options that are all assigned a numerical value that adds to the final score: No, the youth is not on probation/committed, yes, the youth is on probation/committed for a misdemeanor, Yes the youth is on probation/committed for a felony. This measures if a youth committed another crime while on probation or detained.

## Procedure

The researcher entered a classroom in the detention center to explain confidentiality and administer the measure. If the individual decided that they was willing to participate, they was asked to complete the Cross's Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) in the classroom setting. Similar to the Worrell et al.'s (2014) study, the researcher read the questions out loud to account for reading level and eliminate the 10 filler questions.

The offense severity was determined by obtaining the Detention Assessment Instrument (DAI) score, which is provided by the "validated objective risk assessment used to make

informed detention decisions using the youth's current and past offense(s) and risk behaviors that are used to determine the youth's need for secure detention, non-secure detention, conditional supervised or unconditional release pending further juvenile court action or administration revocation" (DJJ policy 20.11, 2017). The DAI score was obtained from the Juvenile Tracking System (JTS), which the researcher has access to.

### Qualitative Procedure

#### Site Selection

As a member of the Juvenile Counseling and Assessment Program (JCAP) within the Counseling Psychology Doctoral Program at UGA, I had access to the juvenile offender population. I completed an advanced practicum at the regional youth detention center (RYDC), where I provided therapeutic services and conducted mental health assessments. In this setting, I had a caseload of 5 clients, whom I had sessions with once a week. Thus, I had access to an ideal site, a RYDC) which houses approximately 200 inmates and over 95% of the youth are Black.

#### Sampling Strategy

To select appropriate participants for the study, I used criterion sampling. "Criterion sampling involves selecting cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance" (Patton, 2001, p. 238). For the present study, participants needed to be incarcerated, and self-identify as Black youth, ages 13-17. They also needed to assent to participate in the study after their parents signed consent forms.

Specifically, I approached parents when they signed in and out of the detention center for visits, asking them if I could interview their child on race and behavior in detained youth. I provided the parent with the following facts. (1) it involves a recorded interview (2) none of their personal information will be revealed (3) the questions will be about race and behavior in

detained youth (4) the researcher would need to gain permission from the participant as well (5) it is completely optional and the participant can stop at any time (6) there are no direct benefits/rewards in relation to DJJ status (7) there is a potential for distress, anger, and/or sadness during the interview, however the researcher would have an uplifting intervention with each youth after the interview, discussing positive Black role models (8) it will take about an hour. If the parent agreed and signed the consent, I asked for permission to conduct an interview with the youth inside the facility with their adolescent child. The youth was given all of the same information that their parents was given and asked if they were willing to participate. If they agreed, signed the assent, and were not one of my previous clients, they were interviewed for the study.

The 10 youth (8 male, 2 female; ages 13-17) ranged from first time offenders to having been detained over 10 times, with several felonies.

## Method

The method of inquiry was multiple interviews. Interviews provide in depth information that I cannot acquire through a survey. It allows me to question subjects so that I can gain insight on their opinions, worldview, and personal experiences. While critics believe that interviews only provide one source of data, “some scholars argue that having multiple sources of data is one of the intrinsic characteristics of qualitative research” (Seidman, 2012, p. 5-6). Interviews allow me to build a relationship with the individual, hear their responses, feel their energy, read their body language, practice flexibility, and obtain a holistic picture.

Although these qualities reveal the strengths of qualitative interviews, it is imperative that I also acknowledge the limitations. Two disadvantages of interviews are (1) there is no time for reflection of the question (2) the interviewer can guide answers (Opdenakker, 2006). In attempt

to avoid these limitations, I notified the participants that they can take as much time as they wanted to think about questions prior to answering and I did not use leading questions. The purpose of in depth interviewing is not to lead/encourage the participant to corroborate the researcher's personal view. Rather the interviewer should aim to remain as aware of my biases as possible and encourage the interviewee to reveal their honest responses (Seidman, 2012).

For this study, I interviewed 10 incarcerated African-American youth in the RYDC, using a semi-structured interview method. Specifically, I had an interview protocol (Appendix B) that detailed the interview questions based on the research questions, however I had the flexibility to adjust the protocol during the interview (Patton, 2001). It is the distinct flexibility of semi-structured interviews that gives interviewers the ability to alter questions, add questions, and engage in a conversation. It is imperative that although I had the ability to remain flexible, I navigate my personal bias. Thus, regardless of the flexibility of the interview, I remained attentive to the protocol to adequately answer all three of the research questions.

### Data Management

All qualitative studies must incorporate a method of organizing the data that is collected. For the purpose of this project I did not take any notes during the interviews due to the fact that interview were recorded and I had a strong desire to remain fully engaged. However, I took notes at the conclusion of each interview so that I could note any gestures and nonverbal communication that occurred. Furthermore, I also wrote about my reactions towards the interview to ensure that I was bridling my assumptions and own my subjectivity. The interviews did not include any names, addresses, or any pertinent and sensitive information. The interviews were placed on password protected USB's so that each team member code transcribe the interviews without them being emailed or placed on any internet server. The research team

transcribed the interviews, and then emailed the transcripts in a password protected Microsoft word document. Lastly, I placed the transcriptions into ATLAS.ti, which is an innovative software for qualitative data analysis of large sample sizes of textual, audio, and visual data. This program allowed the research team to code the data, create themes, and incorporate the memos in an organized fashion. It is also secure, because the file can be password protected. I deleted the interviews from the recorder and returned it to the library, and all informed consent/assent forms were locked in a secure file cabinet in my office.

### Data Analysis

A research teams (6 people on the deductive team including primary researcher; 2 people in the inductive team) conducted thematic analyses, which means that multiple individuals searched for patterns, or themes, that emerged in the interviews (Patton, 2015). Thematic analysis allows for flexibility during the interpretation process (Braun & Clarke, 2006.) It allows researchers to utilize their theoretical framework as a guide towards finding themes. In this study, CRT and PVEST were utilized to address how external factors and the youth's environment influences their racial identity. However, the thematic analysis enabled the research teams to evaluate the phenomena of race, behavior, and the interactions between race and behavior. When using thematic analysis, researchers must make several decisions including, (1) What is a theme and (2) How do you decide when themes are saturated? In the present study, the deductive team decided that a theme was defined as a code or a group of codes that (1) related to one another, (2) were considered very salient by the researchers, and (3) were coded a plethora throughout the data. A theme was considered salient if it emerged in at least half (5) of the interviews and the researchers believed that it was prominent.

Braun and Clarke (2006) provided a 6-step guideline for psychologists to follow when using thematic analysis. The deductive analysis process is detailed below:

First Step: Familiarizing yourself with your data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The deductive team completed the following steps: After conducting the interviews, I familiarized myself by listening to the interviews twice. The first time, I listened to the 10 interviews non-stop, then I listened to them a second time while taking notes to develop a data display (too large to fit into the appendix; and contains confidential information).

Simultaneously, each of the 5 team members listened to two interviews, transcribed those two interviews, and then listened to them again to edit and complete saturation. After each team member completed this process, she sent the transcripts to the primary researcher (myself). I then re-listened to the interviews while reading the transcripts to confirm accuracy and clarify any misinterpretations.

As the qualitative process includes the generation of codes and themes, the subsequent steps are described in Chapter 5 (Results).

#### Assessing Data Quality

As I assessed the quality of the data, I needed to ensure I established trustworthiness, which includes credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and coherence (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Kline, 2008). Credibility includes several methods to ensure the data is valid (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985). There are several techniques used to establish credibility, including prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checking. For this study, I used prolonged engagement, triangulation, and negative case analysis. Prolonged engagement is “lengthy and intensive contact with the phenomena in the field to assess possible sources of distortion and especially to identify



saliencies in the situation” (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985, p.77). I provided therapeutic services at the detention center, so prolonged engagement was established. I understood the language of the population through therapeutic and leisure engagements. Furthermore, I understood the setting, schedule, social norms, due to personal observations and interactions. In addition to prolonged engagement, the study implemented triangulation through the mixed methods design, which enabled me to conduct a quantitative, qualitative deductive, and qualitative inductive evaluation of racial identity attitudes, behavior, the relationship between racial identity and behavior. Lastly, the research team decided upon negative case examples and discussed the implications of each negative case example.

Transferability ensures that the data collected can apply to the general population, which is also known as external validity (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985). In this case, I used thick descriptive data to ensure that the information found applied to most Black incarcerated youth and not just the individuals I interviewed. In other terms, I provided a detailed narrative about the data gathered to provide evidence of its applicability to the study.

I needed to establish dependability and confirmability, or that my findings were reliable and objective (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985). The inductive team served as the dependability and confirmability tests, because they evaluated the data without knowledge of the studies background. The fact that the deductive and inductive team found similar themes confirms the dependability and confirmability of the study.

Lastly, coherence is an imperative concept in qualitative research as it ensures that the study consistently aligns with the researchers’ theories, and epistemological framework (Kline, 2008). In the present study, the researcher ensured that the research was coherent by utilizing CRT, PVEST and Phenomenology was used to (1) acknowledge institutional racism in the

background; (2) validate providing literature on racial identity and internalized racial oppression in the literature review; (3) inform the research questions, interview questions, and deductive codebook, (see Appendix C & E); (4) inform the thematic analysis (ensuring that the researchers searched for themes related to the phenomenon's, (5) present the results in an organized fashion based on the phenomenon's being evaluated; and (6) guide the discussion.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS

#### Quantitative Results

##### Data Analysis

##### Descriptives.

After the data was entered into SPSS, the researcher assessed the data for validity and reliability. To establish validity, the data were examined for univariate outliers and no outliers were detected. To ensure reliability, the researcher calculated Cronbach's alpha coefficients for all subscales, which revealed that all but 1 subscale was above a .70 (Pre-encounter assimilation; .56). This finding is most likely attributed to the somewhat confusing wording of assimilation questions on the measure. Furthermore, previous research indicates that high levels of assimilation are rarely found in research using the CRIS. The illustration below reveals the alpha scores, means, and standard Deviations for each subscale.

<b>Measure</b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>	<b><i>Alpha Coefficient</i></b>
<b>PA</b>	3.0793	1.32123	.56
<b>PM</b>	4.1372	1.46197	.77
<b>PSH</b>	1.9769	1.14490	.75
<b>IMCI</b>	3.8744	1.71194	.90
<b>IEAW</b>	2.8298	1.69561	.74
<b>IA</b>	4.0033	1.45945	.85

Table 1

Similar to previous studies utilizing the CRIS, the lowest mean scores were Self-Hate and Anti-White.

## Racial Identity

The researcher ran a series of k-means cluster analyses ranging from two to seven clusters. To validate the number of clusters, the researcher conducted a centroid linkage method using squared Euclidian distance, which maximized heterogeneity and accounted for the majority of variance. This indicated that a five-cluster solution is viable for this data set. Furthermore, the five-cluster solution aligned most notably with previous research. Similar to Worrell et al. (2014), the five-cluster analysis provided clusters useful for evaluating racial identity attitudes in Black incarcerated youth.

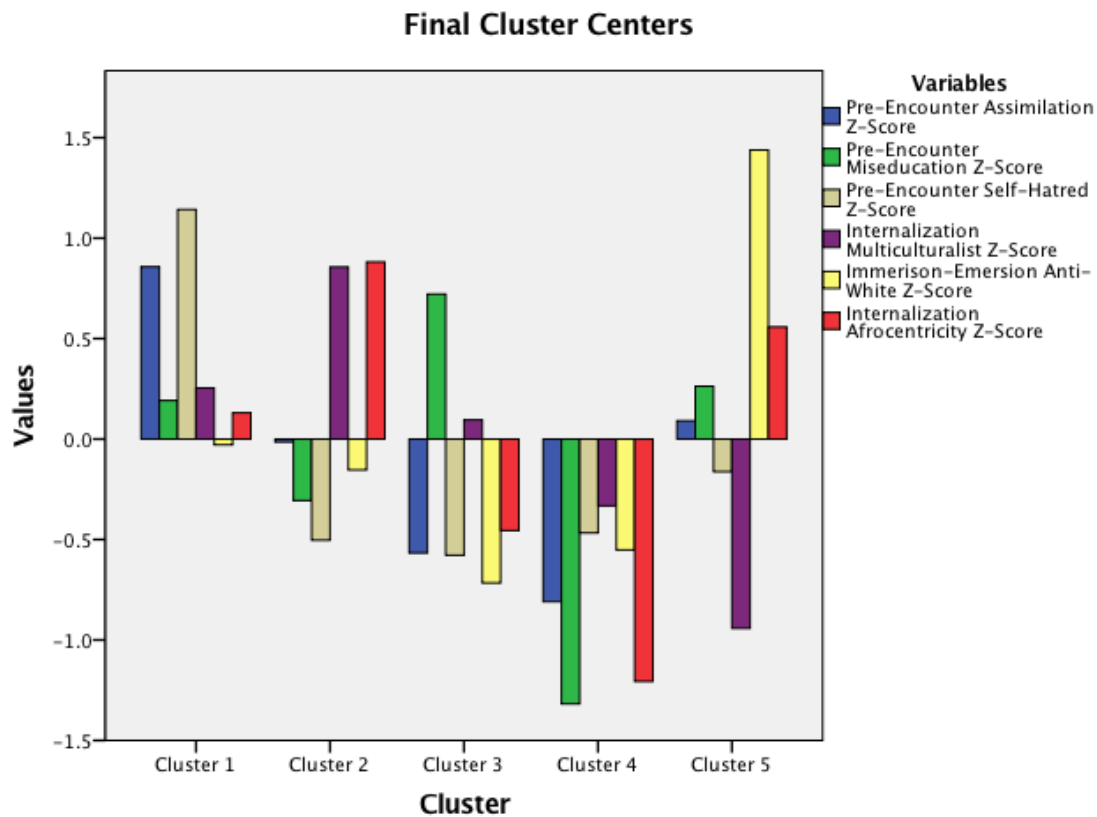


Table 2. Clusters

These clusters reflect previous clusters that demonstrate conflicted self-hate (cluster one; 33%), Afrocentric (cluster two; 20%), Miseducation (cluster three; 26%), Low race salience

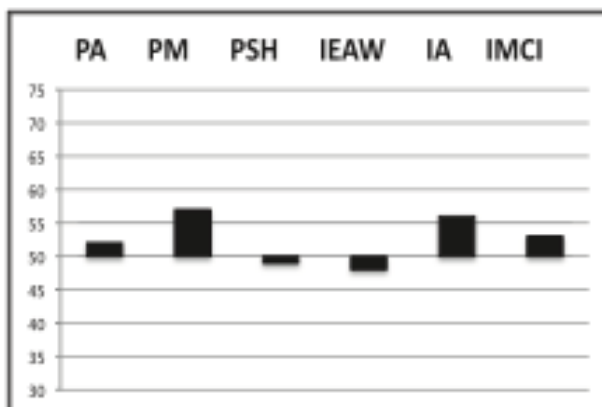
(cluster four; 19%), and Conflicted anti-white (cluster five; 32%). However, unlike the Worrell et al. (2014) study, the sample was smaller (than 400) in size and the cluster data could not be validated using the Wards Hierarchical clustering method. Therefore, the researcher developed a standardized profile for the 121 participants.

To develop z-scores, the researcher subtracted total average score (3.3) from the average subscale scores, which was then divided by the standard deviation (.72) of the total score ( $(\bar{x} - x) / SD$ )). T-scores were then plotted establishing the racial identity attitude demonstrated in table 3 below:

Descriptive Statistics				
	N	T-Score	Z-score	Std. Deviation
PA_Total	121	46.746	-.3254	1.47007
PM_total	121	61.243	1.1243	1.73145
PS_total	121	31.637	-1.8363	1.34873
IMC_total	121	57.641	.7641	2.26534
IEAW_total	121	43.325	-.6675	2.07094
IA_total	121	59.408	.9408	1.50346

Table 3 Descriptives (Part 2)

PA PM PSH IEAW IA IMCI



A. Miseducation-Pro-Black ( $n = 155, 32.5\%$ )

Table 4. Miseducation Pro-Black

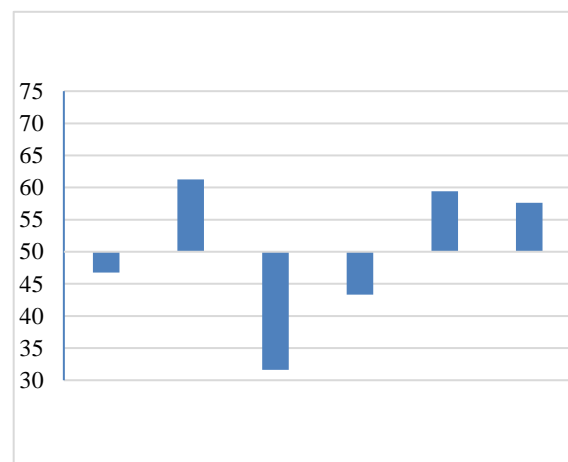


Table 5 Miseducation Pro Black

Table 4 resembles the Miseducation Pro-Black cluster that Worrell et al. (2014) found. Worrell et al. (2014) indicated, “The five profiles are shown in Figure 1. Profile 1 was characterized by miseducation (*T* score 57) and Afrocentricity (*T* score 56) scores greater than 0.5 *SDs* above the sample mean and scores close to the mean on the other CRIS subscales (48 *T* score 52).” In the present study (Table 5), PM and PA are about 1 *SD* above the sample mean, and other scores closer to and below the mean. Thus, A Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitude was the general profile of the population sampled.

#### Racial Identity and Behavior

The researcher ran a regression with a backward elimination method on the profile to establish if there is a relationship between the subscale scores and DAI scores. Utilizing the average score of each sub scale - total average/STD= the standardized sub scale average as it corresponds to the overall profile. Any score with an *F*-value below 3.84 was removed from the model, leaving the pre-encounter Self-hate subscale. Thus, self-hate is a significant ( $p = .016$ ) indicator of DAI scores; the lower the self-hate, the higher the DAI scores. The Miseducation Pro-Black profile included a very low self-hate subscale. This accounts for 4% of variation.

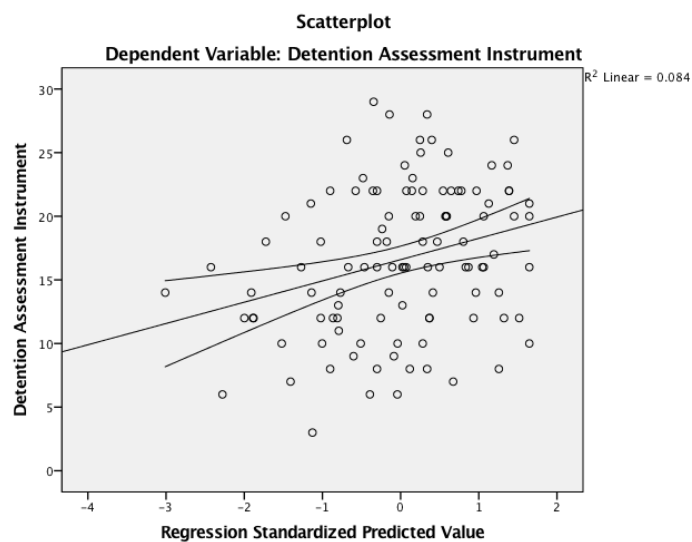


Table 6

## Qualitative Results

### Data Analysis

#### **Deductive team**

(See Chapter 4 for first step)

Second Step: Generating initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

During a meeting, the research team members developed a code book to assess *racial identity attitudes, behaviors, the relationship between race and behavior, and intervention options*. The codes were based on the research questions, the theories (CRT & PVEST), previous literature regarding youth behaviors, and most the common interventions. A total of (32) codes were developed (Appendix D).

Examples in the *racial identity attitude* category included, Pre- Encounter Assimilation (PA), which was defined as “attitudes that de-emphasize being Black and assimilate with Eurocentric characteristics and values; attitudes reflect a preference for a national identity label (e.g., American) rather than an ethnic label (e.g., African American).” Of note, the 6 identity codes were based on the 6 attitudes found in the nigrescence model. Utilizing the same model establishes consistency across the quantitative and qualitative data. An example of a *behavioral* category coded was delinquent acts (DEL) which was defined as “law breaking such as theft, truancy, assault, weapon possession, etc.” Of note, both codes that would arguably be considered negative-delinquent, *and* positive-extracurricular activities (EA), were placed on the codebook. Codes that established if the youth’s *racial identity attitude impacted by their behavior*, were developed in a two-step process: The question being answered was, did their racial identity attitude influenced their behavior? Therefore, the original codes were Influenced (INF) and Not Influenced (NOTIN). However, the researchers discussed the fact that some of the youth may

have indicated through stories or statements that they were influenced by their racial identity attitudes, however they consciously said that they weren't. This led to the final codes: Consciously Influenced (CON), meaning that youth acknowledged a relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in; Unconsciously Influenced (UNC), meaning, "youth did not consciously acknowledge a relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in, but the relationship was revealed in some of their sentiments/statements."; and Not Influenced (NOTIN), which meant, "there was no found relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in." The researchers then discussed different references that youth made regarding who or what system their behavior was racially influenced by. Based on this discussion and the theories (CRT & PVEST) the researchers decided to add subcodes to the CON and UNC codes. Each had 5 subcodes indicating who/what they were influenced by: family (CONfa, UNCfa), friends (CONfr, UNCfr), neighborhood (CONn or UNCn), media (CONm or UNCm), or systems (CONs or UNCs). These subcodes were established based on CRT and PVEST.

After the codebook was agreed upon by all six deductive research team members, each team member input the transcripts into ATLAS.ti, which is an innovative software for qualitative data analysis of large sample sizes of textual, audio, and visual data. This program allowed the research team to code the data, by inserting the codes into the program, reading and labeling the data. The interviews remained password protected and the program was saved and password protected. This program is not online, therefore at no point in the process were the interviews stored in an online fashion. The primary researcher coded all 10 of the interviews with the code book, and the other 5 research team members coded the 2 interviews that they previously listened to and transcribed. After coding was complete, each team member met with the primary

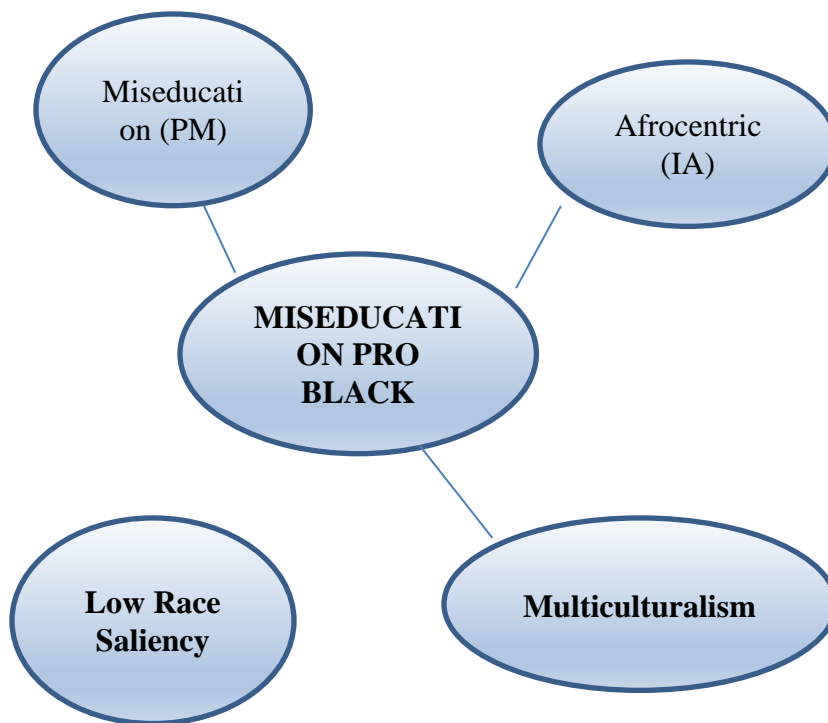


researcher to discuss consistency and discrepancies amongst the coding. Specifically, the two individuals discussed each coded piece of data and agreed upon each code. Due to the efficiency of the code book, most the codes between the two researchers were identical, however there were several cases where one individual coded something that the other did not and the two agreed upon the coding using the codebook. Next, each team member and the primary researcher discussed each transcript individually, and decided on the racial identity attitude codes that emerged the most; the behavior codes that emerged the most; the codes that emerged most regarding whether their behavior was consciously influenced, unconsciously influenced, or not influenced at all by their racial identity; and the primary intervention that they suggested.

Third Step: Searching for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The deductive team met to organize the codes into related groups, which developed themes from the data. Utilizing ATLAS.ti to create Deductive thematic analysis chart (Appendix E) researchers evaluated their the most coded data and collaboratively started to develop thematic maps. For the racial identity category, the researchers realized that the Miseducation and Afrocentric codes were coded most often and most commonly together. This theme was defined as, “Black youth are proud to be Black, however their associations with Blackness are negative; they accept stereotypes.” Although multiculturalism was also consistent, it was not considered more prominent and did not emerge more than the Miseducation pro-Black indications. In fact, some of the youth had qualms with multiculturalism, as they were more receptive to other races, rather than LGBTQ+ individuals. Still, the multicultural theme, which was defined as, “Youth are accepting of other races/ethnicities. Of note, many of the youth were not accepting of the LGBTQ+ community,” emerged alongside the low race salience theme

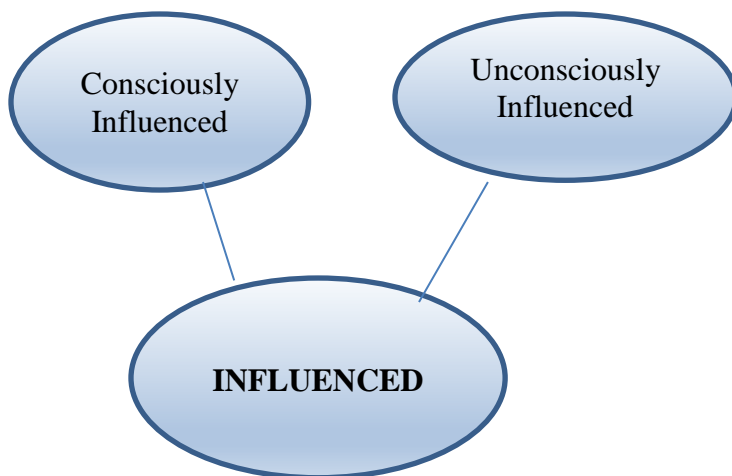
emerged, which signified, “Black youth do not consider race an important identity; they have limited views on race.” The bold indicates a possible theme.



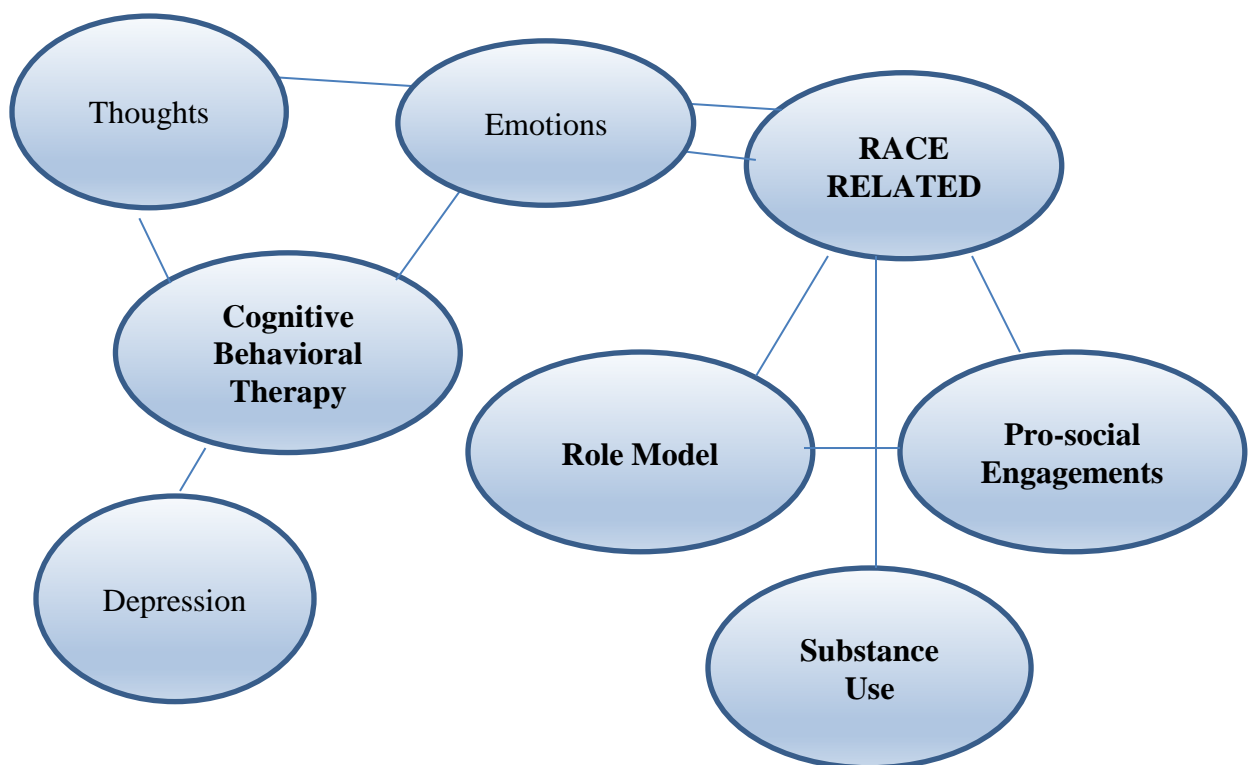
For the behavioral category, the researchers combined Delinquent behaviors, and substance use, since substance use is technically a delinquent behavior. The researchers decided to add aggression to the two codes, which developed a theme of anti-social behavior or, “Non-pro social engagements that are illegal, or could cause harm to others.” The researchers also noted the common codes of Impulsivity and Opposition, which were combined due to consistent pairing, and sharing the aspect of behavioral concerns. This theme was defined as, “Acting without thinking, resistance or disobedience to authoritative figures.” However, both of these have been associated with anti-social behavior.” Lastly, the research team noticed that Leisure Activities (LA) and In the Streets (STR) were prominent emerging codes, and became themes.



When evaluating the relationship between racial identity attitudes and behavior, the research team noted how often the CON, UNC, and NOTIN codes appeared. The CON and UNC were linked as a theme, because they both reflected an relationship between the youths racial identity and behavior, which was most consistent amongst the majority of the interviews.



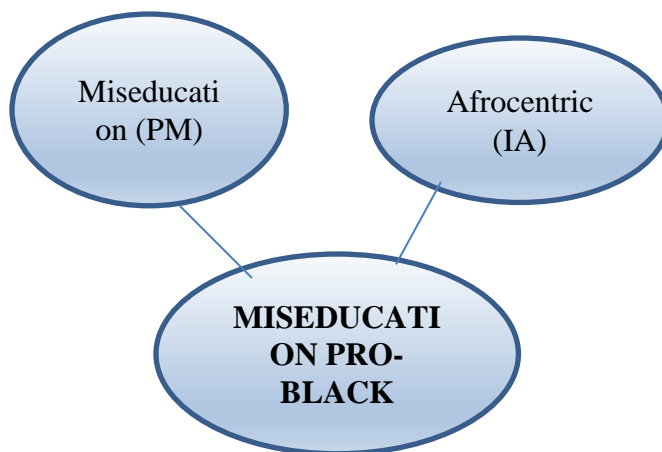
Although effective interventions were not a formal research question, the research team evaluated all of the codes related to intervention suggestions. The most common and consistent code, RACE, was labeled a theme. RACE, meaning interventions that included, “Black history knowledge, Black pride, etc.” was coded each time that a child mentioned a PA, PSH, or PM attitude, and any other times that youth mentioned an the desire to learn about Black history. Therefore, each interviewee mentioned it several times. The next most common theme was, CBT, which was a combination of the thoughts (THO), emotion (EMO), and depression (DEP) intervention codes, meaning that the intervention needs to assist with “risk thoughts & prosocial decisions,” “emotion-regulation (anger, impulsivity, defiance, etc.),” and “depression symptoms (hopelessness).” Therefore, the research team cohesively agreed that this could be accomplished using CBT based techniques. Lastly, the codes Role models (RM), Pro-social engagements (PE), and Substance Use Treatment (SUD) emerged at themes directly from coding consistency.



Fourth step: Reviewing themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

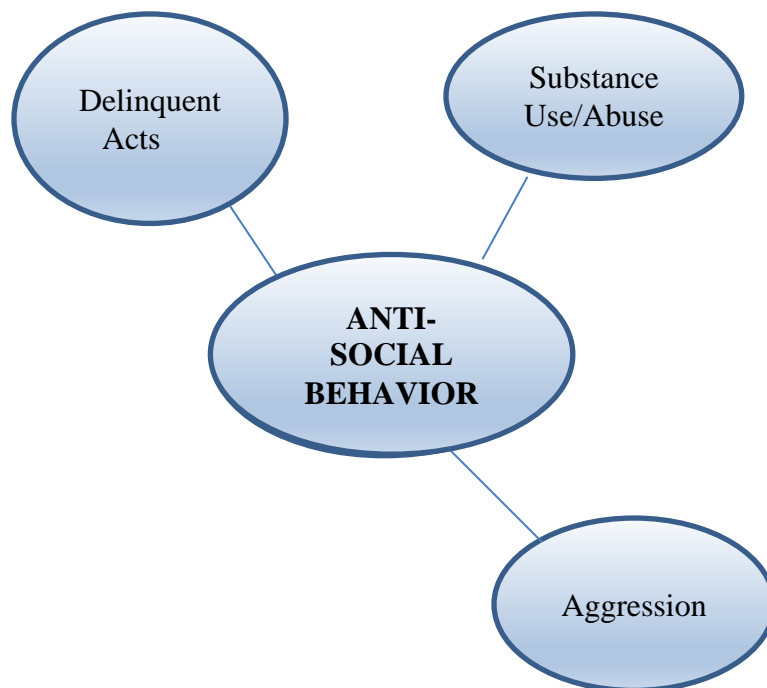
After creating the themes, the team checked for cohesiveness by reviewing the themes to ensure that they were related to the coded extracts, the extracts relate to one another, and the themes could be separated regardless of their potential overlap. If the theme was not cohesive, then the team decided if the theme needed to be rearranged, deleted, or if a new theme needed to be added.

During this stage, the researchers discussed the overlap between Miseducation Pro-Black and Multiculturalism. The original map transitioned into one theme, due to the fact that multiculturalism seemed to be reflected in Miseducation Pro-Black, which was the primary racial identity attitude that emerged.

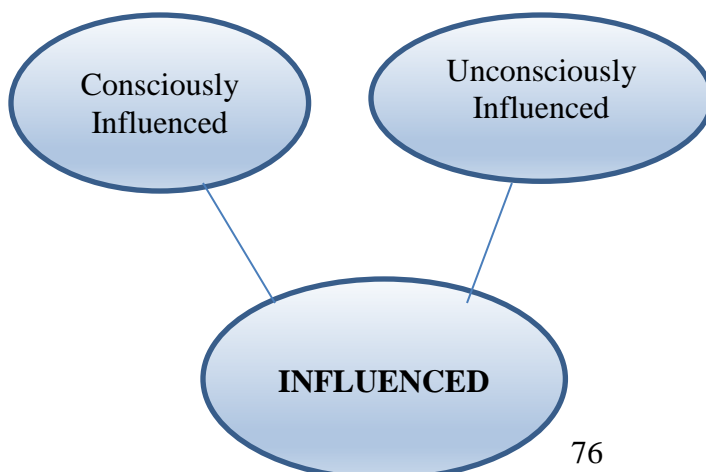


The researchers critiqued the Behavioral codes thoroughly to review the final codes, Researchers debated whether or not impulsive would count as anti-social behavior. While delinquent behavior, substance use, and aggression (potentially leading to harm) seemed to fall

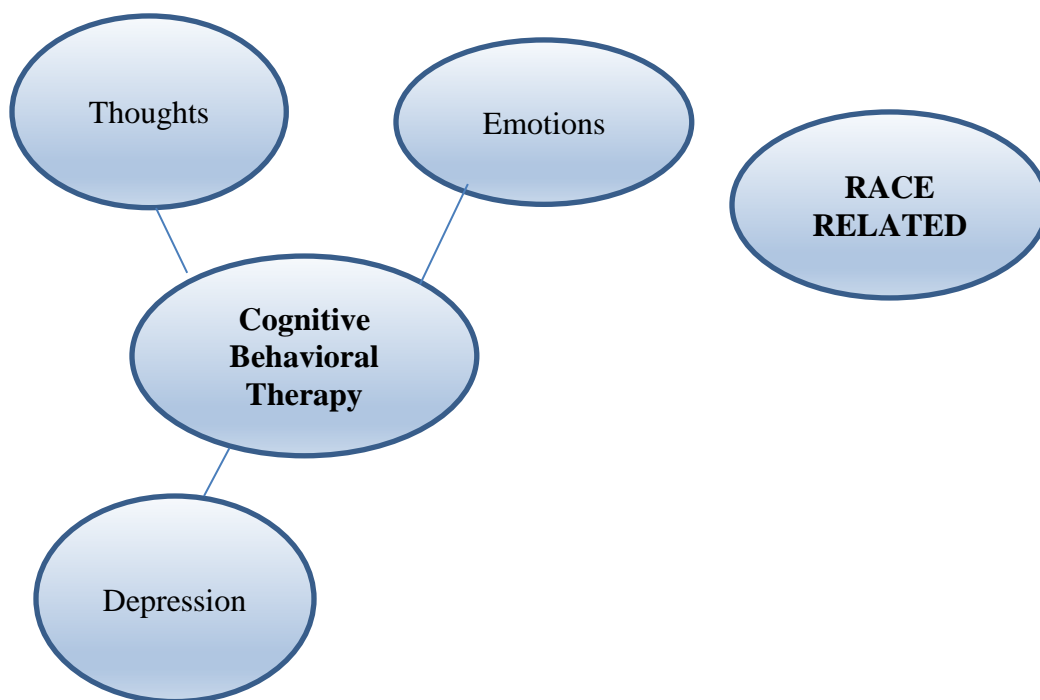
into the category easily due to their abnormality and criminal association in US society, impulsivity did not. Impulsivity (IMP) was perceived as normal developmental expectation for youth similar to oppositional or defiant (OPP) behavior. Of note, impulsivity, oppositional, In the streets, and leisure activities did not emerge as much as Anti-social behavior Therefore, they were removed from the primary thematic maps.



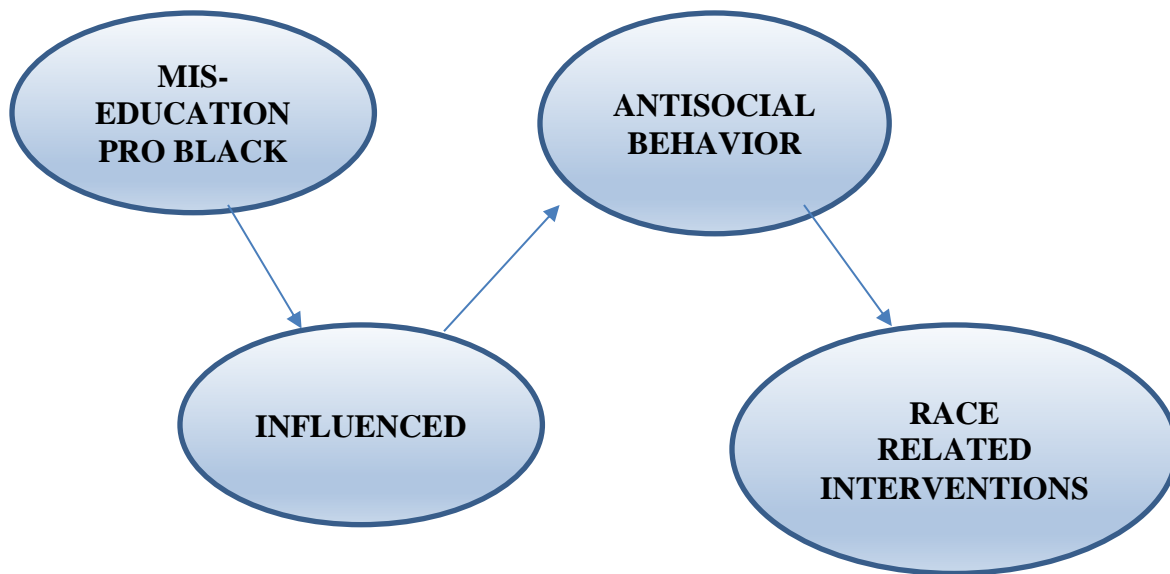
The RIA and BX influence thematic maps were not altered. Of note “Not influenced” did not consistently emerge in the data.



The Intervention thematic maps were organized to represent the various forms of interventions needed for Black incarcerated youth, Race related and CBT interventions were concretely independent, however the substance use interventions, positive influences, and pro-social engagements themes were discussed. It was decided that although Exposure to positive influences/role models could be considered a pro-social engagement, pro-social engagements were not only considered role model influences, especially due to the fact that role models or could be historical. The lack of overlap and consistency led to role models and pro-social engagements being removed from the analysis. Substance use was removed due to its lack of consistency within the data.



Lastly, the researchers ensured that themes were related to the coded extracts, the extracts relate to one another. Thus, the final ‘thematic map’, included all of the primary themes in each section, and their relationships with one another.



Fifth Step: Defining and naming themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this step, the research team agreed upon detailed titles, definitions of the themes, quote examples, and contradictory statements. Below are the themes and definitions; (see results section for quotes and contradictory statements).

		<b>QUAL-DEDUCTIVE</b>
<b>RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES (RIA)</b>		
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Miseducation Pro-Black</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Black youth are proud to be Black, however their associations with Blackness are negative; they accept stereotypes
<b>BEHAVIOR (Bx)</b>		



	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Anti-social Behavior</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Non-pro social engagements that are illegal, or could cause harm to others
<b>RIA &amp; Bx</b>		
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Racial Identity attitude influenced behavior</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Youth's racial identity attitude consciously and unconsciously influenced the behaviors that youth engaged in.
<b>INTERVENTIONS</b>		
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Race related interventions</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that include Black history knowledge, Black pride, etc.
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>CBT based interventions</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that help mitigate risk thoughts & make prosocial decisions, with emotion-regulation (anger, impulsivity, defiance, etc.), and assist with symptoms of depression.

Table 7

Sixth Step: Producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The production of the report can be viewed in chapters 4 (Analysis), 5 (Results), and 6 (Discussion)

### Qualitative Deductive Quotes

#### Racial Identity Attitudes (RIA)

The primary RIA theme that emerged was the Miseducation Pro-Black. In other terms, Black detained youth perceive their race (phenomenon) as something that they should take enjoy about themselves. Specifically, the majority of detained Black youth take pride in being Black, however they accept and internalize stereotypical associations with Blackness. The primary codes in this theme were Miseducation and Afrocentric, which were elevated. In two of the Miseducation pro-Black youth, multiculturalism was also noted by researchers, however this was also a reflection of the majority of the youth in the study. Most of them demonstrated some

multiculturalism, due to their acceptance of other racial groups (but not the LGBTQ+ community). In the analysis process, researchers discussed the similarities between multiculturalism youth and the Miseducation pro-Black youth with some multiculturalism. In the multiculturalism identity youth, the IMCI code was elevated more than PM and IA. However, in the two youth being referenced, PM and IA were more elevated than IMCI, similar to the other Miseducation Pro-Black youth. All of the Miseducation Pro-Black attitude endorsed some level of multiculturalism. Thus, researchers agreed that the two youth with some multiculturalism elevations still primarily fit the description for Miseducation pro-Black attitude group, as originally decided upon.

The pro-Black (Afrocentric) attitude was demonstrated when youth were asked if they liked being Black or disliked being Black, and what group of people they prefer to be similar to.

#### Example 1

“P: I like Black people.”- 2

#### Example 2

“P: Some black folks they love be around white. I love being around my own skin color because I don’t trust too many white because of what white folks did to us back in the day.  
So like

J: I hear ya.

P: I’m proud to be black.”- 3

#### Example 3

“J: Tell me whether or not you like being black.

I: Yeah, I like being black.

J: Okay, what do you like about it?

I: My skin color.” - 8

Example 4

(After youth reported enjoying being Black)

“J: So what do you like about being black?

G: uhh I like my skin tone

J: Your skin tone? ok

G: But I like my color of my hair” -5

The Miseducation (Pre-Encounter Miseducation) attitude was demonstrated when youth were asked about their associations with Blackness. Their responses are listed below:

Example 1

“Black people tend to have attitudes all the time” -2

Example 2

“Yelling.” -2

Example 3

“Stay in the hood,”- 4

Example 4

“Sell drugs,” -4

Example 5

“Black people like to nut up, go crazy and stuff.” -4

Example 6

“robbing and shooting and smoking” -5

Example 7

“When I do see successful black people, I feel like they want to be white”

Example 8

“rappers.”- 7

Example 9

“smoke”- 8

Example 10

“rob” 8

Example 11

“Steal cars”-8

Example 12

“Black people like to eat hood stuff like wings.” – 8

Example 13

“cuss”- 8

Example 14

“Like I know they like breaking the law and stuff like that” – 9

Example 15

“Projects that I come from it was like black folks love to sell drugs. Ummm gang bang, steal, kill.”- 3

Example 16

“Some of our behaviors are wild.” – 10

Contradictory Findings. While the common theme within this category was Miseducation Pro-Black, another RIA was Low Race Salience. In other terms, some Black youth have limited to no associations and connection with their race or other races; they do not place much value on race. These youth demonstrate very few elevations across all 6 racial identity attitudes.

Participants in this category still indicated that they liked being Black, while simultaneously indicating that they did not differentiate between races. Examples from the two Low race salience attitude youth are provided below:

Example 1

“I: It’s just your race. Black is like ... you’re black because you’re parents are black. That’s how I feel. I don’t feel no type of way.”

Example 2

“J: How important is being black to you?

:: I don’t know.

.....

P: I’m a young Black man that’s how I feel. I’m just another person. On earth, just like everybody else. I don’t feel like I’m different from nobody. Everybody the same people. Just different looks

....

J: Okay so if I were to list all these things: you’re black, young, male, ..... What is the most important to you?

P: My talent.”- 1

Example 3

“P: I feel like everybody is the same”-1

Example 4

“J: Black? So how important would you say being black is to you?

P: Its important, but not that important

J: Not that important? Tell me more about that.

P: I don't know

J: You don't know? Ok. So lets say you had to pick some of your different identities. By identities it would be like Black, Male, umm... So for me it would probably be student, straight, female, different identities. Which one would fall towards the top if you would list different things. It can be rapper, or whatever you think identifies you

P: Uh football player”- 6

Contradictory Statement. Few participants others (provided contradictory statements to the Miseducation attitude by making positive associations with Blackness. However, this typically occurred after they discussed and accepted negative stereotypes.

#### Example 1

“P: But you got some of them that try to do good stuff beside breaking the law, they go to school finish school go to college finish college go have a family and other stuff.” -9

#### Behaviors (Bx).

Although the behaviors that youth engaged in was not one of the primary research questions, it is important to acknowledge their behaviors prior to revealing how their racial identity attitudes related to their behaviors. The primary behavioral theme that arose in the data was Anti-Social Behavior, defined as non-pro social engagements that are illegal, or could cause harm to others. This theme was a combination of the Delinquent (DEL), Substance Use (SU), and Aggression (AGG) codes. DEL, is defined as or law breaking such as theft, truancy, assault, weapon possession, etc. Substance use, is the mention of using any illegal substances such as marijuana, cocaine, meth, etc. Lastly, aggression is defined as harmful interactions, inflicting pain, damaging property, all of these codes fit within the theme.

Furthermore, the codes were used prevalently throughout the data. DEL (21) was emerged more than any other behavior and it emerged across half (5 of 10) of the interviews. While Substance Use (9) and Aggression (8) did not emerge (were not coded as often), they were both mentioned consistently (5 of 10) in the interviews.

Most often, anti-social behaviors were discussed when youth were asked about their engagements prior to detainment.

#### Example 1

J: So describe to me some things that you did. If you weren't going to school what were you doing?

P: Stealing people cars and making money.

J: What else?

P: Taking drugs.

J: What kind of drugs?

P: Weed, Beans, Xanax, Percocet.”- 1

#### Example 2

“We might go to a neighborhood and break in and in the car we find money and stuff.

Guns and stuff. And we keep it.”-1

#### Example 3

“P: I took that route of just gang banging armed robbery ride around in stolen car just because its really fun being in a stolen car till twelve get behind you then its ooo shit like what the finna happen now”-3

#### Example 4

“P: Like I like stealing cars, selling drugs, all that “-3

#### Example 5

“P: I used to go outside, just sometimes, I'd be so bored, I'd try to just go outside. I don't know. Going to other's folks house and stuff like that. Just, I don't know. Sometimes, I'd smoke, keep my head off stuff.

J: Smoke what? Cigarettes or weed?

P: Both of them, cigarettes and weed.” -4

#### Example 6

“J: Umm so what would you say usually impacted your behaviors? Like usually impacted the things that you do?

P: Being upset, mad, angry.”- 4

#### Example 7

“J: Play with guns and take pictures? Pictures of you with the gun?

P: Yea. And I like to smoke.

J: are you talking about weed or?

P: Weed.

J: Ok.” -5

#### Example 8

“J: Tell me some things you like to do

P: Go outside. Sports. Smoke.

J: Go outside, sports smoke. What else?

P: That’s it.

J: So when you say smoke, you talking about cigarettes or weed?

P: Weed

J: Weed? What does that do for you?

P: Ease the pain. Keep me calm.” -8

#### Example 9

“J: Tell me something you liked to do before you got locked up? Things you did.



P: Chill at the house, smoke, go out like before, go out with someone in my family get money

J: Get family money

P: Fast money

J: Oh fast money my bad, umm, when you say smoking you talking about cigarettes or weed, what?

P: Marijuana

J: Marijuana, what did it do for you?

P: Let me relax,”- 9

#### Example 10

“P: Then I got something I did do I got it from a game

J: From a game? What like a video game? Don’t worry about that my next question was, what are things that influence you?

P: Like GTA 5

J: Ok

P: How you can just go pull people out the car [in the game] and point the gun to them punch them pull them out the car rob them on the game and stuff you gotta do missions you got to go to the warehouse get the dope stuff once I seen that I was like basically you can go out there and do it in the real world fight not worry about going to jail and stuff fighting going to jail getting locked up that’s what influence me to do stuff in real

J: Got ya so you did it on video game and you were like I can do this on real life

P: Yea”-9

#### Example 11

“P: I’m really blessed because I had armed robbery aggravated assault with a deadly weapon high jacking with motor vehicle, kidnapping when I first tried me they wanted 10 to 5 but at first I wasn’t going to take it because I ain’t did all that so they tried to offer me the same thing again I just take it get over it couple of folks looking at 10, 20 my cousin that’s in here he just caught 20 my other cousin just caught 10 then you got people in here for murder and all that shit so I am really blessed to have my time they don’t if I was still out there I would probably be dead so God sent me here for a reason.”-9

#### Example 12

“J: What would you say has helped you

P: Helped me. Control my anger because I used to like spazz out”- 10

#### Example 13

“J: So when you say that you didn’t care that you were locked up because you weren’t going home so you were still doing the same things you were doing when you were at home. What were those things?

P: Like fighting, cursing, like being disrespectful” -10

#### Example 14

“I used to steal.” -5

Contradictory Statements. Researchers found that some youth discussed their engagement in leisure activities (LA), which was described as prosocial engagements such as hanging out with friends, playing video games, listening to music. Examples of this sentiment are listed below:

#### Example 1

“J: Anything else you want to share?

P: I play games.

J: You play games, okay. What's your favorite game?

P: Grand Theft Auto and Call of Duty. I play online. I play with other people" – 1

#### Example 2

"J: What did you do with your friends?

P: Everything. Go to the mall. Go to parties." – 1

#### Example 3

"J: Okay, what are some things you do with your friends?

P: Go shopping. I like to go shopping at the mall. Buy shoes." – 2

#### Example 4

"P: Just chill with my family, you know. Stay in the house sometimes, go outside. I like being outside. I like driving and stuff."-4

#### Example 5

"P: What I do, I'll go outside with my friends we'll play baseball, football, stuff like that"-  
7

#### Example 6

"P: I want to be a songwriter.

J: Oh that's great! Do you write right now?

P: Yeah I write songs" – 10

#### Example 7

"J: I like smoking and I like having fun like going out to like I mean 6 flags and uh movies and stuff like that." -5

#### Relationship between RIA and Bx

Researchers evaluated if the youths Miseducation pro-Black racial identity attitude,

influenced or did not influenced their anti-social behaviors that they engaged in prior to detainment. The primary codes that emerged were Conscious influence (CON), meaning that there were consciously influenced; and Unconscious influence (UNC), meaning that they were unconscious of the relationship between their racial identity and behavior. The theme within this category was that racial identity influenced youth's behavior. Specifically, 7 of the 10 participants were coded with CON or UNC. Furthermore, 6 of those 7, were conscious of this relationship, while one youth was unconsciously influenced by their racial identity attitude.

Illustrations of this relationship are listed below:

#### Example 1

“J: Would you rather be like black people or be like white people?

P: Like black people like me.” – 1

#### Example 2

“Like black all of them got guns, cars, money. Drugs, girls, all that all that type. So I started smoking dope and selling, doing that too” – 3

#### Example 3

“J: You don't know? Okay. Tell me whether or not you like being black.

P: Yeah, I like being black.

J: Okay, what do you like about it?

P: My skin color.

J: Your skin color? Looks nice to you? When you think about being back do you prefer to be like black people or like white people?

P: Black people.

J: Black people? Why?

P: “Cuz I don’t want to do what nobody else do, I want to do what my skin complexion do.” -8

#### Example 4

“J: So earlier you said that you believe black people just like stealing, play with guns and what not. Do you think that that impacted the way that you behaved? The things you like to do?

P: No (but then she proceeded to explain how she was influenced by the people around her).

J: How so?

P: because I guess I feel like see other black kids doing it and I feel like one of them. Like for me if I was to see a white person doing it, I would talk about that person all the time. Like what the... But if a black person do it im going to .. I can be a leader but I chose to be a follower

J: Ok ok. Uhh so basically you saw other black people doing those things, and you were just like that's what black people do do let me do it too.

P: You ever seem like white people trying to dance on Instagram or something?

J: yea

P: Everybody like what? But then you see a black person do something and youre just like oh I want to do that

J: Oh that fire? I hear you. So you saying yea basically.

(head nod, yes” – 5

#### Example 5

“P: uhh Facebook and stuff. I use Facebook because I used to sneak and get on Facebook.

Like my parents had caught me like two times but I didn't care. I kept sneaking and getting

on it and it was like some, you ever been through a phase where you want to be like a older person that was older than you but you still in your childish zone like how I always be like I want to dress like the older people. You know wear the little Jordans and like dress but I was still young.

J: I hear you

P: and it was like I was trying to get to that level to I started doing what I felt like I had to do so I could get up there. Then like with TV I would think a lot of stuff was real like magic and I don't know. Like the bull crap

J: Oh ok I got you. And did that? How did that influence your behavior

P: um like I started to want to be like them

J: So you wanted to be like what you saw on TV

P: yea cause I used to watch ant farm and it had like a black everything. You know the black sisters China

J: No I don't" – 5

Contradictory Statements. The remaining youths' (3 of 10), behavior was not influenced by their racial identity attitude. Of note, two of the non-influenced youth demonstrated a Low Race Salience racial identity attitude and one represented the Multiculturalism racial identity attitude. Quotes from these individuals are listed below:

#### Example 1

"J: So your friends, what races are you friends?

P: Black.

J: Black. And you friends also steal cars with you?

P: Yes.

J: So are these things you believe black people do? Black people steal cars? Or other people steal cars? Or what?

P: Everybody steal cars.” – 1

### Example 2

“J: Your own person, okay. Umm and so what is influencing some of your behaviors?

P: Nothing.

J: Nothing?

P: Nothing (laughs).” – 2

### Interventions

Although finding emergent themes for interventions was not the primary research questions, the final theme that emerged was that racially specific interventions would be beneficially for Black incarcerated youth. RACE (65) was the primary code revealed in the data; it was prevalent in all (10 of 10) of the participant’s interviews. Thus, this code was transitioned directly into a theme due to prevalence throughout the data. Of note, many of the RACE codes were a co-occurrence with the Pre-encounter Assimilation, Pre-encounter Self-hate, or Pre-encounter Miseducation. However, several of the participants specifically indicated that they would benefit from dialogues and interventions that explore race. Illustrations of this are displayed below:

### Example 1

“P: Learn more than black racism

J: Okay learn something more than racism, what like black history?

P: All of it

J: All of it, positive about black people

P: Positive and negative

J: Okay

P: So I can learn from it, how you just came, so I can have something , stuff I can tell you that you didn't know

J: Yea that bee cool just to know some more things about being black, how do you think that would impact you, yea being able to have conversation but what else could it do for you?

P: Huh

J: What would it do for you to have conversations about being black?

P: Basically like it let me know I can I know, I can come and volunteer to young people when I get older and share it with them

J: Okay so you can share knowledge, know more than other people

P: They can, just talking to young people we used to be like who were like me when I was there age when I was young when I get older when I'm their age not doing that stuff

J: Got ya umm are there, what messages about being black has helped your behaviors? If any, may be nothing it's up to you. Nothing. What messages about being black have hurt your behaviors.

P: When I see videos on YouTube teaching them and movies and stuff about ow black people be their slaves and stuff basically because they're not human beings they just

J: Okay and how did that hurt your behavior?

P: Cus, cus that be

J: Cus, what?

P: It make me want to



J: It makes you want to, so when you see videos of white people treating black people like slaves you feel connected to black people

P: Yea basically make me want to have white people my slave.

J: Umm

P: How they treat us,

J: Like retaliation

P: Yea, let them see how it feels, make them do everything like wash clothes, folding them up, making my food and stuff

J: Oh okay see how they feel, some people may talk about that and say it's generational or historical umm experience we can just see it so that person looks like me I want to get back at whoever hurt that person. Is that what you saying?

P: Yea

J: Okay, umm I got you.." – 9

### Example 2

"J: Would you incorporate anything in the intervention that has to do with blackness?

P: yea"- 5

Researchers coded RACE in instances where youth demonstrated a Pre-encounter (PM, PA, or PSH) racial identity attitude, due to the fact that they have negative perceptions about who they are. Illustrations of the PM are listed in the Miseducation Pro-Back racial identity attitude section and illustrations of PSH ("I hate my hair because it is too nappy") where rare, however, PA attitude are listed below:

### Example 3

"P: I carry myself like I am white

J: You carry yourself like you white? You said, and what does that mean?

P: You go out there like it's some like basically I go to school do what I do and get out of there even though it's a little hard for me I still do it. You do the right stuff instead of the negative stuff

J: Okay so you say some of the black people don't have parents to show the right way so sometimes you try to be like white people so you can do the right thing and go to school what not

P: That be right there, I'm white

J: That's what's in your head, how often do you think that, "I'm white"

P: Seventy-five, five hundred

J: Seventy-five, five hundred?

P: I said Seventy-five out of hundred" -9

#### Example 4

"P: umm, basically like I don't know I be thinking that is was God basically wanting, he just wanted to put different colors beside white on the planet so" -9

#### Example 5

"P: I be like dang, I wish I was White" – 2

The final intervention theme is that Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) techniques would be most beneficial, due to the prevalence of risk thoughts, lack of emotion regulation, and symptoms of depression revealed in coding. Specifically, risk thoughts (32) and emotion regulation needs (23) were found in over half of the interviews (7 of 10), often occurring together (6 of 7 occurrences). Thus, CBT theme was a combination of the Thoughts (THO) and Emotions (EMO) codes. Furthermore, the depression (DEP) code was added to the CBT theme,

due to the fact that the most well studied intervention for depression is CBT. Overall the theme is defined as, “Interventions that help mitigate risk thoughts & make prosocial decisions, with emotion-regulation (anger, impulsivity, defiance, etc.), and assist with symptoms of depression.” In many instances youth shared experiences where they committed a crime and failed to think prior to committing a crime (THO):

#### Example 1

“J: All right. So before you stole a car what did you think about?

P: Just take it. I stole a lot of cars.”-1

#### Example 2

“J: Okay, but what are your thoughts before the action or behavior that led to you being locked up?

P: Before I did something? I usually don’t think about it before I do something. I just do it.” -4

#### Example 3

“P: Cus when you, when you see how it is , when you rob them the first time , your first time when you see how easy it is how easy you get money and you get what you want you gonna go back and keep doing it keep doing it its like a game now, doing over and over again, like a mission basically that’s how you get involved with the violence tho.”-9

#### Example 4

“J: What were your like thoughts before you stole food?

P: I didn't use to think

J: You didn't think

P: I just did it”- 5

Other quotes in this section focused on the youth’s emotions:

#### Example 5

“J: Yeah, wrong place, wrong time, that’s unfortunate. Umm so what would you say usually impact your behaviors? Like usually impacted the things that you do?

P: Being upset, mad, angry.” – 4

#### Example 6

“J: Okay whoever our role model is who we want to be good or bad. Got you. Um alright so now so what would you, you been here for a little bit what would you say has helped you

P: Helped me. Control my anger because I used to like spazz out

J: Okay “ – 10

#### Example 7

“P: All the strategies all the things that helped me get better

J: Okay so show them all the strategies to help you get better. Can you tell me more about some of those?

P: Like like if I’m mad about something I want to take my anger out so bad well we could just write out on paper like a daily diary or something like this what happened or tell the truth about what happened in the diary, like everything that happened. I did this, I kicked off, I see that she said something to me so I spit on her.

J: Got ya. Um okay anything else you would put in this intervention? In this program?” - 10

#### Example 8

“J: All right. So before you stole a car what did you think about?

P: Just take it. I stole a lot of cars.

J: A lot of cars. You didn’t think before ...? No? What were your emotions like did you feel anything?

P: Like did I have fear?

J: Did you?

P: No.

J: No fear? Heart racing?

P: No.

J: So there were no fears. Would you say there was any excitement?

P: No.

J: So you're telling me you didn't feel any

P: Certain cars I would get excited. Like AMG, sports trucks and stuff . But like a regular Nissan, that aint nothin.

J: I got you.

P: So certain stuff excites me. But not scared.

J: Not scared. Never scared. Does anything scare you? No? Okay. Anything else you want to say about stealing cars?

P: That's just what I do most of the time." – 1

#### Example 9

"J: you just did it. Any emotions or feelings?

P: It's hard for to have emotions. I don't know what's wrong with me. I was just talking to my junior case worker yesterday and its like I can feel a lot of stuff like I feel excited and all of that but when it comes to angry and all that I make myself angry

J: What do you mean you make yourself angry?

P: when I make myself angry I still don't feel it inside to be mad. So, I do it on purpose to like shaking the leg, have stuff in my hand ready to fight and throw stuff. I don't really be angry like is nothing for me. I be feeling like there's nothing that I have for me to be angry or mad about. Like I can never get the feeling inside me.

J: Got you. So what's the reason you making yourself angry? Like you're faking it basically is what you're saying. But you don't actually feel mad on the inside

P: Like the other day somebody stole my dove body wash that my momma got me. And its like I wasn't even mad but I was still saying once I find out who did it I'm going to beat them up when I see them

J: Oh ok

P: Its just like I'm real bipolar and I can never feel mad" – 5

### Example 10

P: And if we sell them, we get money.

J: Okay all right. So do you think that stealing cars is okay?

P: Yes.

J: Yeah? How so?

P: Because, before I do stuff, I ask people, cuz everybody say call me if you need this.. call me. Then I call and ask you for it. I ain't going to beg you for it, just asking one time.. (they say) No. (I say). Okay, I'm going to go get it on my own.

J: Okay so you're saying in some situations you ask people ask you for..

P: Every situation. I ask before I do it. I asked and you said no....And then when I do it, I do it ten times harder. Like I'm going to go get something that badder than you then you going to ask me for this. (He gave an example with shoes)

J: So kind of getting back at people for not getting you what you asked for." -1

Some participants indicated that incarcerated youth demonstrate symptoms of depression:

### Example 11

P: <unclear> Like some people come in saying they going to kill themselves. <unclear>

J: Some people are saying they're going to kill themselves?" - 1

Contradictory Quote. One of the participants indicated that I thought before he committed a crime:

J: specifically right before you robbed someone, in that moment, do you know if there was anything going on in your mind?

P: Is this sure what I want to do... I double think it is this what I want to do that be stuck in my head if I go in here how I know someone is waiting on me going through the door or through the window and blowing me that is"

## **Inductive Team**

Braun and Clarke (2006) provided a 6-step guideline for psychologists to use when using thematic analysis. The inductive analysis process is detailed below:

First Step: Familiarizing yourself with your data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The inductive team completed the following steps: After the interviews were conducted, I gave a copy of all 10 interviews to the 2 inductive team members. The team members listened to the 10 interviews to saturate themselves with the data. Each team member, memo'd their initial thoughts.

Second Step: Generating initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In contrast to the deductive team, the inductive team did not develop a code book. Rather, the two researchers independently coded the data based on commonalities they noticed amongst several interviews. The two researchers were not primed with the studies research questions, hypothesis, background information, or related literature. They were instructed to code based on any themes noticed, not solely based on the interview questions. The codes used by the inductive team can be found in Appendix F.

Third Step: Searching for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The inductive team met to organize the codes into related groups, which developed themes from the data. Due to the large number of codes used per theme, the thematic map is provided in an chart format:

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes within the theme</b>
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Detrimental environments (neighborhoods) influenced (or and) criminal activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exposure to violence</li> <li>• Experience of loss</li> <li>• Feeling unsafe</li> <li>• Negative associations with racial group</li> <li>• Violent Crimes</li> <li>• Environmental influence</li> <li>• Exposure to sex (at a young age)</li> <li>• Need for resources and safety</li> <li>• Harmful environment</li> <li>• Drug use</li> <li>• Bias against homosexuality</li> <li>• Influence of friends</li> <li>• Acting black</li> <li>• Family connection</li> <li>• Familial influence</li> <li>• Disconnect from family</li> </ul>
Desire for positive role models	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mentor</li> <li>• Black role models</li> <li>• Faith</li> <li>• Sense of pride in race</li> <li>• Incarcerated family member</li> <li>• Familial influence</li> <li>• Appreciation for mental health professionals</li> <li>• Black influence on society</li> </ul>
Illegal activities are adaptive behaviors given their circumstances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provider</li> <li>• Protector</li> <li>• Illegal activity as a way to impress</li> <li>• Familial influence</li> <li>• Lack of remorse</li> <li>• Need to be strong</li> <li>• Denial of emotion</li> <li>• Need for resources and safety</li> <li>• Aggression</li> </ul>
Societal factors influenced racial worldview and view of themselves as Black (racial identity), which influenced behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Influence of friends</li> <li>• Acting black</li> <li>• Familial influence</li> <li>• faith</li> <li>• Exposure to violence</li> <li>• Feeling unsafe</li> <li>• Influence of media</li> <li>• Comfort with own racial group</li> <li>• Positive associations with racial group</li> <li>• Sense of pride in race</li> <li>• Black history</li> <li>• Black role models</li> <li>• Mentors</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unjust incarceration</li> <li>• Connection to other races</li> <li>• Disconnection from white people</li> <li>• Distrust of white people</li> <li>• Positive association with other racial groups</li> <li>• Judgment of other racial groups</li> <li>• Black influence on society</li> <li>• Negative representation of black people</li> <li>• Desire to be more like white people</li> <li>• White characteristics/behaviors as more ideal</li> </ul>
Conflicting perception of previous behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multiple incarcerations</li> <li>• Illegal activity as a way to impress</li> <li>• Defiance</li> <li>• Remorse</li> <li>• Lack of remorse</li> <li>• Denial of emotion</li> <li>• Fear of incarceration</li> <li>• Risk behavior</li> </ul>
Black Pride	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positive associations with racial group</li> <li>• Sense of pride in race</li> <li>• Black role models</li> <li>• Black history</li> <li>• Comfort with own racial group</li> <li>• Black influence on society</li> </ul>
Awareness of social justice issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fear of white people</li> <li>• Fear of incarceration</li> <li>• Fear of police</li> <li>• Need for resources and safety</li> <li>• Gender inequality</li> <li>• High rates of incarceration</li> <li>• Unjust incarceration</li> <li>• Bias against homosexuality</li> <li>• Distrust of white people</li> <li>• Judgment of other racial groups</li> <li>• Negative representation of black people</li> <li>• Disconnect from society</li> <li>• Acceptance of LGBTQ</li> <li>• White characteristics/behaviors as more ideal</li> <li>• Media influence</li> <li>• Acting in accordance with society</li> </ul>
Awareness of Eurocentricity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• White characteristics/behaviors as more ideal</li> <li>• Media influence</li> <li>• Acting in accordance with society</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disconnect from society</li> <li>• Disconnection from white people</li> <li>• Unjust incarceration</li> <li>• Judgment of other racial groups</li> <li>• Negative representation of black people</li> <li>• Acting black</li> <li>• High rates of incarceration</li> <li>• Need for resources and safety</li> </ul>
Valuing all minorities, but acceptance of societal stereotypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comfort with own racial group</li> <li>• Sense of pride in race</li> <li>• Connection to other races</li> <li>• Disconnection from white people</li> <li>• Distrust of white people</li> <li>• Black/white similarities</li> <li>• Positive association with other racial groups</li> <li>• Judgment of other racial groups</li> <li>• Appreciation of other racial groups</li> <li>• Black influence on society</li> <li>• Negative representation of black people</li> <li>• Race as unimportant</li> <li>• Desire to be more like white people</li> <li>• White characteristics/behaviors as more ideal</li> </ul>
Activities and hobbies are coping techniques	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affinity for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Sports</li> <li>o Music</li> <li>o Video games</li> <li>o Writing</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Outside activity as a positive coping mechanism</li> </ul>

juvenile offender commonalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identity confusion</li> <li>• Multiple incarceration</li> <li>• Denial of emotion</li> <li>• Use of profanity to express emotion</li> <li>• Self-reliance</li> <li>• Need to be strong</li> <li>• Provider</li> <li>• Protector</li> <li>• Comfort with own racial group</li> <li>• Drug use</li> <li>• Illegal activity as a way to impress</li> <li>• Affinity for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Sports</li> <li>o Music</li> <li>o Video games</li> <li>o Writing</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Enjoyment of food</li> <li>• Teenage parent</li> <li>• Sense of individuality</li> <li>• Lack of forethought</li> <li>• Contradicting views</li> </ul>
negative influences on behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diagnosed mental illness</li> <li>• Negative association with academia</li> <li>• Education as unimportant</li> <li>• Exposure to violence</li> <li>• Feeling unsafe</li> <li>• Provider</li> <li>• Incarcerated Family members</li> <li>• Environmental influence</li> <li>• Illegal activity as a way to impress</li> <li>• Need to be strong</li> <li>• Distrust of White people</li> <li>• Drug use</li> <li>• Risk Behavior</li> <li>• Lack of forethought</li> <li>• Influence of media</li> <li>• Negative coping skills</li> </ul>

adaptive behaviors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acting black</li> <li>• Aggression</li> <li>• Negative coping skills</li> <li>• Remorse</li> <li>• Denial of emotion</li> <li>• Use of profanity to express emotion</li> <li>• Faith</li> <li>• Illegal activity as a way to impress</li> <li>• Positive association with incarceration</li> <li>• Defiance</li> <li>• Lack of remorse</li> <li>• Outside activity as a positive coping mechanism</li> </ul>
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Table 8

Fourth step: Reviewing themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

After creating the themes, the team reviewed them to ensure that the themes were related to the coded extracts, the extracts relate to one another, and the themes could be separated regardless of their potential overlap. If the theme was not cohesive, then the team decided if the theme needed to be rearranged, deleted, or if a new theme needs to be added. During this process the researchers deleted the last three themes. “Juvenile offender Commonalities”, “Negative Influence on Behaviors”, and “Adaptive Behaviors” were all removed due to the fact that the codes within the theme were actually identified as themes themselves, and they were represented in other themes.

Fifth Step: Defining and naming themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this step, the inductive research team agreed upon detailed titles, definitions of the themes, quote examples, and contradictory statements.

RESULTS		QUAL- INDUCTIVE
RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES		
	Theme/Result	Black Pride

	<b>Definition</b>	Most juveniles expressed the belief that their racial identity was important and that they were proud to be Black
	<b>Theme</b>	<b><u>Valuing all minorities, but <u>acceptance of societal stereotypes</u></u></b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Views of diversity discussed by juveniles revealed that they accepted other racial groups, and accepted stereotypes of all racial groups, including Black stereotypes
<b>Behavior (Bx)</b>		
	<b>Theme</b>	<b><u>Illegal activities are adaptive behaviors given their circumstances</u></b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Juveniles' tended to believe that engagement in illegal activity was a way in which they could provide for themselves and their family, while also gaining them respect
<b>RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE &amp; BEHAVIOR</b>		
	<b>Theme/Result</b>	<b>Societal factors influenced racial worldview and view of themselves as Black (racial identity), which influenced behavior</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Factors that served to influence juveniles' worldviews and views of themselves as black and subsequently how they should act in accordance with their race were discussed
<b>INTERVENTIONS</b>		
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Awareness of social justice issues</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Juveniles spoke about social justice issues in the United States
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Awareness of Eurocentricity</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Juveniles spoke indirectly about the pressures to conform and how white Eurocentric ideals for behavior are the standard

	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Conflicting perception of previous behavior</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Juveniles appeared to be aware that their engagement in criminal activity led to their current status in life, which they seemed to dislike, but also offered contradicting information by identifying their engagement in deviant behavior as enjoyable/positive/beneficial

Table 9

Sixth Step: Producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The product of writing the report can be viewed in chapters 3 (Analysis), 4 (Results), and 5 (Conclusion).

#### Qualitative Inductive Quotes

At the conclusion of the qualitative inductive thematic analysis 7 themes related to the research questions emerged. The researcher categorized the themes based on the phenomenons within the research questions (race, behavior, the relationship between race and behavior, and interventions).

The following 2 themes related to Racial Identity Attitudes (RIA): Black Pride and Valuing all minorities, but acceptance of societal stereotypes.

Researchers defined Black pride as, “most juveniles expressed the belief that their racial identity was important and that they were proud to be Black.” The following excerpts illustrate Black Pride.

#### Example 1

“I’m proud to be Black.” -3

#### Example 2

“We Black so we stronger” -5

#### Example 3

“I like our culture because we have a lot of leaders that died for our culture.” -10

#### Example 4

“Being Black is just something I like to identify myself as.” – 4

Contradictory quotes. Youth very rarely indicated that they did not like being Black. The contradictory quote listed below was stated after the participant discussed aspects of Blackness that they liked.

“P: It’s just I don’t like my hair! It’s too nappy. ” -5

Researchers indicated that, “Valuing all minorities, but acceptance of societal stereotypes” indicates that, “Views of diversity discussed by juveniles revealed that they accepted other racial groups, and accepted stereotypes of all racial groups, including Black stereotypes. The following excerpts illustrate this theme.

#### Example 1

J: Tell me what you think about White people. I know you’ve told me a little bit already. They would be successful or rich, anything else?

P: They real clever in how they think about stuff. They make stuff up and stuff. Without White people, we wouldn’t have movies and stuff like that.

J: Without White people, we wouldn’t have movies?

P: Not a lot. Mmm White people do a lot of stuff. They create phones, got the iphone X out.

J: White people got the iphone X out?

P: Yeah, they got the iphone X out, the iphone 10.

J: Mmm hmm. Okay, what about Latino people?

P: I don’t know. I ain’t really seen no successful about Latino person.

J: What do you think about them?

P: I think they cool, they aight. Me (a)migos and stuff, they aight.

...

J: Oh mi amigos or like friends in Spanish.

P: Yeah.

J: I was like are you talking about, I know Bad and Boujee and they Black. Alright, my bad. Umm what do you think about Asian people.

P: Mmm, I don't know, they smart. They create a lot tv shows too. A lot of stuff come from China.

J: Oh okay, a lot of stuff come from China. Native American people?

P: All I think about is the army and stuff like that.

J: You think about the army?

P: Yeah.

J: Like Natives are in the army?

P: Native people?

J: Yeah.

P: Oh naw. Native people got some nice stuff going on, ancestors type stuff.

J: Ancestors type stuff.” - 4

### Example 2

“J: They try to act black? Oh ok ok. What does acting black mean?

P: The little hand motions

J: the attitudes, the hand motions, ok

P: and then like the robbing and shooting and smoking and

J: robbing, shooting, smoking? Acting black?

P: (head nod)

J: Ok so just in general, I know you said you have some white friends, but they act black but generally about white people as a whole, what are your thoughts?



P: I feel like they run the world

J: They run the world?

P: Yea

J: what else?

P: Um we wouldn't be able to live if it wasn't for them" -5

### Example 3

"P: I like mexican culture. They got their own like style. And they all the same, they talk funny.

J: And talk funny?

P: Yeah and they try to be black tho. Like its more best if they try to be black than white.

J: Oh okay. And what do you mean that they try to be black like with mexicans they try to be black

P: Like they try to have that hood mentality.

J: Okay the hood mentality. Alright, what about Asian people?

P: Asian. I really don't know much about them. I just know they talk funny. They talk real fast when they speak but they evil

J: They evil

P: Some of them evil.

J: Okay

P: They like war and they build a lot of stuff. Bombs everything

J: Okay anything like Native American people.

P: Like Indians?

J: Mmmhmm

P: I like Native American people. Cause they cute." -10

#### Example 4

“J: 2 out of 121? 2 white people. You said that you got caught cool with one but usually you don’t get along with white people.

P: Nope I don’t

J: Okay. Um what about Latino people?

P: Latino people they straight.

J: Asian?

P: Hmmm, they straight too.

J: Native Americans?

P: They straight.” -3

CONTRADICTORY Quote. While most youth accepted other races, and stereotypes associated with them, one youth acknowledged that stereotypes may not always be accurate.

“P: Mmm because each race has their own issues. They all go through the same stuff. Every race go through the same stuff.

J: Okay.

P: That’s race consequence.

J: That’s race consequence?

P: When something happen, they consequence could be like different or whatever.

J: Mmm hmm. To Black people, White people, Asian people...

P: Like some Indians, all Indians are terrorists. No they’re not terrorists. Black people, oh, they always up to something or whatever. See just stereotypes. Every race could be” -2 stereotyped.

#### Behaviors (Bx)

The behavioral theme that emerged from the data was, “Illegal activities are adaptive behaviors given their circumstances.” In other terms, “juveniles’ tended to believe that

engagement in illegal activity was a way in which they could provide for themselves and their family, while also gaining them respect.” Illustrations of this theme are listed below:

#### Example 1

“Basically like, when I see one of my close one of my friends on the street get shot it was like something I can’t believe just happened then it was over with. You just start what was it like if someone try to hurt us so you have to hurt them before they hurt us.” - 9

#### Example 2

“P: I do what I had to because of where I come from.

J: Okay, like what?

P: I grew up in the streets. I saw my brothers in the streets. And that was the only choice we had because nobody gave us nothin so we got it on your own.” -1

#### Example 3

“P: I used to be focused on stealing food

J: food? Why food?

P: I don't know. I just eat a lot” -5

#### Relationship between RIA and Bx

The first of two relationship themes that emerged was, “Societal factors influenced racial worldview and view of themselves as Black (racial identity), which influenced behavior.” In other terms, “Factors that served to influence juveniles’ worldviews and views of themselves as black and subsequently how they should act in accordance with their race were discussed.”

Examples of this theme are:

#### Example 1

“P: Like shooting and robbing. I never really see a lot of black successful people.” -5

## Example 2

J: So (you said) Black people who want to be like White people want to be successful and be rich. Black people who want to be like Black people, other Black people, what do they do?

P: Stay in the hood, stuff like that.

J: Mmm hmm, stay in the hood. What else do they in the hood?

P: Sell drugs, stuff like that.

J: Mmm, sell drugs, okay. Anything else you associate with blackness?

P: Just the way that you act.

J: The way that you act.

P: Black people like to nut up, go crazy and stuff.

J: Black people nut up, go crazy, okay okay. Alright umm, how do you think you got these thoughts? What made you start thinking...

P: Stuff that I been seeing, stuff that I watch. Looking at tv, stuff like that.

J: Mmm hmm.

P: Yeah, stuff like that.

J: Okay, looking at tv, stuff like that. I got you. Were there any other influences?

P: Any other influences?

J: Mmm hmm, besides things you watch on tv?

P: Uhh, I don't know. Being around Black people, just seeing how they act.

J: Seeing how they act, okay, so experiences with Black people and seeing things on tv basically?

P: Yeah.

J: You into videos or tv shows or what?

P: Usually video stuff. Like White people got guitars and stuff in they videos and sometimes they got... Just seeing Black people do like dance and stuff like that.

J: Mmm hmm, white people got guitars, and Black people dancing.

P: Yeah, Black people dance, stuff like that.

J: Okay, so how long have you been having these thoughts? Was there a certain time period or specific experience or a specific music video you saw or what?

P: Uhh, it's just the way I grew up seeing, seeing stuff at the house and then going out and seeing it. Seeing other stuff being different."- 4

### Example 3

"P: Like YouTube when it came out you can just search up anything you can go on there figure how they do something make something, how to get away with stuff, stuff like that umm Instagram you can just see something how you follow the news on Instagram you can such such teenagers shootout in the gas station males killed in such such and you be like that's down the street from where I stay at

J: Oh okay, black people on the news that's what you saying?

P: Black people what black people sometimes you see it's more, basically is a couple of white people but you see more black people white people

J: Okay, you see more black people than white people doing bad things on the news on Instagram got ya, so you think that's like the images and messages that are out there, you saying that impacts black youth? When they see that?

P: Like the way it influence them?

J: Yea." - 9

### Example 4

"P: some people feel like we just a threat to the community and stuff." - 1

### Example 5

"J: What would you say that you see in the news or the media?

P About Black people?

J: Yeah, about black people.

P: Crime. Message. Oh message sent out They label black people and they display us we show up in the more in the news more than anything

J: We show up in the news more than anything.

P: We use social media a lot too. Like on a regular basis.

J: On a regular basis. Tell me more about that.

P Like whatever we think we wake up and post it on social media. Whatever we doing, we recording it on social media.

...

J: Okay okay um yeah is that the messages, recordings, is that influencing people?

P: A lot of influences like rapper, singers,

J: Oh so you're saying the influence is rappers, singers in music are those good influences or bad

P: Its both.

J: Both. Okay Okay you said not parents. Okay so you think people follow those rappers, singers what's in the media even the positive you know they see a graduation or something they follow that.

P: Not all people but mostly whatever we like if someone doing it that's who we try to be like rapper everyone want to wear skinny jeans cause young thug wears skinny jeans and that's just the style that I was on when I moved to Atlanta I see it and I asked why everyone wearing this. He got this, he wear this that's the style now its kind of like a role model whatever our role model is that's who we want to be like whether that's good or bad."

#### Example 6

"J: So you wanted to be like what you saw on TV

P: yea cause I used to watch ant farm and it had like a black everything. You know the black sisters China

...

P: but she was black and I used to think people was pretty and I would want to be like them.

....

P: A lot of music videos have like twerking and stuff. I like twerking I don't know.. I used to say that I want to be a stripper on the low after like college and stuff

J: because you saw that in the music videos

P: Yea, I used to think like I'm going to have a big butt and strip too. Nikki Minaj must have. I was like I'm going to get butt implants" - 5

The second theme that emerged was "Detrimental environments (neighborhoods) influenced (or and) criminal activity." In other terms, "Environment in which juveniles were raised described as primarily detrimental and served as a negative influence in relation to their engagement in criminal activity." Examples of this are illustrated below:

#### Example 1

"J: Describe your neighborhood to me.

P: We call it the trenches.

J: It's called the trenches.

P: The hood.

J: Tell me more.

P: Everybody just grew up in the street.

J:...What are some things that would happen in your neighborhood?

P: Homicides, lot of stuff.

J: People stealing cars in your neighborhood too?

P: Yes.

J: Yeah. Did you see people stealing cars?

P: (head nod “yes”)

J: Yeah? From an early age?

P: Yes.

J: So do you think that your neighborhood, your family, your friends, people you were around, do you think that they impacted you or influenced you in any type of way?

P: My brothers did, yes. My surroundings did influence..” - 1

### Example 2

“P: You know like when I’m in here for I grew up around it so I might as well just try it out so when I tried it out for the first time I just got addicted to it. It started going so I just kept it going kept on kept on kept on till it just caught up with it so some folk get out do it again, get out do it again but until they start seeing that time twenty years, ten years and all that I’m really blessed because I had armed robbery aggravated assault with a deadly weapon high jacking with motor vehicle, kidnapping.

J: you saw in your neighborhood and family members who have done similar things the ones that are locked up in here for a long period of time...

P: Yeah” -3

This same youth had a plethora of insight around environmental factors influence on behavior. When asked about an intervention that he thought would be helpful for Black youth he stated, “Take them to the suburbs. Grew up around rich people so instead of them growing up around the violence bad influence all that. Take them somewhere where they see nothing but folks getting money the right way by going to work every day all that but black teens always trying to go out get something.” -3

### Example 3



J: what about your neighborhood and home life?

P: I used to stay in the suburbs, but we moved to Cascade, so...

J: So what?

P: I just started... I just started acting like a hood kid or something, like I was from the hood.

J: Like a hood kid?

P: Yeah.

J: Oh okay, so you started being around other kids. Were they Black too? Were they other races?

P: I don't be around kids, I be around grown ups.

J: Okay, adults then. So were they Black too? Started being around people who were doing hood things and you started doing it too?

P: Yeah, pretty much." -4

#### Example 4

"P: I seen a lot of stuff too. I seen my cousin get shot. I was in the car <unclear>. So I take drugs to not be... to be motivated .... to not be stressed out.

J: Okay, so you saw all of those things. You saw your cousin get shot.

P: He got killed.

J: Get killed.

P: And I got shot." -1

#### Example 5

"P: I mean I started seeing all this stuff around the age Ill say 5 years old Ill say then I started doing it around like 12, 11. Cause I like then there was a person who close to me he was like a brother to me he died off going go going to move off a move go that would just let me start

J: I'm sorry you said that he died off of just going to move?

Like going to go steal.

J: Okay, got ya.

P: Okay so just like I might as well start being in these streets. Start gang banging. So

J: So he died while he was stealing and gang banging and what not, so you thought I'm might as well do that too?

P: Nah he was gang banging before he died, He just like how he died cause the person he went on the move with they were judging because he was getting to move products so just like I took that route of just gang banging armed robbery ride around in stolen car just" -3

#### Example 6

J: Anything else that influence you? Anything else that happened ? Like games, T.V anything else you think influenced you to rob, steal ?

P: Umm I forgot, I forgot what movie the name of the movie

J: It's fine by me I don't need the name of the movie, but movies in general

P: Yea basically when I was little my dad because he used to be a pimp every time on the weekend he has money laying around cars money and stuff and that's when I started to like money and

J: Okay your dad was a pimp he had lots of money sitting around so you were I like money I need to get some too

P: Yea

J: Okay so your way of getting it was taken it

P: Yea

J: That's how it was for you

P: Taken it or selling drugs" - 9

#### Interventions

Several themes related to potential interventions needed for youth. The first two themes were there, “awareness of social justice issues” and “awareness of Eurocentricity” meaning that juveniles spoke about social justice issues and they spoke indirectly about the pressures to conform and how white Eurocentric ideals for behavior are the standard.” Examples of both of these themes are listed below:

#### Social justice

##### Example 1

“Like mostly Black people in here and only two white people.” -10 (in reference to who is locked up)

##### Example 2

“I love being around my own skin color because I don’t trust too many white because of what white folks did to us back in the day.” - 3

##### Example 3

“But then you got white judges, lawyers, take down prisons, I mean schools and build more prisons for us....Then them folks make good money off of it.” -3

##### Example 4

“Okay, alright and so it’s like white people expect us to do bad. Sometimes Black people expect it because of what you see on the news.” – 1

##### Example 5

“But now a days, it’s like us Black people fight against each other. We try to shot each other, we trying to fight at each other and we want to do all this and that it’s like we don’t even like being together no more.” – 5

##### Example 6

“Cause I feel like a lot of Black kids need to start interacting and not trying to always shoot and fight each other.” – 5

Example 7

“I said when Black people talk white or whatever, it’s called talking the correct way.” – 2

Example 8

“When I do see successful Black people, I feel like they want to be white.” - 5

Eurocentricity

Example 1

“Well because you want to get a job, it’s mostly white people that you have to be under to work, that’s who pay or and I just look at that.” – 5

Example 2

“...I just picture them I just see how the white kids separate themselves from the black kids but they have some black kids with them, trouble makers and stuff, so I see how they (white kids) carry themselves so I carry myself like that.” – 9

Example 3

“It’s important because like the other race the like white people they look at us like we’re just animals” – 9

Example 4

“P: I was like I wish I was white so that I could talk to y’all any type of way and not get in trouble and stuff like that.” - 5

The final theme related to interventions for Black incarcerated youth was, “conflicting perception of previous behavior.” In other terms, “Juveniles appeared to be aware that their engagement in criminal activity led to their current status in life, which they seemed to dislike,

but also offered contradicting information by identifying their engagement in deviant behavior as enjoyable/positive/beneficial.” Examples of this theme are:

#### Example 1

“P: No, we just want to fit in be a follower

J: Okay, just want to be a follower, got you

P: Cause they don’t , they don’t I can tell like you just trying to follow, as soon as you tell them I can be like you go in first they don’t think, they just go in first they just think, trying to get some money fast , go steal the T.V tell them find guns, trade them whatever do jewelry, money weed and girls

J: That’s what you like, jewelry, money, weed and girls umm got ya, anything else you want to say about stealing, robing, what not

P: It not that cool now, you get me

J: What do you mean it’s not that new now

P: It’s not what you going to do now cause you get caught for it me there is only two things you can do if you get caught doing it , dead or in jail, right were I am” -9

#### Example 2

“P: when you rob them the first time, your first time when you see how easy it is, how easy you get money and you get what you want, you gonna go back and keep doing it, keep doing it, it’s like a game now, doing over and over again, like a mission basically that’s how you get involved with the violence though.” - 9

#### Example 3

“P: Yea, I feel like, you know you doing something wrong I be wanting to give their stuff back, but it’s too late now...” - 9

#### Example 4

“P: No, because your probation officer just lock you up when you do wrong.” – 2

#### Example 5

“P: I took that route of just gang banging armed robbery ride around in stolen car just because it’s really fun being in a stolen car till twelve get behind you then its ooo shit like what finna happen now”-3

There were two additional themes that the deductive and inductive team found. However after exploration the researchers realized that the themes were not directly related to the of the phenomenon’s being evaluated within the study.

These are listed in the chart below:

	QUAL-DEDUCTIVE	QUAL- INDUCTIVE
<b>Theme</b>	<b>Exposure to positive influences</b>	<b>Desire for positive role models</b>
<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that provide positive role models, whether it be with family, friends, or community members regardless of race	Youth revealed the influence of role models in their juveniles’ lives, as well as a potential resource for helping future children/adolescents avoid engaging in illegal activities
<b>Theme</b>	<b>Pro-social engagements</b>	<b>Activities and hobbies are coping techniques</b>
<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that provide youth with positive social engagements	Engagement in activities as a way to avoid engaging in criminal activity and/or escape current emotional states

Table 10

#### Summary

Triangulation methods revealed similar findings for both research questions. Racial identity attitudes in the quantitative, qualitative deductive, and qualitative inductive methods

found Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitudes. Moreover, all three methods found that the Miseducation Pro-Black (which is low in self-hate) racial identity influence anti-social, or adaptive behaviors (high DAI scores) in Black incarcerated youth. Descriptions of the results that suggest appropriate interventions for this population are described in Chapter 6 (Discussion). A chart illustration of the results is presented below:

RESULTS		QUAL-DEDUCTIVE	QUAL- INDUCTIVE	QUANTITATIVE
<b>RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES</b>				
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Miseducation Pro-Black</b>	<b>Black Pride</b>	<b>Miseducation Pro-Black</b>
	<b>Definition</b>	Black youth are proud to be Black, however their associations with Blackness are negative; they accept stereotypes	Most juveniles expressed the belief that their racial identity was important and that they were proud to be Black	"indicating some conflict between endorsing negative stereo- types about African Americans, but at the same time appreciating Afrocentrism as a guiding principle." (Worrell et al., 2014)
	<b>Theme</b>		<b>Valuing all minorities, but acceptance of societal stereotypes</b>	
	<b>Definition</b>		Views of diversity discussed by juveniles revealed that they accepted other racial groups, and accepted stereotypes of all racial groups, including Black stereotypes	
<b>RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE &amp; BEHAVIOR</b>				
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Racial Identity attitude influenced behavior</b>	<b>Societal factors influenced racial worldview and view of themselves as Black (racial identity), which influenced behavior</b>	<b>The Self- Hatred RIA was significantly correlated with DAI scores.</b>

	<b>Definition</b>	Youth's racial identity attitude consciously and unconsciously influenced the behaviors that youth engaged in.	Factors that served to influence juveniles' worldviews and views of themselves as black and subsequently how they should act in accordance with their race were discussed	Specifically, Lower Self-Hatred scores indicate higher DAI scores. The Miseducation Pro-Black RAI has low Self-Hate.
<b>INTERVENTIONS</b>				
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Race related interventions</b>	<b>Awareness of social justice issues (3)</b>	
	<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that include Black history knowledge, Black pride, etc.	Juveniles spoke about social justice issues in the United States	
	<b>Theme</b>		<b>Awareness of Eurocentricity (4)</b>	
	<b>Definition</b>		Juveniles spoke indirectly about the pressures to conform and how white Eurocentric ideals for behavior are the standard	
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>CBT based interventions</b>	<b>Conflicting perception of previous behavior (2)</b>	
	<b>Definition</b>	Interventions that help mitigate risk thoughts & make prosocial decisions, with emotion-regulation (anger, impulsivity, defiance, etc.), and assist with symptoms of depression.”	Juveniles appeared to be aware that their engagement in criminal activity led to their current status in life, which they seemed to dislike, but also offered contradicting information by identifying their engagement in deviant behavior as enjoyable/positive/beneficial	

Table 11



## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

#### Limitations

Although the study attempted to account for all errors, limitations are inevitable in research studies. A limitation of within the study is that it evaluates Black youth without fervently addressing gender, ethnicity, culture, sexual orientation, or other intersecting identities. While the Black racial group has many similarities, there are individual differences within each racial group. Progressive multicultural research evaluates within group differences (Hall, Yip, & Zarate, 2014); however, the present study solely inquired about the youth's racial group affiliation due to the research questions specificity.

Another limitation is the utilization of the DAI score as an reflection of behavior. While the DAI score is an objective accumulation of the youth's behaviors, and previous and current charges, it does not account for all of their engagements with the juvenile justice system or crimes committed. Thus, youth could commit a crime, but their DAI may not increase if they are not caught. Furthermore, the score solely moves up in number. This means that if a youth is caught with a new charge, the number increases, however if they youth demonstrates pro-social behavior, the number does not decrease. The DAI limitations could explain the limited percent of variation indicated in the quantitative results (between self-hate subscale and the DAI scores). As an attempt to account for this limitation, the qualitative portion address specific behaviors, including delinquent and pro-social engagements, and directly asked youth about the relationship between their racial identity and behavior.

The inductive team did not have any prior knowledge about the research questions, theories, or hypothesis. However, when listening to the interviews they inevitably heard the interview questions. The listening process may have alluded to what the overall research questions were, however the researchers attempted to not allow the questions to influence their coding process. To minimize any external influence, the inductive team was provided with specific guidelines (Braun & Clark, 2006) to guide the analysis process. Moreover, the inductive team was instructed to evaluate the data based on common themes that arose regardless of the research questions. The purpose of this process was to provide dependability and confirmability.

Given the researchers ability to address the many limitations of the study, the findings provide adequate conclusions, which can be utilized to develop an intervention for Black incarcerated youth.

## Conclusions

### Racial Identity

All three triangulation methods revealed that Black incarcerated youth demonstrate a Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitude, meaning they love being Black, but accept negative stereotypes. This corroborates previous research (Worrell et al., 2014) findings with the Black incarcerated youth population. Additional results from the study imply that this racial identity attitude stems from societal factors, such as neighborhood, familial relationships, and media.

### Renaming and reframing Anti-Social Behavior

Prior to evaluating the relationship between racial identity attitudes and behavior the researcher assessed the youth's behavior with a CRT and PVEST framework. While the quantitative portion of the study evaluated behavior using the DAI score, the qualitative portion

explored the intricacies of youths' behavior. The deductive team labeled delinquent engagements, drug use, and aggression as anti-social behavior based on previous literature. However, the inductive team, labeled the same engagements as adaptive behavior given the participants circumstances. Utilizing the CRT and PVEST frameworks, researchers, clinicians, and any individual in contact with detained Black youth, should transition from using the term anti-social behavior to adaptive responses. The anti-social term has been used often in literature to describe unwarranted or uncommon behaviors, however abnormal behaviors are contextual. Furthermore, anti-social has a negative connotation due to its association with the diagnosis of anti-social personality disorder. The pre-cursor to anti-social personality disorder is conduct disorder, which is often diagnosed in incarcerated youth due to their engagements. However, their adaptive engagements are a reflection of their coping, which can lead to resiliency.

### Coping & Resiliency

As previously stated, PVEST asserts that youth cope with turmoil in adaptive or maladaptive ways depending on the environment. One may argue that their coping mechanism, regardless of adaptive or maladaptive categories is a reflection of resiliency. Rosenberg Vance, Rosenberg, Wolford, Ashley, & Howard, (2013) defined resiliency as “the ability to sustain healthy development in the face of significant adversity” (p. 431). Although everyone experiences distress during times of controversy and turmoil, all people do not respond the same. Individuals who are more resilient are able to react appropriately, and continue with their normal lifestyle. Conversely, those who are not resilient are more severely and negatively impacted. Fortunately, people can develop resiliency to assist with their ability to respond to life changing events. According to (APA, 2016), “Resilience is not a trait that people either have or do not have. It involves behaviors, thoughts and actions that can be learned and developed in anyone.”

Thus, youth of color living in high crime neighborhoods, or without supportive parents can develop resiliency throughout their childhood and adolescence. Similarly, coping is an individuals responses to stress; it is intended to protect people from being psychologically harmed from turmoil (Encyclopedia of Medicine, 2008; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Thus, people are resilient because of their ability to cope.

#### Factors that Contribute to Resiliency and Coping

There are a plethora of external factors that impact a person's resiliency, or coping. According to APA (2016), previous studies have shown that, "the primary factor in resilience is having caring and supportive relationships within and outside the family" (APA). Additional factors are also important, including realism, positivity, communication skills, problem solving, and managing ones impulses (APA, 2016). However, "a person's culture might have an impact on how he or she communicates feelings and deals with adversity" (APA, 2016). Thus, Black youth's culture should be addressed when discussing their coping and resiliency.

McGee (2013) studied the factors that contribute to resilience amongst African-American children in academic settings. He evaluated the mentality of youth that are oppressed by ethnic stereotypes, viewed as a threat to society, and encouraged to disengage in educational settings. Results indicated that the participants were resilient because they identify with their capability to overcome obstacles and defy stereotypes. In other terms, because they knew that they were stereotyped based on appearance, they were resilient and incentivized to do well in school.

Connell, Spencer, and Aber (1994) strived to isolate mediating resilience factors that led to African-American adolescence success in the educational setting. Using 3 independent samples of African-American adolescents, the authors compared gender and relationship

dynamics, economic risk, and socioeconomic status of the participants and their families.

Findings indicated that children with stronger parental relationships and involvement displayed a more resilience and demonstrated by a higher level of engagement, leading to higher academic success rates.

Similar to coping, resiliency allows people to continue to navigate their lives in times of turmoil. Factors that help individuals develop resilience include, but are not limited to, supportive environments, positivity, and self-care. The youth involved in this study, may not have had those factors, yet their resilience was demonstrated in their ability to survive given their circumstances. Many of them mentioned their families being involved in illegal activity, limited resources, impoverished neighborhoods, early exposure to violence, various forms of trauma, and being victims of racism. They survived, but they were detained. Therefore, their coping processes that led to resilience may not have always met the realms of societal expectations. Using the PVEST framework it would be beneficial for youth to learn that while their adaptive coping mechanisms may be beneficial in one setting (neighborhood), it may not be beneficial in different setting (e.g., school; Spencer & Tinsley, 2008)

#### Relationship between RIA and Bx

While many external factors influenced youths' engagements, the second research question sought to evaluate if they thought that their racial identity influenced behavior in any fashion. Findings in all triangulation methods confirmed that racial identity attitudes influence the behavior that led to youths' detainment. PVEST provides a model that can be used to explain the relationship between RIA and behavior. Specifically, it examines (1) self-perceptions and behavior and (2) the desire to reflect ones perceived cultural group expectations.

PVEST asserts that one's self-perception organizes their thoughts and behaviors, often illustrated in Black youth when racial stereotypes transfer into self-fulfilling prophecies. Spencer's (1997) example of this phenomenon is "a young African-American male may take advantage of the knowledge that he is perceived by the larger society as violent and mischievous." (p.818). Further, numerous researchers have found that negative racial identities have been found to lead to defiant behaviors and lower levels of psychological functioning. (Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008; Worrell et al., 2014; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2008).

According to PVEST theorists, Black youth understand that society often mimics Black culture (clothing trends, slang, music, dance), while criminalizing their behaviors in their neighborhood (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008). Regardless of the negative connotations associated with these engagements, Black youth may still behave in perceived maladaptive ways to avoid denying their culture. Spencer and Harpalani (2006) studied the phenomenon that Black youth may avoid academic opportunities, to avoid, "acting white." Black youth in the present study, validated this theory by engaging in behaviors that they believed demonstrated "acting Black."

While the present study served to evaluate the relationships between racial identity and behavior, environmental factors also inevitably influence Black youth. CRT, PVEST, and the inductive results within the present study assert that the environment within the US society impact and influence youth. The following excerpt from Brittain (2012) explains this phenomenon:

The PVEST theory asserts that youth of color living in a high stress environment (dangerous neighborhood), may threaten their overall health, wellbeing, and safety. With the adequate amount of support, youth may chose to engage in adaptive behavior such as joining a

pro-social community or school organization. However without, the amount of support needed, the youth may chose to join a gang, which provides them with a sense of identity and safety, but may be considered maladaptive depending on the environment (school) and perception (teachers perspective)

The innate response for minimizing environmental influences on youth is to remove youth from detrimental and dangerous environments. However, removal is not always possible. Therefore alternative individual interventions must be implemented. Research demonstrates that while aspects of dangerous environments, such as witnessing violence strongly influences the intensity of youth involvement in violent behavior, their involvement in negative activities can be mitigated with positive racial attitudes. (DeGruy, Kjellstrand, Briggs, & Brennan, 2012)

#### Recommendations

*As scientists, our goal should not only be to examine and explain phenomena relative to healthy functioning, but we should also be interested in how research applies to program development, the maximization of adolescents' productive livelihood, and how research can be integrated into clinical practice” (Brittian, 2012, p. 13).*

The ultimate goal of this study is to utilize the results to develop an intervention for Black incarcerated youth. While implications regarding their environment, experiences, and individual needs have been discussed, it is evident that the participants in the study could benefit from an intervention that caters to their individual needs. Previous literature has established that adolescence is a time where youth are exploring their identity (Brittian, 2012), and are highly impressionable (Erikson, 1963). Furthermore, adolescent's brains are able to create schemas about themselves and their identity, which are influenced by physical characteristics (Brittian, 2012). Youth who experience positive identity development, are more likely to have productive

adulthoods (Sherrod & Laukhardt, 2008). Given the results of the study, Black incarcerated youth need a racially specific, CBT based intervention (i.e., traditional CBT, TF-CBT, DBT, ACT) that addresses aggression, alcohol and other drug use, trauma, and mental health concerns.

### Interventions

The deductive and inductive qualitative results indicate that interventions that address race would best benefit Black incarcerated youth. Although the quantitative results did not directly assess the interventions needs, racial identity and behavior relationships provide implications for the needs of the participants. The summation of the findings indicated that Black youth need a racially specific, CBT based intervention. The CBT techniques could be gathered from various DBT based frameworks, such as trauma focused CBT (TF-CBT, Dialectical Behavioral Therapy (DBT), or Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT).

### Racially Specific

Positive racial identity promotes healthier psychological functioning (Sellers et al., 2006) and serves as a protective factor when youth of color are exposed to discrimination (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Brittain, 2012), Positive associations about one's race is facilitated through racial socialization, or the process that teaches children about their racial group (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Thus, an intervention that provides positive racial socialization could initiate healthier overall functioning in Black youth, as it has been found the buffer the negative impact of race-related stressors on youth's negative affect (Brittain, 2012.)

Through positive influences, such as parents' socialization, African American youth may not only develop a positive identity, when exposed to a negative event, such as racial profiling (Gabbidon, 2003), but an identity that leads to positive behaviors. For example, an adolescent who experiences discrimination at school may internalize these negative



stereotypes and exhibit deviant behaviors (e.g., acting out in class), or reject them in favor of positive ideas about African Americans, and consecutively choose to exhibit prosocial behaviors (e.g., start a diversity club). There has been no empirical work on adolescents that tests these assumptions, although previous studies that link discrimination to mental health and substance abuse (e.g., Williams & Mohammed, 2009) would suggest that such a relationship exists. (Brittain, 2012, p.5)

Positive racial socialization leading to a healthy racial identity could occur through Black History Knowledge (BHK). Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass (2016) asserted that BHK extends beyond solely focusing on racial socialization and racial identity by also addressing “historical content and the value of historical experiences in promoting liberation” (p. 482). They define BHK utilizing 4 aspects of understanding.

The first is, “the role African enslavement played in the structure of race and racism in the United States.” (Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016, p. 486). If integrated into an intervention, this will provide youth with a deeper understanding of the root of systemic racism, individual racism, and modern-day racism in the U.S. society. Specifically, the intervention could focus on the how African enslavement has influenced the educational, housing, and judicial systems. It will also discussions on how racism is passed down from generation to generation, though it varies in presentation.

The second aspect of BHK is, “the achievements and contributions of Black people prior to African enslavement and also specific to the development of the United States” (Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016, p. 486). This will provide Black youth with examples positive Black role models, which youth heavily indicated as a need during the interviews. It will also directly counter the Miseducation aspect of their racial identity.

Thirdly, BHK addresses, “one’s positioning as it relates to capital (e.g., social, political, and economic)” (Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016, p. 486). This will allow them to acknowledge how historical racism has influenced their neighborhoods, family, finances, food, education, and detainment.

Lastly, BHK focuses on, “cultural strengths that facilitate continued community prosperity and empowered action” (Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016, p. 486). This will contribute to youth’s racial pride, by acknowledging and praising the strengths of Blackness. However, it is imperative that the cultural strengths is integrated after the second tenet, to ensure that youth are gaining pride based on positive associations with Blackness. This tenet will also empower youth to think of themselves as resilient individuals.

The integration of BHK will facilitate healthy psychological and emotional development for Black incarcerated youth.

Additional research findings indicated that youth need to have positive role models. While an individual intervention may not have the ability to implement an in person positive role model, images and examples of successful, healthy Black individuals could serve as role models. This is evident in the assertion that role models due not always need to be physically present. “Media role models, adult mentors, and community elders are all individuals whom youth can emulate.” (Spencer & Tinsley, 2008, p. 21). Thus, the intervention can provide positive Black role models through examples of individuals who are historically significant and prominent to present day. One of the participants described what this looks like in his life,” Projects that I come from it was like black folks love to sell drugs. Ummm gang bang, steal, kill. Um some of some of them support. Some of them sell hope. Like my uncle, my father, they don’t just be out here in these streets. They don’t kill they don’t steal, they don’t sell drugs they sell stuff ....like

they make people proud.” It is evident that the participants need more examples of people who sell hope. One of the participants mentioned Martin Luther King and Malcolm X as positive role models, who have helped them, therefore there are ways that the intervention can implement role models who youth do not know firsthand.

#### CBT based interventions with adjudicated youth

Results indicated that Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) techniques may be beneficial due to youth’s lack of forethought, impulsivity, lack of emotions, and cognitive dissonance regarding their prior behaviors that led to their detainment. Furthermore, many youth mentioned using drugs, which can be mitigated with CBT based techniques (Carroll, & Onken, 2005). Lastly, one youth mentioned others having suicidal thoughts, which is typically an indication of depression and hopelessness. Extensive research has validated CBT’s effectiveness with depression clients. While CBT was originally developed for depression in adults, it is effective with adolescence given their levels of cognitive development and decision-making processes.

Adolescence cognitive development plays an essential role in their juvenile justice involvement. There are over 70,000,000 juvenile offenders in the United States (OJJDP, 2016). Although all crimes are not caught, and therefore are not reported, “youth are more likely to be caught for committing crimes than adults are” (Einstein Law, 2016).

Researchers have established that there is a distinct cognitive process that leads to criminal activity. Therefore, when contextualizing theft amongst juvenile offenders, it is imperative to evaluate the cognitive decision-making that occurs within this population. This process similar to the majority of problem solving techniques individuals utilize (Bruning, Schraw, Norby, & Ronning, 2011) but specific to offenders. In other terms, individuals weigh certain factors prior to deciding to initiate, endure, and complete a crime (Gelder, Elffers,

Reynold & Nagin, 2014). Economist, cognitive psychologist, and criminologists have labeled this decision-making process as the rational choice theory, which is grounded in economic principles of weighing the risks and benefits of an action. “Rational choice means that people, when faced with several possible courses of action, will reason their way towards the option they believe is likely to have the best overall outcome” (Gelder, Elffers, Reynold & Nagin, 2014, p.5).

When evaluating rational choice theory with the juvenile offenders population with a PVEST and CRT framework, sociocultural contexts must be considered due to their large influence on the cognitive decision making process and the types of crimes committed. A common sociocultural factor to consider is that juvenile offenders often live in poverty (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). When people struggle to obtain basic necessities, they will to extreme measures for survival purposes (Butler, 2013). Survival techniques are sometimes considered antisocial behavior, or criminal activity (Ginner Hau & Smedler, 2011). PVEST would label the process as adaptive vs. maladaptive coping. In other terms, the cognitive decision of “theft” often outweighs the consequences of getting caught due to living in poverty and utilizing crime is a method of survival.

While cognitive factors that impact crime in juvenile offenders, it is imperative that we also take affect into consideration. Affect is the mood, emotions and visceral reactions that youth experience (Gelder, Elffers, Reynold & Nagin, 2014). “Alongside cognitive elements, affect plays an important role when it comes to criminal decision making, and sometimes even a leading one” (Gelder, Elffers, Reynold & Nagin, 2014, p.2). Examples of affect impacting criminal decision-making are being under the influence of drugs, impulsive behavior, the desire for popularity, thrill seeking, and/or having fun.

It is important to understand that the affect and cognition in the theft decision-making process is unique when compared to other crimes. “Those factors that lead to initiation, habituation, and desistance for robbery are not the same as those that lead to property crimes such as burglary, fraud, or motor vehicle theft, regardless of criminal involvement decisions” (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014, p.51). Utilizing qualitative ethnographic research studies methods, researchers found the pertinent motives in the decision-making process that led to theft, specifically motor vehicle theft. Specifically, joyriding and money were the primary motives for auto theft.

These motives describe both the affect (joyriding) and cognitive (money) influences of criminal activity. “Motivations and benefits of stealing cars are best understood in the context of the hedonistic culture of the street” (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014, p.53). When stealing a car, juvenile offenders are emotionally rewarded by feelings of power, popularity, and temporary fulfillment. In other terms the desire for pleasure influences theft, regardless of potential consequences. However, it would be negligent to ignore the financial benefits of stealing vehicles, which can be explained by the cognitive process. Many juvenile offenders steal cars and sell car parts or the entire car for profit (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014). This profit allows them to provide basic needs for themselves and their families, such as food and housing, in addition to luxury items, such as expensive clothes and jewelry. When considering consequences, many offenders do not believe that they will be caught, or they do not believe that the consequences of being caught (probation or incarceration) outweigh the benefits (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014). Some offenders also deny responsibility by blaming their behaviors on external circumstances, such as being under the influence or being with a friend who committed the crime (LeClerc & Wortley, 2014).

Due to the fact that cognition and affect have a significant impact on the decision making of juvenile offenders, it is imperative that clinicians utilize a therapeutic intervention that appropriately addresses these constructs. Therefore, Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) is a model intervention. CBT was developed by Dr. Aaron Beck at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1960's (Beck, 2011). Dr. Beck developed CBT based on the theory that dysfunctional thoughts are at the root of all psychological disorders (Beck, 2011). In the 1970's Beck and his colleagues validated the theory through various studies, where CBT was proven to be an effective intervention to treat depression (Beck, 1977). Although these studies were primarily conducted with White men, there have now been over 500 studies that illustrate that CBT is also effective with diverse groups, children and adolescents, and couples (Dodson, 2011). Additionally, it has been shown to be effective with a variety of psychological disorders such as anxiety, personality disorders, schizophrenia, Post- traumatic stress disorder, phobias, etc. (Dodson, 2011). Moreover, CBT has been found to be effective intervention with juvenile offenders (Clarke, 2010).

Cognition, affect, and behavior are the core constructs in CBT (Beck, 2011; Dodson, 2011; Craske, 2010). Cognition is the internal thoughts, conceptualizations, and perceptions that individuals have on a daily basis (Beck, 2011). CBT works from the frame that cognition impacts individuals' automatic thoughts, which reflect their intermediate beliefs, which reflect their core beliefs about themselves (Beck, 2011). Affect is the emotional state or mood of individuals (Beck, 2011). Therapists that utilize CBT believe that clients' affect is directly influenced by their cognition -automatic thoughts, intermediation beliefs, and core beliefs (Beck, 2011). Behavior is the physical actions the people display or the way that people engage with others (Beck, 2011). In CBT, it is assumed that an individuals' affect influences their behavior

(Beck, 2011). Therefore, the goals of CBT include positively altering or reframing the clients dysfunctional thoughts and beliefs (cognition), which will in turn uplift clients affect and positively influence clients typical behaviors (Beck, 2011). Thus, juvenile offenders benefit from positively altering their cognitions and affect so that they refrain from engaging in criminal behaviors. The present study also revealed the CBT would be beneficial for reframing the way that youth perceive themselves in regards to their race, which in turn could alter their criminal engagements.

Examples of dysfunctional thoughts are: (1) Labeling – placing a title on oneself and therefore needing to meet the requirements of that title (Craske, 2010). An example of labeling is a Black adolescent labeling him/herself as “bad” therefore they constantly misbehaves. (2) Selective Abstraction- thinking about only the negative aspects of a situation (Craske, 2010; Beck, 2011). An example of selective abstraction is when an Black youth individual reads out loud excellently, but stutters once and ruminates on the one time that they stuttered. (3) Personalizing- when an individual thinks about a general situation and makes personal assumptions about him/herself (Craske, 2010; Beck, 2011). An example of personalizing is if an entire family who is involved in gangs for generations without leaving an option for youth in the family, yet the adolescent believes that it is all their fault that he is gang affiliated. Furthermore, the adolescent may believe that his affiliation is a reflection of his bad decision making, and overall self-worth.

These dysfunctional thoughts are reflective in the clients’ automatic thoughts, intermediate beliefs and core beliefs. Examples of techniques that are used to alter dysfunctional thoughts and beliefs are: (1) Role-playing- acting out situations that clients fear, or acting out alternate ways to behave in a particular situation (Beck, 2011). As a response to the Latino/a

child that labeled him/herself as “bad,” the therapist and the child could role play situations where the child behaves rather than misbehaves and is positively reinforced through praise. (2) Socratic Questioning- Asking questions that guide the client to the realization that their thoughts are unrealistic or irrational (Beck, 2011). This can be done utilizing workbooks...An example of this is asking the client that stuttered once during the speech if they knows anyone else that has stuttered and still gave a great speech, or asking that client to describe the rest of the speech in detail. (3) Self-disclosure- when the therapist reveals a personal story that relates to the clients situation for the benefit of the client (Beck, 2011). While self-disclosure may happen candidly within interventions, intentional examples of youth who... could be implemented into the intervention.. An example of this is the therapist sharing an instance where they messed up on a group project and felt bad, but was still told that they was intelligent by the professor, passed the class, and was successful. This would validate the clients’ feelings of sadness, normalize making mistakes, and decrease the associations with the youth’s self-worth. Moreover, CBT is an effective intervention with adjudicated youth (Tafrate & Mitchell (2014).

Additional qualitative findings indicated that youth have been impacted by detrimental environmental factors, which has been validated by the PVEST model. As corroborated by previous research, many of these environments lead to aggression, alcohol and drug use, and trauma; aligning with the findings given that incarcerated youth are likely to demonstrate aggression (Raine et al., 2006), use or abuse alcohol and other drugs (Young, Dembo, & Henderson (2007), and up to 90% of them have a trauma history (Dierkhising, Woods-Jaegar, Briggs, Lee, & Pynoos, 2013). Therefore, interventions should also address trauma, drug and alcohol use, and aggression.



## Summary

Due to environmental and societal factors, Black incarcerated youth have a Miseducation Pro-Black racial identity attitudes which influences their adaptive engagements, often portrayed as anti-social behavior. Therefore, Black youth would benefit from a racially specific intervention that facilitates positive racial socialization through Black History knowledge concepts and positive role models. Racially specific interventions could enhance their racial pride and provide empowering associations with Blackness to mitigate criminal activity. Furthermore, affect and cognition are prominent indicators of decision-making that leads to criminal activity. Theft, which is a common crime, provides a detailed example of how affect (feelings of power) and cognition (the choice of money over possible imprisonment) can lead to criminal activity. Therefore, the use of interventions that address affect and cognition, such as CBT based techniques (i.e. traditional CBT, TF-CBT, DBT, ACT), are proven to be effective in the treatment and prevention of juvenile offending. Youth would also benefit from interventions that address aggression, alcohol and other drug use, trauma, and mental health concerns.

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## APPENDIX A

### Philosophy of Science Chart

<b>PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE (POS)- the conceptual roots undergirding the quest for knowledge</b>	<b>Paradigm/ Research Tradition</b>	<b>Ontology</b>	<b>Epistemology</b>	<b>Axiology</b>
<b>Description</b>	(philosophical traditions/worldviews rooted in different ontological and epistemological assumptions/conceptual framework based on your assumptions of the world) What is the worldview?	(Beliefs we hold about nature of being and existence) the nature of reality and being What is reality?	the theory of knowledge/the world AND the relationship b/w the researcher and participant) How can you know reality/knowledge ?	the role and place of values in the research process
<b>Examples</b>	Positivism, Post-positivism Constructivist/Interpretive, Pragmatism, Subjectivism, Critical	there is a single reality; reality is created; reality is constantly changing; reality is what we perceive to be real, etc.	reality can be measured; reality needs to be interpreted; solve problems ; knowledge is a perspective, etc.	maintain that the researcher's values and lived experience ( <i>Erlebnis</i> ) cannot be divorced from the research process; preset goal of the research is to empower participants to transform the status quo and emancipate themselves from ongoing oppression.



<b>Dissertation: Racial Identity &amp; Behavior in Black incarcerated Youth</b>	Critical- concerned with power relations, and oppression	Realities are socially constructed entities that are under constant internal influence; realities are impacted by cultural, ethnic, gender, social powers	Reality and knowledge is both socially constructed and influenced by power relations from within society/subjective & dialectic- empowering the participant	critical theory concerns itself with unequal distributions of power and the resultant oppression of subjugated groups; a goal of the research is to empower participants to transform the status quo and emancipate themselves from ongoing oppression.
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<b>PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE (POS)- the conceptual roots undergirding the quest for knowledge</b>	<b>Conceptual/Theore tical Perspective</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>Method/Procedure</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
<b>Description</b>	What is your framework?	How do you go about finding out?/What is my procedure?	What techniques do you use to find out?	How will you interpret the data?

<b>Examples</b>	Positivism, Bronfrenbrenner, Feminist, Critical Race Theory, etc.	Ethnography, Narrative, Phenomenological, Grounded, Case Study, Participatory Action research, etc.	Interviews, Focus Group, Document analysis, Observations, etc.	content analysis, discourse analysis, grounded analysis, discourse analysis, thematic analysis, etc.
<b>Dissertation: Racial Identity &amp; Behavior in Black incarcerated Youth</b>	Critical Race Theory (CRT) & Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST)	Phenomenology- allows the researcher to evaluate the participants' perception or understanding of a particular phenomenon. (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, and Hodges, 2008); means, understandings, descriptions	Individual Semi-structured (recorded) Interviews	Thematic analysis

(Ponterotto, 2005; <http://salmapatel.co.uk/academia/the-research-paradigm-methodology-epistemology-and-ontology-explained-in-simple-language> and <http://www.qualres.org/HomePhil-3514.html>)

## APPENDIX B

### Interview Protocol

Hi how are you today? (insert a positive response. I hope). Ok, that's good to hear *or* I'm sorry to hear that *or* I'm doing well, thank you for asking. Once again, my name is Jasmine Jenkins and I am a second year doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at the University of Georgia. You may have seen me around the RYDC as a mental health counselor but it is important to remember that I'm a student and I'm conducting research on the influence of racial identity on behavior in detained Black youth with UGA, not DJJ. Therefore, I thought that you would be able to share some of your thoughts and experiences with me, but this will not impact your charge, time served, or any DJJ status. Does that make sense? (insert response) Prior to starting the interview, I would like to remind you of some of the information that I told you before and that you and your parent/guardian received in the consent/assent:

- All of your responses will remain confidential; I will use a pseudonym, or fake name instead of your name.
- If you become uncomfortable at any point and you want to stop the interview, you can. It's perfectly okay.

At this point, do you have any questions?

***Transition:*** I would like to start off by getting to know you better.

1. Tell me about your...

- Age
- Race/ethnicity

- How long have you been detained?
- Favorite music artist (mostly for building rapport)
- Favorite sport (mostly for building rapport)
- Favorite movie (mostly for building rapport)
- Anything else that you would like to share?

**Transition:** Thank you for that information. Now that I know more about you, I would like to gain a better understanding of how you view yourself.

*Research Question (not read aloud):* Based on Cross's racial identity model (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and previous studies using the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2014; Worrell et al., 2004), what racial identity attitudes do Black incarcerated youth demonstrate?

2. How important is being Black to you?

*Probing questions:* Is your race one of your most important identities (examples of other identities; male/female, heterosexual/lgbtq+, etc.)?... Tell me more about that.

3. Tell me about whether or not you like being Black.
4. What do you think being Black means?

*Probing questions:* What behaviors, emotions, and intelligence levels do you pair with Blackness? What comes to your mind when you think about things that Black people do?

*Probing comment:* For example, some people associate being Black with rap music, others associate it with Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

5. About how long you have had these thoughts about what being Black means?

**Transition:** Thank you for sharing all of that insightful information. Now that I know more about your racial identity perceptions, I would like learn more about your behavior, primarily the behavior that led to your incarceration. Please to not tell me about any illegal activities that you did, if you are not charged for them. Does that make sense?

*Research Question (not read aloud):* How do Black incarcerated youths' racial identity attitudes relate to their behavior?

6. Describe your usual the behaviors before being detained.

*Probing questions:* What did you do with your family? What did you do with your friends? What did you do for fun? What did you do at school?

7. What influenced your behavior?

*Probing questions:* Describe family, friends, school, and media influences (external) and personal (internal) influences. What made you do... (insert act that youth described)?

*Probing questions:* Earlier you said that Black people act like... (insert information), does this impact the way that you behave?

**Transition:** Now that I know more about your behavior and the influence of those behaviors, I would like to learn about possible interventions that you think would help youth like yourself.

*Research Question (not read aloud):* What interventions would be most effective with Black incarcerated youth?

8. Describe intervention techniques that have helped you change the behavior that led to your detainment?

*Probing questions:* Tell me about anything that counselors, teachers, probation officers, coaches, family or community members that have helped you make good decisions.

9. If you had to design a program that helps AA youth with similar background and experiences as yourself, what would you suggest?

*Probing questions:* What would help youth like yourself avoiding getting arrested?

10. I know that I asked you a lot of questions, so I want to give you the opportunity to ask me anything. Do you have any questions for me?

**Summary Statement:** During the interview, I noticed several themes that were consistently noticeable. These included (insert themes). Do I have an accurate understanding of the themes? Did I miss anything?

**Wrap-Up:** Thank you for interviewing with me! I appreciate you taking the time to share your insight. Now I'm going to show you a video.

(Video shows examples of powerful Black people that have made positive contributions to U.S. society through various accomplishments (ie. scientific inventions). The interviewer will encourage your child to make good decisions and to aspire to be like the Black people in the past that have positively contributed to society.)

If you have any additional questions, may I contact you again?

## APPENDIX C

### Interview Questions Chart

<b>RACIAL IDENTITY &amp; BEHAVIOR IN INCARCERATED BLACK YOUTH</b>		<b>CRITICAL RACE THEORY (CRT)</b>	<b>PHENOMENOLOGICAL VARIANT OF ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY (PVEST)</b>	<b>PHENOMENOLOGY</b>
<b>Jasmine Jenkins, Counseling Psychology Doctoral Candidate</b>		<p>**</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "Racism is ordinary, not aberrational"</li> <li>2. Interest Convergence</li> <li>3. Race is a social construct</li> <li>4. Legal storytelling (Delgado, 2012)</li> </ol>	<p>***</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. net vulnerability level</li> <li>2. net stress</li> <li>3. reactive coping strategies</li> <li>4. emergent identities</li> <li>5. life stage outcomes</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allows the researcher to evaluate the participants' perception or understanding of a particular phenomenon (race).</li> <li>2. Reeves, Albert, Kuper, and Hodges (2008) stated that, phenomenology, "concentrates on exploring how individuals make sense of the world in terms of the meanings and classifications they employ" (p. 631).</li> <li>3. "offers an insight into the subjective "lived" experience of individuals." (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, &amp; Hodges, 2008, p.631)</li> </ol>
<b>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</b>	<b>INTERVIEW</b>			

	QUESTION S			
What racial identity attitudes do Black incarcerated youth demonstrate? (Based on Cross's racial identity model/expanded nigrescence* & previous studies using the CRIS)				
(1) Pre-encounter-Assimilation (2) Pre-encounter-Miseducation (3) Pre-encounter-Self-Hatred (4) Immersion-Emersion-Anti-White (5) Internalization-Afrocentric (6) Internalization - Multiculturalist Inclusive.	<p><b>How important is being Black to you?</b></p> <p><i>Probing questions:</i> Is your race one of your most important identities (examples of other identities; male/female, heterosexual/lgbtq+, etc.)?</p> <p><i>Probing Comment:</i> Tell me more about that.</p>	Race is a social construct (But is it important to them?)	net vulnerability level emergent identities	understanding of a phenomenon (race)
(1) Pre-encounter-Assimilation (3) Pre-encounter-Self-Hatred	<p><b>Tell me about whether or not you like being Black.</b></p>	Race is a social construct (Does it impact their sense of self?)	emergent identities	understanding of a phenomenon (race)



(5) Internalization -Afrocentric	<i>Probing questions:</i> Would you rather be similar to Black people or White people? Do you think that Black people should "act more Black", more White? Or like another racial group?			
(1) Pre-encounter-Assimilation (2) Pre-encounter-Miseducation (3) Pre-encounter-Self-Hatred (4) Immersion-Emersion-Anti-White (5) Internalization-Afrocentric (6) Internalization - Multiculturalist Inclusive.	<b>What do you think being Black means?</b> <i>Probing questions:</i> Tell me what you think about Black people. What behaviors, emotions, and intelligence levels do you pair with Blackness? What comes to your mind when you think about things that Black people do? Do you think that Black people are smart or dumb? kind or	Race is a social construct (But what are the meanings behind it for them?)	net stress emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race); how individuals make sense of the world in terms of meanings and classifications they employ

	<p>aggressive/mean?</p> <p><i>Probing comment:</i></p> <p>For example, some people associate being Black with rap music, others associate it with Historically Black Colleges and Universities.</p>			
<p>Encounter; (2) Pre-encounter-Miseducation</p>	<p><b>How did you develop these thoughts about what being Black means?</b></p> <p><i>Probing questions:</i></p> <p>What made you have these thoughts about what being Black means?</p> <p>Where there any (societal) experiences that led to your thoughts on what being Black means?</p>	<p>legal storytelling</p>	<p>net stress net vulnerability emergent identities</p>	<p>understanding of a phenomenon (race); how individuals make sense of the world in terms of meanings and classifications they employ; “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”</p>

Encounter	<p><b>About how long you have had these thoughts about what being Black means?</b></p> <p><i>Clarifying question</i></p> <p>i.e.." So you just told me about how you saw your uncle get into a fight in the 2nd grade, is this when you started to thing that Black people are aggressive?"</p>	legal storytelling	<p>reactive coping strategies</p> <p>emergent identities</p> <p>life stage outcomes</p>	<p>understanding of a phenomenon (race); how individuals make sense of the world in terms of meanings and classifications they employ;</p> <p>"offers an insight into the subjective "lived" experience of individuals."</p>
(4) Immersion- Emersion- Anti-White	<p><b>Tell me what you think about White people.</b></p>	Race is a social construct (But what are the meanings behind it for them?)	emergent identities	understanding of a phenomenon (race)
(6) Internalization - Multiculturalist Inclusive.	<p><b>Tell me what you think about Latin@ people? Asian people? Indigenous/ Native American people? Mixed raced people? LGBTQ+ people? Rich people? Poor</b></p>	Race is a social construct (But what are the meanings behind it for them?)	emergent identities	understanding of a phenomenon (race)

	people? Men? Women?			
How do Black incarcerated youths' racial identity attitudes relate to their behavior?				
behaviors & racial attitudes	<p>Describe your usual behaviors/engagements before being detained.</p> <p><i>Probing questions:</i></p> <p>What did you do with your family? What did you do with your friends? What did you do at school? Are these things that you believe that Black people do? Were the people around you Black?</p>	legal storytelling	<p>net vulnerability level</p> <p>net stress</p> <p>reactive coping</p> <p>strategies emergent</p> <p>identities</p> <p>life stage outcomes</p>	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior)
behaviors & racial attitudes	<p>Earlier you said that you believe that Black people act like... (insert information)</p>	Racism is ordinary (including internalized)	<p>net stress</p> <p>reactive coping</p> <p>strategies emergent</p> <p>identities</p> <p>life stage outcomes</p>	<p>understanding of a phenomenon (race &amp; behavior)</p> <p>“offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”</p>

	, does this impact the way that you behave?			
behaviors & racial attitudes	<b>What external factors influenced your behavior/engagements?</b> <i>Probing questions:</i> Describe family, friends, school, neighborhood, home, and media influences. What made you do... (insert act that youth described)? Did your race impact these factors?	legal storytelling interest convergence	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior) “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”
behaviors & racial attitudes	<b>What other messages did you get about how you should behave as a Black youth?</b> <i>Probing questions:</i> Where did these messages come from? Did you follow them? Did your	Racism is ordinary legal storytelling	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior) “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”

	race impact these messages?			
behaviors & racial attitudes	<b>What personal (internal) factors influenced your behavior/engagements?</b> <i>Probing questions:</i> What were your thoughts before you (insert act)? Where were your emotions before you (insert act)? Did your race impact these thoughts and emotions?	Racism is ordinary legal storytelling	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior) “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”
	<b>Is there anything else that you would like to say about why you engaged in xyz activities?</b>	Racism is ordinary legal storytelling	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior) “offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.”
<b>What interventions would be most effective with Black</b>				

incarcerated youth?				
interventions & Black	<p><b>Describe intervention techniques that have helped you change the behavior that led to your detainment?</b></p> <p><i>Probing questions:</i></p> <p>Tell me about anything that counselors, teachers, probation officers, coaches, family or community members did that helped you make good decisions. Did they give you any messages about being Black?</p>	legal storytelling	<p>net vulnerability level</p> <p>net stress</p> <p>reactive coping</p> <p>strategies emergent</p> <p>identities</p> <p>life stage outcomes</p>	<p>“offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.</p>
interventions & Black	<p><b>What messages about being Black have helped you/your behaviors?</b></p>	legal storytelling	<p>net vulnerability level</p> <p>net stress</p> <p>reactive coping</p> <p>strategies emergent</p> <p>identities</p> <p>life stage outcomes</p>	<p>“offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.</p>

interventions & Black	<b>What messages about being Black have hurt you/your behaviors?</b>	legal storytelling interest convergence	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	“offers an insight into the subjective “lived” experience of individuals.
interventions & Black	<b>If you had to design a program that helps AA youth with similar background and experiences as yourself, what would you suggest?</b> <i>Probing questions:</i> What would help youth like yourself avoiding getting arrested?	legal storytelling	net vulnerability level net stress reactive coping strategies emergent identities life stage outcomes	understanding of a phenomenon (race & behavior)
	<b>I know that I asked you a lot of questions, so I want to give you the opportunity to ask me anything. Do you have any questions for me?</b>			



<p>*Nigrescence 6 subscales (1) Pre-encounter-Assimilation (2) Pre-encounter-Miseducation (3) Pre-encounter-Self-Hatred Encounter (part of the model but not a subscale because it is an experience) (4) Immersion-Emersion-Anti-White (5) Internalization-Afrocentric (6) Internalization-Multiculturalist Inclusive.</p>	<p>How many questions address each racial identity attitude? PA- 3; PSH- 3; PM- 1 (because they can list multiple things; IEAW- 3; IA- 3; IMCI- 2 (because there are many races &amp; LGBTQ people)</p>	<p>** 1. Racism is ubiquitous in US society 2. White people benefit from racism 3. the concept of race was developed based on physical characteristics, used to separate people and create power dynamics 4. giving a voice to people of color through narratives</p>	<p>*** 1. net vulnerability = the balance between risk factor burdens pitted against protective factor presence 2. net stress = the balance between social supports versus challenges..this is stress engagements- experiencing a stressful event,(ie. neighborhood dangers, social support, daily hassles) 3. reactive coping strategies= balance between adaptive versus maladaptive solutions 4. emerging identities= developing identities guide Positive vs. negative coping responses 5. life stage outcomes= productive vs. unproductive products</p>	<p>Net Vulnerability level: history of prior experiences and coping outcomes. Net stress engagement: actual experience that challenges individual's well being. Reactive coping methods: employed to resolve dissonance-producing situations. Emergent identities: coping strategies are repeated, become stable, and combine with self-appraisal to form identity. Life-stage, specific coping outcomes: identity affects future behavior and outcomes (self-esteem, achievement, health, etc.)</p>
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## APPENDIX D

### Deductive Codebook

<b>CAT EGO RY</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Based on (literature and/or theory)</b>
<b>RAC IAL IDE NTI TY ATT ITU DES (RIA )</b>				
1	<b>PA</b>	Pre- Encounter Assimilation	attitudes that de-emphasize being Black and assimilate with Eurocentric characteristics and values; attitudes reflect a preference for a national identity label (e.g., American) rather than an ethnic label (e.g., African American).	Nigresence Theory (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002; Worrell et al., 2001; Worrell et al., 2014) & CRT
2	<b>PM</b>	Pre- Encounter Miseducation	acceptance of the negative stereotypes about African Americans	""
3	<b>PSH</b>	Pre- Encounter Self-Hate	a negative view of the self because one is African American.	""
4	<b>IEAW</b>	Immersion- Emersion Anti-White	individuals reject Eurocentric dominance; dislike for white people; a strong, negative emotional response to the dominant culture in the socio-historical context of the United States.	""
5	<b>IA</b>	Immersion Afrocentric	individuals take pride in their Black racial identity/like being Black; the degree to which individuals believe that African Americans should live by Afrocentric principles,	""

6	<b>IMCI</b>	Internalization Multi-Cultural Inclusive	Individuals have positive associations; like/appreciation/acceptance of other races, genders, sexual orientations; Black self-acceptance alongside a willingness to engage with other cultural groups.	""
<b>BEHAVIORS (Bx)</b>				PVEST & (Crandall et al., definitions from dissertation, other articles)
7	<b>DEL</b>	Delinquent acts	law breaking such as theft, truancy, assault, weapon possession, etc.	YLS Risk Assessment
8	<b>SU</b>	Substance use/abuse	the mention of using any illegal substances such as marijuana, cocaine, meth, etc.	""
9	<b>AGG</b>	Aggression	harmful interactions; inflicting pain; damaging property	""
10	<b>IMP</b>	Impulsive Behavior	Acting without thinking	""
11	<b>SI</b>	Suicidal Ideations	An indication of having thoughts of killing oneself	""
12	<b>SEX</b>	Risky Sexual Behavior	Indication of sex without protection or birth control	""
13	<b>OPP</b>	Defiance /Oppositional	resistance or disobedience to authoritative figures	""
14	<b>STR</b>	In the streets	AN indication of "hanging out" in the community rather than at school or home; not pro-social engagements	""
15	<b>EA</b>	Extracurricular Activities	Prosocial engagements such as sports teams, clubs, etc.	PVEST & CRT
16	<b>LA</b>	Leisure Activities	Prosocial engagements such as hanging out with friends, playing video games, listening to music	PVEST & CRT
<b>RELATIONSHIP (RIA &amp; Bx)</b>				
17	<b>CON</b>	Consciously Influenced	youth acknowledged a relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in	PVEST & CRT

17a	<b>CONfa</b>	By family	"" + the relationship was due to Black family members	""
17b	<b>CONfr</b>	By friends	"" + the relationship was due to Black friends	""
17c	<b>CONn</b>	By neighborhood	"" + the relationship was due to Black neighborhoods	""
17d	<b>CONm</b>	By media	"" + the relationship was due to images of Black people in the media	""
17e	<b>CONs</b>	By Systems	"" + the relationship was due to how educational, political, criminal justice, economic, housing, social systems, etc. impact Black people	""
18	<b>UNC</b>	Unconsciously Influenced	youth did not consciously acknowledge a relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in, but the relationship was revealed in some of their sentiments/statements	""
18a	<b>UNCfa</b>	By family	"" + the relationship was due to Black family members	""
18b	<b>UNCfr</b>	By friends	"" + the relationship was due to Black friends	""
18c	<b>UNCn</b>	By neighborhood	"" + the relationship was due to Black neighborhoods	""
18d	<b>UNCm</b>	By media	"" + the relationship was due to images of Black people in the media	""
18e	<b>UNCs</b>	By Systems	"" + the relationship was due to how educational, political, criminal justice, economic, housing, social systems, etc. impact Black people	""
19	<b>NotIN</b>	Not Influenced	There was no found relationship between their thoughts about being Black and the behaviors that they engaged in	""
<b>INTERVENTIONS</b>				CRT & PVEST & Previous Intervention, MH profiles of incarcerated youth)
20	<b>SUD</b>	Substance Use	psychological interventions for substance use	<a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2538725/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2538725/</a>

21	<b>DEP</b>	Depression	psychological interventions for depression symptoms (hopelessness)	""
22	<b>ANX</b>	Anxiety	psychological interventions for anxiety symptoms	""
23	<b>ADHD</b>	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder	psychological interventions for ADHD symptoms	""
24	<b>PTSD</b>	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	psychological interventions for PTSD symptoms	<a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2538725/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2538725/</a>
25	<b>RACE</b>	Race Related	Interventions that include Black history knowledge, Black pride, etc	PVEST & CRT
26	<b>SEXED</b>	Sexual health	Interventions that include sexual health education	YLS Risk Assessment
27	<b>EMO</b>	Emotion-Regulation	Interventions that help with emotion-regulation (anger, impulsivity, defiance, etc)	YLS Risk Assessment
28	<b>THO</b>	Risky Thoughts/Decision making	Interventions that help mitigate risk thoughts & make prosocial decisions	YLS Risk Assessment
29	<b>ACC</b>	Access to basic needs	Interventions that provide basic needs (food, clothes, shelter, jobs, medical care, etc.) to youth, their families, and/or communities	YLS Risk Assessment
30	<b>RM</b>	Healthy relationships/Positive Role Models	Interventions that provide positive role models, whether it be with family, friends, or community members	YLS Risk Assessment
31	<b>PE</b>	Prosocial Engagements	Interventions that provide youth with positive social engagements	YLS Risk Assessment
32	<b>IR</b>	Institutional Racism	educational, political, criminal justice economic, housing, social systems, etc. biases against impact Black people	CRT-racism is ubiquitous

## APPENDIX E

### Inductive Codes

<b>Inductive Codes</b>
Identity confusion
Multiple incarcerations
Hesitation in self confidence
Use of profanity to express emotion
Denial of emotion
Exposure to violence
Experience of loss
Self-reliance
Feeling unsafe
Need to be strong
Provider
Sense of pride in race
Fear of White people
Fear of incarceration
Remorse
Comfort with own racial group
Negative associations with racial group
Positive associations with racial group
Music as an escape
Family connection
Violent crimes
Incarcerated family member
Faith
Environmental influence
Enjoyment in defiance
Fear of police
Exposure to sex
Illegal activity as a way to impress
Protector
Disconnection from White people
Connection to other races

Bias against homosexuality
Gender inequality
Need for resources and safety
Diagnosed mental illness
Negative association with academia
Affinity for sports
High rates of incarceration
Unjust incarceration
Familial influence
Biracial
Distrust of White people
Black/white similarities
Positive association with other racial groups
Judgement of other racial groups
Harmful environment
Appreciation for school
Enjoyment of food
Affinity for music
Unjust incarceration of minority groups
Appreciation of other racial groups
Black influence on society
Negative representation of black people
Positive association with incarceration
Defiance
Appreciation for mental health professionals
Affinity for video games
Race as unimportant
Teenage parent
Gender equality
Drug use
Disconnect from family
Lack of remorse
Contradicting views
Education as unimportant
Suicidal ideation
Disconnect from society
Color differentiation

Desire to be more like White people
Acceptance of LGBTQ
White characteristics/behaviors as more ideal
Sense of individuality
Influence of friends
Aggression
Negative coping skills
Influence of media
Lack of forethought
Mentor
Affinity for writing
Acting black
Risk behavior
Outside activity as a positive coping mechanism
Acting in accordance with society
Black Role Models