

DETAINED YOUTHS' PERCEPTIONS OF
RACISM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

DESIREE` A. TALLENT

PATTI HARRISON, COMMITTEE CHAIR
IDA JOHNSON
BEVERLY ROSKOS
UTZ MCKNIGHT
SARA MCDANIEL

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Educational Studies in Psychology, Research
Methods and Counseling in the Graduate
School of The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2017

Copyright Desiree` Anne Tallent 2017
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

This study investigated detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools and in school discipline. Further examinations included the impact of perceived experiences with racism on externalizing behavior. Semi-structured interviews with five Black youth in a private juvenile justice facility informed these explorations. Of these participants, four were male while one was female. The expected age of participants was between 14 and 17. Coding of interview content involved themes of experiences with racism in schools and school discipline as well as externalizing behavior in response to racism. Relational analyses examined the relationship between externalizing behavior and experiences with racism.

Findings revealed consistent themes of perceived experiences with racism, mostly in the form of discrimination from school staff. Themes of racism in school discipline included racial bias in decision-making and excessive discipline. Most participants also reported responding to incidents of perceived racism with externalizing behavior. Externalizing behavior was also directly and indirectly linked to later contact with the juvenile justice system. These findings were supportive of general strain theory, critical race theory, and the school-to-prison pipeline, all of which highlight the impact of racism on externalizing behavior, the presence of racism in school and school discipline, and the contribution of school discipline to being processed by the juvenile justice system.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the participants in the study and every student who has encouraged me through their story. I offer the following words in return; so, you too may be encouraged to conquer your fears and become everything society believes you will not.

Did u hear about the rose that grew from a crack

in the concrete

Proving nature's laws wrong it learned 2 walk

without having feet.

Funny it seems but by keeping its dreams

it learned 2 breathe fresh air.

Long live the rose that grew from concrete

when no one else even cared! (Shakur, 1999, p.3)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRT	Critical Race Theory
GST	General Strain Theory
ODR	Office Discipline Referral

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to first thank “mama.” Your words of “lacing up your boots” have never rung as true as they did through this feat. Thank-you for teaching me that “never” is not a word and that you don’t quit what you start. You have always been, and always will be, a fortress to me. I want to thank my brother who will forever remain my hero. You taught me that you can follow your dreams and that the world does not end when things do not go accordingly. Because of your love, I have never been scared of failure, and because of your support, I have never failed. I want to thank “granny” for giving me a place to call home. The sight of your garden and our time spent with cookbooks was always special comfort through this tribulation. Thank you for teaching me what a kitchen is for and showing me how to use everything in it. I want to thank “daddy” for teaching me that only “All As” are acceptable. Simply wanting to make you proud forced me to excel academically and land where I am today. I also want to thank Tina’s blessings over your bank account. That support brought me through some of the hardest times. I want to thank Alaska for keeping me on the straight and narrow. Without you I would have been lost astray: You came just in the nick of time. Thank you granny Gwynn for allowing me to be a student, employee, young mother, and graduate. Your kindness is insurmountable. A special thanks to my dissertation committee. Thank you for believing in my ideas no matter how extreme. Dr. Harrison, it has been an honor having you as a mentor. Thank you for teaching me the beauty of school psychology and allowing me to pursue my own path. I will always admire you. Dr. Rainge, thank you for dragging me across the finish line. In closing, I want to thank the Good Lord. I truly believe this is my calling. May your blessing never be in vain.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xv
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Racism.....	1
Prevalence of Racism	2
Racism in School.....	3
Racism in School Discipline	4
Racism and Behavior	4
Race and Externalizing Behavior	5
Race and School Discipline.....	6
Juvenile Offenders.....	7
Theoretical Explanations	8
General Strain Theory	9
Critical Race Theory	10
School-to-Prison Pipeline.....	11

Conclusion.....	12
Statement of the Problem	13
Purpose of the Dissertation Study	14
Overview of the Dissertation Study.....	14
Research Questions	15
Significance of the Dissertation Study	16
Definitions.....	18
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
Definitions of Racism.....	21
General Prevalence of Racism.....	24
Prevalence of Racism in School	25
Personal Racism	26
Cultural Racism.....	27
Institutional Racism.....	28
Gender Differences	29
Prevalence of Racism in School Discipline.....	29
Emotional Impact of Racism.....	30
Behavioral Impact of Racism	32
Race and Externalizing Behavior	34
Racism in School Discipline	36
Discipline for Violent Acts.....	39
Racial Differences in Juvenile Offenses.....	40
Juvenile Offenders and School Experiences.....	42

Theoretical Underpinnings	44
General Strain Theory	45
Critical Race Theory	46
Racial bias in decision-making.....	49
Racial oppression in the environment	51
The School-to-Prison Pipeline.....	52
Racial disparities in the school-to-prison pipeline.....	54
School discipline and violent crime	55
Conclusion.....	56
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY.....	58
Overview of Qualitative Methodology: Phenomonology.....	58
Analytical Approaches and Methods.....	59
Theoretical Underpinnings	61
Interviews.....	62
Interview and theory.....	62
Interview confirmation.....	64
Summary of Study.....	64
Purpose and Research Questions.....	65
Overview of Method	66
Pilot study	66
Dissertation study.....	67
Pilot Study.....	67
Purpose of Study	68

Setting	69
Sampling and Recruitment	69
Parental consent	70
Participant assent.....	71
Participants.....	72
Permissions	72
Study Procedures.....	73
Interview Protocol	74
Data Collection.....	74
Data Transcription.....	76
Data Analysis	77
Interview question 1	78
Interview question 2.....	79
Interview question 3.....	80
Results.....	80
Interview question 1	81
Interview question 2.....	82
Interview question 3.....	84
Additional changes.....	84
Dissertation Study	85
Relevance of Pilot Study to Dissertation Study.....	85
Purpose of Study	85
Setting	86

Sampling and Recruitment	86
Parental consent	87
Participant assent.....	87
Participants	88
Permissions	89
Study Procedures.....	89
Interview Protocol.....	90
Data Collection.....	95
Data Transcription.....	97
Data Analyses.....	98
First cycle: Descriptive coding and theme generation for research questions 1 and 2	99
Second cycle: Descriptive coding, theme generation, and relational analysis for research question 3	105
Theme A and theme B.....	107
Analysis for Action Agenda	109
CHAPTER 4 RESULTS	110
Overview of Study	110
Purpose and Research Questions.....	111
Sample and Procedures	112
Data Transcription and Analyses.....	112
Results.....	115
Inter-rater Reliability Results	115
Results of First Cycle: Descriptive Coding for Research Question 1	116

Theme 1: School demographics.....	118
Theme 2: Discrimination	119
Theme 3: Negative perceptions	122
Theme 4: Racial divide	123
Theme 5: Disrespect	123
Results of First Cycle Coding: Descriptive Coding for Research Question 2	124
Theme 1: Racial bias in school discipline.....	125
Theme 2: Excessive discipline.....	126
Results of Second Cycle: Relational Analysis for Research Question 3	127
Theme A: Perceived experiences with racism	128
Theme B: Externalizing behavior.....	129
Causal relations	129
Contingent relations	131
Descriptive Data.....	132
Perceived experiences with racism.....	132
Perceived experiences with racism in school discipline.....	133
Action agenda.....	136
Summary of Results	138
CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION	139
Theoretical Frameworks for Planning the Study	139
Overview of Study	141

Purpose of Research Questions	142
Sample, Procedure, and Analyses	143
Major Results	143
Research Question 1: Perceptions of Racism in School	144
Discussion of Findings	144
Theme 1: School demographics	144
Theme 2: Discrimination.....	145
Theme 3: Negative perceptions.....	147
Theme 4: Racial divide	148
Theme 5: Disrespect.....	148
Relevance of Findings.....	149
School demographics, discrimination, and racial divide	150
Negative perceptions and disrespect	151
Research Question 2: Perceptions of Racism in School Discipline.....	152
Discussion of Findings	152
Theme 1: Racial bias	152
Theme 2: Excessive discipline	153
Relevance of Findings.....	155
School enagement and bonding.....	157
Labeling and internalization	157
Summary	158
Research Question 3: Relational Analysis.....	159

Discussion of Findings	159
Theme A.....	159
Theme A link to Theme B.....	160
Additional findings.....	160
Relevance of Findings	160
Racism and behavior	161
School bonding.....	161
Discipline and contact with the juvenile justice system	162
Racism, emotions, and behavior.....	162
Summary	163
Discussion and Relevance of Action Agenda.....	163
School as a Risk and Protective Factor	164
Alternatives for Discipline	164
Implications for Schools and School Psychologists	165
Action Agenda	166
Future Directions.....	167
Limitations	168
Conclusions.....	169
REFERENCES.....	173
APPENDICES.....	190

LIST OF TABLES

1. A Comparison of Interview Questions with Relevant Research Question.....	94
2. Research Question 1: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers.....	117
3. Research Question 2: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers.....	125
4. Research Question 3: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers.....	128

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 1	101
2. Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 1	101
3. Chart used to Organize Descriptive Data Relevant to Themes of Experiences with Racism	103
4. Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 2.....	103
5. Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 2	104
6. Chart used to Organize Descriptive Data Relevant to Themes of Experiences with Discipline	104
7. Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 3.....	106
8. Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 3	107
9. Causal and Contingent Relationships	108
10. Chart used to Organize Information Relevant to the Action Agenda.....	109

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the perceived experiences of racism in public schools and the perceptions of racism in school discipline among detained Black youth. This study also addresses how detained Black youths' perceptions of these experiences with racism impact externalizing behavior. The purpose of this investigation is to understand how detained Black youth experience and perceive racism in school and how these experiences contribute to violent tendencies among Black youth.

This study is important due to the impact of racism, particularly racism in school, on violent behavior (Hoskin, 2011, 2013; Martin et al., 2011; Unnever, Cullen, Mathers, McClure, & Allison, 2009), violent school infractions (Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Butler, Joubert, & Lewis, 2009; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002) and self-reported violent behavior among Black youth (Felson, Deane, & Armstrong, 2008; Jarjoura, 1993; Maschi, 2006; McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Despite research linking perceived racism, especially in school, to violent behavior among Black youth, studies have yet to investigate this relationship among detained Black youth. This study provides a qualitative inquiry to explore the individualized accounts of detained Black youths' experiences with racism in school and how these experiences impact violent behavior.

Racism

Racism is typically defined as a socially-embedded construct that creates and

perpetuates racial empowerment for certain racial groups at the expense and disadvantage of other racial groups (Berman & Paradies, 2010; Jones, 1972). Although there are various types of racism, all forms of racism have a considerable amount of overlap and operate in a manner that oppresses certain racial groups while enabling other racial groups. Nevertheless, different types of racism achieve this outcome in different manners.

Individual, or personal, racism involves individuals' behaviors influenced by stereotypical and biased ideologies (Ridley, 1994). Institutional racism pertains to the systemic operation of organizations and the manner in which these operations are fueled by, reflect, and purport racial ideologies and practices (Jones, 1972; Ridley, 1994). Cultural racism regards the values and symbols of societies and how these facets solicit and reiterate racially-biased beliefs (Jones, 1972).

Prevalence of Racism

Racism's prevalence is indubitably noted in research. Experiences with racism are not only significant but particularly present among ethnic minorities with Black individuals, (Borders & Liang, 2011; Brondolo et al., 2008; Plummer & Slane, 1996; Williams, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997), including Black youth (e.g., Benner & Graham, 2013; Bogart et al., 2013; Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, & Pulgiano, 2004) reporting a significantly higher prevalence of experienced racism than other ethnic minorities. Studies show that approximately 80% of Black participants report experiences with racism throughout their lifetime as well as on an annual and daily basis (Coker et al., 2009; Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody, 2004; Guthrie, Young, Williams, Boyd, & Kintner, 2002; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Seaton & Douglass, 2014; Unnever, Cullen, & Barnes, 2016). When considering gender differences, Black males report more incidents of racism than Black females, even among youth (Seaton & Yip, 2009).

Reported instances of racism have involved being insulted by others (Brody et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2011; Simons et al., 2006) as well as receiving poor service in public facilities (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Guthrie et al., 2002).

Racism in School

Black youths' experiences with racism within school settings are similar to their experiences with racism in general (e.g., Benner & Graham, 2013; Brittan & Gray, 2014; Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2015). Perceptions of racism in school have been reported to a higher extent by Black youth than White youth (Fisher et al., 2000) with Black youth reporting being treated badly due to their race, especially by their teachers (e.g., Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Black youth have also reported being called names (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010), being stereotyped (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Heinfield, Moore, & Wood, 2008; Soumah & Hoover, 2013) and being physically harmed (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010) due to their race.

Within the school environment, Black youth have reported racial segregation in the classroom (Hairston, 2010) and feeling that their culture was dismissed as unimportant or unacknowledged by school staff (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). Black youth have also reported believing that teachers do not value them (West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006), peers are afraid of them (Rajan, 2015), and that they are unsafe at school (e.g., Hairston, 2010). In regards to their schooling, Black youth have stated they are often taught mostly by White teachers (Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006) and with a racially-biased curriculum that only emphasizes White culture (e.g., Hope et al., 2015; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006). Black youth have also claimed that race often determines the quality of resources and academic teaching at

a school (e.g., Howard, 2008). Across gender, males have reported more experiences with racism in school than females (e.g., Benner & Graham, 2013; Chavous et al., 2008).

Racism in School Discipline

In other avenues of school functioning, Black youth have reported experiences with racism in school discipline (e.g., Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Fisher et al., 2000; Gibson, Wilson, Haight, Kayama, & Marshall, 2014). Reports of racism in school discipline have been connected to unfair disciplinary practices such as Black youth receiving harsher punishments than White youth (e.g., Graham & Erwin, 2011; Soumah & Hoover, 2013) and non-Black students receiving less punitive punishment than Black students (e.g., Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Gibson et al., 2014). Being suspected of wrongdoing just for being Black (e.g., Hope et al., 2015) and being punished more severely than White students for similar behavior (Howard, 2008) are also noted.

Racism and Behavior

Black individuals' experiences with racism have been linked to negative affective and psychological outcomes (e.g., Brondolo et al., 2008; Pachter & Coll, 2009), especially among Black youth (e.g., Coker et al., 2009; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009). More so, racism within schools has shown a negative impact on students' emotional well-being (e.g., Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010).

Experiences with racism have also been linked to externalizing behavior, including aggressive and violent tendencies (e.g., Coker et al., 2009; Tobler et al., 2013). Perceived racism at school has been shown to impact students' behavioral health and to be linked to violent tendencies, such as physically hurting others (e.g., Hoskin, 2011; Nyborg & Curry, 2003).

The connection between experienced racism and externalizing behavior such as misconduct and physical aggression has been especially noted among Black youth (e.g., Brody et al., 2006; Hoskin, 2013; Martin et al., 2011). In particular, racism's reported impact on violent behaviors has been more prevalent among Black youth than youth from other racial backgrounds (Bogart et al., 2013; Hoskin, 2013). Black youths' reports of experienced racism have also been found to be predictive of future acts of externalizing behavior (Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2016), including violent acts toward others (Martin et al., 2010; Simons et al., 2006). The impact of racism on externalizing behavior has remained significant even when environmental, personal, social, and contextual variables are accounted for (Brody et al., 2006; Nyborg, 2003; Unnever et al., 2016).

Race and Externalizing Behavior

In general, ethnic minority youth report engaging in higher rates of externalizing behavior, including violent acts, than White youth (Felson et al., 2008; Maschi, 2006). Self-reported violent tendencies are especially noted among Black youth who, more often than White youth, report hurting others, either individually or in a group, as well as using a weapon to hurt someone (e.g., Bogart et al., 2013; McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Shetgiri, Kataoka, Ponce, Glores, & Chung, 2010). Specifically, the likelihood of Black youth engaging in violent tendencies has ranged from being 2-3 times that of White youth (Felson et al., 2008; Shetgiri et al., 2010). Black youth, particularly males, have also reported higher increasing rates of violent behavior than White youth (Felson et al., 2008; McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Studies considering individual, familial, contextual, and environmental variables have failed to explicate racial differences in violent behavior (Bogart et al., 2013; Felson et al., 2008; Peeples & Loeber, 1994).

Racism and School Discipline

Racial disparities in school discipline are strongly noted throughout research (e.g., Bradshaw et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2014). These disparities become more significant as the forms of discipline become harsher (Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008). The rates of Black youth receiving office referrals, detention, suspension, and expulsion have significantly exceeded that of White youth (e.g., Bradshaw et al., 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010). Black youth have also received harsher forms of school discipline than their White counterparts (Butler et al., 2009; Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeier, & Valentine, 2009; Skiba et al., 2011).

Black youths' increased probability of receiving school discipline in comparison to White youth has continued across elementary, middle, and high school settings (e.g., Bradshaw et al., 2010; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011). These racial disparities have persisted through consideration of school-based data as well as teacher and student reports (e.g., Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2002; Wallace et al., 2008). Racial disparities in school discipline have also remained despite the acknowledgment of personal, contextual, environmental, and school-related variables (e.g., Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008).

Regarding behavioral infractions, Black youth are at a greater risk of being punished for the threatening of, and engaging in, violent-like behaviors (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002). Similar to racial disproportionality in general school discipline, racial disproportionality for the disciplining of violent behaviors is noted across all grade levels (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002). The disproportionality of school discipline among Black youth for violent infractions is also

reported among various sources of data, including school data and individual reports (e.g., Skiba et al., 2002).

Black males receive the most school discipline in comparison to their White counterparts as well as Black and White females (e.g., Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003). Research supports that school discipline is often harsher for Black males than White males to Black males than White males (Wallace et al., 2008), even when Black and White males exhibit similar behavioral infractions (Butler et al., 2009). Similar patterns emerge with violent behavior, with more Black males than White males punished for either threatening to, or actually, physically harming someone (Butler et al., 2009; Mendez & Knoff, 2003).

Juvenile Offenders

Black males are over-represented among youth who are detained and committed within the juvenile justice system for violent crime (e.g., Barrett, Katsiyannis, & Zhang, 2006; Forsyth et al., 2014). Research on the school experiences of juvenile offenders is scant (Barnert et al., 2015; Wester, MacDonald, & Lewis, 2008). However, some studies show that youth who have become involved in the juvenile justice system report negative school experiences within the school environment and among school personnel (e.g., Hatt, 2011; Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander, Sharkey, Olivarri, Tanigawa, & Mauseth, 2010; Unruh, Povenmire-Kirk, & Yamamoto, 2009). Particularly, juvenile offenders have reported poor relationships with their teachers and have reported perceiving their teachers as uncaring, unhelpful, and not believing in students' potential (e.g., Barnert et al., 2015; Hatt, 2011). Other reported concerns among juvenile offenders have included frustration with academic success, unmet academic needs, being perceived as "dumb," and feeling unsafe (e.g., Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010).

Juvenile offenders have reported excessive and unjust punishment while at school, with school personnel perceiving them as causing trouble or being “bad” (Hatt, 2011; Pollard & Pollard, 2001). Although studies on juvenile offenders’ experiences with racism in school are scarce, it is suggested that juvenile offenders experience racism within institutional settings such as public schools (Vakalahi & Godinet, 2012).

Theoretical Explanations

The previous summaries of research demonstrate that racism is a significant and common factor in the lives of Black individuals. Particularly for Black youth, racism appears prevalent within their daily functioning and as part of their school experiences. Specifically within the school setting, Black youth have reported experiencing racism in school environments, practices, and disciplinary procedures as well as from school personnel and peers.

The impact of racism on the lives of Black individuals, including Black youth, seems to be linked to externalizing behavior, including violent tendencies and actions. Self-reported data supports this claim, with Black youth, especially males, reporting engaging in more violent behaviors than their White counterparts. Black youth in school, especially males, are found to be more often disciplined for violent infractions than White youth. Regarding the population of juvenile offenders, a significantly higher number of Black youth are detained and committed for violent crime in comparison to White youth.

Studies provide insight into the impact of racism on violent behaviors among Black youth and indicate that Black youth seem to engage in more violent behavior than White youth (e.g., Felson et al., 2008; Shetgiri et al., 2010; Tober et al., 2013). Nevertheless, this empirical vanguard does little to explain why these associations are so. Moreover, while research acknowledges racial disparities in school discipline and highlights racial differences in behavior

infractions, the reason as to why fails to be elucidated. The over-representation of Black youth among violent juvenile offenders is another observed phenomenon. However, the reason for this over-representation is not explained nor is a link between violent infractions at school and violent crime among Black youth addressed. Queries arise as to why racism is linked to externalizing behaviors and why Black youth are more likely to be punished at school, especially for violent behavior. Whether there is a connection between the over-representation of Black youth who are punished for violent infractions at school and Black youth who are among those youth detained and committed for violent crime is also questioned.

Theoretical underpinnings are discussed within this study to provide a context and reason for the focus and questions of the study at hand. Particularly, theories about racism and externalizing behavior, racism within the school setting, and school discipline and delinquency are introduced to support the aforementioned research and provide insight and understanding to findings from research.

General Strain Theory

General strain theory (GST) is presented as a theory of delinquency to help explain the connection between racism and externalizing behavior. GST states that strain, defined as the removal of positive stimuli, the introduction of negative stimuli, or the inability to escape an aversive stimulus, inevitably leads to a negative affective state. This negative state can subsequently cause illicit behavior as one attempts to cope with presenting stress (Agnew, 1985, 1992). Moreover, when perceived as unjust, frequent, uncontrollable, and high in magnitude, these strains will likely lead to delinquency (Agnew, 1992, 2001). For externalizing behavior, Agnew believed that the inability to escape aversive stimuli and perceiving a strain as unjust was especially likely to cause anger and aggressive tendencies

(Agnew, 1985, 2001). Racism was believed to be a viable strain that could lead to delinquency in the form of aggression due to its ill-deserved nature and inescapability (Agnew, 2001).

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) is introduced as a theory of racial discourse to better understand the presence and impact of racism in public schools. According to CRT, racism is a systemic and political factor in the everyday lives of Black people and operates to maintain a racial divide based on the power of one racial group at the expense of another (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). Among institutional settings, schools are highlighted as constructs which function on and help to maintain racist ideologies throughout society (e.g., Nicolas, et al., 2008; Ogbu, 1987). Certain school operations are seen as contributing to the maintenance of a racial divide which ensures a privileged social position for White people while socially oppressing Black people (Rashid, 2009; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). One example of these mechanical factors includes biased decision making. Stereotypes of Black youth as aggressive and violent are considered a social construct stemming from our country's history of slavery which purported the negative lens through which Black people would be, and are, viewed (Howard, 2008; Simson, 2013). The perception of Black youth as dangerous, threatening, and ultimately criminal is also reinforced through school-based categorization and disciplining as Black youth are constantly punished for misconduct (e.g., George, 2015; Howard, 2008).

In addition to biased decision-making, CRT considers the impact of the oppressive nature of the school environment on the behavior of Black youth (Howard, 2008; Ogbu, 1987; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). In particular, the historical denial of quality education for Black youth and the resulting constraints of Black peoples' capacity for future economic and social

opportunities have been highlighted (Ogbu, 1987; Watts & Erevelles, 2004). Outcomes of this oppression have included the development of standards among Black youth that ultimately opposed school- and White-based standards and were thus deemed “inappropriate” and punishable within the school setting (Ogbu, 1987). In another tone, the oppressive nature of school toward Black youth has been considered a reproduction of the colonial state in which the colony operates to oppress and victimize the colonized. Subsequently, the oppressed develop a sense of vulnerability that ultimately leads to violent responses, thus placing the colonized at risk of being punished within the school setting (Watts & Erevelles, 2004). Due to influences of racial bias in decision-making and the impact of an oppressive environment, Black youth are expected to be targeted for engaging in, and exhibiting, more violent behavior than White youth (e.g., George, 2015; Howard, 2008).

School-to-Prison Pipeline

The school-to-prison pipeline is an ideological phrase that captures the observed connection between school discipline and delinquency. Though not considered a theory per se, the school-to-prison pipeline serves as a theoretical construct by providing a comprehensive explanation for observed, intermingling facts. Presumptions of the school-to-prison pipeline include a link between school suspension and school expulsion, dropping out of school, delinquency, and contact with the juvenile justice system (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], n.d; American Psychological Association [APA] Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008). The connection between school discipline and eventual contact with the juvenile justice system is especially highlighted among Black youth (e.g., Darenbourg, Perez, & Blake, 2010; National Association of School Psychologists [NASP], 2013a).

Several studies have supported the noted presumptions of the school-to-prison

pipeline. School suspension and expulsion are linked to dropping out of school (Christle, Jolivet, & Nelson, 2007) and delinquency (e.g., Monahan, VanDerhei, Bechtold, & Cauffman, 2014; Paetsch & Bertrand, 1997). Additionally, dropping out of school has been associated with delinquency (Sweeten, Bushway, & Paternoster, 2009) especially when school expulsion is the reason for dropping out (Jarjoura, 1993). Within types of delinquency, school suspension is uniquely related to violent crime (Van Dorn & Williams, 2003; Van Wijk et al., 2005). The link between school suspension and referral to the juvenile justice system has been especially noted among Black youth (Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009) as has the relationship between dropping out and violent crime (Ikomi, 2010).

Conclusion

Racism is a prevalent factor throughout the lives of many Black individuals, including Black youth. Experiences with racism are linked to negative affective and psychological states as well as externalizing behavior, including violent tendencies. Black youth, especially Black males, report experiencing racism throughout everyday activities as well as within the school setting. Supporting the link between racism and externalizing behavior, Black youth appear to experience more racism and engage in more violent-like behavior than White youth.

In school, Black youth receive more school disciplinary actions for violent-like behavioral infractions than their White counterparts. Excessive school discipline is especially prevalent among Black males who receive more disciplinary actions than White youth as well as Black and White females. Though Black youth seem to engage in more violent behavior than White youth in school, Black youth are disproportionately punished across all forms of school discipline, even when engaging in similar behaviors as their White counterparts.

Black males are responsible for the majority of youth who are detained and committed

for violent offenses. When asked about school experiences, many juvenile offenders report negative school experiences, such as poor relationships with teachers and feeling unsafe. Moreover, juvenile offenders report bias punishment in school, with school personnel perceiving these students as troublemakers and treating them negatively, as if they are prone to misconduct.

Racism appears to be a common experience of Black youth both in general and within the school setting. With racism's impact on behavior, it is possible that racism is in part responsible for the high rate of violent infractions among punished Black youth at school. However, racism could function in the opposite manner by influencing school personnel's perception of Black youth's behavior towards a negative light, thus having Black youth appear more aggressive and violent than is true. Resultantly, Black youth would be at-risk for being punished at school for violent infractions either due to actual behavioral infractions or biased disciplinary practices.

Statement of the Problem

The function of schools as social and institutional settings place them at risk of perpetuating racial prejudice and discrimination. Racism in school places youth, particularly Black students, at risk for engaging in externalizing behavior. Subsequently, Black youth are more likely to receive excessive and punitive forms of school punishment, especially for violent behavior. Being disciplined at school is a risk factor for entering the juvenile justice system. Black youth are currently over-represented among juvenile offenders who commit violent acts. Ultimately, racism in school may place Black youth at risk for entering the juvenile justice system via school discipline in response to violent behavior.

Purpose of the Dissertation Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of perceived racism in school and its contribution to violent behavior among Black youth involved in the juvenile justice arena. This study functions to gather first-hand accounts of racism in school according to detained Black youth. Additional efforts are put forth to examine the impact of experiences with racism on externalizing behavior.

Overview of the Dissertation Study

In the dissertation study, qualitative data was collected from semi-structured interviews to explore detained Black youths' perception of racism in school and school discipline. Interview content was also assessed for how these perceived experiences impact violent behavior. Detained Black youth were recruited for this study and asked to reflect on and discuss their perceptions of racism in public schools, how they perceive racism in school discipline, and how these experiences made them act or want to act. These youth were housed within a juvenile justice detention facility as a result of a police arrest due to a suspected delinquent act. Information on the age of participants was not collected as it was not part of the interview protocol. However, participants were believed to be between the ages of 14 and 17.

Qualitative data collected in the dissertation study was encompassed within a phenomenological design. A phenomenological research focus complimented the small sample size and provided a comprehensive examination of the investigated phenomenon of detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools and the impact of these perceived experiences on violent behavior. A pilot study was conducted to inform dissertation data collection procedures and the dissertation interview protocol.

Research Questions

- 1. What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?** Question 1 assessed detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss experiences in their public schools which they believed involved racism. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in schools.
- 2. In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the disciplinary practices of public schools?** Question 2 assessed ways in which detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss how they perceived racism in discipline at their public schools. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices.
- 3. What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?** Question 3 assessed how Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools influence violent behaviors. Participants were asked to expand their reflection on their reported experiences with racism in schools and tell how those experiences made them behave or want to behave. This question addressed the behavioral impact of Black youths' perceptions of racism in schools with special attention given to violent tendencies.

Significance of the Dissertation Study

In general, researchers have requested additional efforts to collect more data among juvenile offenders (Holt & Pamment, 2011) and on juvenile offenders' experiences with racism (Vakalahi & Godinet, 2012). Researchers have also highlighted the need for more investigations into Black youth's experiences with school-related racism (Hope et al., 2015). Additional calls have been made for future research assessing the impact of racism on emotional, psychological, and behavioral health among Black youth (e.g., Chao, Mallinckrodt, & Wei, 2012; Krieger, Kosheleva, Waterman, Chen, & Koenen, 2011; Martin et al., 2011). Several researchers have recommended using qualitative measures when assessing contributory factors to delinquency among youth (Froggio, 2007; Mabry & Kiecolt, 2005; Sander et al., 2010).

In an empirical sense, the dissertation contributes to existing literature across various avenues. Unique to the dissertation study, research participants were limited to detained Black youth. Consequently, literature is provided that is relevant to a distinctive, under-researched population.

The dissertation study also examines the presence of racism in schools and school disciplinary actions according to first-hand accounts of Black youth. As a result, an exclusive look into racism in public schools and school discipline through Black youths' personal accounts is provided. These accounts are important due to the risk Black youth face for experiencing racism in public schools.

Furthermore, the dissertation study analyzes how experiences and perceptions of racism in public schools and school disciplinary practices impact externalized behavior. Taken into account is the impact of racism in public schools on externalized behavior among a population at-risk for experiencing racism in public schools as well as engaging in, and

exhibiting, externalized behavior.

The nature of the dissertation study also contributes to theoretical standpoints highlighted throughout this study. Pertaining to GST, this study includes the use of qualitative methods to assess for potential non-linear relationships among racism and violent behavior. This relationship is particularly investigated among Black youth who are significantly over-represented among juvenile offenders. Additionally, this study investigates how *specific* strains influence *specific* delinquent outcomes as opposed to a more general approach to understanding the impact of strain on delinquency among Black youth. The exploration of the relationship between racism and delinquency among detained Black youth also provides a unique examination into possible causes of Black youths' risk for violent acts.

In regards to CRT, this study provides a first-hand account of perceived and experienced racism in public schools by Black youth. The ways racism may exist and be perceived within school disciplinary practices are also highlighted. These investigations also provide insight into how racism may operate within school discipline, whether through racial bias in decision-making or environmental oppression encouraging punishable behavior.

For the school-to-prison pipeline, this study offers a unique and personal account of school discipline's trajectory into the juvenile justice system. Captured in this study are first-person reports of events leading up to school discipline, perceived racial bias in school discipline, the aftermath of school discipline, and the impact of school discipline on detained youths' behavior. Further acknowledgment is given to the process and function of the school-to-prison pipeline among detained Black youth, a group significantly vulnerable to entering and traveling through the school-to-prison pipeline.

Definitions

- **Adjudication/Adjudicated:** Adjudication is the court process that determines (judges) if the juvenile committed the act for which he or she is charged. The term "adjudicated" is analogous to "convicted" and indicates that the court concluded the juvenile committed the act (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP], n.d.).
- **Committed:** The term “committed” includes juveniles in placement in the facility as part of a court-ordered disposition. Committed juveniles include those whose cases have been adjudicated and disposed of in juvenile court and those who have been convicted and sentenced in criminal court (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP], n.d.).
- **Delinquent Act:** An act committed by a juvenile for which an adult could be prosecuted in a criminal court, but when committed by a juvenile is within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Delinquent acts include crimes against persons, crimes against property, drug offenses, and crimes against public order when juveniles commit such acts (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP], n.d.).
- **Detained:** Detained juveniles includes juveniles held prior to adjudication while awaiting an adjudication hearing in juvenile court, as well as juveniles held after adjudication while awaiting disposition or awaiting placement elsewhere. Detained juveniles also include juveniles awaiting transfer to adult criminal court, or awaiting a hearing or trial in adult criminal court (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP], n.d.). This definition of “detained” applies to all participants of the current study.
- **Discipline:** The term “discipline” involves instruction, rules, policies or practices that are intended to manage student behavior at the classroom and school levels

(National Clearinghouse on Supportive School Discipline, 2014). In the current study, “discipline” will be defined as any incidents of “getting in trouble” as reported by participants.

- **Disproportionality:** A group’s representation in a particular category that exceeds expectations for that group, or differs substantially from the representation of others in that category. Disciplinary disproportionality encompasses the disproportionately high rates at which students from certain racial/ethnic groups are subjected to office discipline referrals, suspension, school arrest, and expulsion (Sullivan et al., 2009).
- **Expulsion:** An action taken by the local educational agency removing a child from his/her regular school for disciplinary purposes, with the continuation of educational services, for the remainder of the school year or longer in accordance with local educational agency policy. Expulsion with educational services also includes removals resulting from violations of the Gun Free Schools Act that are modified to less than 365 days. Expulsion can occur with or without the provision of educational services (Office for Civil Rights [OCR], n.d.).
- **Felony:** A felony is a crime carrying a penalty of more than a year in prison (Offices of the United States Attorneys, n.d.).
- **In-school suspension:** In-school suspension involves instances in which a child is temporarily removed from his or her regular classroom(s) for at least half a day but remains under the direct supervision of school personnel. Direct supervision means school personnel are physically in the same location as students under their supervision (Office for Civil Rights [OCR], n.d.). In the current study, accounts of in-school suspension refer to participants’ reports of being placed on, or being assigned,

in-school suspension.

- **Juvenile:** A youth at or below the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in a particular state (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP], n.d).
- **Out-of-school suspension:** For students with disabilities, out-of-school suspension is an instance in which a child is temporarily removed from his/her regular school for disciplinary purposes to another setting (e.g., home, behavior center). This includes both removals in which no Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) services are provided because the removal is 10 days or less, as well as removals in which the child continues to receive services according to his/her IEP. For students without disabilities and students with disabilities served solely under Section 504, out-of-school suspension means excluding a student from school for disciplinary reasons for one school day or longer. This does not include students who served their suspension in the school (Office for Civil Rights [OCR], n.d.). In the current study, accounts of out-of-school suspension refer to participants' reports of being placed on, or being assigned, out-of-school suspension.
- **Probation:** Probation is a sentencing alternative to imprisonment in which the court releases convicted defendants under supervision as long as certain conditions are observed (Offices of the United States Attorneys, n.d.).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review begins by introducing the concept of race and racism and discussing various forms of racism. Subsequently highlighted is the prevalence and experience of racism among Black individuals. Following is special attention to racism in public schools and school disciplinary actions as reported by Black youth. The emotional and behavioral impact of experiences with racism is also discussed. Emphasis on the link between experienced racism and violent behaviors among Black youth is further noted. Discussed afterward is violent behavior among Black youth. Next, information on racial bias in school discipline and racial differences in violent school infractions is provided. Following is the consideration of Black youth among violent juvenile offenders. Juvenile offenders' school experiences are discussed last.

There is a lack of research on perceived racism's impact on violent behavior among juvenile offenders and juvenile offenders' experiences with racism at school. Subsequently, this section focuses on Black youth outside the juvenile justice setting. Nevertheless, attention is given to juvenile offenders' school experiences, though not to the extent covered among the general population. Finally, theoretical underpinnings are discussed to support presumed connections between racism in school and violent behavior among Black youth.

Definitions of Racism

Racism is typically defined as a system of biological or social categorization (Brooks, 2006; Lowe, 2010). Initially, from a biological standpoint, race referred to family or linkage

between living beings (Lowe, 2010). Biological in nature, the term race also became linked to physical traits (Graves, 2009; Lowe, 2010) including geographical location, genetics, and behavioral traits (Graves, 2009).

During colonization in America, the term race was used to differentiate between populations and physical traits of individuals from different lands (Graves, 2009). With the eventual occurrence of slavery, race became a social construct, differentiating Europeans from Africans, or colonizers from slaves (Lowe, 2010). Eventually, race became a defining construct of social hierarchy with slave owners taking precedence over slaves (Brooks, 2006; Graves, 2009; Lowe, 2009). Race also became a construct of political, cultural, and economic factors as society continued to evolve around a hierarchical division among property owners, who were mainly White people, and non-property owners, who were mostly Black people (Brooks, 2006). Over time, the divide between Black and White people became further entrenched into the function of America which, by design, placed Black people on a lower rung of social order than White people (Brooks, 2006; Lowe, 2009).

Racism has been considered a multidimensional paradigm resulting “from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture” (Jones, 1972, p. 117). Racism has also been defined practically as “that which maintains or exacerbates inequality of opportunity among ethnoracial groups” (Berman & Paradies, 2010, p. 217). Racism may be seen as a self-perpetuating cycle powered by society’s daily functioning and fueled by ethnocentric ideologies and practices, operating to place one racial group in advantage over another racial group.

There are three overarching forms of racism with some variable overlap. These forms are

individual or personal, institutional, and cultural. Individual racism involves behaviors carried out by certain racial groups toward other racial groups which operate to maintain racial divisions (Jones, 1972; Ridley, 1994). These actions may be intentional, such as a law-enforced racially segregated school, or unintentional, as a racially segregated school due to tax-based zoning (Ridley, 1994). Individual racism may also be blatant, such as verbally harassing someone because of their race, or covert, such as discouraging a certain racial group from living in a neighborhood for fear of a decrease in property value (Ridley, 1994).

Institutional racism is defined as “the institutional extension of individual racist beliefs...to maintain a racist advantage over others” or as “the by-product of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict on a racial basis the choices, rights, mobility, and access of groups of individuals” (Jones, 1972, p. 6). Institutional practices of racism may be seen in a corporate setting where the majority of CEOs have been White or within an educational setting where the majority of economically disadvantaged schools serve ethnic minority students. Similar to individual racism, institutional racism may be intentional or unintentional as well as covert or overt (Jones, 1972; Ridley, 1994).

Cultural racism is considered to be an “individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race’s cultural heritage over that of another race” (Jones, 1972, p. 6). Such expressions may exist in two different manners. In one way, one group’s culture may be seen as inferior; for example, when one race’s dialect is deemed “proper,” another’s is considered “uneducated.” Alternatively, a racial group’s distinct culture may be overlooked via the conceptualization of “American History” through the lens of one racial group’s experience without considering the country’s history through the perception of other racial groups (Jones, 1972).

General Prevalence of Racism

The “unequal treatment of races” is typically considered racial discrimination (Clair & Denis, 2015). Reports of excessive exposure to racism in the form of racial discrimination are prominent among ethnic minorities, especially Black individuals. Black adults report more experiences with racism than their Latino, Hispanic, Native American, Asian, and White counterparts (Borders & Liang, 2011; Brondolo et al., 2008; Plummer & Slane, 1996; Williams, Yan, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Black adults also report more recent, lifetime (Borders & Liang, 2011), and overt (Plummer & Slane, 1996) experiences with racism than people of other races. Higher rates of social exclusion (Brondolo et al., 2008) and unfair treatment (Williams et al., 1997) are also reported more by Black individuals than other racial groups.

Racism in the form of racial discrimination is also prominently reported among Black youth (Benner & Graham, 2013; Bogart et al., 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Coker et al., 2009; Fisher et al., 2000; Gibbons, Gerrand, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody, 2004; Guthrie, Young, Williams, Boyd, & Kintner, 2002; Martin et al., 2011; Prelow et al., 2004; Simons et al., 2006; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; Unnever et al., 2016). Black youth report more instances of being treated badly because of the color of their skin (Coker et al., 2009) than the youth of other races. Up to two-thirds of Black youth in studies have reported experiences with institutional and individual racism (Brody et al., 2006; Dotterer et al., 2009; Gibbons et al., 2004; Guthrie et al., 2002; Martin et al., 2011; Respress, Morris, Gary, Lewin, & Francis, 2013; Seaton et al., 2008; Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2016).

More than 90% of Black youth in studies have reported experiencing racism within their lifetime (Coker et al., 2009; Gibbons et al., 2004) while up to 87% have reported annual experiences (Guthrie et al., 2002; Seaton et al., 2008; Unnever et al., 2016). As much as 97% of

Black youth have reported racism on a daily basis with some reporting experiencing racism twice a day (Seaton & Douglass, 2014). Common instances of racial discrimination reported by Black youth include the following: being hassled by store workers (Fisher et al., 2000), people acting as if they are better than them (Seaton et al., 2008), receiving poorer service than others in restaurants (Fisher et al., 2000; Guthrie et al., 2002), people acting as if they are scared of them (Fisher et al., 2000), being treated with less courtesy than others (Guthrie et al., 2002), being stared at by strangers (Seaton & Douglass, 2014), being insulted (Brody et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2011; Simons et al., 2006), being treated as if they are not smart (Fisher et al., 2000) or people being surprised by their intelligence (Brody et al., 2006), being suspected of wrong-doing (Simons et al., 2006), and being excluded from activities (Brody et al., 2006; Simons et al., 2006). The prevalence of racism has also been reported as more prominent than one's exposure to violence, family arguments, and school problems (Sanders-Phillips et al., 2014) and reported to increase over time (Martin et al., 2011).

Prevalence of Racism in School

Black youth make common reports of perceived racism in educational settings (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brittian & Gray, 2014; Coker et al., 2009; Dotterer et al., 2009; Fisher et al., 2000; Hope et al., 2015; Respress et al., 2013; Seaton and Douglass, 2014; Wang & Huguley, 2012). Specifically, school has been a central setting where Black youth report being treated badly because of their race (Coker et al., 2009; Hope et al., 2015).

Black youth often report racism in school in the form of peer and teacher racial discrimination (Chavous et al., 2008; Dotterer et al., 2009; Hope et al., 2015; Respress et al., 2013; Wang & Huguley, 2012; Wong et al., 2003) with peer discrimination being reported to a lesser extent (Chavous et al., 2008; Hoskin, 2011; Respress et al., 2013; Wang & Huguley, 2012;

Wong et al., 2003). In some cases, White and Asian youth have reported higher incidences of racism in the form of peer racial discrimination in comparison to Black youth (Benner & Graham, 2013; Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014; Respress et al., 2013).

As for teachers, Black youth have concluded that their teachers do not care about them (Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006) or respect them (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006). Qualitative research has shown that over half of the words Black youth used to describe teachers were negative, such as “smart mouth,” “hateful,” and “racist” (Graham & Erwin, 2011). Black youth have also felt as if their non-Black peers are afraid of them (Hairston, 2010). Regarding school experiences, Black youth have reported being recently threatened at school more often than White youths’ reports (Rajan, Namdar, & Ruggles, 2015). Additional reports made by Black youth include feeling unsafe (Hairston, 2010; Rajan et al., 2015) and targeted (Hairston, 2010) at school because they were Black. In comparison to White youth, Black youth have reported lower levels of school bonding (McNulty & Bellair, 2003).

Personal Racism

Experiences with personal racism reported by Black youth in school have included name-calling from peers (Hairston, 2010; Simmons, 2012), teacher stereotyping (Allen, 2012; Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010; Heinfield et al., 2008; Hope et al., 2015; Howard, 2008; Soumah & Hoover, 2013), peer stereotyping (Decuir & Dixson, 2004) and physical assault (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010). Name-calling has reportedly come from Black students’ peers (Hairston, 2010), and teachers (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010) and included names such as “Nigger,” “Chicken eater,” “Blackey,” “Ape,” and “Cotton Picker.” Regarding stereotyping, Black students have recalled how teachers “turned to the Black kids”

when a student said something rude or when the teachers were mad while turning to the “Asian and White kids” when they needed a quick answer (Hairston, 2010, p. 790-791). In referencing students suspected of trashing the school building and breaking things, a Black student claimed that “We’re [Black kids] always gonna be that stereotype. Even the Black faculty thinks we’re the ones who do it” (Hope et al., 2015, p. 25). In other instances, youth have reported experiencing racism by “The way we get talked to, the way teachers treat you, the stuff they want you to learn, I mean I could go on and on” (Howard, 2008, p. 976).

Other Black students noted lowered academic expectations from teachers due to teachers believing Black students were less intelligent (Allen, 2012; Graham & Erwin, 2011; Heinfield et al., 2008; Hope et al., 2015; Howard, 2008; Soumah & Hoover, 2010). For example, a Black student claimed “if you’re like a Black student they [teachers] have lower expectations for you” going further to claim how they, as a Black student, put forth extra effort to “try to answer as many questions” in class to “show them [teachers] that I’m...intelligent” (Hope et al., 2015, p. 96). Reports have also been made that, while White and Asian students in class were perceived as “critical thinkers” when disagreeing with or challenging class discussions, Black students were considered “disrespectful” (Howard, 2008, p. 971).

Black students also reported being feared by teachers and peers because they perceived Black students as dangerous (Allen, 2012; Hairston, 2010). Similar claims include perceptions of Black youth as mean (Hairston, 2010), aggressive (Hairston, 2010; Howard, 2008), “gangsters (Hairston, 2010), and troublemakers (Allen, 2012; Graham & Erwin, 2011). Beliefs that Black students played sports and were “fast” have also been noted (Decuir & Dixon, 2004).

Cultural Racism

Black students have also noted cultural racism, feeling their teachers did not care about

their African American culture (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Hairston, 2010) or downplayed the significance of cultural history related to slavery (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010). For instance, some youth have reported attending a school that did not celebrate Black History Month because that school “just doesn’t do that” (Hairston, 2010, p. 793). Other youths have claimed that administrators told Black students “don’t be so pro-African that you are going to come in the dashiki” (Decuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 28).

Additionally, Black youth have purported that their culture is not “acknowledged in the curriculum” (Hairston, 2010, p. 793), while other’s have noted a “curriculum that does not represent Black people fairly or accurately” (Graham & Erwin, 2011, p. 409). Other curricular concerns noted by Black students have pertained to a limited discussion of oppression and hegemony to protect the image of the “White man” (Hope et al., 2015). Black youth have also reported a poor education of Black students compared to White students (West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006) and a lack of resources for Black students (Soumah & Hoover, 2013).

Institutional Racism

Black youth have reported institutional racism in the form of classroom segregation (Hairston, 2010; Simmons, 2012). Specifically, Black youth have perceived classrooms as purposefully segregated by teachers for easy stereotypical categorization of students, such as grouping all of the rude, Black kids together and the smart, White kids together (Hairston, 2010). Youth have felt this segregation is unjustifiable, with one participant stating “It has always been that way and I don’t even know why. It just is” (Simmons, 2012, p. 8). Furthermore, some youth have suggested a dearth of Black teachers (Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006) claiming that “All of the teachers...are White, Asian, and local.” (Hairston, 2010, p. 795), or claiming that they have “all White teachers” (West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006, p. 6).

A difference in the rigor of curriculum between mostly-Black and mostly-White schools has similarly been mentioned, with the latter supposedly doing more “advanced” work than the former (Hope et al., 2015). Interviewees have also mentioned differences in the settings of Black and White schools, with Black schools reportedly having metal detectors along with uncaring and poor teachers whereas the White schools do not (Howard, 2008). The claim that “You can’t prove that it’s racism, but how can it be anything else” have also been made (Howard, 2008, p. 972).

Gender Differences

Black boys report more experiences with racism than Black females (Seaton et al., 2008), especially in the educational setting (Benner & Graham, 2013; Chavous et al., 2008; Dotterer et al., 2009; Wang & Huguley, 2012). Specific reports include feeling that teachers are afraid of them and think they are not smart (Seaton et al., 2008). Boys also report higher instances of peer and teacher discrimination than their female counterparts (Benner & Graham, 2013; Chavous et al., 2008; Dotterer et al., 2009; Wang & Huguley, 2012).

Prevalence of Racism in School Discipline

Black youth report racism in school disciplinary practices, feeling wrongly and unfairly disciplined because of their race (Fisher et al., 2000; Hope et al., 2015; Seaton & Douglass, 2014). Black students have noted instances where disciplinary actions were less harshly allocated to non-Black students (Allen, 2012; Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Gibson et al., 2014; Hope et al., 2015; Howard, 2008) as well as excessively allocated to Black students (Allen, 2012; Graham & Erwin, 2011; Gibson et al., 2014; Soumah & Hoover, 2013). For example, one interviewee recalled an event in which a non-Black student’s internet profile included lethal threats and racist comments. While the discipline council suggested an expulsion, the

headmaster revoked the decision, choosing a suspension instead. The interviewee specifically recalled the headmaster looking “directly into” his [the interviewee] eyes and stating “you’re the only Black person on this council...why do you think he should be expelled” (Decuir & Dixon, 2004, p. 27). Other youths have stated, “There will be times where I [Black student] can do something and another race can do something, but I get in trouble for something and they wouldn’t” (Allen, 2012, p. 181). Black students have also claimed that they “never get the benefit of the doubt” unlike their White counterparts, stating that “It’ll never be the White kids, it’ll always be us [Black kids]” (Hope et al., 2015, p. 96) who get punished. Additional reports involve White students’ accounts of disciplinary incidents being considered more truthful than Black students’ accounts (Howard, 2008; Gibson et al., 2014).

Howard (2008) surveyed 10 Black males about their experiences with racism in school. In this study, students reported how “teachers never let you forget that you are Black” and how “sometimes it’s so obvious that they [school personnel] treat us [Black kids] different than them [White kids] (p. 971). Specific to school discipline, one participant claimed “I watch it all the time. One of us [Black males] do something, and we get suspended or expelled. A White kid does the exact same thing, and he gets a warning, or an after school referral” (p. 971). Another participant mentioned how “the minute something goes wrong...the first people that get looked at are all the Black boys” (p. 971). One research participant also recalled how he, who had never gotten into trouble at his school, got into a fight with a White student who frequently got into trouble. Nevertheless, the Black interviewee was “kicked out” because he was “too hostile and aggressive” while the White student “stayed at the school” (p. 975).

Emotional Impact of Racism

Often one’s experience with racism, regardless of the form of racism, is linked to

negative emotional and psychological outcomes. Negative affective outcomes associated with perceived racism are reported among White undergraduates (Chao et al., 2012), Puerto Rican adults (Todorova, Falcon, Lincoln, & Price, 2010), Latino adults (Brondolo et al., 2008; Broudy et al., 2007), Black adults (Brondolo et al., 2008; Broudy et al., 2007; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012), Black immigrants (Krieger et al., 2011; Landrine et al., 1996), and Black youth (Coker et al., 2009; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Peck, 2013; Priest et al., 2013; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Simons et al., 2002; Tobler et al., 2013). Research has shown the mere discussion of Black individuals' experiences with racist events to elicit negative emotions and feelings, including anger, sadness, retaliation, low self-efficacy, and depression (Lowe, 2010). Experiences with racism among Black people is also associated with suicidal ideations (Priest et al., 2013; Tobler et al., 2013), psychological distress (Krieger et al., 2011; Landrine et al., 1996; Pieterse et al., 2012; Priest et al., 2013; Williams et al., 1997), low self-concept (Landrine et al., 1996; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Seaton & Yip, 2009), hopelessness (Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Priest et al., 2013), anxiety (Broudy et al., 2006; Chao et al., 2012; Coker et al., 2009; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009; Klonoff et al., 1999; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Priest et al., 2013), somatization (Klonoff et al., 1999; Landrine et al., 1996), sadness, and depression (Brondolo et al., 2008; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009; Niwa et al., 2014; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Peck, 2013; Priest et al., 2013; Kessler et al., 1999; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Simons et al., 2002; Tobler et al., 2013).

Perceived racism in school has significantly impacted the emotional and behavioral well-being of Black youth. Specifically, Black youth have reported negative emotions in response to

experiences with racism in school (Hairston, 2010). Black students in narrative inquiries have reported being “set off” by being called a racially derogatory name (Hairston, 2010) and feeling angry in the midst of cultural racism (Hairston, 2010). Feeling angry when teachers accuse them of being racist for bonding with a Black teacher have also been reported (West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006). Furthermore, Black students have reported feeling singled out (Simmons, 2012), tired (Graham & Erwin, 2011), mad (Hairston, 2010; Simmons, 2012), lonely, isolated, weird, and sad (Hairston, 2010) at school due to being Black. Additionally, Black students have reported school being “hard and horrible” because of racism (Hairston, 2010).

Behavioral Impact of Racism

Priest (2013) analyzed 121 studies meeting the criteria of 1) being empirical studies with cross-sectional designs and quantitative measures 2) using racial discrimination as the exposure measure and 3) reporting associations with exposure to racial discrimination. The purpose of this study was to investigate negative outcomes associated with perceived racism among children and youth from various racial backgrounds. In 69% of reviewed studies, racial discrimination was statistically and positively associated with behavior problems. Specifically, racial discrimination showed a positive association with the following noted behaviors: aggression, behavior problems, conduct problems, delinquent behavior, and externalizing behavior. In self-report studies, experienced racism has been related to physical aggression toward other people and delinquency (e.g., stealing, carrying a weapon, getting in trouble with the police) (Tobler et al., 2013).

Relationships between experienced racism and externalizing behavior have also been reported among Black youth (Bogart et al., 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Coker et al., 2009; Hoskin, 2013; Martin et al., 2010; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2009,

2016). Results from a meta-analysis by Pachter and Coll (2009) focusing on Black children revealed a positive association between perceived racism and externalizing behaviors, including conduct problems and delinquency, as reported by youth and their caretakers. Experiences with racism among Black youth have also been significantly associated with externalizing behaviors including aggression and delinquency (Brody et al., 2006; Coker et al., 2009; Hoskin, 2013; Martin et al., 2011; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Priest et al., 2013; Simons et al., 2006; Tobler et al., 2013; Unnever et al., 2009, 2016).

In some instances, reported experiences with racism have been positively associated with parent-reported incidents (Coker et al., 2009; Nyborg & Curry, 2003) and self-reported incidents (Bogart et al., 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Hoskin, 2013; Martin et al., 2010; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2009) of externalized behavior including physical aggression and delinquency (e.g., fighting, assault, stealing, property destruction). Moreover, Black students' reports of racism have been shown to be positively related to parent-reported symptoms of Conduct Disorder and Oppositional Defiant Disorder, disorders reflective of delinquency and rule-breaking behavior (Coker et al., 2009). Black youths' reported experiences with racism have also been predictive of future increases in externalizing behavior, including initiating and engaging in fighting and assaultive behavior (Martin et al., 2010; Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2016), in addition to threatening to hurt others, bullying, screaming, swearing, setting things on fire, and destroying others belongings (Bogart et al., 2013; Simons et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2016).

Positive relationships between perceived racism and externalizing behavior have remained significant regardless of parental supervision or respect for others (Unnever et al., 2009), parental attachment (Brody et al., 2006; Unnever et al., 2016), age (Unnever et al., 2009,

2016), as well as association with delinquent (Unnever et al., 2009) and prosocial peers (Brody et al., 2006). Factors such as household income (Brody et al., 2006; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Unnever et al., 2016), hostile attribution bias (Nyborg & Curry, 2003), verbal IQ (Unnever et al., 2016), religiosity (Unnever et al., 2016), impulsivity (Unnever et al., 2016) and gender (Martin et al., 2010; Unnever et al., 2009, 2016) have also failed to explain the relationship between experienced racism and behavioral concerns.

The impact of experienced racism on externalized behaviors has been more profound among Black youth in comparison to the youth of other racial backgrounds. Perceived racism has explained more than half of the variation among Black and White youths' engagement in physical aggression and delinquency, with Black youth reporting higher instances of externalized behaviors (Bogart et al., 2013). Perceived mistreatment from peers has also been significantly associated with self-reported violent tendencies among Black youth more so than Latino youth, for which academic strain had the strongest relationship with violent tendencies (Hoskin, 2013).

Negative behavioral outcomes have also been linked to experiences with racism in school. Black youths' perception of school peers as prejudiced has significantly increased the probability of Black youth badly hurting someone in the past year (Hoskin, 2011). Perceived racism in school (i.e. teacher preference and interracial mingling among students) has also been found to be associated with reported rates of violent (e.g., fighting) and non-violent (e.g., stealing) behavior by Black youth (Unnever et al., 2009). School factors, such as the percentage of Black students in a school, has failed to mediate the relationship between experienced racism and externalized behavior among Black youth (Nyborg & Curry, 2003).

Race and Externalizing Behavior

Ethnic minority youth have been more than twice as likely as White youth to report

violent offending behavior, including using a weapon against someone, being in gang fights, using force to get money or things from others, and attacking someone with the intention of hurting or killing them (Felson et al., 2008; Maschi, 2006). Being an ethnic minority has also been significantly associated with youths' tendency to engage in violent offending behavior as opposed to property offending (e.g., stealing an item or breaking into a building or car) (Maschi, 2006; Peck, 2013).

Black youth report engaging in violent behavior more so than White youth (Bogart et al., 2013; Felson et al., 2008; Maschi, 2006; McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Peck, 2013; Rajan et al., 2015; Shetgiri, Kataoka, Ponce, Flores, & Chung, 2010; Sumner et al., 2015). In 2015, the American Medical Association analyzed data from the National Vital Statistics System, National Crime Victimization Survey, National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, National Child Abuse and Neglect Data system, and the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (Sumner et al., 2015). Results indicated that 35% of Black youth in high school, compared to 21% of White youth, reported engaging in a physical fight within the past year. Other research has shown Black youth, particularly males, to report a higher prevalence of fighting at school than White and Hispanic youth, for up to 10 consecutive years (Rajan et al., 2015).

Black youth have also reported higher levels of violence than White youth, including serious fighting, causing injury to someone, pulling out a knife or gun on someone, shooting or stabbing someone, participating in a group who was fighting another person, and using a weapon in a fight or to take something from someone (Felson et al., 2008; Maschi, 2006; McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Peck, 2013). Black youth have additionally reported higher instances than White youth of threatened and actual physical aggression toward others (Bogart et al., 2013).

The likelihood of engaging in violent behavior has been twice as high for Black youth

than White youth (Maschi, 2006; Shetgiri et al., 2010), especially for violent behavior with a weapon (Felson et al., 2008; Franke, 2000). For example, Black youth are three times more likely than White youth to engage in armed violence, having pulled a gun or a knife on someone (Felson et al., 2008). Furthermore, Black youth are twice as likely as White youth to report having stabbed someone and to have been in a serious fight (Franke, 2000) as well as being in a physical fight within the past year (Shetgiri et al., 2010). Black youths' reported increased involvement in violent behaviors across time has also exceeded that of White youths' (McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Racial differences in violent behaviors have been especially prevalent among young Black males in comparison to young White males (Felson et al., 2008; Maschi, 2006; Rajan et al., 2015).

The consideration of individual factors such as grades, gender, and age have been immaterial in explaining Black and White differences in reported rates of violence (Bogart et al., 2013; Felson et al., 2008; Franke, 2000). Family factors such as family structure, family income, family cohesion, parental education, parental control, and activities with parents have also failed to explain racial differences in self-reported violent behaviors (Bogart et al., 2013; Felson et al., 2008; Franke, 2000). Moreover, racial differences in delinquency reported by Black and White youth have remained significant when the impact of structural factors, such as family receipt of welfare, single-parent homes, urban residence, and socioeconomic status are examined (Felson et al., 2008; Peeples & Loeber, 1994).

Racism in School Discipline

Racial disparities in school discipline are prevalent throughout research (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Butler et al., 2009; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et

al., 2011; Wallace et al., 2008). According to odds, percentage rates, frequency, and disproportion, Black youth are more likely than White youth to receive office discipline referrals (ODRs) (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2011; Wallace et al., 2008), after-school detention (Wallace et al., 2008), out-of-school suspension (Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; & Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2011; Wallace et al., 2008) and school expulsion (Forsyth et al., 2014; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011; Wallace et al. 2008). For example, Skiba and colleagues (2011) found Black students more than twice as likely as White students to receive an ODR in grades K – 6 and more than three times as likely to receive an ODR in grades 7 – 12. Data from the Ohio Department of Education on 326 school districts was analyzed by Noltemeyer and McLonghlin (2010) to investigate racial patterns in school exclusion. Resulting figures revealed that Black students received double-to-triple the amount of school suspension and school exclusion as White students. Additionally, these researchers reported that 22.57 school suspensions were found per 100 Black students contrasted to only 8.47 per 100 White students. Examining out-of-school suspensions rates per 100 students, Mendez and Knoff (2003) found 30.58 suspensions per every 100 White students versus 83.67 per every 100 Black students.

Noted among elementary (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Butler et al., 2009; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2011), middle (Butler et al., 2009; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011) and high school settings (Butler et al., 2009; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mclonghlin, 2010; Skiba et al., 2011;

Wallace et al., 2008) are racial disparities in ODRs, in-school detention, out-of-school suspensions, and school expulsion. Black youths' increased propensity for receiving school discipline has persisted among school-based data (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Butler et al., 2009; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2002; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & McInglonhlin, 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011), teacher reports (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013), and self-reports (Wallace et al., 2008).

Black youth have also been found to receive harsher forms of discipline than White youth, despite engaging in similar behaviors (Butler et al., 2009; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Skiba et al., 2011). For instance, Nicholson-Crotty and authors (2009) found that 95% of Black students were given out-of-school suspension for having a weapon at school compared to 85% of White youth. Black youth were also found to be 1.5 times more likely than White youth to receive out-of-school suspension for tobacco-related offenses.

Racial disparities among Black youth in school discipline appear more profound as the severity of school discipline increases (Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008). For example, Wallace and colleagues (2008) found that whereas Black, Native American, and Hispanic youth reported similar rates of receiving an ODR for misbehavior, Black youth were significantly more likely to report receiving school suspension and school exclusion for misbehavior.

Controlling for individual factors such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, special education status, and grade has failed to explain racial disparities in school discipline (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Noltemeyer & McInglonhlin, 2010; Roque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008). Class-level factors such as teacher ethnicity, average classroom ratings for disruptive behavior, and the percentage of students receiving ODRs have also been unsuccessful in explaining racial differences in school discipline (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Roque & Paternoster,

2013). Urbanization and region have similarly been immaterial in accounting for racial disparities in school discipline among Black and White youth (Wallace et al., 2008).

Discipline for Violent Acts

Research indicates that Black students receive harsher school discipline than White youth for violent behavior, ranging from office discipline referrals (ODRs) to school expulsion (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2014; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin, 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2011; Skiba, 2002, 2011; Wallace et al., 2008). Compared to White youth, Black youth have an increased likelihood of receiving ODRs for fighting (Bradshaw et al., 2010) and threatening others (Skiba et al., 2002). A disproportionate number of Black youth, compared to White youth, have also received out-of-school suspensions for violent infractions (Mendez & Knoff, 2003). Black students have additionally accounted for more violent school infractions than White students (Butler et al., 2009). The propensity of Black youth to receive ODRs and out-of-school suspension for violent behavior remains among elementary (Bradshaw et al., 2010), middle (Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002) and high-school settings (Mendez & Knoff, 2003). Teacher-reports (Bradshaw et al., 2010) and school-based data (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002) have also supported findings of racial disparities in school-based violent infractions.

Regarding gender, Black male youth are significantly more likely to receive ODRs (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Skiba et al., 2002), after-school detention (Wallace et al., 2008), out-of-school suspension (Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008), and school expulsion (Forsyth et al., 2014; Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008) than White male youth and Black and White female youth. Black males are more likely than

White males to receive harsher school discipline in general (Wallace et al., 2008) and for similar infractions committed by White males (Butler et al., 2009). For example, Wallace and authors (2008) found that Black males were nearly three times as likely as White males to receive out-of-school suspension or school expulsion. As for Butler and colleagues' (2009) findings, a higher percentage of Black youth received out-of-school suspension for "disobedience" whereas a higher percentage of White youth received physical education class restriction.

The racial disparity in out-of-school suspension among Black and White male youth has been especially prevalent among violent actions. Butler and colleagues found that a disproportionate number of Black males, in comparison to White males, accounted for violent infractions related to fighting and threatening others (Butler et al., 2009; Mendez & Knoff, 2003). For example, Mendez and Knoff (2003) found fighting and threatening to be among the top ten behavior infractions met with school suspensions throughout a school district. In this study, Black males, though accounting for 12% of the student population, accounted for 34% of suspensions for fighting, 43% of suspensions for battery, and 43% of suspensions for threat/intimidation, all of which were categorized as "violence against person." In contrast, White males, while accounting for 30% of the student population, were responsible for 28% of suspensions for fighting, 23% of suspensions for threat/intimidation, and 27% of suspensions for battery. Data also showed that 26.28% of Black males received at least one suspension in the school year whereas 13.64% of Black females received at least one suspension. Moreover, 56.66 suspensions were found to occur per 100 Black male students in contrast to 27.01 suspensions per 100 Black females.

Racial Difference in Juvenile Offences

The over-representation of Black youth, particularly males, among juvenile offenders is

endemic, especially among violent offenders (Barrett et al., 2006; Forsyth et al., 2014; Kennedy, Burnett, & Edmonds, 2011; Sickmund, Sladky, Kang, & Puzanchera, 2013; Van Wijk, et al., 2005). Based on a statistical analysis of publicly-available, national data from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) website, Black males \leq 12 years to 20 years of age accounted for 40%-45% of person crimes (i.e. criminal homicide, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault and other person) from 1997-2011 while accounting for 36%-38% of non-person crimes (i.e. property, drugs, and public order offences) (Sickmund et al., 2013).

Empirical studies have also found disproportionate representation of Black males among violent, juvenile offenders (Barrett, 2006; Forsyth et al., 2014; Kennedy et al., 2011; Van Wijk et al., 2005). Kennedy and authors (2011) found that Black males account for 55% of violent juvenile offenders in a sample of 95 juvenile offenders, most of whom were males, currently referred to the Juvenile Court Assessment Center in Miami-Dade County. Barrett and colleagues (2006) found that being a Black male predicted being referred to the juvenile justice system as a violent offender more so than being a White male, White female, or Black female. From a group of 986 boys, Van Wijk and partners (2005) concluded from self-reports, teacher reports, and parent reports of behavior problems, as well as juvenile and adult court records of moderate/non-offenders and violent offenders, that being Black was a significant risk factor for engaging in violent crime. In consideration of specific felonies for which students were arrested, Forsyth and authors (2014) found that assault and battery were reported most often, with a total of 664 recorded arrests. Of these assault and battery crimes, Black youth accounted for 519 of the total arrests while White youth only accounted for 131. Black youth also accounted for 12 of the 14 arrests made for murder.

Juvenile Offenders and School Experiences

Barnert and colleagues mention how “adolescent voices on pathways to jail are notably lacking” in literature (Barnert et al., 2015, p. 1365). Other authors have claimed that “the voices of delinquent youths have not been heard” in regards to understanding delinquency (Wester et al., 2008, p. 101). To better understand youth delinquency and ways school experiences may contribute to delinquent outcomes, some researchers have interviewed juvenile offenders about their lived experiences which often involve school experiences.

Youth involved in the juvenile justice system have stated school’s potential positive impact on decreasing delinquent outcomes as well as the negative impact of the opposite (Barnert et al., 2015; Hatt, 2011; Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Sander et al., 2010; Unruh et al., 2009). For example, in a study by Barnert and colleagues (2015) one youth stated that “If home is bad and school is bad then you’re going to end up in jail” (p. 1368). Moreover, juvenile offenders have reported lacking appropriate academic skills as a risk factor for success in adulthood (Unruh et al., 2009). Despite the perceived positive impact of school, youth in the juvenile justice system have often noted negative school experiences, especially with school relationships, academic success, and school environments (Barnert et al., 2015; Hatt, 2011; Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010; Unruh et al., 2009).

For school relationships, juvenile offenders have noted that teachers have key roles in increasing students’ positive behaviors, experiences, and outcomes (Barnert et al., 2015; Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010). However, juvenile offenders have often reported negative experiences with teachers, such as believing teachers easily gave up on them (Barnert et al., 2015), did not care or want to help (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010), and did not want to “deal” with them (Hatt, 2011). For

instance, one incarcerated youth claimed that “they [teachers] looked at us as being unsuccessful” (Hatt, 2011, p. 484) while others have reported not liking their teachers (Hatt, 2011). In interviews conducted by Reed and Wexler (2010), a juvenile offender mentioned how “they [teachers] just throw you the work, step off, don’t give us no help, no nothing” (p. 202). Poor teaching staff has also been highlighted by juvenile offenders as a risk factor for an adverse adulthood (Unruh et al., 2009).

Juvenile offenders have reported feeling unsafe at their school at times due to gang activity (Barnert et al., 2015) and bullying (Barnert et al., 2015; Pollard & Pollard, 2001). In some instances, juvenile offenders have reportedly disliked or “hated school” (Hatt, 2011; Unruh et al., 2009). Juvenile offenders have also mentioned feeling frustrated due to poor school performance (Barnert et al., 2015; Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Sander et al., 2010) and, as a result, not showing up at school, (Barnert, et al., 2015), dropping out (Barnert et al., 2015; Reed & Wexler, 2014), or not doing class assignments (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010). Also noted are reports that schools failed to meet their academic needs (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Sander, 2010) and provided work below their academic abilities (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010).

Research has failed to investigate juvenile offenders’ experiences with racism in school. In 2012, Vakalahi and Godinet captured juvenile offenders’ experiences with racism in a qualitative study involving focus groups. Authors reported that around 90% of participants mentioned skin color, in addition to social class, attire, prejudice, and stereotyping as factors influencing their treatment and experiences inside the juvenile justice system. Although the study addressed juvenile offenders’ experiences with racism within secured facilities, mention was made about how the “experiences of youth of color in secured facilities are often identical to

their experiences in other societal settings, such as schools” (p. 295).

Juvenile offenders have also reported differential disciplinary treatment in school (Pollard & Pollard, 2001). For instance, one adjudicated youth claimed “If you have a problem...they [teachers] just figure—bad kid—...They just get you in trouble” (Pollard & Pollard, 2001, p. 480). In other cases, incarcerated youth claimed that teachers looked at them as if “they expected trouble” and that though you “wasn’t really the detention kid” you would get “kicked out” of school and suspended (Hatt, 2011, p. 483-484). Having a bad reputation and being wrongly suspend for incidents in which they were involved has also been noted among juvenile offending youth (Hatt, 2011). Other concerns include being labeled as “dumb” (Pollard & Pollard, 2001) and feeling isolated at school due to staff’s low expectations for the student’s success (Hatt, 2011).

Quantitative analyses have linked school discipline to involvement in the juvenile justice system. For example, Nicholson-Crotty and authors (2009) found racial disparities in out-of-school suspensions to be associated with racial disparities in referrals to the juvenile justice system, specifically for Black youth. These findings remained regardless of familial employment, familial income, or urbanization. Moreover, Forsyth and colleagues (2014) found that 100% of students arrested for felonies were disciplined by their school, either through in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, or school expulsion. These youth were also mostly Black males.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Some researchers have argued that low social control or a subculture of violence explains Black youths’ propensity for engaging in violence (Cohen and Short, 1958; Gottfredson & Hirshi, 1990). Nevertheless, research has shown social control theories and

theories involving subcultures of deviance to fail in fully explaining general delinquency and violent crime committed by youth (Agnew, 1985; Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton, & Agnew, 2008; Martin et al., 2010). Family structure and social bonds have also been unsuccessful in accounting for the prevalence of violent offending among Black youth (Durant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, & Linder, 1994; McNulty & Bellair, 2003).

Two theoretical claims are considered to better understand how racism in school can elicit violent crime and place Black youth at risk for being disciplined. First, general strain theory (GST) is introduced to explain how racism can lead to violent behavior among Black youth. Second, critical race theory (CRT) is mentioned to provide a context for racial disparities in school discipline and insight into racial differences in violent infractions.

The school-to-prison pipeline theory follows to explicate the association between racism in school discipline and violent crime among Black juvenile offenders. Specific to the school-to-prison pipeline, school discipline's influence on the risk of engaging in delinquency and coming in contact with the juvenile justice system is discussed. Supporting this argument are empirical findings denoting the relationship between school discipline and violent juvenile offending, particularly among Black males.

General Strain Theory

Agnew's GST provides a theoretical framework for examining relationships between social injustices, such as racism, and violent behavior among adolescents. Serving as a social-psychological theory for juvenile delinquency, GST states that negative experiences, which create strain, elicit negative emotions and behaviors (Agnew, 1992). Specifically, GST proposes that blocked goals, the removal of positive stimuli, or the presentation of negative stimuli create emotional distress which leads to delinquency as a form of coping (Agnew,

1985, 1992). Delinquent coping methods are believed to provide a means of equilibrium by increasing desired outcomes when expectations are unmet (Agnew, 1992). The perception of strains as unjust, high in magnitude, uncontrollable, chronic, and recent are thought to be most likely to lead to delinquency (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2013).

In the revision of GST, Agnew criticized original theoretical premises for focusing on material strain and aspirations instead of expectations in relation to goal attainment, thus failing to explain middle-class delinquency, the age-out phase of delinquency, or why only certain strains lead to delinquency (Agnew, 1985, 1992). Agnew also highlighted the significance of the perception of strain, realizing that various strains will impact people differently based on the relevance of the strain to a person's identity and goals (Agnew, 1992).

An additional revision to GST was the introduction of a new type of strain, being unable to escape aversive stimuli (Agnew, 1985). Inescapable strain was expected to likely lead to anger and ultimately delinquency in the form of aggression, especially when the strain was considered ill-deserved (Agnew, 1985). Anger was noted to foster delinquency, especially aggressive acts, due to anger's tendency to impair cognitive reasoning, provide a sense of empowerment, and create a desire for revenge (Agnew, 2001). Adolescents were believed to be particularly vulnerable to inescapable strain due to their limited power over determining their situations and surroundings (Agnew, 1985). Agnew further noted racism as a strain capable of causing deviant behavior due to its unjust nature and magnitude (Agnew, 2001). Racism also had the potential to lead to aggressive behavior among adolescents due to its inescapable presence (Agnew, 1985).

Critical Race Theory

Around the mid-1970s to 1980s, scholars of critical legal studies (CLS) began to

question the ideology of law being separate from politics while acknowledging the overlap between public policy and political action (Crenshaw, 2011). During this same time, thoughts from CLS began to consider the role of race and racial relations in law and politics (Matsuda, 1991; Tate, 1997). The acknowledgment of race in law and politics was largely brought to the attention of CLS scholars as people of color were continually subjugated despite efforts of the civil rights movement to end racial oppression (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001; Tate, 1997). By analyzing the role of race in the interaction of law and politics, CRT took action as a critique of, and force against, continued racial oppression (Crenshaw, 2011; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001).

In *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, Stefancic and Delgado (2001) define CRT as a movement consisting of “a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (p. 2). Major tenets driving the fight against transparent forms of racism have included the acknowledgement of racism as a common experience of Black people in America (Tate, 1997) and as a socialized function of daily existence and normalized activities due to its institutional entrenchment (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001).

In 1980, the noted intellectual father of CRT, Derrick Bell (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001), discussed how the ruling of *Brown vs. Board of Education* functioned more to benefit White people than Black people. This phenomenon was referred to by Bell and other CRT scholars as a dilemma of “interest-convergence” (Bell, 1980; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1998). In his article, Bell subsumes that the ending of public school racial segregation following the ruling of *Brown vs. Board of Education* was likely carried out to maintain and propel the privileged position of middle and upper-class Whites. The benefit of ending segregation for Whites included enhancing America’s appeal to citizens of communist countries, addressing the need

to re-invent a sense of “freedom for all” among Black veterans returning from World War II, and meeting the need to propel industrialization in the South.

Bell concluded that suspected changes within public schools following the ruling of *Brown vs. Board of Education* had done little to ebb or dismantle racial discrimination. Bell supports this claim by highlighting continuing racial issues within public schools at the time, mentioning racial disproportion in suspensions and expulsions as one example.

Since Bell’s critical article highlighting the presence of institutional racism in education, CRT has made its way into the educational realm, acknowledging racism as a critical factor in school inequity (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Leonardo, 2013; Rashid, 2011). In 1995, Ladson-Billings and Tate published an article titled “Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education.” The purpose of the article was to argue “for a critical race theoretical perspective in education.” In this argument, education was pitched as a property right, making it more available to property owners (i.e. Whites) than those once owned as property (i.e. Blacks). The paradigm of education as property was used to explain racial inequality among Black and White people. Since the call from Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) to bring CRT into educational discourse, CRT in education has become its own interest group. In 2011, Rashid claimed that “CRT looks at the various ways in which educational institutions manifest, reinforce, and perpetuate the subordination of non-Whites” (p. 589). In 2013, Leonardo stated that “CRT in education is going strong and gaining momentum, having been a fledgling discourse in education from the middle of the 1990’s” (p. 602). This commentary goes on to reference the article of Ladson-Billings and Tate as seminal work in bridging CRT and education.

Researchers have also noted schools as institutions of racial discrimination (Nicolas et

al., 2008; Ogbu 1987; Rashid, 2011; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). Ogbu (1987, p. 319) highlighted “subtle mechanisms,” such as lowered teacher expectations and “labeling of minority children” based on academic performance and behavioral tendencies which operate against ethnic-minority youth. In a similar vein, institutional discrimination in schools (e.g., low expectations for Black students) has been highlighted as an educational barrier to the success and development of Black youth (Nicolas et al., 2008). Watts and Erevellas (2004) similarly referred to schools as internal colonies of oppression for Black youth while Rashid and fellows (2011) noted schools as “sites of struggle for social justice.”

Some scholars argue that institutional racism in schools lies within a curriculum shrouded by tenets of White supremacy which cause non-White students to disengage from and resent academia (Howard, 2008; Knaus, 2009; Su, 2007; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). Others claim that racism in schools persists in the colonized exploitation and over-populace of Black students in special education classes and alternative schools. Economic fissures between mostly Black, urban schools and mostly White, suburban schools are equally addressed (Howard 2008; Noguera, 2003; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). Though these assumptions are important to understanding the role of racism within schools, they are outside the scope of this study. Therefore, attention is shifted to factors associated with racism in school and violent tendencies among Black youth.

Racial bias in decision-making. The image of Black youth, particularly males, as violent, dangerous, and criminally prone is considered prevalent within schools. These negative stereotypes and media-influenced imagery are seen as particularly influential during decision-making around school disciplining (Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2014; George, 2015; Howard, 2008; Noguera, 1995, 2003; Simson, 2013). Noguera (1995)

highlighted how violent behavior in society and within schools was often attributed to Black youth. In a later article, Noguera (2003) mentioned how schools reinforce existent stereotypes by categorizing children according to factors such as academic achievement and discipline. Negative stereotypes about Black individuals were particularly believed to be supported through the over-representation of Black youth among students receiving school suspension and expulsion (Noguera, 2003).

Simson (2013) referenced slavery times to explain the origin of Black stigmatization in America, claiming that the slavery era laid a “foundation for the unique stigmatization of African Americans in the United States” (p. 537). Howard (2008) provided the following statement in referencing how the stigmatization of Black males became a social construct:

All too often African American males have been caught in a web of stereotyped notions of race and gender that place them at considerable disadvantages in schools and ultimately society. The mere exploration of the social construction of the Black male image in the U.S. over the last four centuries reveal a highly problematic depiction ranging from the docile or the bewildered slave, to the hyper-sexed brute, to the gregarious Sambo, the exploitative pimp or slickster, to the super athlete and entertainer. (p. 966)

Other authors claim that “race and gender stereotypes particularly function to criminalize African American youth and to reinforce cultural beliefs about perceived inherent behavioral deficiencies” (George, 2015, p. 102). The school presence of negative stereotypes associated with Black males being dangerous is also mentioned as a debilitating factor to Black youths’ academic success (Carter et al., 2014). Furthermore, Simson (2013) claimed that stereotypes of Black youth being dangerous and threatening “trigger the subtle conviction

engrained in American thought that behavior that is at least potentially threatening or dangerous is in fact threatening and dangerous when an African American individual engages in it” (p. 548). Additional highlights were of the prominent impact of racial bias in school discipline, claiming that “The disciplinary decision maker evaluates the behavior of the student within an existing framework of social meanings associated with the student’s racial category” (Simson, 2013, p. 533).

Racial oppression in the environment. The previous section highlighted the presence of racial bias within schools and how this bias can place Black youth, especially males, at risk for being disproportionately exposed to school discipline. Nevertheless, racial bias in school discipline decision-making fails to account for why Black youth, especially males, are more likely than others to be suspended and expelled for violent infractions. The impact of school environment on behavior is considered to understand racial disparities among types of infractions.

Some authors have referred to schools as sites of oppression for Black youth, explaining how the school’s oppressive environment elicits oppositional behavior from the oppressed (Howard, 2008; Ogbu, 1987; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). Ogbu reflects on the significance of Blacks students’ denied access to quality education during slavery and the Jim Crow era. These limited opportunities were believed ultimately to create a sense of distrust among Black students toward the educational system (Ogbu, 1987). Consequently, Black youth were believed to reject school standards, such as those about behavior, and adopt their own. Ogbu specifically states “what the minorities consider appropriate...behaviors or attitudes for themselves are defined in opposition to...preferences of White Americans” (p. 323).

The concept of an oppressive school environment and its influence on the opposition of Black youth is recaptured by Watts and Erevelles (2004). In this article, the authors reference “internal colony theory” to explain why Black youth in schools feel “vulnerable, angry, and resistant.” Specifically, internal colony theory poses schools as an oppressive system by which the colonized (i.e. Black youth) are forced to interact within the oppressive colony (i.e. the school). Watts and Erevelles claim that “because colonization is itself a violent practice, it continues to reproduce other violent practices” (p. 287). Consequently, the interaction of the colonized among the colony is believed to cause feelings of vulnerability which, if unaddressed, result in violent responses. Further reference mentions how “stringent” methods of control, such as school expulsion, are utilized to address violent reactions.

The School-to-Prison Pipeline

One current phenomenon that addresses the over-representation of Black youth, particularly males, among the detained and committed juvenile offending population is the school-to-prison pipeline. The school-to-prison pipeline is a theoretical notion that captures the unique association between certain school practices and policies and future contact with the juvenile justice system (ACLU, n.d; APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Heitzeg, 2009; Kim, 2009). School discipline is noted as a significant factor in school practice and policy, contributing to the school-to-prison pipeline (ACLU, n.d; APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Heitzeg, 2009; Kim, 2009).

In an online resource titled “What is the School-to-Prison Pipeline?” the ACLU (n.d.) notes that zero-tolerance policies influence the use of school suspension and school expulsion. Accordingly, school suspensions and expulsions are highlighted as elements that “push students down the pipeline and into the juvenile justice system” due to the outcomes

associated with school suspension and expulsion, such as the lack of adult supervision, increased school disengagement, and dropping out of school (ACLU, n.d.).

In an article for the Forum on Public Policy, Heitzeg (2009) noted that the school-to-prison pipeline “is most directly attributable to the expansion of zero tolerance policies,” going on to say that such policies are linked to “increased suspensions and expulsions” and “elevated drop-out rates” (p. 1). In an article from the New York Law School Law Review addressing public law remediation and the school-to-prison pipeline, Kim states how school exclusion in the form of suspension and expulsion increased one’s risk of dropping out of school, engaging in delinquent behavior, and being incarcerated (Kim, 2009).

The impact of zero tolerance policies and their role in the school-to-prison pipeline encouraged the APA to develop a Zero Tolerance Task Force to investigate outcomes associated with such policies (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008). Concluded in the executive summary of a 2008 Zero Tolerance Task Force Report was that suspension as an outcome of zero tolerance policies often increases one’s risk of future suspension, dropping out, and later misbehavior. The task force also highlighted school expulsion as impacting future dropping out (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008).

The National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) also acknowledged the severity of the school-to-prison pipeline by recognizing the association between zero tolerance policies, school suspension, school expulsion, and incarceration as well as the association between school suspension, school expulsion, and dropping out (NASP, 2013a). During a Congressional briefing hosted by NASP on school discipline, NASP-affiliated panelists “urged Congress to close the school-to-prison pipeline” due to its negative impact on overall student success (NASP, 2013b).

The severity of the school-to-prison pipeline has also gained the attention of several civil rights organizations (Kim, 2009). These organizations include but are not limited to the Advancement Project, Children’s Defense Fund, Education Law Center, the National Association of African-American and Colored People [NAACP] Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc, National Disabilities Rights Network, National Economic and Social Rights Initiative, and National Juvenile Defender Center and the Southern Poverty Law Center (Kim, 2009).

Racial disparities in the school-to-prison pipeline. The disproportionate allocation of school discipline to Black youth is a prominent theme in the school-to-prison pipeline literature (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Darensbourg et al., 2010; Fancher, 2012; Heitzeg, 2009; NASP, 2013a; Skiba, Eckes, & Brown, 2009). In the *Journal of Law in Society*, Fancher (2012) referred to the school-to-prison pipeline as a “correlation between disciplinary exclusion of students of color from school and their ultimate involvement in the juvenile justice and criminal justice systems” (p. 267).

According to the American Bar Association’s (2001) zero tolerance policy as cited by Heitzeg (2009) “Violators - [of zero tolerance policies], disproportionately Black and Latino – are suspended, expelled, and increasingly arrested and charged in juvenile court as a result” (p.8). Furthermore, the APA Zero Tolerance Task Force (2008) reported that Black youth, more so than Latino youth, were disproportionately exposed to school suspension and school expulsion.

Darensbourg and colleagues (2010) highlight Black youths’ excessive exposure to school discipline and associated risks of dropping out and engaging in delinquency. In the *New York Law School Law Review*, Skiba (2009) highlighted the disproportionate allocation of

school discipline to Black youth and related risks of entering the juvenile justice system. Additionally, NASP recognizes racial bias in the allocation of school suspension and school exclusion and its impact on dropping out of school and coming into contact with the juvenile justice system, especially among Black youth.

School discipline and violent crime. Some research shows that school discipline in the form of suspension and expulsion is uniquely related to violent crime, especially among Black males (Ikomi, 2010; Jarjoura, 1993; Nicholson-Crotty et al. 2009; Van Dorn & Williams, 2003; Van Wijk et al., 2005). Van Dorn (2003) found that youth initially arrested and adjudicated for a non-violent offense and later arrested and adjudicated for a violent offense reported higher numbers of suspension than youth initially arrested and adjudicated for a non-violent offense and later arrested and adjudicated for another non-violent offense. Furthermore, 48% of youth later arrested for violent offenses reported having been expelled from school at least once compared to 28% of youth later arrested for non-violent offenses (Van Dorn, 2003).

Van Wijk and colleagues (2005) compared school discipline among boys reporting and convicted of violent acts to boys reporting non-violent acts. School suspension was a noted risk factor for delinquency in general (i.e. violent and non-violent crime). Nevertheless, a higher percentage of participants who reported, or were adjudicated for, violent acts reported higher rates of school suspension than those who engaged in non-violent delinquency.

Jarjoura (1993) analyzed data from the national longitudinal survey of youth (NLSY) to assess the association between dropping out and engaging in delinquency. Analyses showed that expelled youth were more likely to report engaging in violent behavior. Nevertheless, when race and gender were controlled, the effect of dropping out on violent behavior was decreased.

This change was attributed to the fact that most dropouts who engaged in violent behavior were Black and male.

Nicholson-Crotty and colleagues (2009) analyzed the association between racial disproportionality in school suspensions and coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. These authors concluded that racial disproportionality in school suspension was significantly and positively related to racial disproportionality in referrals to the juvenile justice system, even when controlling for poverty and unemployment. This study also showed that a significantly larger proportion of Black students received school suspension after committing certain types of criminal offenses (i.e. violent, weapon-related, and tobacco-related) compared to White students committing the same crime.

Ikomi (2010) found a positive association between dropout rates among Texas counties and analogous violent felony referrals. The association between dropout rates and violent felony referrals was especially significant when considering the number of Black dropouts, as opposed to White and Hispanic dropouts.

Conclusion

It appears that racism in school, both generally and in school disciplinary practices, is prevalent among the experiences of Black youth. Black youth report experiences with racism in school in their interactions with others, others' perceptions of them, school functioning, and school curriculum. Regarding school discipline, Black youth feel they are harshly targeted by, and unjustly met with, school disciplinary practices. Black youth also report engaging in more violent behavior than youth from other racial backgrounds and are punished at school for violent infractions more than youths from other racial backgrounds. Black youth are also most likely to be detained or committed in the juvenile justice system for violent crimes.

Given the association between racism and externalized behaviors, it is possible that perceived racism in school is responsible for the excessive rates of violent behaviors among Black youth. The likelihood of racism in schools may also influence the perception and punishment of Black youths' behavior as violent and in need of harsh discipline, ultimately placing these youth at risk for entering the juvenile justice system. Nevertheless, if the latter is true, the question of why Black youth report engaging in more violent behavior than the youth of other racial backgrounds is left unanswered. Reasons why Black youth are over-represented among violent juvenile offenders are similarly left unaddressed.

While it is important to understand how Black youth are disproportionately disciplined at school, it is of greater value to understand why this disproportionality occurs. The examination of racism in schools provides insight on factors that may influence violent behavior among Black youth. This investigation also helps identify a possible causal factor for disproportionality in school discipline which can lead to discussions and practices that unearth racial disproportionality in school discipline and ultimately reduce the risk of Black youth entering the juvenile justice arena.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3 begins with an overview of methodology including analytical approaches and theoretical underpinnings. Interviews are then discussed and utilized as sources of qualitative data as well as for theoretical confirmation. Interview validity and reliability are also addressed. The pilot and dissertation study are then overviewed. First, the pilot study is mentioned with emphasis on the study's purpose, setting, participants, study approval, protocol and procedures as well as data collection, analysis, and results. An introduction to the dissertation study follows. Included in this discussion is the pilot study's contribution to the dissertation study. The purpose and setting of the dissertation study along with sampling and recruitment, participants, study procedures and data sources is also discussed. Data collection and analyses are described last, including processes for coding and relational analysis.

Overview of Qualitative Methodology: Phenomenology

The dissertation study investigated the phenomenon of racism in public schools and its impact on the violent behavior of Black youth within the juvenile justice arena. The dissertation study was girded within a phenomenological design to examine the phenomenon of racism in school and violent behavior among Black youth (Connelly, 2010; Creswell, 2007). In phenomenological studies, research is conducted to better understand investigated phenomenon. This research often involves explorations of individuals' first-hand accounts of their experiences with the phenomenon. An analysis of these personal accounts ensues to study phenomenological processes. These examinations allow a deeper understanding of intermingling components of the

phenomenon and how these components operate and impact those exposed to them.

A phenomenon is a process that involves individuals' interactions with their social and cultural contexts (Creswell, 2007; Ihde, 1977). While a phenomenon may be reflective or descriptive of certain processes, theories often help explain those identified processes. Consequently, theoretical underpinnings frequently guide phenomenological research to provide direction and support for research design and data interpretation.

Critical race theory (CRT) emphasizes the use of personal accounts or narratives as data sources to inform investigations of systemic marginalization and oppression (Solorano & Yosso, 2002). Furthermore, CRT acknowledges racism as a contributing factor to systemic social injustices such as those within the educational system (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). In the dissertation study, CRT informed the sources of data sought for examining and explaining the study's investigated phenomenon. Specifically, personal narratives of Black youth involved in the juvenile justice system were used to understand the phenomenon of perceived racism in public schools and its impact on the behavior of Black youth in a juvenile justice setting. CRT also guided methods for data interpretation by placing emphasis on the validity of interview content in explaining the investigated phenomenon. An action agenda, often highlighted by CRT, was also informed and developed by participants' reported experiences. Despite the importance of other theories to the understanding of this study's rationale and results, CRT was the only theory relevant to methodology.

Analytical Approaches and Methods

Qualitative research is often carried out to explore real-life accounts or experiences (Ezzy, 2002). Personal, experiential accounts are the focus of qualitative studies and help to better understand participants' experiences with investigated phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

Some authors have defined phenomenology as “learning by example and experience” (Ihde, 1977) or as “the study of experience” (Charles, 2013). Phenomenology as a science may be considered investigative in nature, an “experience-experiment,” by which learning is accrued by doing (Ihde, 1977). In the practice of phenomenology, several individuals’ experiences are considered to develop a gestalt of the meaning of that experience (Creswell, 2007).

Phenomenology is known to focus on subjective experiences, requiring a certain degree of reflection on the part of the participant (Connelly, 2010; Creswell, 2007; Ihde, 1977).

Phenomenological studies often utilize qualitative methods, such as interviews, to explore and synthesize participants’ experiences with the phenomenon (Connelly, 2010; Creswell, 2007).

While recognizing the uniqueness of daily experiences, phenomenology also acknowledges the influence of social and cultural facets on participants’ perceptions of experiences and how reported experiences are representative of systemic facets and operations (Ihde, 1977).

Analyses of data in phenomenological studies often occur through a collection of statements described as themes (Creswell, 2007). These themes are described in a way to represent what is experienced and how it is experienced, as reported by participants. Using and comparing themes relevant to individual experiences provides a gestalt account of separate experiences with similar phenomenon (Ezzy, 2002).

Creswell (2007) reports two types of phenomenology: hermeneutic and empirical. From the hermeneutic stance, participants’ descriptions of lived experiences are interpreted to better understand the nature or “why” of reported accounts. From the empirical stance, a description of participants’ reported accounts occurs without interpretation by focusing on the surface value of phenomenon, such as the “what” or “how” of a phenomenon. The content of participants’ reports in the dissertation study was analyzed through a hermeneutic lens. Literature and theory

have provided empirical input regarding participants' likely experiences with the investigated phenomenon. Thus, analyses focused on the mechanics of the phenomenon's components and how they function to create the phenomenon itself.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Theories are often in the foreground of qualitative research by influencing study design and data analysis (Creswell, 2007; Ezzy, 2002). Theoretical standpoints are often a derivative of historical timeframes and cultural influence (Ezzy, 2002). Observations relevant to theoretical facets are often made to test or explain theoretical dispositions underlying research foci (Ezzy, 2002). Overall, theories guide data collection, subsequent observations, and data interpretation (Creswell, 2007; Ezzy, 2002).

CRT methods in research often aim to present stories of discrimination from individuals of color and provide solutions to social and institutional marginalization (Creswell, 2007). CRT encourages the use of personal narratives to explore and validate the effects and presence of racism (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Leonardo, 2013; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Kaufka (2009) highlighted the importance of personal accounts of racism, claiming that individuals should be permitted to personally voice experiences with oppression.

Personal narratives in education are necessary to explore oppressed groups' educational experiences (Howard, 2008) as well as understand and address racial inequality in education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). A CRT methodological framework influences and guides data collection and interpretation as a reflection of systemic oppression within educational settings. Research efforts also result in an action agenda focused on social change (Capper, 2015). Participatory/advocacy research investigates social injustices resulting from the social hierarchy that leads to marginalization and oppression (Greenwood & Levin, 1998). The goal of action

research is to implement an action agenda to dismantle or rearrange the distribution of power that causes social injustices (Capper, 2015; Greenwood & Levin, 1998). Action agendas are constructed by the voice of the oppressed. These personal accounts are honored as valid sources of data which identify and provide solutions to problems of marginalization (Greenwood & Levin, 1998).

The dissertation study incorporated a participatory/advocacy paradigm with CRT methodology to develop an action agenda. The action agenda's purpose was to promote social change within the public school system by informing practices and professional development. Specifically, youths' perceptions of school-based risk and protective factors for entering the juvenile justice system were investigated. Additional focus was on suggested methods alternative to discipline for addressing misbehavior.

Interviews

Interviews are often primary instruments for data collection in phenomenological and CRT-informed research. Interviews provide a method to engage participants in story-telling while simultaneously gathering experiential data for phenomenological discourse (Connelly, 2010; Creswell, 2007). Research is vague on the amount of information needed from interviews in qualitative investigations (Miller, 1996). The quality or "weight" of the interview takes precedence over the quantities of interviews and interview content (Miller, 1996). Nevertheless, Creswell (2007) suggests approximately five open-ended questions for a thorough investigation.

Interview and theory. As stated by Miller (1996), several rules are addressed to strive for theoretical confirmation when analyzing interviews as research data. First, interview content should expectantly provide support for the overriding hypotheses. Having interview content that denies the existence of the theory under investigation will ultimately contradict the hypothesis.

As a rule-of-thumb, the number of interviews that sanction a theory or phenomenon should outnumber those that refute it. Second, interview questions should be consistent. Such practices will allow for comparable accounts across participants as they relate to the phenomenon under investigation. Third, background information about the participant pool can serve as indirect support for phenomenological assumptions. These supports are provided when those from certain backgrounds presumed to have witnessed the phenomenon report doing so. For instance, detained youth reporting excessive school discipline would credit the school-to-prison pipeline.

The dissertation study implemented all three suggestions highlighted for theoretical support. First, individual and holistic analysis of data content occurred to search for thematic patterns supporting hypotheses. Specifically, thematic associations between experienced racism and violent tendencies, racial disparities in school discipline, and the contribution of school discipline to juvenile justice contact were assessed to support the study's underpinning theoretical frameworks.

Second, all participants received the same list of interview questions. Despite efforts for consistency, follow-up interview questions varied depending on participants' reports. Although no interview was an exact representation of other interviews, the gist of each interview was addressed with each participant to allow for between-subject comparisons.

Third, a consideration of background information for each participant in support of theoretical underpinnings occurred during data interpretation. Specifically, recognition of detained youths' accounts of racism and violent behavior shed light on GST. Mention of experiencing racism in school supported CRT. Detained youths' experiences with school discipline and the juvenile justice arena elucidated the school-to-prison pipeline.

Interview confirmation. Several methods were carried out in the dissertation study to address validity. These methods included restating, summative rephrasing, and early transcription over the course of the interview process (Creswell, 2007; Ezzy, 2002).

The researcher restated participant's accounts throughout the interview to ensure that the recorded account was accurate in describing reported experiences. The researcher also provided a summative account of the participant's report at the close of the interview. This summary helped ensure that the participant's collective report was accurately recorded and depicted.

Interview transcription occurred within 24 hours of the interview's completion. Prompt transcription allowed the author to review and document interview content with accuracy. Early transcription also decreased opportunities for misinformed interpretation or recall of collected data.

Inter-rater agreement was utilized during data analysis to assist with reliability. While attempts were made for inter-rater reliability to occur for each interview, time conflicts prevented thorough inter-rater agreement from taking place. Instead, the researcher coded every interview while an independent coder autonomously coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes for all interviews.

Summary of Study

The current study focused on detained Black youths' perception of racism in public schools and school disciplinary practices. Ways experiences of perceived racism impact the behavior of Black youth, specifically violent tendencies, was particularly emphasized. Several theories, including GST, CRT, and the school-to-prison pipeline, were utilized to connect how racism in schools may be related to violent tendencies among Black youth. These theoretical underpinnings also operated to explain the over-representation of Black youth among violent

juvenile offenders.

Purpose and Research Questions

The study's purpose was to capture the presence and behavioral impact of racism in schools as perceived and reported by detained Black youth. The dissertation posed the following questions to carry out these investigations:

- 1. What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?** Question 1 assessed detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss experiences in their public schools which they believed involved racism. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in schools.
- 2. In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?** Question 2 assessed ways in which detained Black youth perceived racism in school disciplinary practices. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss how they perceived racism in school discipline at their public schools. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices.
- 3. What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?** Question 3 assessed how Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools influenced violent behaviors. Participants were asked to expand their reflection on their reported experiences with racism in schools and tell how those

experiences made them behave or want to behave. This question addressed the behavioral impact of Black youths' perceptions of racism in schools with special attention given to violent tendencies.

Overview of Method

A phenomenological design enwrapped the current study as content from interviews was used to explore the investigated phenomenon. Critical race theory was used as a methodological framework emphasizing detained Black youths' personal narratives as phenomenological insight and informative to an action agenda. These personal narratives were captured in the form of interviews with detained Black youth. Interviewees were asked to discuss their school experiences including experiences with racism in general and within school discipline. The way these experiences impacted the participants' behavior was also addressed.

Pilot study. The researcher collected pilot study data among detained male and female youth at a privately-owned, juvenile justice facility located in the southeastern United States. The purpose of the pilot study was to inform data collection instruments and procedures and to practice the data collection process for the dissertation study. Consequently, the pilot study did not include a target sample size since this study was not relevant to data interpretation. Instead, the pilot study was used to inform data collection procedures and the interview protocol for the dissertation study. Data collection efforts for the pilot study took place on one occasion. Ultimately, the pilot study selection involved six recruits with 100% agreeing to participate in the study.

The researcher obtained parental consent for recruited participants during parental visitation at the juvenile justice facility. Once receiving parental consent, the researcher met one-on-one with recruited participants to obtain assent. The researcher then met with another

recruited member. The researcher collected demographic information for recruited members once assent was provided. Afterward, the researcher proceeded with the semi-structured interview. If a recruited member failed to provide assent, he or she returned to their normally scheduled activities. Content from the interviews was manually noted by the researcher on blank sheets of paper and later transcribed into Microsoft Word documents.

Dissertation study. Data collection for the dissertation study was to occur at state-managed juvenile justice correctional facilities in the southeastern part of the United States. However, attempts to obtain permission to collect data at state-managed juvenile justice facilities were unsuccessful due to the unavailability of, and lack of response by, appropriate administrators. As a result, the collection of dissertation data occurred at the same facility utilized for pilot data collection. Thus, dissertation data was collected by the researcher among detained male and female youth at a privately-owned, juvenile justice facility located in the southeastern United States. However, the pilot study and the dissertation study did not include the same participants as recruitment for each study took place at different times and involved different participants.

Efforts were made to meet research suggestions regarding a large enough sample size to address the phenomenon under investigation while avoiding data saturating. The dissertation study had a goal of 5-10 participants. Data collection occurred across three sessions to meet this requirement. Recruitment efforts resulted in seven individuals with parental consent, five of which gave assent to participate. Processes from the pilot study for consent, assent, and interview procedures were duplicated in the dissertation study.

Pilot Study

Efforts were made to recruit Black youth from juvenile justice facilities as research

participants for the pilot study. The researcher conducted individual interviews with participants after receiving parental consent and participant assent. Interview content was manually recording with pen and paper by the researcher. These recorded responses were transcribed by the researcher into a Microsoft Word document within 24 hours of the interview. Specifically, each interview's data was entered into a table with each row being comprised of a sentence.

Purpose of Study

Researchers are suspected to be have limited knowledge about interview questions pertinent to the phenomenological investigations during early stages of research. The researcher's role of an outside observer and lack of experience with the phenomenon ultimately limits personal knowledge on investigated topics (Ezzy, 2002). Consequently, researchers often prematurely assess collected data to gather a deeper understanding of the examined phenomenon (Ezzy, 2002). Early reviews of initial interviews also allow the researcher to examine any personal bias in interview question content and inspect the alignment between interview probes and the study's purpose (Ezzy, 2002). Thus, timely examinations of pilot study results better develop and inform data collection procedures and instruments of the dissertation study (Creswell, 2007).

The pilot study's purpose was to provide an audition for data collection procedures in order to inform data collection processes and instruments. Also, the pilot study served as a mechanism for enhancing and refining interview questions for an in-depth investigation of the phenomenon. As a result, data was not analyzed for themes, coded, or considered for qualitative interpretation. Instead, the nature of interview questions was revised to become more focused on, and informed by, the investigated phenomenon as noted by participants' responses during the pilot study. Using pilot results to guide the focus of dissertation interview questions also

permitted the voice of participants to be heard and reiterated throughout the mechanics of the study.

Setting

The pilot study took place in a private juvenile detention facility in the Southeastern region of the United States. This particular facility houses male and female youth who have come into contact with the law through situations involving possible offenses or non-offenses. This facility houses approximately 25 youth at any given time although its maximum capacity is over 50 youth youth. Some youth are detained for offenses following an arrest and are awaiting a court decision regarding adjudication, awaiting an outside placement following adjudication, or currently placed within the facility following adjudication. Some youth are detained, not for offenses, but to be momentarily removed from the home until it is deemed safe for the youth's re-entry. In other situations, youth are detained as they await a new living arrangement as their current living situation has been deemed unfit by law.

Given the complex nature of the pilot study population, the expected age range of research participants was uncertain. Nevertheless, the majority of youth recruited for the pilot study were expected to be within the same average national age range of most youth placed in private detention centers. According to national statistics, these youth are mostly between the age of ages of 14 and 17 (Sickmund, Sladky, Kang, & Puzzanchera, 2015).

Sampling and Recruitment

Recruitment of participants for the pilot study occurred during the summer of 2015. Recruitment procedures included purposive, or critical case identical sampling, of detained Black youth. Critical case identical sampling is defined as "selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, or institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering research

study's questions" (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p.77). It is suggested that key sampling procedures in qualitative research be purposeful, making participants directly connected to the investigated phenomenon (Connelly, 2010; Creswell, 2007; Ezzy, 2002; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Therefore, specific attempts were made to recruit participants directly related to the investigated phenomenon, resulting in recruitment of Black youth in juvenile justice settings.

Creswell (2007) states that sample sizes in phenomenological studies should include between 5 and 25 participants, with an estimated sample size of 10. It is also suggested that the participants have first-hand experiences with the investigated phenomenon. Sample sizes are thus often small, as sample quality takes precedence over sample quantity (Connelly, 2010). Overall, more emphasis is placed on the depth of participant experiences with the phenomenon than the number of participants who may have or may have not fully experienced the phenomenon (Connelly, 2010).

During recruitment, the researcher met with the parents of potential participants during parental visitation hours at the juvenile detention facility. Approximately 8 parents were approached about the pilot study. The researcher discussed the nature of the study with parents and obtained parental consent from those willing to allow their child to participate. The purpose of the pilot study was to inform dissertation procedures and data collection instruments. As a result, there was no targeted number of recruited participants or planned efforts for extended recruitment to obtain extra. However, the researcher desired at least 3 participants to provide multiple opportunities to practice the procedures and instruments for data collection.

Parental consent. The researcher visited the juvenile justice facility during parental visitation on the Wednesday and Sunday preceding the Monday of data collection. During these visits, the researcher built rapport with parents, provided an overview of the study, answered any

questions regarding the study, and requested parental consent. An overview of the pilot study script for parental consent may be found in Appendix A. A copy of the pilot study parental consent form may be found in Appendix B. The pilot study parental consent form states that participants will be asked to complete a task that asks them to memorize numbers and letters, complete a task that asks them about their feelings, thoughts, and behaviors, complete a task that asks them about their experiences of being treated differently because of their race, tell about their experiences with being treated differently because of their race, and write a poem about any of their experiences with being treated differently because of their race. However, parents were informed during pilot study recruitment that participants were only to be asked to tell about their experiences with being treated differently because of their race. This change was officially documented in the revised parental consent form for the dissertation study and may be found in Appendix C.

Participant assent. The Monday following the Sunday of obtaining parental consent, the researcher met individually with potential participants who received parental consent. This meeting allowed the researcher to explain the purpose and procedure of the study, allow participants time to ask questions, and allow the researcher to request assent.

It was originally proposed that a staff member would be present to prevent participants from being alone with an adult. However, an administrator at the juvenile justice facility suggested that no staff be directly present during meetings between the researcher and participants. This decision was due to the possible negative impact of staff presence on participants' comfort level and willingness to participate in fear of judgment. As a result, the administrator arranged for the researcher and participants to meet one-on-one in the facility's library. This meeting was constantly monitored by visual surveillance viewed by a staff member

in the main security room of the facility. An overview of the pilot study script for assent may be found in Appendix D. A copy of the pilot study assent form may be found in Appendix E. The pilot study assent form states that participants will be asked to complete a task that requires them to memorize numbers and letters, complete a task that asks them about their feelings, thoughts, and behaviors, complete a task that asks them about their experiences of being treated differently because of their race, tell about their experiences with being treated differently because of their race, and write a poem about any of their experiences with being treated differently because of their race. However, participants were informed during pilot study recruitment that they were only to be asked to tell about their experiences with being treated differently because of their race. This change was officially documented in the revised assent form for the dissertation study and may be found in Appendix F.

Participants

Approximately 8 parents were approached to provide consent for their child to participate in the pilot study. Six of these parents provided parental consent. The researcher met with all six individuals who received parental consent to request assent. All six participants gave assent to participate in the study. All participants were Black and male. Information on the age of participants was not collected as it was not part of the interview protocol. However, participants were believed to be between the ages of 14 and 17. Three participants were detained due to non-violent offenses including breaking curfew, violation of parole along with receiving stolen property, grand theft auto, and breaking and entering. The other three participants were detained for violent offenses including rape, murder, and attempted murder.

Permissions

The pilot study took place following approval from IRB (see Appendix G) and

permission from the selected juvenile justice facility (see Appendix H). The pilot study was to include access to archived poems composed by youth at the selected juvenile justice facility for the pilot study. These poems were to be analyzed by the primary researcher as data for the pilot study. However, study procedures were amended during the dissertation proposal meeting which resulted in pilot study data to include content from interviews with youth at the selected juvenile justice facility for the pilot study. The original letter of permission from the pilot study juvenile justice facility states that the researcher was granted permission to access and analyze the archived poems (see Appendix H). However, all changes to the pilot study data collection procedures following the dissertation proposal meeting were personally discussed with the juvenile justice facility. That is, the researcher communicated with the juvenile justice facility that the archived poems would no longer be used as data and that interviews would be conducted with youth housed at the juvenile justice facility instead. All changes to the pilot study were accepted and agreed with by the selected juvenile justice facility for the study (see Appendix I).

Study Procedures

Each interview occurred in the same room that the study explanation was given and assent was provided. Immediately after receiving assent, the researcher thanked the participant for agreeing to participate in the study. The participant was then reminded of their ability to take a break when needed and to stop participating at any time. Participants were also reminded not to provide any personal identifying information during the interview. Confidentiality of all information was also discussed including the researcher's need to report excessive harm or abuse. There was mention that no recording devices were used and that the researcher would manually record participant reports with paper and pen. Participants were then given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the study thus far. The researcher began the study

once all questions were answered.

Interview protocol. The pilot study interview consisted of four core interview questions (see Appendix J). The first question was directly related to research question 1 of the dissertation study. The question was direct and dichotomous in nature, asking the participant “if you had ever had an experience with racism in your school?” Two follow-up questions were posed in response to affirmative answers. These follow-up questions asked “Who was this experience with” and “Why did you experience this?” The second question was posed for research question 2 of the dissertation study and directly asked “did you ever think that racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults at your school?” Participants were asked to elaborate in the case of an affirmative answer.

Question 3 on the interview protocol was an extension of previous questions by asking participants to reflect on their noted experiences with racism. This question was directly aligned with research question 3 of the dissertation study, asking participants how their reported experiences with racism made them act or want to act. The final question was general and gave the participants an opportunity to share any other additional information. This question allowed participants a safe place to express other experiences related to interview content.

Data collection. The completion of each interview occurred in one session and typically lasted between 15 and 60 minutes. The time range for each interview varied based on differences among each individual’s conversational style as some participants were more descriptive in their accounts than others. Before the interview, the researcher presented the participant with a demographic checklist (see Appendix K) and asked them to mark the race with which they identify. If the participant selected more than one racial category, the researcher asked them to place a mark next to the race they identified with the most. Once the participant

marked their race, the researcher noted the participant's assigned ID number on the demographic form and began the interview. Information on the participant's current offense was completed during the interview and only if the participant willingly shared the information. Interview questions were asked in order as listed on the interview protocol. Participant reports were manually recorded by the researcher with pen on blank sheets of paper.

The researcher began the interview by providing a definition of racism followed by the interview questions. Interview questions were not always read verbatim in order to maintain a natural sense of dialogue. Nevertheless, the focus and target of the interview questions remained the same when proposed. As participants responded to questions, the researcher manually recorded their responses with paper and pen. Manual dictation avoided the risk of technological malfunction and jeopardizing the interview content as would be the case with electronically recorded interviews (Creswell, 2007). Electronically recording participant responses could also jeopardize participant-researcher trust as participants may have negative experiences with recorded conversations during their involvement with the juvenile justice system (Holt & Pamment, 2011).

All participants received the same interview questions. Doing so promoted consistency in data collection and ensured that data was relative to similar concepts. Consistent interview questions also allowed for comparisons between individual accounts reflecting the phenomenon. Probes or follow-up questions were given when participants provided abbreviated or vague responses. These probes were used to obtain a more thorough explanation of the communicated experience. Each probe was distinctive, being in response to each participant's unique report and experience. Nevertheless, these probes failed to take away from or replace the focus of the original question but rather expanded upon its content.

The researcher would occasionally pause the interview to rephrase participant responses to ensure the recorded content's accuracy. At the close of each interview, the researcher provided a summary of the participant's accounts by paraphrasing. Each participant was asked to provide feedback on the accuracy of the recalled content and whether any changes were needed.

Once the recordings of the interview was deemed accurate, the researcher asked the participant to provide three reasons they were proud to be part of their identified racial category. The researcher similarly shared reasons why she was proud to be part of the same racial group to further empower participants. Asking participants to name reasons they were proud to be part of their identified racial group was not part of the pilot study interview protocol as it was not deemed a significant or core component of the interview. However, this question was ultimately added to the dissertation study interview protocol as it was proven to be useful during the pilot study in helping the interview end on a positive note. This question also provided a sense of empowerment to participants following an interview focused on negative experiences due to their race.

Data Transcription

Manually recorded content for each interview was entered into a Microsoft Word document by the researcher. Interview content was transcribed directly from the hand-written notes of the researcher. Transcription of the interviews took place within 24 hours of the interview. This early transcription assisted with validity as content was more likely to be recorded accurately.

Data Analysis

The purpose of the pilot study was to inform data collection procedures and expand the breadth and depth of the data collection instrument. Regarding data collection procedures, the pilot study allowed the researcher and juvenile justice facility to prepare for and initiate the data collection process. The researcher was able to familiarize herself with the procedures of parental visitation and select an optimum time to meet with parents to discuss the study and request consent.

The researcher had the choice of meeting with parents before, during, or after the visitation with their child. The researcher ultimately agreed to meet with parents either before or after their visitation with their children as to not interfere with their visitation time. Meeting with parents before the visitation allowed the researcher to provide information which parents could promptly share with their child, if they so desired, before providing consent. Parents were also given additional time to consider providing consent and ask questions about the study. The researcher realized some parents were emotionally upset following their visitation which made it difficult to approach them about the study. Additionally, some parents hurriedly left the facility which interfered with their time to learn about the study and consent process.

The pilot study also informed procedures for the assent process and interview. The proposed steps and process for assent and the interview worked efficiently. Staff were available as needed and fully informed of the study's procedures. The meeting room was readily available, and the timing of the interviews did not interrupt participants' daily routine.

The pilot study also informed the interview protocol. Once interviews for the pilot study concluded, the researcher transcribed each interview into a separate Microsoft Word document.

The researcher then reviewed each interview to consider whether the content provided insight into the focus of the research questions and the investigated phenomenon.

Interview question 1. The first question was asked as follows: “Tell me if you ever had an experience with racism in your school?” Follow-up questions included “Who was this experience with?” and “Why did you experience this?” The purpose of these questions was to answer research question number 1: What are detained Black youths’ perceived experiences with racism in public schools? The majority of participants reported they had never experienced racism in school, claiming most people “got along” or were “cool” with each other.

In review of the results, it became apparent that most participants considered personal racism as racism and did not acknowledge facets of institutional racism which are expected within a school setting. This response may have been due to the direct nature of the question. Specifically asking participants whether they experienced racism implied that participants were knowledgeable of various forms of racism. It was also assumed that participants could communicate the presence and function of the racism they may have experienced. Consequently, the magnitude of participants’ reported experiences with racism in public school was limited as most participants only reported incidents of personal racism.

The dichotomous nature of the first interview question also limited the amount of information shared by participants regarding the presence and function of racism within schools. In general, participants failed to report experiences with racism in schools. As a result, a thorough investigation of participants’ experience with race-related factors, such as attending a school in which most students were Black or most teachers White, was not included.

Pilot study results also indicated that participants may have reflected on their most recent school experience instead of all school experiences. Consequently, the researcher considered

that each participant likely reflected on a certain school when responding to the first interview question. In turn, it was hard to determine if data consistently reflected similar grade-levels. Results may have varied according to school placement (i.e. elementary, middle, or high), thus confounding the validity of results.

Interview question 2. The second interview question was asked as follows: “Did you ever think that racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults in your school?” A follow-up prompt was intended to encourage participants to elaborate in cases of affirmative answers. Specifically, participants would be asked to explain their answer. The purpose of this question was to answer research question number 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?

Only one participant expressed a belief that he got punished at school because of racism. In a review of pilot study results, it appeared that the second interview question failed to examine the process by which participants were punished. The surrounding context, including preceding factors, procedure, and outcomes of participants’ experiences with school discipline were unaddressed. Thus, data on the nature of participants’ experiences with school discipline along with actual or misperceived racism in school disciplinary practices did not result from this study.

The second interview question also limited information on participants’ experiences with school discipline within and across grade levels. Consequently, a comprehensive and continuous account of participants’ experiences with school discipline was overlooked. Comparisons across and within participants according to grade levels was also not included in the study, further weakening the quality and depth of data.

The second research question also negated the investigation of if and how participants’ experiences with school discipline contributed to delinquency or juvenile justice contact. This

information was deemed pertinent to the dissertation study given the theoretical emphasis on the school-to-prison pipeline. For such an investigation, information would need to be gathered from experiences with school discipline and factors contributing to school discipline.

Interview question 3. The third interview question was stated as the following: “How did these experiences [previously reported experiences with racism] make you want to act? Follow up questions involved asking participants “Did you act this way?” In the case of participants claiming they did not act the way they wanted to, they were asked “How did you act instead?” The purpose of this question was to answer research question number 3: What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?

Five of the six participants did not report experiencing racism in school. As a result, the third interview question was futile in addressing the scope of the study’s research question. It should be noted that the one participant who reported experiencing racism in school also reported that those experiences made him feel “mad,” “angry,” and “frustrated.” When asked how these experiences made him want to act, he reported wanting to “act,” “get an attitude” or “cuss them out” but claimed that doing so would only “make it worse.” As a result, the participant said that he would keep his comments to himself or tell his mother.

Results

It was decided by the researcher that the optimum time to meet with parents about the study was before the visit with their child. Speaking with parents before their visit would allow additional time for the researcher to meet with parents, explain the study, and answer any questions. Parents would also be allotted more time to discuss the study with their child, if they desired, and ask additional questions prior to consent. The process and procedures for consent

and assent, during the pilot study worked efficiently and remained unchanged for the dissertation study. While the process and procedure for conducting the interview remained unchanged for the dissertation study, the content of the interview protocol was changed.

The content of most interviews offered little insight into the research questions and the studied phenomenon. As a result, the researcher reviewed each interview, reflecting on the interview content and how the nature of each question influenced participants' responses. Furthermore, the researcher considered altering each interview question to provide a more thorough and insightful response. In-depth responses would better address research questions and hypotheses related to detained Black youths' experiences with racism in public schools and its impact on their behavior.

Interview question 1. The first interview question was revised for the dissertation study to include an open-ended and indirect question about racism that participants may have experienced across different school settings. Doing so better addressed research question number 1: What are Black detained youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?

In the pilot study, participants were asked to "Tell me if you ever had an experience with racism in your school" with follow-up questions asking "Who was this experience with?" and "Why did you experience this?" Thus, participants were asked to explain their experiences with racism.

In the dissertation interview protocol, participants were asked to describe their school experiences without an emphasis on racism positioned within the question. These revised questions were posed to gather a general sense of the participants' school experiences. Specifically, participants were asked the following: What kind of school did you go to? What was the location of the school? What was the racial composition of your school? What

resources did you have at your school? What type of help was available at your school?

Participants were then asked to elaborate on their responses by being asked “Who was this experience with? and “Why did you experience this?”

Once general school experiences were discussed with participants, further questions were posed to address any perceived racism in these experiences. Thus, participants were asked to relate their reported experiences to being a Black student and explain “How would it [your experience] have been different if you was White? These questions were posed to allow participants to recognize their school experiences as racial experiences and provide an outlet to explain these experiences in terms of race and perceived racism. These questions also focused on all grade levels including experiences from elementary through high school. That is, each set of questions were posed for elementary, middle, and high school. Doing so allowed comparisons to be made within and between participants regarding perceived experiences with racism across grade levels. At times, participants were asked to explain what racism looked like, or would have looked like, in their school. This particular question was only used as a prompt for participants who had difficulty elaborating on their experiences with racism and thus, was not presented to all participants. In summary, research question number one from the pilot study was revised for the dissertation study to include more topics and opportunities for participants to discuss their school experiences and how racism may have contributed to those experiences.

Interview question 2. The second pilot study interview question was modified for the dissertation interview protocol to include a thorough account of the context surrounding incidents of school discipline. In the pilot study interview, participants were given a brief description of school discipline and asked “Did you ever think racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults in your school?”

In the dissertation interview protocol, participants were provided a brief description of how students may get into trouble at school. Participants were then asked “Did you ever get in trouble at school?” (See #5 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O). Follow-up questions were then posed to provide a comprehensive account of participants experiences with school disciplinary procedures. Participants were specifically asked to describe the sequence of events that preceded and followed the reported incident of them getting into trouble. Participants were also asked “What happened before, during, and after” the incident of getting in trouble with a focus of on how the participant was treated, perceived, and acted differently, at school and at home. Additional questions included “How long did [the] punishment last?” These questions also focused on all grade levels, including experiences from elementary through high school. That is, each set of questions were posed for elementary, middle, and high school. Doing so allowed comparisons to be made within and between participants regarding perceived experiences with racism across grade levels.

The fact that participants were possibly unaware of racism in school discipline was considered. As such, some participants were asked “Who else got in trouble at your school [mostly]?” and “Who did not get in trouble at your school [mostly]?” These questions allowed for information to be collected regarding participants’ perception of racism in school discipline without them needing knowledge of the different mechanics of racism. In follow-up, participants were asked “Did you ever think that racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults in your school?” Participants who reported differential treatment across racial groups as opposed to differential treatment of themselves as an individual were asked “Why do you think more Black kids get in trouble at school?” This question helped provide insight into ways participants believed racism existed collectively in school discipline. In summary, question two

was revised to comprehensively explore participants' experiences with school disciplinary processes and collect information on how they perceived race as a factor in their experiences with school discipline.

Further revisions were included in research question two to help inform the action agenda and thus provide insight and direction into future school practices to support youth at risk for entering the juvenile justice system. These revisions included the following questions: "Did this [punishment] contribute to delinquency? What else could have been done instead of [punishment]? What could have been done to prevent you from getting in trouble? What was your school experience right before you came here? What could your school have done differently to keep you from coming here [to the juvenile justice facility]?"

Interview question 3. The components of the third interview question remained unchanged from the pilot study interview to the dissertation study interview. Revisions to questions 1 and 2 would allow for a more in-depth discussion of participants' experiences with racism. Participants would be more aware of racism in school and thus more likely to reflect on and discuss their resulting emotions and behaviors. Nevertheless, additional probes were added to further understand the impact of perceived racism on behavior. Thus, the participants were asked "Why" they believed they acted or considered acting in their reported manner, as a result of perceived racism.

Additional changes. During the pilot study, participants were given a definition of racism prior to the interview questions. For the dissertation study, it was decided that the interview would similarly begin with a definition of racism. However, changes were made to the dissertation interview by asking participants "How would you define racism?" following the

definition given by the researcher. This change was made to ensure that participants accurately understood racism before they discussed their experiences with such.

Dissertation Study

Participants recruited for the dissertation study included Black youth from juvenile justice facilities. During the recruitment phase, the researcher obtained parental consent and assent from participants. The researcher then conducted interviews with participants, manually recording their responses with pen and paper. These responses were transcribed into a Microsoft Word document within 24 hours of the interview.

Relevance of Pilot Study to Dissertation Study

The pilot study informed the process and procedures of the dissertation study as well as the interview protocol. One area informed by the pilot study was the process of parental consent. The pilot study also informed the dissertation interview protocol through revised and added interview questions.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of racism in school as reported by detained Black youths. How these perceived experiences impacted violent behavior among participants was likewise addressed. The dissertation study utilized qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews with detained Black youth. Data from these interviews were coded and categorized into themes. These themes were then analyzed for content and relationships in support of the investigated phenomenon. Coding and thematic analyses were carried out by the researcher. Although inter-rater reliability was pursued for interpretative reliability, two coders were unable to code all interviews due to time constraints. As a result, the researcher coded all interviews while the independent

coder coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes.

Setting

The dissertation study took place in a private juvenile detention facility in the Southeastern region of the United States. This particular facility houses male and female youth who have come into contact with the law through situations involving possible offenses or non-offenses. This facility houses approximately 25 youth at any given time although its maximum capacity is for over 50 youth. Some youth are detained for offenses following an arrest and are awaiting a court decision regarding adjudication, awaiting an outside placement following adjudication, or currently placed within the facility following adjudication. Some youth are detained, not for offenses, but to be momentarily removed from the home until it is deemed safe for the youth's re-entry. In other situations, youth are detained as they await a new living arrangement as their current living situation is deemed unfit by law.

Given the complex nature of the dissertation study population, the expected age range of research participants was uncertain. Nevertheless, the majority of youth recruited for the dissertation study were expected to be within the same average age range of most youth placed in private detention centers nationally. According to national statistics, these youth are mostly between the age of ages of 14 and 17 (Sickmund et al., 2015).

Sampling and Recruitment

Dissertation study participants were recruited during the winter of 2015 and spring of 2016. Recruitment procedures included purposive, or critical case identical sampling of detained Black youth. Critical case identical sampling is utilized to identify specific groups of people whose experiences are relevant to the purpose of the study and research questions (Teddlie &

Yu, 2007). Therefore, specific attempts were made to recruit participants directly related to the investigated phenomenon.

During recruitment, the researcher met with the parents of potential participants during parental visitation hours at the juvenile justice facility. Approximately 12 parents were approached about the dissertation study. The researcher discussed the nature of the study with parents and requested parental consent. The targeted number of recruited participants was small with a minimum of five. The first data collection attempt resulted in one participant receiving consent and providing assent. An additional attempt to meet sample size requirements was made several months later. During this visit, five individuals received parental consent with three providing assent to participate. A third attempt was made to meet the desired sample size. This visit resulted in one parent being approached about parent consent. This parent provided parental consent with the participant providing assent. As a result, a sample size of 5 was met.

Parental consent. The researcher visited the research facility site on Sundays in hopes of collecting data the next day. During parental visitation, the researcher built rapport with parents, provided an overview of the study, answered any questions, and requested parental consent. The same script for participant assent was used in the pilot and dissertation studies and is located in Appendix A. A copy of the dissertation study parental consent form may be found in Appendix C.

Participant assent. Participants who received parental consent met with the researcher the day after consent was obtained. This meeting allowed the researcher to explain the purpose and procedure of the study, request participant assent, and answer questions participants may have about the study. Originally, a staff member was to be present during these meetings to ensure that participants were not left alone with an adult. However, an administrator at the

juvenile justice facility suggested that no staff be directly present during these meetings. This decision was based on the possible negative impact staff presence would have on participants' comfort level. It was also suspected that participants would be unwilling to participate in fear of judgment from staff members. As a result, the administrator arranged for the researcher and participants to meet one-on-one in the facility's library. A staff member would then monitor these interactions through video surveillance in the main security room of the facility. The same script for participant assent was used in the pilot and dissertation studies and is located in Appendix D. A copy of the dissertation study assent form may be found in Appendix F.

Participants

Three attempts were made to recruit participants for the dissertation study. The number of participants recruited for the dissertation was limited to five participants for several reasons. First, the researcher was limited in her visits to the research site as she was employed out-of-state during the time of recruitment. The researcher was only able to visit the research site during seasonal holidays which allowed time away from work. Limited opportunities for visits thus limited the number of possible participants to recruit for the study. Second, the number of youth housed at the research site consistently varied. As a result, the number of youth to recruit from was never consistent but rather constrained to the number youth housed at the research site on the day the researcher visited the site for recruitment. Third, recruitment only took place during parental visitation as parental consent had to be obtained for each potential participant. Consequently, the number of youth recruited for the study was limited only to youth who had parental visitors on the day the researcher visited the researcher site for recruitment.

Despite recruitment obstacles, approximately 12 parents were approached to provide consent for their child to participate in the pilot study. Seven of these parents provided parental

consent. The researcher met with all seven individuals who received parental consent to request assent. Of these seven, five participants gave assent to participate in the study. Though small in number, five participants for the dissertation study was deemed appropriate by the researcher due to research suggestions on sample sizes for qualitative and phenomenological studies which approves sample sizes as small as 5 (Creswell, 2007) and suggests the quality of data collected over the quantity (Connelly, 2010).

All participants were Black youth with four being male and one being female. The age of the participants was not reported nor queried about during the study. However, participants were expected to be between the ages of 14 and 17. Four participants were detained due to non-violent offenses including violation of parole, drug offences, breaking and entering, and burglary. One participant was detained for domestic violence.

Permissions

The researcher received expedited approval from the institutional review board (IRB) at the University of Alabama to conduct the dissertation study (see Appendix L). IRB approval was also received for all changes to the dissertation study following the pilot study (see Appendix M). The site of the dissertation study granted permission for the researcher to recruit participants from, and conduct the dissertation study at, the facility (see Appendix N). This permission included the acknowledgement and acceptance of all changes from the pilot study to the dissertation study including changes to the interview protocol and consent form.

Study Procedures

Each interview occurred in the same room where the study explanation and assent process took place. Immediately after receiving assent, the researcher thanked the participant for agreeing to participate in the study. Reminders were given of the participant's ability to take a

break when needed and to stop participating at any time. Participants were also reminded not to provide any personal identifying information during the interview. Confidentiality, including the researcher's obligation to report claims of excessive harm or abuse, was also discussed. The researcher mentioned that no recording devices would be used and that participant reports were to be manually recorded with paper and pen. Participants were provided the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the study. The researcher began the interview once all questions were answered.

Interview Protocol

The dissertation study interview consisted of five *core* interview questions (see Appendix O). A comparison of these core interview questions and their accompanying follow-up questions with their relevant research question may be found in Table 1. Table 1 also shows a comparison of which interview questions were used to inform the action agenda.

Before core questions were asked, each participant was asked “How would you define racism?” (See #4 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) The purpose of this question was to ensure that each participant had an accurate understanding of racism before being asked to discuss their experiences with racism.

After giving their own definition of racism, each participant was asked the core interview questions. The first core interview question was indirectly related to research question 1 of the dissertation study which addressed detained Black youths’ perceived experiences with racism in public school. Participants were asked the following: Which kind of school did you go to? (See #5 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Follow-up questions for the first core interview question included the following: Where was this school located? (See #5a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What was the racial composition of the student

body and teachers? (See #5b in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What resources and types of help were available at your school?” (See #5c and #5d in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.)

The second core interview question was open-ended and indirectly targeted research question 1. Participants were asked the following: What was your experience at this school like? (See #6 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Follow-up questions for the second core interview question included the following: Who was the experience with? (See #6a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Why you had that experience? (See #6b in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) How was that experience influenced by you being Black? (See #6c in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) How would that experience have been different if you were a White student? (See #6d in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) A probe, which was “What did, or what would have, racism look(ed) like at your school?” was also part of the follow-up questions. (See #6e in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) This probe was not used in every interview. Instead, this question was asked in cases where participants reported perceptions of racism in school but had difficulty explaining what those experiences were like.

The third core interview question was posed for research question 2 of the dissertation study which addressed detained Black youths’ perceptions of racism in school discipline. This interview question allowed participants to openly discuss their experiences with school discipline. Specifically, participants were asked “Did you ever get in trouble at school?” (See #7 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Follow-up questions included the following: What was the sequence of events prior to and following your incident of getting into trouble? (See #7a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What happened before, during, and

after the incident of getting in trouble? (See #7bi and #7bii in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) How long did [the] punishment last? (See #7c in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Additional follow-up questions included “Who else got in trouble at your school [mostly]?” (See #7f in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O) and “Who did not get in trouble at your (See #7g in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) This question was not used in every interview but rather was posed to gather more information when participants reported undertones of racism in school discipline but failed to provide descriptive information on what the experience entailed.

Additional questions were embedded within follow-up questions of the third core interview question and were posed to empower participants’ voices and inform the action agenda. Specifically, participants were asked the following: Did this [punishment] contribute to delinquency? (See #7ci in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What else could have been done instead of punishment? (See #7d in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What could have been done to prevent you from getting in trouble? (See #7e in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What was your school experience right before you came here? (See #7h in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) What could your school have done differently to keep you from coming here [to the juvenile justice facility]? (See #7i in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.)

The fourth core interview question was also aligned with research question 2. After being asked “Did you ever get in trouble at school?” participants were directly asked the following: Did you ever think racism was the reason you got in trouble with adults in your school? (See #8 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) A follow-up question was also posed for participants reportedly perceiving racism in school disciplinary practices. Specifically,

participants who reported differential treatment across racial groups as opposed to differential treatment of themselves as an individual were asked the following: Why do you think more Black kids get in trouble at school? (See #8a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) This question provided an avenue to gain insight into how or why participants believed racism existed as a whole in school discipline.

The fifth core question of the interview protocol was directly related to research question 3 which addressed how experiences with racism impacted behavior, specifically violent behavior. Thus, participants were asked the following: How did these experiences [with racism] make you want to act? (See #9a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Follow-up questions included the following: Why [did those experiences make you want to act that way]? (See #9a in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Did you act this way? (See #9b in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Why [did you act this way? (See #9b in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) How did you act, instead [if you did not act the way you wanted to act]? (See #9c in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Why [did you act this way, instead]? (See #9c in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) Participants were given an opportunity at the end of the interview to share any additional information related to the interview that they wished to share by being asked “Is there anything else you would like me to know?” (See #10 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.)

At the close of the interview, participants were asked to name three reasons they were proud to be part of the racial group they identified with (See #11 in dissertation interview protocol, Appendix O.) This question was not part of the core interview questions but was rather posed to conclude the interview on a positive note, following a discussion of negative experiences related to their identified race. This question also helped provide a sense of

empowerment to the participants.

Table 1

A Comparison of Interview Questions with Relevant Research Questions

Interview Question	Research Question
Which kind of school did you go to?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
Where was this school located?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
What was the racial composition of the student body and teachers?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
What resources and types of help were available at your school?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
What was your experience at this school like?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
Who did you have this experience with?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
Why did you have this experience?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
How was that experience influenced by you being Black?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
How would that experience have been different if you were a White student?	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
What did, or what would have, racism look(ed) like at your school?*	Research question 1: What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?
Did you ever get in trouble at school?	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
What was the sequence of events prior to and following your incident of getting into trouble?	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
What happened before, during, and after the incident of getting in trouble?	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
How long did [the] punishment last?	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
Who else got in trouble at your school [mostly]?*	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
Who did not get in trouble at your school [mostly]*	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school

Did you ever think racism was the reason you get in trouble with the adults in your school?	disciplinary practices of public schools? Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
Why do you think more Black kids get in trouble at school?*	Research question 2: In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?
How did these experiences make you want to act? Why?	Research question 3: What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?
Did you act this way? Why?	Research question 3: What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?
How did you act instead? Why?	Research question 3: What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?
Did this [punishment] contribute to delinquency?	Action Agenda
What else could have been done instead of punishment?	Action Agenda
What could have been done to prevent you from getting in trouble?	Action Agenda
What was your school experience right before you came here?	Action Agenda
What could your school have done differently to keep you from coming here?	Action Agenda

Note: * indicates an interview probe that was only used occasionally and not consistently throughout each interview

Data Collection

The completion of each interview occurred in one session and typically lasted between 15 – 60 minutes. The time range for each interview varied based on differences among each individual’s conversational style as some participants were more descriptive in their accounts than others. Before the interview, the researcher presented the participant with a demographic checklist (see Appendix H) and asked them to mark the race with which they identify. If the participant selected more than one racial category the researcher asked them to place a mark next to the race they identified with the most. Once the participant marked their race, the researcher noted the participant’s assigned ID number on the demographic form and began the interview.

Information on the participant's current offense was recorded during the interview and only if the participant willingly shared the information.

Interview questions were asked in order of the interview protocol. Throughout the course of the interview, the researcher maintained an objective lens as to guard against the influence of personal bias in her interaction with the participants and in the quering of follow-up questions. In maintaining an objective lens, the researcher strove to keep the nature of the interview focused on the purpose of the dissertation study and to maintain a dialogue centralized around the core interview questions. The researcher was also sure to maintain her role as an un-biased recorder of information as she transcribed interview content.

The researcher began the interview by providing a definition of racism followed by the participant being asked to provide their own definition of racism. Afterward, core interview questions and relevant follow-up questions were asked. To maintain a sense of natural dialogue, interview questions were not always read verbatim. Also, some follow-up questions and probes varied across participants as each person reported unique experiences. Nevertheless, the focus and target of the interview questions remained the same when proposed to each participant. As the participants responded to questions, the researcher manually recorded their responses with paper and pen. Manually recording responses avoided the risk of technological malfunction and jeopardizing the interview content as would be the case with electronically recorded interviews (Creswell, 2007). Recording participant responses could also jeopardize participant-researcher trust as participants may have had negative experiences with recorded conversations during their involvement with the juvenile justice system (Holt & Pamment, 2011).

All participants of the dissertation study received the same list of interview questions. Doing so promoted consistency in data collection efforts and ensured that data referenced the

same concept addressed by research questions. Consistent interview questions also allowed for analytical comparisons between individual accounts reflective of the investigated phenomenon.

Some follow-up questions were provided when participants gave abbreviated or vague responses to interview questions. The probes helped obtain a more thorough explanation of the participant's communicated experience. Each probe was unique to each participant's individual responses. Nevertheless, follow-up questions did not interfere with the focus of the interview question but rather expanded upon its content. The researcher would occasionally pause the interview to rephrase reported content to the participant to ensure its accuracy. At the close of each interview, the researcher paraphrased the participant's accounts. The participant was then asked to provide feedback on the accuracy of the content and communicate any needed changes.

Once interview content was deemed acceptable by the interviewee, the researcher asked the participant to provide three reasons they were proud to be part of their identified racial group. The purpose of this question was to close the interview with a positive note. This question also provided a sense of empowerment to participants after completing an interview focusing on negative experiences due to their race. To further empower participants, the researcher shared reasons why she was proud to be part of her identified racial group since it was the same as the participants.

Data Transcription

The recorded content of each interview was entered into a Microsoft Word table. Each interview's data was entered into the table with each row being comprised of a sentence. If more than once concept was used in a single sentence, the sentence was divided into different rows. Using tables to structure sentence content allowed for a consistent and structured system when analyzing and coding the data. These formatted tables were then independently

examined by the researcher for the following themes: Perceived experiences with racism in school, perceived racism in school discipline, and behavioral reactions to experiences with racism in school.

Data Analyses

Data was analyzed within a phenomenological design and occurred once all data had been collected and transcribed. Descriptive coding occurred during the first stage of data analyses. Specifically, content from each interview was reviewed for themes of racism in school and school discipline. As for perceived experiences with racism in school, descriptive information pertaining to the actual reported themes of racism, when the reported experience occurred, and the type of racism captured by the theme was also assessed. Regarding reported experiences with school discipline, descriptive information was assessed for regarding the type of discipline experienced by the participant, how long the discipline or punishment lasted, why and when the participant was punished, school and home reactions to the participant following their discipline, and what behaviors the participant engaged in when disciplined.

Relational analyses was carried out during the second phase of data analyses. Specifically, causal and contingent relations between themes of experiences with racism in general and in school discipline along with reported themes of behavior associated with experiences with racism were assessed. First, reports of externalizing behavior in connection to an experience with racism were coded and placed in a category of Theme B. Second, reported experiences with racism that were related to reported externalizing behavior were identified. These reported experiences retained their original theme from the previous descriptive coding and were placed in the category of Theme A. For example, if a participant reported hitting a peer because a peer made a racist comment toward the participant, then the incident of hitting a peer

was coded as “physical aggression” and placed in the category of Theme B. The experience with racism connected to the physical aggression, being a racist comment from a peer, retained its original theme of “discrimination” generated during the first cycle of descriptive coding and was placed in the category of Theme A. Third, the type of relationship between Theme B, physical aggression, and Theme A, discrimination, was assessed for. Specifically, consideration was given to whether Theme A was causally or contingently linked to Theme B.

Additional steps were carried out for the action agenda. Specifically, interview content was reviewed for descriptive data in the following areas: How school punishment was a risk factor for delinquency, alternative methods to punishment schools could have used, steps schools could have taken to prevent the participant from getting in trouble at school or with the juvenile justice system, and the participant’s school experiences prior to entering the juvenile justice facility. This information was then used to develop an action agenda with the purpose of informing schools and school practitioners of ways in which schools may better serve students at risk for entering the juvenile justice system.

First cycle: Descriptive coding and theme generation for research questions 1 and 2.

Descriptive coding is defined by Saldana (2009) as a method which “summarizes in a word or short phrase – most often as a noun – the basic topic of the passage of qualitative data” (p.70). Descriptive coding is recommended for novice qualitative coders and when analyzing narrative types of data (Saldana, 2009).

First, the researcher reviewed interview content from each interview. Interview content from each interview was presented in a Word Document and recorded in a table. Each row within the table consisted of a sentence. If more than once concept was used in a single sentence, the sentence was divided into different rows. The data were coded for descriptive

information including the types of perceived racism in public schools, perceptions of racism related to school discipline, and ways in which racism in public schools impacted participants' behaviors, especially violent behaviors.

Attempts were made to obtain inter-rater reliability for the coding of each interview. Although inter-rater reliability was pursued for interpretative reliability, two coders were unable to code all interviews due to time constraints. As a result, the researcher coded all interviews while the independent coder coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes. The researcher also coded for demographic information including the participants' race and current offense. Inter-rater reliability results are reported in Chapter 4.

The sentences were first coded for relevance to research question 1 and 2. That is, each sentence was coded as 1 if the sentence was relevant to the questions and 0 if it was not. Second, the sentences were coded for the presence of racism with racism coded as 1 and non-racism coded as 0. Racism was defined as any incident in which a participant reported a certain experience or feeling that was largely caused or influenced by the participant's race and the race of others. Examples of the presence of racism include attending a school with mostly Black students, being called racially derogatory names from peers of a different race, or feeling punished at school more often than White students. This resulted in a count of how many statements were relevant to the questions and, separately, a count of how many times racism was raised per answer.

To address the first research question, the sentences were coded for different kinds of racism perceived in school experiences. The researcher first listed all of the different types of racism identified during the coding of sentences for the presence of racism in school

experiences. Once all types of racism were identified, the researcher aggregated those types of racism that were essentially the same, resulting in a list of specific types of racism. This final list is in Table 2. Finally, the researcher coded each sentence for the type of racism described, assuming that the sentence included a form of racism. This coding resulted in a list of different kinds of racism that were mentioned. The following chart is an exemplar of how sentences were coded for thematic content and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 1

Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 1

Text	Racism Theme
I have always been judged	Judgment
I was treated unfairly	Treatment

Once all types of perceived racism in school experiences were identified, a code list was developed by the researcher containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme. The following chart is an exemplar and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 2

Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 1

Qualitative Segment	Racism in School Theme	Code Number
I have always been judged	Judgment	1
And treated unfair	Treatment	2

Each identified theme received an individualized code number. This assigned code number remained consistent across interviews to allow for comparisons between themes of

perceived racism in school experiences reported across participants.

The assigned code numbers were then revisited by the researcher to examine descriptive data including whether each reported incident occurred during elementary, middle, or high school. That is, for each code, the researcher revisited the context of the associated theme within the interview and noted whether the reported incident occurred during elementary, middle, or high school. This information was conveyed during the interview as participants discussed their experiences in elementary, middle, and high school. The grade level and type of reported racism was counted and charted for each interview as indicated in Figure 1.

Each reported incident of racism in school experiences was also revisited within its context of the interview and noted whether the reported incident involved personal, institutional, or cultural racism. Personal racism pertained to any racial incident involving a personal encounter between the participant and another individual. An example would be a participant reporting that their teacher did not help them as much on their classwork as they did White students. Institutional racism pertained to any racial incident involving an experience reflective of systemic or institutional practices. An example would be a participant reporting that they attended a school where most of their teachers were White. Cultural racism pertained to any incident involving cultural practices or beliefs specific to the race of the participant. Cultural racism may or may not have involved a personal encounter. An example of cultural racism would be a participant reporting that their peers made fun of them for their style of dress. In the case of cultural racism involving a personal encounter, such as the noted example, the reported incident was deemed to be indicative of cultural and personal racism.

Figure 3

Chart used to Organize Descriptive Data Relevant to Themes of Experiences with Racism

Theme of Racism	When (e.g., Elementary)	Form (e.g., Institutional)

To address the second research question, the sentences were coded for different kinds of racism perceived in school discipline. The researcher first listed all of the different types of racism identified during the coding of sentences for the presence of racism in school discipline. Once all types of racism were identified, the researcher aggregated those types of racism that were essentially the same, resulting in a list of specific types of racism. This final list is presented in Table 2. Finally, the researcher coded each sentence for the type of racism described, assuming that the sentence included a form of racism in school discipline. This coding resulted in a list of different kinds of racism that were mentioned regarding experiences with school discipline. The following chart is an exemplar of how sentences were coded for thematic content and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 4

Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 2

Text	Racism in School Discipline
Black kids are always getting suspended	Suspension
They think Black kids act up more	Expectations

Once all types of racism in school discipline were identified, a code list was developed by the researcher containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from

that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme. The following chart is an exemplar and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 5

Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 2

Text	Racism in School Discipline	Code Number
Black kids are always getting suspended	Suspension	1
They think Black kids act up more	Expectations	2

Each identified theme received an individualized code number. This assigned code number remained consistent across interviews to allow for comparisons between themes of perceived racism in school discipline reported across participants.

The assigned code numbers were then revisited by the researcher to examine the type and length of reported discipline and what type of behavioral infraction preceded the disciplinary action. Whether each reported incident occurred during elementary, middle, or high school was also documented. This information was conveyed during the interview as participants discussed their experiences in elementary, middle, and high school. Post-discipline reactions from staff and home was documented, if reported, as well as the behaviors participants engaged in while they were on punishment. This information was counted and charted individually for each interview as indicated below in Figure 2:

Figure 6

Chart used to Organize Descriptive Data Relevant to Reported Experiences with Discipline

Type	Length	Cause	When	Post Staff	Post Home	Behavior on Punishment

Second cycle: Descriptive coding, theme generation, and relational analysis for research question 3. Research question 3, which considered the impact of perceived experiences of racism on behavior, particularly violent behavior, was addressed by the following question of the interview protocol: “How did your experiences with racism in school make you act or want to act?”

First, the researcher reviewed interview content. Interview content was presented in a Microsoft Word document and recorded in a table. Each row within the table consisted of a sentence. If more than once concept was used in a single sentence, the sentence was divided into different rows. The data were coded for descriptive information including ways in which racism in public schools impacts participants’ behaviors, especially violent behaviors.

Attempts were made to obtain inter-rater reliability for the coding of each interview. However, inter-rate reliability was not feasible for all interviews due to scheduling conflicts. As a result, the researcher coded all interviews while the independent coder coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes. However, this coding was only relevant to research question 1 and 2 and thus not relevant to research question 3.

The sentences were first coded by the researcher for relevance to research question 3. That is, each sentence was coded as 1 if the sentence was relevant to the question and 0 if it was not. Second, the sentences were coded for the presence of exhibited behavior associated with an experience with racism coded as 1 and behavioral responses to non-racism coded as 0. Examples of behavioral responses associated with racism include cursing at someone for perceiving their actions as racist or destroying property for feeling disrespected as a Black student by a White staff member. This resulted in a count of how many statements were

relevant to the question and, separately, a count of how many times behavior was mentioned as associated with an experience with racism.

To address the third research question, the sentences were coded for different kinds of behaviors elicited by experiences with racism. The researcher first listed all of the different types of behaviors identified during the coding of sentences for the presence of behaviors influenced by experiences with racism. Once all types of behavior were identified, the researcher aggregated those types of behaviors that were essentially the same, resulting in a list of specific types of behaviors. This final list is presented in Table 3. Finally, the researcher coded each sentence for the type of behavior described, assuming that the sentence included a form of behavior associated with an experience with racism. This coding resulted in a list of different kinds of behaviors that were mentioned as associated with an experience with racism. The following chart is an exemplar of how sentences were coded for thematic content and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 7

Exemplar of thematic coding of sentences for research question 3

Text	Response
It made me want to put my hands on them	Physical Aggression
I cussed them out	Cussing

Once all types of behaviors elicited by experiences with racism were identified, a code list was developed by the researcher containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme. The following chart is an exemplar and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 8

Exemplar of assignment of code numbers for themes for research question 3

Text	Response	Code Number
It made me want to put my hands on the them	Physical Aggression	1
I cussed them out	Cussing	2

Theme A and theme B. Once all interviews were coded for themes of externalizing behavior, the relational analysis took place. Specifically, the content of each interview was independently examined by the researcher. During this examination, recently coded themes of behavior elicited by experiences with racism were listed as *Theme B*. Next, the experiences with racism related to the reported behaviors were reviewed with their previously coded themes and listed as *Theme A*. The following depiction is an exemplar of listed themes and in no way represents actual data from the dissertation study. Actual data is reported in Chapter 4.

Theme A

Judgment

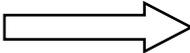
Theme B

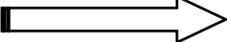
Physical aggression

Once Themes A and B were identified, the researcher conducted a relational analysis of the relationship between each noted Theme A and Theme B. Specifically, causal and contingent relationships between experiences with racism in school and types of behavioral responses to those experiences with racism were explored. To explain the nature of causal and contingent relationships, text and information from Robinson (2011) is provided below in Figure 3.

Figure 9

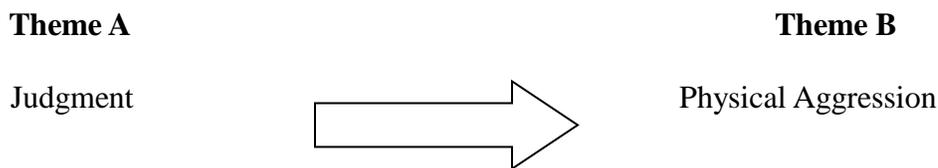
Causal and Contingent Relationships

Contingency Relations	
Relational Elements	<p><i>Theme A* (condition) > contingency relation (if a, then b) > Theme B** (conditional)</i></p> 

Relational Statement	<i>Weak</i> : If A then B is more likely <i>Strong</i> : A is a necessary condition for B
Example	<i>Weak</i> : “Having a hobby before retirement” and “having a meaningful pastime during retirement.” <i>Strong</i> : Engaging in “high-level performance” to “avoid looking like a fool” while employed
Causal Relations	
Relational Elements	<i>Theme A</i> * (<i>cause</i>) > <i>causal relation (B is a result of A)</i> > <i>Theme B</i> ** (<i>effect</i>) 
Relational Statement	A causes B, B is an effect of A
Example	Wanting to retire “because” the job was getting difficult, tiring, and time-consuming

*Type of racism **Type of behavior

If Theme A, the experience with racism, is *causally* related to Theme B, externalizing behavior, it may be concluded that the reported behavior is directly caused by the experience with racism. Thus, without the experience with racism, the behavior would have never manifested. For example, the passage “I have always been judged, and it has made me want to put my hands on them” would be analyzed as the following:



In contrast, if Theme B is *contingent* upon Theme A it may be concluded that the noted behavior would have likely occurred without the experience with racism. Nevertheless, the experience with racism increased the likelihood of the behavior manifesting. For example, the passage “I want to put my hands on people, especially when I am judged” would be analyzed as the following:

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the dissertation study purpose and procedures followed by research questions, sample and procedures, data transcription, and data analysis. A discussion of the study's results follows. Thematic categories derived from first cycle coding relative to research question 1 and 2 are included in this discussion. Results from the relational analysis relative to research question 3, including themes of behavior associated with racism and causal and contingent relations between racism and behavior, are also highlighted. Descriptive data about perceptions of racism in school and experiences with school discipline are additionally discussed. Results from participant responses informing the action agenda are outlined in conclusion followed by a summary of results.

Overview of Study

The dissertation study primarily focused on detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in school and school discipline. Perceived racism's impact on externalizing behavior was also examined. Data from semi-structured interviews with detained Black youth were collected. These interviews questioned detained Black youth about their school experiences involving racism and school discipline. Interview content was analyzed for themes related to racism in school and school discipline as well as relationships between perceived racism and externalizing behavior.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of the dissertation study was to examine detained Black youths' experiences with racism in public schools and school discipline. How perceived experiences with racism in public schools contribute to externalized behavior among detained Black youth was also a focus of the study. The following research questions were used in the study:

- 1. What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?** Question 1 assessed detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss experiences in their public schools which they believed involved racism. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in schools.
- 2. In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?** Question 2 assessed ways in which detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss how they perceived racism in school discipline at their public schools. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices.
- 3. What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?** Question 3 assessed how Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools influenced violent behaviors. Participants were asked to expand their reflection on their reported experiences with racism in schools and tell how those

experiences made them behave or want to behave. This question addressed the behavioral impact of Black youths' perceptions of racism in schools with special attention given to violent tendencies.

Sample and Procedures

Sampling occurred at a private juvenile detention facility in the southeastern part of the United States. Participants were recruited during parental visitation, with assent being requested the day of the interview. Each participant was interviewed using a standard protocol by the researcher. This protocol questioned participants about their general school experiences and experiences with school discipline. Emphasis was placed on experiences with racism and how those experiences influenced participants' behavior. Questions were also asked to inform the study's action agenda in order to inform school-based practices to support youth at risk of entering the juvenile justice system. A list of these interview questions and how they pertain to the research questions may be found in Table 1. Interview content was manually recorded by the researcher. Selective methods were carried out to enhance the reliability and validity of the interview content, including restating, summative rephrasing, and early transcription.

Data Transcription and Analyses

Data was transcribed electronically in Microsoft Word documents by the researcher with interview content being placed in a table with each row consisting of a sentence. Sentences involving more than once concept were divided into different rows.

First-phase, descriptive coding and second phase, relational analysis occurred once all interviews were transcribed to assess for themes of perceived experiences with racism in school, perceived racism in school discipline, and behavioral reactions to experiences with racism in school. Prior to descriptive coding, the researcher coded each sentence of each interview, first

for whether the sentence was relevant to the research questions and second for whether the sentence included the presence of racism. Ultimately, a count was derived of how many sentences were relevant for the questions and how many times racism was raised per answer.

To address the first research question, the researcher first listed the various types of racism identified during coding in which sentences were reviewed for the presence of racism. The various types of reported racism were then aggregated into a single category. The researcher then coded each sentence which mentioned racism for the type of racism described. A code list was then developed for each identified theme containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme. The researcher then reviewed each reported theme to gather descriptive data relevant to the reported theme. The chart used to organize this data may be found in Figure 1.

To address the second research question, the researcher first listed the various types of racism perceived in school discipline in which sentences were reviewed for the presence of racism. The various types of reported racism perceived in school discipline were then aggregated into a single category. The researcher then coded each sentence mentioning racism in school discipline for the type of racism in school discipline described. A code list was then developed containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme. The researcher then reviewed each reported incident of school discipline to gather descriptive information relevant to the reported experience with discipline. The chart used to organize this data may be found in Figure 2.

Relational analysis was used to address the third research question. The researcher coded each sentence of each interview, first for whether the sentence was relevant to the research question and second for whether the sentence included the presence of exhibited behavior

associated with an experience with racism. Ultimately, a count was derived of how many sentences were relevant to the question and how many times behavior was mentioned as associated with an experience with racism. The researcher then listed the various types of behaviors identified during coding in which sentences were reviewed for the presence of a behavior associated with an experience with racism. The various types of reported behaviors associated with racism were aggregated into a single category. The researcher then coded each sentence that included the mention of a behavior associated with an experience with racism. A code list containing the specific segment from the interview, the identified theme from that segment, and an assigned code number for that theme was then developed.

For the relational analysis, each interview was examined by the researcher. Themes of behavior associated with an experience with racism were listed as Theme B. The themes associated with the experience of racism associated with the reported behaviors were listed as Theme A. Once each Theme B and Theme A were identified, a relational analysis took place assessing for whether each Theme B, or behavior, was causally or contingently related to the corresponding Theme A, or experience with racism.

To inform the action agenda, the researcher reviewed interview content to gather the following descriptive information: How school punishment was a risk factor for delinquency, alternative methods to punishment schools could have used, steps schools could have taken to prevent the participant from getting in trouble at school or with the juvenile justice system, and the participant's school experiences prior to entering the juvenile justice facility. This information served the purpose to inform schools and school practitioners of ways in which schools may better serve youth who are at risk of entering the juvenile justice system. The chart used to organize this data may be found in Figure 4.

Results

The following section encompasses the results of data analyses. Introduced first are themes identified during descriptive coding. These particular themes reference research questions 1 and 2. Specifically, five themes were found for research question 1. For research question 2, two themes were found. Results of the relational analysis are also presented, to investigate research question 3. Emphasis is placed on identified themes of externalizing behavior and how these incidents are related to identified themes of experiences with racism. An examination of descriptive data is reported next. Descriptive content of themes of racism, including when the reported experiences occurred and what type of racism was entailed in the reported experiences is discussed. Descriptive content involving the type and length of reported experienced discipline, when the discipline occurred, what incident led up to the discipline, ways in which school staff and members of the participant's home responded to the participant after they got disciplined, and behaviors the participant engaged in while on discipline or punishment is also addressed. Results relevant to the action agenda pertaining to participants' views of school practices as risk and protective factors for delinquency as well as alternative methods to punishment for behavior correction, is also highlighted.

Inter-rater Reliability Results

Although the researcher intended to have two independent coders for categorizing the statements in each interview, the researcher was unable to do so due to time constraints. Instead one person (the researcher) coded all of the interviews and the independent coder categorized one of the interviews to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability. Results from the coding showed that, for one interview, the raters agreed on 75 out of 134 statements (56%) on themes of racism in school, and 125 out of 134 statements (93%) on themes of racism in school

discipline. Most disagreements on themes of racism in school concerned “discrimination,” with the researcher being more likely to use “discrimination” as a theme whereas the independent coder was more likely to use varied labels. For example, on 13 occasions, the researcher used “discrimination” to code a segment whereas the independent coder used “disrespect.” However, certain experiences were still noted throughout the interview by both coders as experiences with racism, though not always associated with the same theme. That is, both coders were consistent in acknowledging reported experiences with racism though somewhat inconsistent in providing the similar themes for the acknowledged experiences with racism. Although the inter-rater reliability was low for identified themes of racism in school, these discrepancies are not believed to significantly impact the overall interpretation of the results as each interview was considered for its representation of collective themes and not individual themes.

Results of First Cycle: Descriptive Coding for Research Question 1

Participants were asked about the following information to answer research question 1: What type of school they went to, the location of the school, the racial make-up of staff and students, the availability of resources and support, their general school experiences and why they felt those experiences occurred, how those experiences were related to being Black, and how those experiences would have been different if they were White. Some participants were asked what did, or what would, racism look like in their school. A total of 645 sentences were reviewed for relevancy to research question 1. Of these 645 sentences, 222 were relevant to research question 1 with 120 mentioning of racism.

Fourteen original themes were identified for research question 1. These themes were named according to the specific nature of the reported experience with racism. For example, the theme “Academic, Helpful” included reports of teachers helping White students more often than

Black students on their school work. These fourteen themes were then aggregated by the researcher into like categories. As a result, eight themes emerged. These themes remained specific in capturing certain incidents of racism but became more encompassing of similar content. For example, the theme “stereotypes” was merged with the theme “negative perceptions” since both categories reflected participants experiencing others’ negative perceptions of Black people. These eight themes were revisited once more by the researcher for commonalities with the aggregation of themes when appropriate. Consequently, five final themes were identified and named to capture the comprehensive nature of reported incidents of experienced racism in public schools. See Table 2 as a reference for how themes were generated. To view a definition for each finalized theme, see Appendix P.

Table 2

Research Question 1: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers

Sample of Descriptive Code	Initial Theme	Aggregated Theme	Final Theme	Final Code Number
I went to real country schools in elementary, middle, and high school.	Geographical(1)	School Demographics(1)	School Demographics	1
The teachers were mostly White.	School Demographics(2)	School Demographics(1)	School Demographics	1
They all had that old family thinking.	Prejudice(3)	Prejudice(2)	Negative Perception	3
People were messy.	Social Discrimination(4)	Discrimination(3)	Discrimination	2
If he had been Black he would have helped out with more or anything. He would have listened better.	Resources(5)	Discrimination(3)	Discrimination	2
Certain teachers let White kids do stuff but not let Black kids.	Discrimination(6)	Discrimination(3)	Discrimination	2
We were unconsciously segregated.	Segregation(7)	Racial Divide(4)	Racial Divide	4
[Teachers would have] Helped out more with school homework[if I was a White student].	Academic, Helpful(8)	Discrimination(3)	Discrimination	2
If they already have a preconception of Black people	Stereotypes(9)	Negative Perception(6)	Negative Perception	3

being violent				
Them [White people] feeling superior to us [Black people]	Psychological(10)	Negative Perception(6)	Negative Perception	3
I don't like being disrespected.	Disrespect(11)	Disrespect(5)	Disrespect	5
They [White parents] had a higher social hierarchy.	Social Hierarchy(12)	Racial Divide(4)	Racial Divide	4
It was racism because they knew we hung together and felt we started all the trouble	Negative Perception(13)	Negative Perception(6)	Negative Perception	3
[Students would] Say rude things about how I dressed, what I looked like.	Cultural Values(14)	Cultural Values(7)	Negative Perception	3
S. the principal was racist	Racist Staff(15)	Racist Staff(8)	Discrimination	2

Note: Numbers in parentheses () indicate the relative code number assigned to that code at that time of coding

The following thematic codes emerged regarding research question number 1 which addressed detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools. Some themes had a relative amount of overlap, such as experiences with racial discrimination and others' negative perceptions of Black people. Nevertheless, efforts were made to categorize themes according to the main essence of the reported incident which sometimes resulted in one incident receiving more than one theme. For example, if a participant reported that students said mean things to them about their clothing style, it was themed as an incident of verbal *discrimination* from peers and racism involving *negative perceptions*.

Theme 1: School demographics. Themes of racism in school demographics were identified according to claims of mostly one racial demographic in the school setting. In defining school demographics, The National Center for Education Statistics Common Core of Data considers the percentage of students who are of a particular race when presenting data on school demographics. Standardize racial classifications are used to identify the race of enrolled students (Center for Public Education, 2017). These classifications include White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American (Center for Public Education, 2017). For

the dissertation study, actual school data was not used to measure school demographics. Instead, school demographics were defined according to the personal accounts of participants' reports of the racial make-up of the student- and staff-body. However, these reports were considered to be reflective of majority races observed among the students and staff.

Four of the five participants reported racial homogeneity among teachers and students across the elementary, middle, and high school levels. All accounts of school demographic racism were considered to be institutional forms of racism. Specific to students, most participants reported that the schools they attended had "mostly" or "mainly" Black students. One participant reported the opposite, claiming that their school did "not have that many Black people" or only three Black students in the entire school. In regards to staff, participants reported that their schools had mostly or only White teachers, more White teachers than Black teachers, as well as mainly White individuals as support staff, such as counselors.

Theme 2: Discrimination. Themes of discrimination arose from participants' reports of poor treatment, either physically or verbally, by peers and staff and due to the race of the participant. Racial discrimination may be defined as "differential treatment on the basis of race that disadvantages a racial group" (National Research Council, 2004, p. 39) or when "a member of one racial group is treated less favorably than a similarly situated member of another racial group and suffers adverse or negative consequences" (National Research Council, 2004, p. 40). Discrimination may further be defined as "treatment on the basis of inadequately justified factors other than race that disadvantages a racial group" (National Research Council, 2004, p. 39) which includes "instances in which treatment based on inadequately justified factors other than race results in adverse racial consequences" (National Research Council, 2004, p. 40). In the dissertation study, discrimination was defined to include incidents of mistreatment reported by

participants which occurred due to the race of the participant. Though this definition is not an exact replication of definitions highlighted in current research, reported incidents in this study are believed to reflect situations that would likely be considered discrimination as defined in current research as the dissertation highlighted reports of mistreatment or poor outcomes due to the participants' race.

Four of five participants reported being treated poorly because of their race with these occurrences happening across the elementary, middle, and high school level. Most incidents pertained to personal racism. Participants reported being treated "bad" or wrongly because of their race or the "color of my skin."

Most reported incidents involved staff and occurrences of verbal harassment. In general, school staff, being mostly White teachers, were reportedly "mean," "did not like Black students," and "picked on" Black students. It was also stated that school principals were "racist." Claims of teachers showing favoritism toward White students were also noted with incidents of teachers allowing "White kids to do stuff but not let Black kids" do the same thing. Teachers not allowing participants to engage in preferred activities, such as playing on the computer or joining sports activities, were also reported as incidents of racial discrimination. Teachers were reportedly more helpful toward, and engaged with, White students than Black students. For example, one participant reported how teachers talked "to White kids more" while others reported that White teachers did nothing to intervene when a Black student was being harassed by a White student.

Claims were also made that counselors were more helpful toward White students and did not listen well to Black students but would rather "brush off" issues presented by Black youth. When asked how their experiences would have been different if they were a White student,

participants' reported that staff would have been nicer, more willing to intervene when participants were mistreated, and allowed participants to engage in preferred activities.

Three of five participants reported verbal discrimination from staff, all of which happened in high school. These incidents were considered as forms of personal racism. Most reports involved incidents where staff, including teachers, said something racist. For example, one participant reported that a teacher referred to him as a "Black 'A,'" and that he heard a teacher mutter "nigger" under their breath. On one particular occasion, a study participant reported that the principal was racist because he would always yell at the participant.

To a lesser extent, two of five participants reported discrimination from peers. These incidents, being forms of personal racism, mostly occurred in middle school followed by elementary and high school. Reports included participants feeling that White students were "messy" and often caused issues with Black students. Lack of empathy among White students was also noted. One participant shared how White students would engage in racist activities without considering how it made Black students feel. Other forms of racial discrimination from peers included White students not talking or sitting with Black students and "picking on" Black students. It was also reported that White students were "mean" and "rude" and "looked at us [Black students] different."

Racial discrimination from peers in the form of verbal discrimination was only once reported. In particular, it was reported that White students would talk about Black students and say mean and rude things such as "nigger" and negatively comment on Black students' clothes, hair, and jewelry. For example, one participant stated how White students would call the participant's hair "nappy" because she had an afro and ask why her hair "didn't turn out like theirs" (i.e. White peoples' hair).

Being mistreated due to values related to Black culture was another noted theme captured in two participants' accounts. Examples include White students "say[ing] rude things about how I dressed," "comment[ing] on my hair and earring[s]," "call[ing] me 'ghetto' because of my clothes" as well as "call[ing] my hair nappy" because "I had an afro." In another incident, a participant reported being "picked on" by the principal for wearing "a lot of chains," or having his "pants down."

Theme 3: Negative perceptions. Previous literature had defined racial prejudice "as an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1998, p. 25). This form of prejudice may be felt or expressed by an individual be directed toward a certain racial group or an individual belonging to that racial group (Hurwitz & Peffley 1998). In the dissertation study, reported incidents of negative perceptions resound this definition of racial prejudice reports of prejudicial thoughts, including biased beliefs and ill-conceived notions about the participants' racial group by peers and school staff, were collectively identified as themes of negative perceptions.

Two of five participants reported instances involving prejudicial thoughts, stereotyping, and negative expectations. These incidents reportedly occurred during elementary, middle, and high school and involved personal racism. Prejudice thoughts included reports that White people in the schools "had that old family thinking, what their grandparents taught them." Additional reports were made about White teachers, claiming that they perceived the participants as violent and expected them to fight, argue, and do things to make situations that got them into trouble worse. It was also reported that White teachers felt they had more in common with the White students. Additional claims were made that White students would ask questions about Black students skin and hair, wondering why it was different from theirs. Further reports included that

“They [White students] have issues with me but they don’t know me.” Stereotypical beliefs included thoughts that Black people “put chicken grease in their hair” and “started all the trouble” at school.

Theme 4: Racial divide. In studies considering individuals’ reported experiences with racism in an educational setting, racial divisions have been defined as a “separation of races, or little interaction among races, among social events, Black and White people staying in their own corners” (McMurtrie, 2016). Similar to this definition, racial divide in the dissertation study included reports of physical or social divisions of people according to race.

Two of five participants reported themes of racial division with these incidents occurring during elementary, middle, and high school. These incidents involved institutional and personal racism. One participant noted that the students at her school were “unconsciously segregated,” reporting that racial groups would sit apart at lunch. Other mentions were made of White students and families being ranked high in a social hierarchy and thus benefitting from preferential treatment at school. School-based divisions were also noted with Black faculty reportedly not liking White staff because they knew how they harassed the Black students and were thus “on our [Black students] side.”

Theme 5: Disrespect. Racism has been acknowledged as a form of disrespect when a racial group or a person of a certain race is “singled out for disrespect” because of other’s actions toward them which are fueled by racially-biased beliefs (Glasgow, 2009). For example, someone may treat a Black person poorly because they think that Black people are lazy. In this same sense, disrespect is considered to be abstract and “morally troubling” (Glasgow, 2009). In the dissertation study, incidents in which participants reported feeling disrespected due to perceived racism were considered to be themes of disrespect. Two participants reported feeling

disrespected by staff and students. These incidents reportedly occurred during elementary and middle school and involved personal racism. Particularly, one participant mentioned how she “don’t like being disrespected” when discussing racial discrimination from peers. In another instance, a participant claimed it was a “respect thing” for himself when describing how he felt about experiences with racism in school.

Results of First Cycle Coding: Descriptive Coding for Research Question 2

Participants were asked about the following information to answer research question 2: Did they ever get into trouble at school, what incidents led up to getting into trouble at school, what happened while they were disciplined and after they were disciplined including peoples’ reactions at school and home, what type of discipline did they receive, how long did the discipline last, what did they do while they were disciplined or on punishment, and did they feel racism was the reason they got into trouble at school. Some participants were asked why they felt Black students got in more trouble at school than other students, who mostly got in trouble at school, and who mostly did not get in trouble at school. A total of 645 sentences were reviewed for relevancy to research question 2. Of these 645 sentences, 223 were relevant to research question 2 with 19 mentioning racism in school discipline.

Two original themes were identified for research question 2. These themes were named according to the specific nature of any reported experience with racism in school discipline. For example, the theme “Excessive Discipline” was given to cover reports of Black students feeling constantly disciplined at school. The two identified themes were then revisited for commonalities in order to aggregate themes into like categories. Nevertheless, the two original themes were determined to be an accurate representation of reported incidents of racism in school discipline. Please see Table 2 as a reference for how themes were generated. To view a

definition for each finalized theme, please see Appendix P.

Table 3

Research Question 2: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers

Sample of Descriptive Code	Initial Theme	Aggregated Theme	Final Theme	Final Code Number
If me and a White girl did the same thing I would get punishment, they would get to walk free.	Bias in Discipline(1)	Bias in Discipline(1)	Bias in Discipline	1
She'd see me in the hallway and write me up everytime	Excessive Discipline(2)	Excessive Discipline(2)	Excessive Discipline	2

Note: Numbers in parentheses () indicate the relative code number assigned to that code at that time of coding

The following thematic codes were identified regarding research question number 2 which questioned detained Black youths' perception of racism in public schools' disciplinary practices. Due to the limited number of themes there was no overlap among themes. Efforts were made to categorize themes according to the main essence of the reported incident which resulted in each incident receiving one or the other theme.

Theme 1: Racial bias in school discipline. Racial bias in school discipline may occur consciously, or explicitly, as well as unconsciously, or implicitly (McNeal, 2016). This bias may reflect biased decision making which favor's one racial group over another or decision making which is influenced by racial prejudice (McNeal, 2016). Racial bias in school discipline ultimately makes certain racial groups vulnerable to higher rates and more sever forms of school discipline (McNeal, 2016). In this dissertation study, themes of racial bias in school discipline were largely defined by reported instances of unfair or biased treatment through school discipline based on a student's race.

Four of five participants reported such incidents occurring during elementary, middle,

and high school. Since these incidents involved school discipline, being a procedure of school functioning, all reports were considered to be manifestations of institutional racism. Several participants reported feeling that they, as Black students, would be punished for things that White students were not. For example, one participant claimed that “Certain teachers let White kids do stuff but not let Black kids.” In another case, a participant reported feeling that they were the only one “getting picked on” in referencing punishment from the principal. Other reports included participants feeling that White students never got “in trouble for stuff” and were allowed to “do whatever” and “walk free.” Being treated differently for similar infractions was also reported. Specifically, one participant claimed that teachers would nicely ask White students to tuck their shirt in whereas he was sent to in-school suspension when his shirt was untucked.

Theme 2: Excessive discipline. Over-disciplining of students has been highlighted by Nance (2016) as incidents in which Black youth receive disproportionate rates of harsh forms of discipline, including in-school and out-of-school suspensions as well as school-based arrests. Themes related to experiences with school discipline identified in student interviews included excessive or strong responses to minor infractions (Salole & Abdulle, 2015). In the dissertation study, themes of excessive discipline were defined by incidents where participants felt the punishment they received was excessive or extreme in relation to the behavior infraction.

Three of five participants made such claims which reportedly occurred during elementary, middle, and high school. All incidents were considered to be forms of institutional racism as they occurred as part of school procedures. In particular, participants mentioned how they would receive in-school suspension for minuscule infractions or “crazy stuff” such as talking in the hallway or not having their shirt tucked in. One participant reported knowing their

principal was racist “because she’d see me in the hallway and write me up every time,” going on to state that she would suspend him every time he went to her office. Another participant claimed that her experience with discipline in middle school was attributed to “reinforced punishment.” When asked what that meant, she replied “hard punishment.”

Results of Second Cycle: Relational Analysis for Research Question 3

Research question 3 was addressed by asking participants how their experiences with racism in school made them act or want to act. Participants were also asked why they chose or did not choose to act a certain way. Responses to questions addressing research question 3 were analyzed during the second phase of data analyses through a relational analysis. This analysis focused on the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth. A total of 645 sentences were reviewed for relevancy to research question 1. Of these 645 sentences, 20 were relevant to research question 3 with 10 having mention of externalizing behavior in response to an experience with racism.

During this phase, each interview was revisited for themes of reported externalized behavior elicited in association with experiences with racism. Two original themes were identified for research question 3. These themes were named according to the specific nature of any reported behavior associated with an experience with racism. For example, the theme “Physical Aggression” was given to cover reports of Black students fighting students who they felt discriminated against them because of their skin color. The two identified themes were then revisited for commonalities in order to aggregate themes into like categories. Nevertheless, the two original themes were agreed upon as an accurate representation of reported behaviors associated with an experience with racism. Please see Table 3 as a reference for how themes

were generated. To view a definition for each finalized theme, please see Appendix P.

Table 4

Research Question 3: Descriptive Coding Samples, Theme Generation, and Theme Code Numbers

Sample of Descriptive Code	Initial Theme	Aggregated Theme	Final Theme	Final Code Number
I snapped and cussed them out	Verbal Aggression(1)	Verbal Aggression (1)	Verbal Aggression	1
I was fighting them	Physical Aggression(2)	Physical Aggression (2)	Physical Aggression	2

Note: Numbers in parentheses () indicate the relative code number assigned to that code at that time of coding

The following themes were addressed to consider the relationship between experiences with racism and externalizing behavior. Theme A references previously identified themes of experiences with racism. Unique to themes identified as Theme A is that only experiences with racism that elicited behavior from the participant are considered. Thus, any reported experience with racism that did not elicit behavior from the participant is not considered as part of the category of Theme A. Theme B references identified themes of behaviors associated with experiences with racism. The themes were identified through descriptive coding though as part of second cycle coding. Theme A and Theme B were then compared through a relational analysis to determine how Theme A, or experiences with racism, were associated with Theme B, or externalizing behavior.

Theme A: Perceived experiences with racism. Any incident of an experience with racism associated with a behavior exhibited by the participant was categorized as Theme A. These themes had previously been identified during first cycle coding and are listed in Table 2. Thus, these themes were only revisited during this stage of the relational analysis. Three of five participants reported a total of 10 incidents in which experiences with racism were associated

with behaviors from participants. Reported incidents of racism involved the themes of discrimination, disrespect, and negative perceptions. These incidents took place across elementary, middle, and high school and involved personal racism. Some participants reported behaviorally responding to incidents of racism involving students perceived as racist saying mean things and feeling disrespected by teachers. Other instances involved participants behaviorally responding to situations in which school staff were perceived as being racist. For example, one participant reported how he cursed out a White adult for saying “something racist.”

Theme B: Externalizing behavior. Any incident of a behavior elicited by an experience with racism was categorized as Theme B. These were identified during second cycle coding and are listed in Table 3. Three of five participants reported a total of 10 behaviors which were elicited by an experience with racism. Reported behavioral responses to incidents of racism involved themes of physical aggression and verbal aggression. These incidents took place across elementary, middle, and high school and involved personal racism. Some participants reported fighting students whom they perceived as racist and for saying racist things. For example, one participant reported how there were only 3 Black students in her school and that the “other students” would not talk to her or would look at the Black students “funny” which resulted in the participant fighting the other, or White, students. Other participants reported how they would curse out teachers or students for either saying something racist or be verbally aggressive toward teachers for disrespecting them.

Causal relations. Causal relations were identified as incidents in which experiences with racism, or Theme A, were causally related to externalizing behavior, or Theme B. That is, causal relations were defined as incidents in which externalizing behavior, or Theme B, was a result of an experience with racism, or Theme A. Three of five participants reported 9 causal

relations between experiences with racism and externalizing behavior. These incidents occurred across elementary, middle, and high school and involved personal racism. Themes of reported experiences with racism involved discrimination, disrespect, and negative perceptions. Of these 9 incidents, two involved discrimination from peers, three involved discrimination in the form of verbal discrimination from peers with two of these incidents also involving negative perceptions, one involved discrimination from staff, one involved discrimination from staff in the form of verbal harassment, and two involved disrespect.

Situations involving discrimination from peers were causally linked to physical and verbal aggression. In particular, one participant reported that “The White kids were real mean,” going on to report that these incidents led them to “just hit them [White students].” In response to getting “picked on” by White students, another participant mentioned how they would just “fight them [White students]” when they were picked on. Another participant mentioned how she would “cuss” students out for saying something mean to her and hit students for saying rude and racist things to her. Both incidents of negative expectations which simultaneously occurred with peer discrimination were causally linked to physical aggression in the form of fighting. This participant specifically reported that she would fight students for saying things like she was “too dark to be in a White family” and for saying rude things about how she dressed.

Discrimination from staff was causally linked to verbal aggression in the form of cursing and arguing. For example, one participant mentioned how he “got picked on by White people” and would “buck” on teachers and “cuss” teachers out for picking on him. He also reported how he “cussed” a bus driver out for saying something racist. In another situation, it was reported that teachers showed favoritism toward White students, letting them do things that the participant was not allowed to do. When the participant would ask to do the same thing, he would be told to

sit down, to which he would then “say something” and get in trouble.

Situations in which participants felt disrespected were causally linked to physical and verbal aggression. When asked why she fought students, one participant said “I don’t like being disrespected” in reference to her experience with discrimination from peers. In another situation, a participant reported that he often felt teachers showed favoritism toward White students which caused him not to like the teachers and thus not respect them. In turn, he would “say something,” to which he eluded was a form of verbal aggression toward his teachers.

Though not considered externalizing behaviors, negative emotions were also reported as outcomes of experiences with racism. When commenting on how their experiences with racism made them feel, participants reported they felt “misunderstood,” “unhappy,” and “mad.” One particular participant reported that his experiences with racism made him feel “cold,” going on to state that “I had to feel cold because everybody was thinking I was weak.” Other noted outcomes pertained to teacher relationships, specifically not liking or respecting teachers.

In summary, experiences with racism seemed directly linked to externalizing behavior in the form of physical or verbal aggression. Most incidents involving discrimination from peers were directly linked to physical aggression. All incidents involving discrimination from staff directly led to verbal aggression. Physical aggression was also an outcome of experiences with others’ negative expectations toward Black people. Feeling disrespected was directly related to both physical and verbal aggression.

Contingent relations. Contingent relations were identified as incidents in which experiences with racism, or Theme A, were contingently related to externalizing behavior, or Theme B. That is, contingent relations were defined as incidents in which externalizing behavior, or Theme B, was made more likely to occur due to, but not directly caused by, an

experience with racism, or Theme A. One of five participants reported a contingent relation between experiences with racism and externalizing behavior. This incident did not specifically occur during a certain time but was rather communicated as a comprehensive account of all his experiences with racism which included discrimination, school demographics, and negative expectations. Specifically, this participant reported that his overall experiences with racism made him feel “aggressive.” However, he went on to state that he had “been being aggressive” but his experiences with racism just “made it worse.”

Descriptive Data

After coding, interviews were re-examined by the researcher for descriptive information relating to reported experiences with racism and experiences with school discipline. Focus was placed on categorical information and numerical counts. Examples of the analyzed descriptive data included what grade-level the experienced racism occurred in (e.g., elementary), what type of racism was experienced, how many times a certain type of racism was experienced, what type of discipline they received, and what type of behavioral infractions occurred.

Perceived experiences with racism. Overall, four of five participants reported experiencing racism in school. The majority of these incidents involved demographic racism and discrimination. Regarding demographic racism, a total of seven reports were made among the four participants who reported demographic racism. Three of these reports occurred during elementary school with two occurring during middle and high school. All accounts were deemed part of institutional racism as they often reflected systemic practices, such as the large presence of White people in the teaching field that impacted the racial make-up of a school’s population.

Racial discrimination was also a common theme reported by participants. Four participants reported a total of 7 reports of discrimination from staff. Of the 7 incidents of

discrimination from staff, two occurred during elementary school, three occurred during middle school, and two occurred during high school. Three participants reported a total of three incidents involving verbal harassment from staff, all of which occurred during high school. Two participants reported a total of four reports of discrimination from peers with one incident occurring in elementary school, two occurring during middle school, and one occurring during high school. One participant reported three occurrences of verbal harassment from peers with one incident happening in elementary, middle, and high school. Due to the interpersonal nature of all experiences with discrimination, all situations involving discrimination were considered forms of personal racism.

Negative perceptions, racial divide, and disrespect were reported to a lesser extent. Specifically, two participants reported a total of 4 incidents with negative perception. One incident was reported in elementary and middle school with two incidents being reported during high school. All accounts involved personal racism. Two participants reported a total of 2 incidents of racial divide. One incident was reported during middle school while the other incident was not associated with a certain grade level. Of these accounts, one involved institutional racism and one involved personal racism. Two participants reported a total of two incidents with disrespect. One incident was reported in elementary and middle school with all accounts involving personal racism.

Perceived experiences with racism in school discipline. All five participants reported experiences with school discipline in multiple forms, including being written up and receiving after-school detention, in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, being sent to alternative school, expulsion, and being sent to a juvenile justice facility. Out of eight total reports of out-of-school suspension, five of these incidents were due to behavioral infractions of externalizing

behaviors, specifically fighting. The other three accounts of out-of-school suspension included other instances of externalizing behaviors, including cussing and bullying. All participants reported high rates of out-of-school suspension, claiming to have received this disciplinary action “a lot,” “often,” “all the time,” and “so many times I can’t count.” The range of days spent in out-of-school suspension ranged from one day to five days. The majority of reported incidents occurred during middle school with fewer in elementary school and the fewest in high school. When asked what they did when they received out-of-school suspension, most participants’ reported that they played video games at home. Reported staff reactions to participants once they received out-of-school suspension included perceiving the participant as bad or confrontational, placing the participant in the front of the class, or treating the student badly if they got on the teacher’s bad side. Home reactions included parents providing words of encouragement.

Regarding in-school suspension, four of five participants reported being punished by such means “a bunch,” “all the time,” “a lot,” “a couple of times,” “five times” and “not a lot and not a little.” Assigned days of in-school suspension were said to have lasted from 1 – 30 days. Most incidents of in-school suspension occurred during middle school with fewer in elementary and high school. Behavioral infractions leading to in-school suspension varied, ranging from bullying, cursing at others, and multiple write-ups for fighting, to skipping class, talking when not allowed, not having their ID badge, and violating the dress code. Reported staff reactions to participants once they received in-school suspension included perceiving the participant as bad, treating the student badly if they got on the teacher’s bad side, and watching the student more closely. Home reactions included parents providing words of encouragement and parents getting mad.

After-school detention and detention was experienced by two participants. These incidents occurred during elementary and middle school due to infractions involving externalizing behaviors such as fighting or getting on teachers' nerves. No home reactions to the participants once they received after-school detention were reported. One participant reported that they were treated the same after having after-school detention.

Two of the five participants reported receiving office discipline referrals (ODRs), or write-ups, on multiple occasions. The majority of ODRs occurred during high school with fewer in elementary and middle school. Externalizing behaviors, including fighting and arguing with teachers, in addition to dress-code violations were noted as reasons they received ODRs. No staff or home reactions to the participant once they received an ODR were reported.

Of the five participants, two reported being expelled. These expulsions occurred during elementary, middle, and high school. While the expulsion in elementary school was due to excessive externalizing behavior (i.e. biting and kicking) the other expulsions were the result of continual infractions of less intensity during long stints of in-school suspension. For instance, while having 30 days of assigned in-school suspension, one participant was ultimately expelled. This expulsion occurred due to multiple write-ups for talking during in-school suspension and being continuously sent to the principal's office for not wanting to be in in-school suspension. No staff or home reactions to the participant once they were expelled were reported.

One participant reported being sent to alternative school for 45 days while in middle school. This participant went on to explain that they were sent to alternative school for having a gun at school. When explaining the situation, the participant recalled that they had left the gun in their backpack on accident and it was found during a routine school search. This participant reported that their parent was mad at them when they were sent to alternative school but that

school staff treated him nicer once he returned to school.

Action agenda. To inform the action agenda, efforts were made to gain insight into ways schools operate as a risk factor for future contact with the juvenile justice system as well as ways schools can function to prevent future contact with the juvenile justice system. To gain this information, the following questions were asked: In what way did your school contribute to you coming to a juvenile justice facility? What could your school have done to prevent you from coming to a juvenile justice facility? Additional questions were asked as to what actions schools could have taken to address misbehavior aside from the disciplinary action reported by the participants.

The majority of students reported that their schools did not contribute to them coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. However, one participant claimed that their school experiences with discipline “led me to being in delinquency” because “it triggered it.”

Results on how schools could have prevented participants from coming into contact with the juvenile justice system were mixed. Whereas some reported that their schools could not have prevented such circumstances, others reported that their schools could. For instance, one participant claimed that getting help in school “would have changed my view on certain White people and how I handle an altercation that is racist based” going on to report that “If they [school staff] would have talked or shown me a better way I would have been less likely [to be in trouble for domestic violence].” Another student reported that they would not have gotten in trouble with the law if they had been in school. By being in school, the participant reported that he “would have had something to do” and “would have been occupied.” He also claimed that his school offered a class called “Mind Changers” which could have prevented his contact with the juvenile justice system because it taught “how the system was set up for Blacks to fail.”

All participants felt their schools could have done something more constructively than what was reported to address behavioral infractions. On some occasions, participants reported that the school could have given them harsher discipline than what they received. For example, participants felt they could have received out-of-school suspension instead of in-school suspension or school expulsion instead of alternative school. Nevertheless, when asked what they wished their school would have done or what their school could have done to help them stay out of trouble with the law, participants reported less punitive measures. These suggestions included asking the student to comply with requests or allowing students to talk with their counselor on a daily basis.

In other situations, participants reported that their school could have spoken with them or other students. Participants felt that doing so would have ultimately prevented them from getting in trouble since they would have had opportunities to become friends with bullies and discuss what made them upset. On another occasion, a participant reported that school staff could have isolated him from bullies or allowed his mother to come and sit with him. As a result, he would have had less contact with bullies and refrained from engaging in behaviors that would get him in trouble. He also reported that he could have been sent to a “good teacher” whom he knew liked him and respected him which would have kept him from getting in trouble.

Two participants reported several occasions of being sent directly to a juvenile justice detention facility due to physical altercations at their school. Most of these incidents occurred during high school and involved the participant either directly fighting a staff member, accidentally pushing a staff member while fighting another student, or resisting arrest at school when looking to fight another student.

School discipline before contact with the juvenile justice facility was also reported among

participants. In particular, one participant reported that he was sent to a juvenile justice facility twice having been expelled from school on both occasions. For another participant, he had recently been placed in a juvenile justice detention facility while participating in a program. The reason he was in the program was due to a physical altercation at school which led to expulsion.

Summary of Results

The results of data analyses yielded thematic descriptions of racism in school and school discipline. While such instances occurred across all grade levels, the majority occurred in middle school. Reports of racism in school included school demographics indicated by racial homogeneity among students and school staff, discrimination directed toward participants from White students and White school staff, feeling disrespected by White students and White school staff, negative perceptions of Black people held by White students and White school staff, and racial divisions among Black and White students and school staff. The most commonly reported form of perceived racism in school was discrimination from school staff, specifically in the form of verbal discrimination. Racism in school discipline was mostly reported as bias in school discipline and excessive discipline. When assessing the relationships between perceived racism in school and behavior, results indicated that most incidents of racism were causally linked to externalizing behavior in the form of physical and verbal aggression.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study focused on the presence and behavioral impact of racism in public schools among detained Black youth. Driven by GST and CRT, efforts were made to explore detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in school and school discipline as well as the impact of these perceived experiences on externalizing behavior. Data for this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with five detained Black youth. Descriptive coding was used to analyze interview content for themes of experiences with racism in public schools and school discipline. Further examinations included a relational analysis for causal and contingent relationships between themes of perceived experiences with racism and externalizing behavior.

Theoretical Frameworks for Planning the Study

Several theoretical frameworks were used to guide the study's focus and interpretation of results. First, GST was considered to explain the relationship between experiences with racism and violent behavior (Agnew, 1985, 2001). Specific to this theory, experiences with racism occur as a form of strain that is an inescapable, aversive stimuli (Agnew, 1985, 2001). These experiences ultimately elicit negative emotions, such as anger, which leads to negative coping behaviors, particularly violent delinquency, as one attempts to reach a form of emotional or psychological equilibrium in response to blocked goals (Agnew, 1985, 1992, 2001).

Second, CRT is referenced to expound the presence of racism in schools and how racism may impact violent behavior exhibited by Black youth (Capper, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995; Ogbu, 1987; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). According to GST, racism is an escapable force of everyday existence which continues to oppress Black individuals through the societal and institutional entrenchment of rhetoric that empowers White individuals (Bell, 1980; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001; Tate, 1997). Schools, being institutional sources of socialization, are subsequently submerged into racist ideologies as they function to maintain and promote the subjugation of Black students. For instance, the oppression of Black students in schools is promoted and continued through unfair and biased disciplinary practices that cater to stereotypes of Black youth as violent and criminal (Carter et al., 2014; Simson, 2013). Schools also operate as conduits of oppression by ultimately provoking opposition from Black students by creating a violent environment which shuns the existence of Blackness and renders Black students vulnerable (Ogbu, 1987; Watts & Erevellas, 2004).

From a methodological standpoint, CRT promotes qualitative discourse through personal narratives or “counterstorytelling” to give voice to oppressed groups (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). Personal narratives also validate otherwise dismissed notions of the existence and impact of racism in the lives of Black individuals (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Leonardo, 2013; Solorzano, 2002)

Third, the school-to-prison pipeline is considered as a theoretical explanation of Black youths’ over-representation among disciplined students in school and those in the juvenile justice system (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Fancher, 2011; NASP, 2013a). Specifically, Black youth are believed to be excessively and wrongfully disciplined at school with high rates of school suspensions and expulsions. Excessive exposure to school discipline is further believed to place Black youth at risk for dropping out of school and committing delinquency, especially violent acts (Jarjoura, 1993; Van Dorn & Williams, 2003; Van Wijk et al., 2003).

Subsequently, Black youth become particularly at risk for coming into contact with the juvenile justice system (Darensbourg, Perez, & Black, 2010; Heitzeg, 2009; Skiba et al., 2009).

Support for this study is provided among previous research which indicates that Black youth are prone to violent behavior, are excessively exposed to school discipline, especially for violent infractions, and are over-represented throughout the juvenile justice system, particularly among violent juvenile offenders. Though this study does not investigate similar findings, a careful emphasis is placed on reported exposure to school discipline and externalizing behavior reported among detained Black youth. This study recognizes previous literature which highlights the presence of racism throughout the school setting and how it may impact decision-making during the disciplinary process and impact violent behavior among those experiencing racism. This study aims to examine the presence of perceived racism in school among detained Black youth and how experiences with racism in school impact externalizing behavior. Additional highlights are on detained Black youths' perception of racism in school and school discipline.

Overview of Study

The following study examined detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in school and school discipline. Additional investigations addressed the impact of these experiences on externalizing behavior, particularly violent behavior. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Black youth detained in a private juvenile justice facility. Analytical procedures for data included descriptive coding for themes of perceived experiences with racism in school and school discipline. A relational analysis was completed to assess for the link between experiences with racism and externalizing behavior. Descriptive data of thematic content and school discipline were also documented. To inform the action agenda, consideration

was given to participants' reported schools' practices perceived as risk and protective factors toward contact with the juvenile justice system. Participants' input into alternative methods of school discipline was also examined.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of the dissertation study was to examine detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools and school discipline. The association between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and externalized behavior was also investigated. The following research questions were addressed by the study's investigation:

- 1. What are detained Black youths' perceived experiences with racism in public schools?** Question 1 assessed detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss experiences in their public schools which they believed involved racism. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in schools.
- 2. In what ways do detained Black youth perceive the presence of racism in the school disciplinary practices of public schools?** Question 2 assessed ways in which detained Black youth perceived racism in school disciplinary practices. Participants were asked to reflect on and discuss how they perceived racism in school discipline at their public schools. This question gave voice to research participants and provided insight into the unique ways detained Black youth perceive racism in school disciplinary practices.
- 3. What is the relationship between perceived experiences with racism in public schools and violent behaviors in school among detained Black youth?**

Question 3 assessed how Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools influenced violent behaviors. Participants were asked to expand their reflection on their reported experiences with racism in schools and tell how those experiences made them behave or want to behave. This question addressed the behavioral impact of Black youths' perceptions of racism in schools with special attention given to violent tendencies.

Sample, Procedure, and Analyses

Sampling occurred at a private juvenile detention facility in the southeastern part of the United States. Five participants, four male and one female, were interviewed by the researcher about their previous experiences with racism in public schools and school discipline. Information on the age of participants was not collected as it was not part of the interview protocol. However, participants were believed to be between the ages of 14 and 17. The way experiences with racism made participants act or want to act was also discussed. Interview content was manually recorded by the researcher and transcribed into Microsoft Word documents. Thematic coding was carried out to assess for themes of perceived experiences with racism in schools and in school discipline. A relational analysis occurred to assess for relationships between perceived experiences with racism and externalizing behavior.

Major Results

The majority of participants reported experiencing racism in school, particularly discrimination from teachers. Common themes of perceived racism in school discipline involved being treated differently than White students and being excessively punished by school staff. The majority of reported experiences with racism were causally linked to externalizing behavior in the form of physical and verbal aggression.

Research Question 1: Perceptions of Racism in School

Descriptive coding was carried out to identify reported themes of perceived experiences with racism. These themes were relevant to research question 1 which asks what are detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in public schools.

Discussion of Findings

A total of five themes emerged from an original fourteen themes. These themes were identified and named by the researcher to encompass the reported nature of reported perceived experiences with racism. These fourteen themes were combined for conciseness across reported experiences. Although inter-rater reliability was pursued for interpretative reliability, two coders were unable to code all interviews due to time constraints. As a result, the researcher coded all interviews while the independent coder coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes.

Theme 1: School demographics. The majority of participants in the dissertation study reported that most of their teachers were White. Furthermore, most participants claimed to have attended schools with mostly Black students. These reports were consistent among participants and reported across all grade-levels.

The United States Department of Education (DOE) recently reported that 82% of elementary and secondary educators were White (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Policy and Program Studies Service, 2016). Black youth have made similar claims reporting that most of their teachers were White (Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006). Correspondingly, findings from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) claimed that “84 percent of White students attended a predominantly White school” and “46 percent of Black students attended a predominantly Black

school” during the 2011-2012 school year (Ross et al., 2012, p.8). Furthermore, the Southeastern U.S. is where most schools with “60 percent to 100 percent Black students” were located (National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP], n.d., p.1).

The findings from the current study are representative of findings from previous research. Overall, most students reported racial homogeneity among their teachers who were reportedly mostly White. This influx of White teachers was in contrast to the racial homogeneity of the student body, which was reportedly mostly Black. Also, reported experiences with racial homogeneity took place in schools located in the South.

Theme 2: Discrimination. Black youth in previous studies have reported numerous experiences with racial discrimination from teachers (Chavous et al., 2008; Dotterer et al., 2009; Hope et al., 2015; Respress, Small, Francis, & Cordova, 2013b; Wang & Huguley, 2012; Wong et al., 2003). These experiences have involved interactions with teachers, comments made by teachers, and teachers’ attitudes (Joseph, Viesca, & Bianco, 2016). Black youth have also felt unvalued by their teachers (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006).

Previous research has also shown that Black youth are rated as less favorable (Bates & Glick, 2013) and evaluated more negatively on their academic abilities and behavior by White teachers as opposed to Black teachers (McGrady & Reynolds, 2013). The significance of these findings has persisted despite family income or actual academic performance (McGrady & Reynolds, 2013). White teachers have also reportedly had lower academic expectations than Black teachers for Black youth, particularly Black male students (Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016).

The majority of participants in the dissertation study reported experiencing discrimination

at school. Most of these experiences were with teachers and involved personal interactions or verbal encounters. Specifically, participants reported that their teachers were “mean,” did not like Black students, “picked on” Black students, were “racist,” and showed favoritism to White students by letting them do more and engage in preferred activities. On some occasions, participants reported that school teachers and staff made racially derogatory statements. Additional claims were mentioned that teachers were more engaged and talkative with White students. Counselors were also reportedly more helpful toward White students. Participants further noted that White teachers failed to intervene for mistreated Black students. These occurrences were noted across all grade levels with the majority taking place in high school.

Juvenile offenders have highlighted the importance of caring teachers in increasing student engagement (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Sander et al., 2010). In particular, studies have shown that juvenile offenders perceive teachers as caring when they appear helpful, encouraging, and invest their time into teaching (Reed & Wexler, 2014). However, juvenile offenders have generally reported poor teacher relationships, feeling that teachers did not like them, care about them, or want to help them (Pollard & Pollard, 2001; Reed & Wexler, 2014; Sander et al., 2010), and did not want to “deal” with them (Hatt, 2011).

The impact of discrimination from teachers has subsequently impacted students’ relationships with their teachers. Students reporting perceived discrimination from teachers have subsequently reported less attachment to their teachers, thus impeding the students’ ability to form strong, positive relationships with the school itself (Unnever et al., 2016). Black youth have also been more likely than White youth to report poor relationships and interactions with their teachers and to perceive their teachers as uncaring (Bottiani, Bradshaw, & Mendelson, 2016; Mester, Spruill, Giani, Morote, & Inserra, 2015). Racial differences in the perceptions of

teachers as uncaring have remained regardless of the racial diversity of the student population or socioeconomic status of the school (Bottiani et al., 2016).

Participants in the dissertation study also reported discrimination from peers at their public schools. Nevertheless, these accounts were far fewer than reported incidents of discrimination from teachers. Accounts of racial discrimination from peers included negative interactions and altercations involving verbal harassment, a lack of empathy by White peers toward racial sensitivity, White students not talking to or sitting with Black students, and White students targeting Black students due to cultural factors such as clothing style.

Findings from the recent study are in alignment with results from past research showing that Black students witness racial discrimination from peers (Chavous et al., 2008; Hoskin, 2011; Repress et al., 2013b; Wang & Huguley, 2012; Wong et al., 2003), including name-calling (Hairston, 2010; Simmons, 2012), while at school. More so, Black youth have reported being implicitly targeted by peers at school due to their style of dress and clothing (Joseph et al., 2016). Juvenile offenders have also expressed negative interactions with their school-based peers, specifically being made fun of and being looked down upon at times (Pollard & Pollard, 2001).

Theme 3: Negative perceptions. Within the public school setting, Black youth have reported stereotyping and prejudice from their teachers (Joseph et al., 2016). Such instances have involved teachers perceiving Black youth as academically inferior to (Allen, 2010; Graham & Erwin, 2011; Heinfield et al., 2008; Hope et al. 2015; Howard, 2008; Soumah & Hoover, 2010) and more deviant and aggressive than (Hairston, 2010; Howard, 2008) their non-Black counterparts. Teachers have reported that cultural factors, such as uninvolved parents and language barriers, among Black youth are responsible for their academic underperformance (Allen, 2012). Teacher ratings have also found that teachers are more likely to rate student

behavior based on stereotypical beliefs such as Black youth exhibiting higher rates of externalizing behavior than White and Asian youth (Bates & Glick, 2013).

Mirroring previous research, participants in the current study reported prejudicial thoughts and stereotypical beliefs from school staff and peers. Negative expectations related to stereotypes were also reported among teachers in particular to externalizing behavior. In general, these reported incidents occurred across all grade levels.

Theme 4: Racial divide. In school settings, Black youth have reported racial divisions in the classroom with White and Black students being physically divided (Hairston, 2010; Simmons, 2010). Youth have also noted racial segregation in school-based programs (Joseph et al., 2016).

The current study's results endorsed previous research by highlighting claims of racial division among students within public schools. In addition to segregation, findings from the recent study provided further insight into how racial divisions may exist in school. Particular mention was made of racial divisions in the form of social hierarchy and "sides" as Whites were seen as superior to, and pitted against, Blacks. These incidents reportedly occurred across all grade levels and involved personal and institutional racism.

Theme 5: Disrespect. Participants reported disrespect as a form of experienced racism. In particular, youth claimed that they often felt disrespected by teachers, mostly as an outcome of perceived racial discrimination. These reported claims happened in elementary and middle school. Participants in the current study also felt disrespected by their peers when experiencing peer discrimination. Black youth have made similar claims in previous studies. For instance, Black students have reported feeling that their teachers did not respect them (Graham & Erwin, 2011; Hairston, 2010; West-Olatunji & Baker, 2006).

Relevance of Findings

Findings from the recent study shed a unique light on the actual presence of racism in school as it exists through the eyes of Black youth in the juvenile justice system. These findings were specific to demographic misalignment, discriminatory practices from school staff and peers, ill-conceived notions, racial divisions, and disrespect. By considering personal stories and input from the selected population, the expansive magnitude and implacable impact of racism in school on Black youth was excavated. The oppressive nature of racism was also revealed, showing how Black youth begin their educational career as a social outcast, perceived and treated as a group unworthy and incapable of educational success. Over time, the corrupt attitude toward Black youth becomes the norm as these students become helpless against an institution that denies them their true selves and opportunity.

While the findings of this study are backed by previous research on racism in school, these results were also novel in that they were constructed from the personal accounts of detained Black youth. Thus, a unique perspective was given as participants provided firsthand accounts of ways in which racism exists in schools and impacts the lives of Black youth who come into contact with the juvenile justice system. Most importantly, valuable and personable information was gained as to how those experiences with racism in school operate to place Black youth at risk for engaging in violent behaviors.

This study contributed to literature by providing research on detained Black youth, which are a special population on which little research has been conducted. The dissertation study also added to current literature by providing personal accounts of detained Black youths' experiences with racism in school. Though research has addressed racism in school, few studies have specifically investigated the presence of racism in school as reported by detained Black youth.

Additional input for current literature includes the exploration of how racism in school contributes to externalizing behavior and risk for entering the juvenile justice system, specifically among detained Black youth. While previous studies have highlighted the relationship between racism and externalizing behavior, research is stagnant in regards to the specific relationship between racism in school and externalizing behavior among detained Black youth. Furthermore, while past research has investigated the mechanics of the school-to-prison pipeline, literature is rare in regards to how racism in school functions as part of the school-to-prison pipeline.

School demographics, discrimination, and racial divide. In general, findings from this study supported statistical evidence of racial misalignment between non-White students and White teachers as well as the increase of racial segregation in public schools. As mentioned by Berry and Candis (2013) in a CRT take on education, White teachers may struggle to bond with Black students as there is often a misalignment between cultural identity and experiences. In support of this claim, several participants from the current study reported that their White teachers seemed more helpful, engaged with, and talkative to White students than Black students. Thus, racial demographics of school settings may be pitted against Black youth, jeopardizing their chances of forming meaningful relations with school personnel.

Moreover, racism in school via personal discrimination and segregation subsequently disrupted personal bonding and positive relations which are known to be protective factors against violent behaviors and criminality among Black youth (Barnert et al., 2015; Hoskin, 2011). By taking into account the personal experiences of detained Black youth, the recent study provided insight into how discrimination within the school system is a risk factor for violent offenses among Black youth by way of poor staff and student relationships. Subsequently,

racism in school and its impact on personal relations may be eluded to as a contributing factor to the over-representation of Black youth among juvenile offenders as these negative encounters promote delinquent behavior, especially violent acts.

Negative perceptions and disrespect. Regarding negative perceptions, factors such as stereotypes, racial subordination, and discrimination have been hypothesized to influence violent behavior among Black youth (Bernard, 1990; Richman, 1999; Spencer, 2003). Research has shown that lack of respect can serve as a motivating factor for delinquency among juvenile offenders (Hatt, 2011). In other instances, feelings of disrespect have purported disruptive behavior as youth have attempted to challenge authority as a way to gain respect (Ferguson, 2001). Consequently, youth perceived as disrespectful have been punished for actions of disrespect (Wun, 2016). Thus, racism in school particular to negative perceptions and insolence has the potential of contributing to Black youths' engagement in violent delinquency and subsequent over-representation as violent offenders.

In summary, it seems the existence of racism in school operates to disturb Black youths' positive school experiences and disrupt positive school relationships. Consequently, Black youth are placed at risk for engaging in violent behavior as they fail to establish healthy personal relations that would ultimately promote pro-social behaviors. In accordance with GST, it seems that experiences with racism do promote violent behaviors by disrupting and dismantling positive school-based relationships that have the potential of preventing such actions. As stated by CRT, the existence of racism in school does create an oppressive environment which has the potential of perpetuating misconduct from Black youth as they feel defensive toward the elements of their environment.

Research Question 2: Perceptions of Racism in School Discipline

Descriptive coding was carried out to identify reported themes of perceived experiences of racism in school discipline. These themes were relevant to research question 2 which asks what are detained Black youths' perceptions of racism in school discipline.

Discussion of Findings

A total of two themes emerged from descriptive coding. Themes were identified and named by the researcher to encompass the reported nature of perceived racism among participants' experiences with school discipline. Although inter-rater reliability was pursued for interpretative reliability, two coders were unable to code all interviews due to time constraints. As a result, the researcher coded all interviews while the independent coder coded one interview to provide a rough estimate of inter-rater reliability among themes.

Theme 1: Racial bias. Black youth have been found to be disciplined at a higher rate than White youth, regardless of grade level, across multiple forms of discipline (Bradshaw, et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009; Noltemeyer & McInglonlin, 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2011). Studies have also shown that Black students receive harsher school punishment than White youths for similar infractions (Skiba et al., 2011).

Black youth have also reported being wrongly disciplined (Fisher et al, 2000; Hope et al., 2015; Seaton and Douglass, 2014), sensing such bias practices as early as elementary school (Rocque & Paternoster, 2011). An example of unfair disciplinary practices conveyed by Black students includes feeling disciplined for actions White students were not disciplined for (Allen, 2010; Hope et al., 2015; Howard, 2008). Juvenile offenders have also reported being wrongfully suspected of, and punished for, wrongdoing at school (Hatt, 2001; Pollard & Pollard, 2001).

Similar to previous findings, participants in the current study reported comparable claims of differential treatment in school discipline. Specifically, participants asserted that they, as Black students, were punished for behaviors that White students were not. Participants also reported that White students got in less trouble at school in comparison to Black students. There was also mention of Black students being treated differently and more harshly than White students for similar behaviors.

Theme 2: Excessive discipline. Participants reported that they were often punished too severely for their infraction and were constantly disciplined. For example, participants discussed discipline in response to trivial behaviors not worthy of punishment. Participants also felt they were always disciplined when contacted by the school administration.

Previous studies have mirrored reports from the current study. For instance, Black youth have reported being suspended for “dumb things” (Brown, 2007) and being disciplined for minor things, such as getting up to throw paper away or not listening (Wun, 2016). Other research has purported that Black youth often gain a reputation of trouble kids as teachers make public announcements about these students’ behaviors. Consequently, these youth are perceived as agents of misconduct and become closely monitored and often punished (Ferguson, 2001). Juvenile offenders also reportedly have been punished for actions due to a bad reputation (Hatt, 2011).

All participants reported exposure to multiple types of school discipline. These forms of punishment included office referrals, after-school detention, in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, alternative school, and school expulsion. As noted in previous studies, Black youth are at an increased risk of receiving school discipline. Specifically, Black males have an increased risk of receiving all previously mentioned types of school disciplinary actions

(Bradshaw et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2014; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002). These racial disparities in school discipline are particularly prevalent among harsher practices such as out-of-school suspension (Wallace et al., 2008).

The most reported form of discipline among participants was in-school suspension and out-of-school suspension with most occurring during middle school. While participants reported a variety of reasons they were given in-school suspension, externalizing behavior such as fighting was the main reason. Past research revealed similar findings with fewer suspensions of Black students, particularly males, occurring during elementary school and more occurring during middle school, especially for violent behavior (Mendez & Knoff, 2003).

To explain racial differences in school disciplinary practices, researchers have considered differences in offending behavior, family structure, student demeanor, grades, parental education, urbanization of residence, types of statistical methods and data reports, as well as socioeconomic status (Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Rocque & Paternoster, 2011; Wallace et al., 2008). Nonetheless, these considerations have proven to be futile in accounting for a significant proportion of observed racial differences in school discipline. Environmental differences have been consulted to explain increases in school discipline at the middle school level. During this time, youth develop a stronger need for self-control and self-direction despite being in a context with less supervision and thus become more unruly (Mendez & Knoff, 2003). If such were the case, there would be an expected influx in school discipline for all students, not just Black youth. Furthermore, if an increase in total school discipline occurred across the entire student body, typical developmental patterns would not account for racial disparities in school discipline.

The current study's findings were in alignment with past research. Participants reported being disciplined at school for minor infractions and being perceived as trouble-makers.

Receiving multiple forms of school discipline was also mentioned. School discipline reportedly increased during middle school along with being disciplined for externalizing behavior.

Relevance of Findings

In the current study, the actual lived experiences of Black youth are supportive of general research, CRT, and the school-to-prison pipeline theory. Overall, reports from detained Black youth resounded of differential treatment in school discipline simply due to their race. Youth in this study appeared to be targeted by school discipline, with school punishment becoming a typical part of their school experiences. Many times this discipline was believed to be unwarranted and unfairly allocated. Black youth seemed to be purposefully sought out by disciplinary measures while White youth seemed purposefully dismissed. Differences in misbehavior could not account for all differences in punishment as Black youth reported engaging in behaviors similar to White youth at times. However, White youths' behaviors were dismissed or ignored while behaviors from Black youth were deemed punishable. Black youth in this study also reported exposure to excessive rates of discipline and being stereotyped as troublemakers.

Existing research evidences racial bias in school disciplinary practices and claims that such bias place Black youth at risk for entering the juvenile justice system. For instance, some research claims that racial disparities in school discipline may be attributed to racial bias in decision-making or actual differences in behavior with Black youth more prone to violent tendencies than non-Black youth (Howard, 2008; Watts & Erevellas, 2004). Moreover, the school-to-prison pipeline suggests that Black youth are placed at risk for coming into contact with the juvenile justice system due to associated risks with higher exposure to school discipline (Darensbourg et al., 2010; Fancher, 2011). The current study supported the majority of these

claims. Participants did report racial bias in school discipline as they were punished more often, more harshly, and more excessively than White youth. When considering why these racial disparities in school punishment existed, differences in behavior were not always mentioned as participants claimed to be punished for trivial behaviors or behaviors similar to those engaged in by White students.

Past studies show that Black students attending schools where most students are Black are more likely to receive high rates of discipline (Rocque & Paternoster, 2013). Studies have also shown that Black students are less likely to be disciplined when paired with a same-race teacher (Lindsay & Hart, 2017). In support of these claims, most participants in the current study reported attending a school where most students were Black and most teachers were White. This sample also reported high rates of school discipline. Consequently, the current study expounded upon current literature by showing a connection between institutional racism in the form of school demographics and racial bias in school discipline.

Race has remained a significant factor in explaining racial disparities in school discipline despite the consideration of alternative factors such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, special education status, grade, levels of classroom disruption, region, and actual behavioral infractions (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Noltemeyer & McInghlin, 2010; Roque & Paternoster, 2013; Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2008). Although initial office referrals and administrative decisions have been found to contribute to racial disparities in school discipline, their contribution has still not outweighed the singular impact of race (Skiba et al., 2011). Similar to these claims, participants in the current study reported racial bias throughout school discipline, even when engaging in similar misconduct as White students.

School engagement and bonding. As early as elementary school, exposure to school

discipline has been found to impact future student engagement (Rocque & Paternoster, 2011). Punitive measures of school discipline, such as out-of-school suspension, have been linked to poor perceptions of teachers and schools, including feeling that teachers do not care and are not trustful and that school is unfair (Brown, 2007). Feeling abandoned by teachers has also been a noted outcome of school discipline as some students seem cast to the wayside when being punished (Ferguson, 2001). Moreover, Black students have reported avoiding contact with their teachers just to avoid punishment (Wun, 2016).

In the current study, participants reported excessive discipline across all grade levels and poor teacher relations. Consequently, participants' past exposure to excessive discipline likely impacted their bonding with school staff, both of which increased the risk of engaging in delinquent acts, particularly violence (Agnew, 2001; Barnert et al., 2015; Hoskin, 2011).

Labeling and internalization. Racial incongruities in school discipline are expected to begin in elementary school and continue throughout future grade levels, resulting in Black students gaining reputations as “troublemakers” (Rocque & Paternoster, 2011). School punishment transforms Black youth, particularly males, into “bad boys” by labeling, marginalizing, isolating, and branding (Ferguson, 2001). In an ethnographic study of the impact of school discipline on Black males, Ferguson (2001) observed how school punishment gives life and power to racism in school which ultimately leads to despair and dehumanization of Black boys (Ferguson, 2001).

In the current study, all participants were Black with four of five being male. The majority of participants reported fewer experiences of racism and school discipline in elementary school, with an increase in both by middle school. In all accounts of school discipline, each participant attributed some personal default as to why they got in trouble at school. Such reasons

were because “I had a bad temper,” because “I didn’t listen to the teacher,” or because of their anger. Additional claims were “I can’t control my anger,” “I used to be bad,” and “It’s really my fault [for skipping].” Interestingly, these claims were representative of stereotypes associated with Blacks, especially males, being violent, unruly, and dangerous, all of which are endorsed by school disciplinary procedures (Carter et al., 2014; George, 2015; Howard, 2008; Noguera, 1995, 2003; Simson, 2013). Moreover, participants’ personal endorsement of these characteristics eluded to the possibility of internalizing racism which occurs when a subordinate racial group identifies with negative images used to maintain their oppression (Speight, 2007). Studies have shown internalized racism to be associated with an increase in aggressive behavior as well as a propensity for violence (Bryant, 2011). Thus, it is likely that racial ideologies purported by school practices are ultimately internalized by Black youth. Consequently, these youth are at risk for engaging in, and being punished for, violent behaviors as they act on the stereotypical image of a dangerous and violent Black individual.

Summary. It seems that Black youth are exposed to differential treatment in school discipline at a young age. While initial school experiences should lay a solid framework for healthy school bonding, this phase of attachment for Black youth is partly disrupted by unfair disciplinary practices. Based on stereotypical misconceptions, teachers expect Black youth to be prone to misconduct. As a result, school staff becomes hypersensitive to these students’ behaviors. Subsequently, Black youths’ opportunity to build positive relations with their teachers and teachers’ opportunities to view Black youth in a positive light is jeopardized. Furthermore, Black youth begin to adopt a mentality force-fed by their treatment through school discipline, finding and believing themselves to be at fault for most of their misconduct despite perceived traces of racial injustice. Eventually, school discipline becomes a force promoting

misbehavior instead of preventing and correcting it. Over time, disparities in school discipline and their subsequent outcomes expand, ultimately placing a wedge of disdain between Black youth and school staff. Consequently, Black youth are at risk for engaging in misconduct and delinquency as protective factors provided by the school against delinquent acts are revoked.

Research Question 3: Relational Analysis

A relational analysis was carried out to identify the link between reported experiences of racism and externalizing behavior. These associations were relevant to research question 3 which asks whether detained Black youths' experiences with racism in school impact externalizing behavior. Experiences with racism were labeled as Theme A while externalizing behavior associated with these experiences was labeled as Theme B.

Discussion of Findings

The majority of associations derived from the relational analysis were causal relationships. Experiences with racism reportedly caused most reported incidents of externalizing behavior. Only one contingent relationship was identified. In this case, a perceived experience with racism increased the probability of pre-existing externalizing behavior.

Theme A. Themes of experiences with racism associated with externalizing behavior involved discrimination, disrespect, and negative perceptions. These situations occurred across all grade levels and involved experiences with school staff and peers. Discrimination from staff, specifically in the form of verbal harassment, was the most commonly reported experience with racism. Additionally, most participants reported being disciplined at school for misbehavior with consistent reports of externalizing misconduct. All participants also reported poor relations with their teachers and school staff. Some participants reported that their teachers would fail to

intervene for Black students being discriminated against while others considered school staff to engage in racist acts and have racist thoughts.

Theme A link to Theme B. Highlight experiences with racism associated with externalizing behavior involved causal relations with behaviors in the form of physical aggression and verbal aggression. Racism experienced as racial discrimination from peers was causally related to physical aggression. Moreover, racial discrimination from peers in the form of verbal harassment was linked to physical and verbal aggression. Racial discrimination from teachers, all of which involved verbal harassment, subsequently led to verbal aggression. Experiences with racism in the form of negative expectations were connected to physical aggression in the form of fighting. Additionally, experiences with disrespect were causally related to instances of verbal and physical aggression.

Additional findings. All incidents of externalizing behavior were related to some form of school discipline. Some of these incidents with school discipline were linked to the juvenile justice system, directly at times due to physical altercations at school and indirectly at times through involvement in school punishment and subsequent delinquency outside of school.

Relevance of Findings

These findings are in support of GST, which considers racism as a form of stress likely to lead to violent delinquency. These results also support CRT claims of school environments being racially biased in nature and thus eliciting violent behavior from Black youth as they respond to feelings of vulnerability and inferiority. The school-to-prison pipeline additionally supports these findings, indicating that the Black youths' exposure to school discipline may increase their chances of coming in contact with the juvenile justice system. These theoretical thoughts offer explanations for why Black youth may engage in externalizing behavior at school

as well as how school discipline may contribute to delinquency. Nevertheless, the reasons discrepancies in school discipline possibly contribute to differences in violent behavior and the eventual over-representation of Black youth among violent offenders is left unaddressed.

Racism and behavior. In this study, racism was a strong factor in understanding the phenomenon of Black youth among violent offenders. The impact of racism on violent behavior has been specifically significant to Black youth with studies showing racism to particularly impact violence among Black youth than youth from other racial backgrounds (Hoskin, 2013). Racial discrimination has also been directly and indirectly linked to violent offending with the former being the result of changes in externalizing behaviors and the latter occurring through poor attachment to teachers and poor educational commitment (Unnever et al. 2016).

School bonding. Aggression, being coupled with school rejection, has also been linked to poor school adjustment and school bonding among Black students, which ultimately leads to a negative school environment and negative school attitude (Coie, 1992; Graham, 2006; McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Factors associated with a negative school environment and classroom aggression have been linked to racial disparities in school discipline and precede school problems, dropping out, and later delinquency (Battistich, Solomon, Kim, Watson, & Schaps, 1995; Christle et al., 2007; Mann, 2006; Walker, 1999). More so, low levels of school bonding in addition to higher rates of externalizing behavior have frequently been reported more so by Black youth than youth from other racial backgrounds (Yang & Anyon, 2016). Feeling unsafe at school has also been noted as a risk factor for juvenile offending (Barnert et al., 2015) and consistently reported by Black youth more so than White youth (Hairston, 2010; Mester et al., 2015; Rajan et al., 2015).

Juvenile offenders have mentioned teachers and principals as adults they seek out to help

deter them from delinquency (Barnert et al., 2015). Teachers perceived as caring have also been shown to lower the risk of engaging in violent behavior, even more so than motherly bonding (Hoskin, 2011). School bonding is another mediating factor for violent behavior, showing to decrease delinquency over time (Payne, Gottfredson, & Gottfredson, 2003; Catalano, Haggerty, Oesterle, Fleming, & Hawkins, 2004).

Discipline and contact with the juvenile justice system. These findings offer some support for the school-to-prison pipeline theory which links school punishment to contact with the juvenile justice system. Other research has made similar claims, with school suspensions being linked to referral rates to the juvenile justice system (Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009) and delinquency, particularly for Black youth (Ganao, Silvestre, & Glenn, 2012). More so, Black males suspended from school due to violent infractions have reported being in trouble with the police (Simons et al., 2006). Delinquent youth have also been more likely than non-delinquent youth to receive multiple school suspensions (Wang, Blomberg, & Li, 2005). The relationship between school discipline and contact with the juvenile justice system has failed to be explained by environmental factors such as poverty, unemployment, and urbanization (Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2009). Moreover, income, parent concern, family drinking problems, and family disruption have failed to account for the relationship between school discipline and delinquency among Black youth while explaining the relationship among White youth (Ganao, et al., 2013)

Racism, emotions, and behavior. Experiences with racism at school were shown on some occasions to lead to negative emotions, such as anger and sadness, which had the potential of eliciting externalizing behaviors and delinquency. For example, anger has been found to have a direct effect on the relationship between discrimination and delinquency (Simons et al., 2003). Furthermore, depression has been related to direct experiences with racism and linked to the

relationship between discrimination and delinquency (Priest, Perry, Ferdinand, Paradies, & Kelaherl, 2014; Simons et al., 2003).

Considering the emotional impact of racism, it is possible that such occurrences further place Black youth at risk for externalizing behavior and school discipline. In the current study, most reports of perceived racism in school and school discipline occurred during middle school. The majority of reported experiences with harsh discipline was also noted during middle school and occurred due to fighting. Ferguson (2001) reports in her ethnography that Black boys' emotional display is often perceived as anger, temper, disrespect, defiance, disruption, and attitude, resulting in punishment. She further reported from her observations that anger and frustration due to Black youths' personal experiences with discrimination lead to a challenge of authority. Fighting, being fueled by anger and frustration from marginalization, is a way to establish and practice masculinity and gain respect.

Summary. It seems the presence, impact, and outcome of racism in school ultimately places Black youth at risk for school discipline and delinquency. Black youth become prone to externalizing behavior, either as a direct manifestation of emotional frustration linked to experiences with racism or as an indirect outcome of disrupted social connections. Ultimately, Black youth are punished for externalizing behavior at school which is then either directly linked to the juvenile justice system through the removal from school to juvenile justice facilities or indirectly linked to the juvenile justice system by dismantling protective factors within the school that could prevent delinquency in the future.

Discussion and Relevance of Action Agenda

Additional information collected during the dissertation study focused on participants' perception of school as a protective factor against delinquency and risk factor for delinquency.

This emphasis helped provide further insight into the mechanics of the school-to-prison pipeline. Other efforts were put forth to provide information on how schools may operate against the school-to-prison pipeline through alternative school disciplinary methods.

School as a Risk and Protective Factor

Most participants felt their school could not have helped prevent them from coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. However, one participant was brought to the detention facility following an arrest at school. Two other participants were transported to the detention facility after being physically aggressive with school staff. In another instance, a participant had come to the detention facility after being placed into an out-of-school program due to fighting at school. The few participants who felt that school could have prevented their contact with the juvenile justice system highlighted the importance of school teaching an understanding of emotional management and conflict resolution, as well as providing a way to occupy time.

The majority of participants felt that racism in school did not contribute to their contact with the juvenile justice system. Nevertheless, most participants reported experiences with racism in school and school discipline, both being mentionable risk factors for contact with the juvenile justice facility. Other research has mirrored such findings, with juvenile offenders failing to report the presence of racism in school as a barrier to success despite its presence and negative impact. Such findings have been attributed to the fact that these youth are likely unaware of such a phenomenon and the consequence it bears on their academic success.

Alternatives for Discipline

Most participants reported a desire for less punitive measures when asked what their school could have done differently aside from the punishment they received. These findings are similar to past research with students perceiving racial discrimination in school discipline to

suggest more structure and students' voice when determining disciplinary action (Brown, 2007). Other research has reported students feeling they should have never be disciplined for minor infractions (Wun, 2016).

Implications for Schools and School Psychologists

Implications of the dissertation study's findings include emphasizing the need for multicultural awareness and multicultural practices in the juvenile justice and public school arenas. Specifically, research findings stress the need for cultural competence, knowledge, and sensitivity in limiting stereotypical decision making in school discipline. With less biased decision-making in school discipline, ethnic minorities will be less at-risk for entering the juvenile justice system due to excessive school discipline.

In school psychology, trained school psychologists are competent in multicultural practices and thus able to help address and overcome racial disproportionality in school discipline. Consequently, school psychologists can serve as strong forces against the school-to-prison pipeline by collaborating with school officials to ensure fair treatment of all students.

This study also highlights the need for social justice advocates, such as school psychologists, within public school and juvenile justice settings to ensure fair treatment of all youth. School psychologists, being trained in individual and systemic consultation and collaboration, can serve as mediators between public school and juvenile justice arenas. Doing so would allow the discussion and implementation of protections and services to benefit at-risk youth transitioning between settings.

This study also emphasizes the need of interventions to support the overall well-being of students at risk for suffering from the negative impact of racism. Schools psychologists are also competent in behavior interventions, especially positive behavior supports (PBS). Serving to

establish and implement PBS in schools, school psychologists can help ensure that school discipline is constructive in ensuring student well-being instead of destructive to future student success.

School psychologists are specially trained in consultation and collaboration. As such, school psychologists strive to foster family, school, and community relations to develop and implement individual, school-wide, and system-level interventions. For this reason, school psychologists may be endorsed as vital players in the delivery of interventions aiding in eliminating racism while promoting fair and equal treatment of all students.

Action Agenda

Results from this study also informed school-based practices to foster support and resilience among youth at risk for entering the juvenile justice system. Relevant to the action agenda informed by participant input, schools should develop methods to communicate their potential, and serve as a protective factor against delinquency. For example, schools could foster teacher-student relations by encouraging mentorships. Certain teachers could also serve as points of contact for youth to check-in with during times of emotional or behavioral needs. Schools could also collaborate with local enforcement to establish positive and supportive relations with students.

Further practices could be carried out to rid the school of practices that are risk factors for delinquency. For instance, schools could implement threat assessments to determine the severity of behavioral infractions and thus appropriate consequences that encourage growth. Alternative practices to school discipline that build on character development to improve positive behavior as opposed to punitive measures could also be implemented.

Schools may also organize groups to teach ethnic minorities about the presence and

negative impact of racism. Such activities would empower students by increasing their awareness of systemic oppression. This knowledge could then improve students' resilience as they were prepared to manage and cope with social stressors effectively.

Future Directions

Future research should be expanded to encompass youth at different stages in the juvenile justice system. Interviews with youth in correctional facilities, tried as adults, or on parole would provide further insight into perceived racism in schools and whether it varies across various populations within the juvenile justice arena. Such findings would be important to differentiate among risks associated with racism at school among subpopulations vulnerable to future delinquency. It is equally important to conduct similar studies with youth not involved in the juvenile justice system. Doing so would provide an alternative discourse on how racism is experienced in school by Black youth and how these experiences differently impact the behavior of Black youth both inside and outside of the juvenile justice system.

Consideration of gender differences may also take place in forthcoming studies. A single racial group may commonly report experiences with racism. However, the nature of these experiences may vary according to gendered stereotypes and subsequent experiences. Different genders may also perceive racism in dissimilar ways and be impacted differently by these experiences. Understanding gender differences would inform the individualization of practices to meet student needs on a distinctive and personal level.

The use of formal measures may also be considered in prospective investigations. Rating scales and standardized measures may complement findings from qualitative research. Cross-comparisons may also allow an examination of whether participant reports and responses differ according to various measures. These studies could inform research methods

regarding the validity and reliability of measures related to experiences with racism. Results of quantitative and qualitative results could also be compared to determine the benefits and risks of both methods when examining youths' experiences with racism.

Future studies may also involve youth who attend school with mostly Black teachers. These investigations could elucidate the importance of teacher race on how Black youth perceive racism in school. Furthermore, such research could provide insight on how teacher race influenced the impact of racism on Black youth.

Interviewing teachers may also be a focus of future studies. Teacher input would provide an alternate discussion on racism in school and how teachers may or may not engage in practices promoting racism. Information from teachers may also highlight additional forms of racism within school that go unnoticed by students. More so, teachers may provide insight into factors outside of racism that may the behavior of Black youth.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is the small number of research participants due to the specification of detained Black youth as research participants. Studying incarcerated youth poses additional challenges with recruitment and consent procedures. Specifically, obtaining parental consent is complex since detained youth are currently away from their home and thus away from their legal guardian. Also, some youth may be within the custody of the state which poses additional challenges when locating their legal guardian. Consequently, the study only involved a limited number of participants.

Failure to have a comparison group placed additional limits on the dissertation study. Not assessing similar aged children in the general population constrained findings only to detained youths. More specifically, juvenile offenders on probation, committed, or in

divergent programs also failed to be considered among this sample, thus further limiting the generalization of research findings.

Aside from racism, a multitude of other factors, for example personal values such as a perception of violence as an acceptable means to desired ends, may elicit externalizing behavior from youth. Thus, another limitation to this study is the precise focus on racism as a causal factor for violent behavior without considering other possible causes. Therefore, the results of this study are not comprehensive enough to provide a solid link between racism and violent behavior as observed associations may be explained away by unaddressed factors.

Another limitation to this study is the lack of inter-rater reliability. Although inter-rater reliability was pursued, conflicts of scheduling interrupted the process of inter-rater reliability to occur across all interviews. Consequently, only coding for one interview was carried out by an independent coder and the researcher. Without comprehensive inter-rater reliability, the results of this study may not accurately reflect the content of interviews as some identified themes may be inaccurate or ill-defined. It is also possible that the bias of the coder influenced the outcome of themes thus jeopardizing the reliability and validity of finalized thematic content.

Conclusions

For decades, racial injustice throughout school systems and operations has jeopardized the educational success of Black youth. Whether through slavery or segregation, systemic barricades that operated to disjoint, disrupt, and discourage formal education in the lives of Black individuals has challenged this populations' academic advancement. Since these times of profane educational injustice, systemic action has taken place, attempting to provide Black youth with educational opportunities on par with those of White youth. Despite these efforts, it seems

that the entrenchment of racism in the foundation and operation of education in America has proven too strong to be uprooted and thus surpassed efforts to devalue its presence throughout public schooling.

Though Black youth enter public school assuming the role of most students, their educational agenda is soon amended to accommodate systemic injustices in the operations of the school and the actions of those within it. As early as elementary years, Black youth find themselves at odds with formal schooling as they become rejected, ostracized, discriminated against, and ultimately labeled as unfit for formal schooling. These youth, being offered little help with navigation and provided no way out, eventually take matters into their hands, solving problems of systemic injustice as best they know how. Unfortunately, school discipline often meets these methods of problem-solving as the societal position of Black youth in school is discounted, and the stereotypical image of criminal Black youth takes precedence. As Black youth attempt to defend themselves against the quicksand of oppressive conditions, their very actions only hasten their descent into the stereotypical abyss of a violent and aggressive Black student. As a consequence, these students become more vulnerable to the very circumstance they wish to escape. More so, externalizing actions from Black youth further separate them from the sources they have access to which can prevent such behavioral outcomes.

Eventually, school discipline operates to incinerate school as a safety net from misconduct and replace it as a catalyst for misbehavior. In time, the intertwining mechanics of racial bias in school discipline and misconduct become blurred as the misbehavior of Black youth is attributed to the youth themselves. Meanwhile, the impact of oppressive conditions Black youth face in school is discounted. Black youth eventually adopt a similar mentality, finding themselves at fault for misbehavior without considering themselves a victim of pitiless

actions entrenched with their surrounding environment and cloaked in routines of formal schooling.

Over time, Black youth are placed at risk for coming into contact with the juvenile justice system as misconduct and deviance becomes the norm. These youth ultimately hold themselves accountable for landing in such punitive circumstances. Simultaneously, they fail to credit racism and its contribution to delinquency by disturbing protective factors in the lives of Black youth while giving life and breadth to risk factors. Eventually, Black youth remain victims to the system as racial injustice prevails in disrupting typical educational opportunities of Black youth. Just as slavery and segregation operated to divide and control the educational success of Black youth, racial injustice in school practices and school discipline do the same by forcing Black youth on a path of academic and behavioral misfortune.

As school psychologists, we are ethically bound to fight against social injustices and stand firm for fair and equal treatment of all students. On an individual level, we have the ability to meet with school staff to teach the importance of multicultural competence in promoting student success. We are also equipped to teach the importance of self-awareness to prevent the interference of personal bias in our service delivery. Working with students, we can teach effective coping strategies to positively manage negative emotions resulting from oppressive conditions and promote positive self-image and pride.

On a school-wide level, school psychologists are able to assist with comprehensive school practices that cater to cultural differences and function through cultural sensitivity. Professional development and workshops may be held where school staff are informed of the presence of racism in school, its impact on students, and ways such practices can be abated. Positive behavioral support strategies may also be implemented to help disrupt racial disparities

in school discipline while promoting healthy behaviors and effective behavioral management.

Systemically, school psychologists are in a position to collaborate with community agencies to address racial injustices within the school and throughout surrounding neighborhoods. As such, school psychologists can meet with local leaders to help promote community programs to foster public multicultural appreciation. Community-wide events can also be held that encourage racially diverse intermingling among residents.

If racism is to be a comprehensive construct entrenched without school processes, then it must be challenged in a similar way. School psychologists are thus in a key position to understand and confront racism from all angles involving individuals, schools, and communities. By doing so, we are able to unearth students full potential to not only be successful within the schools but throughout their life.

REFERENCES

- Abrams, L. S. (2010). Sampling 'hard to reach' populations in qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work, 9*(4), 536-550.
- Agnew, R. (1985). A revised strain theory of delinquency. *Social Forces, 64*(1), 151-167.
- Agnew, R. (2001). Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 38*(4), 319-361.
- Agnew, R. (2013). When criminal coping is likely: An extension of general strain theory. *Deviant Behavior, 34*(8), 653-670.
- Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology, 30*(1), 47-87.
- Allen, Q. (2012). "They think minority means lesser than:" Black middle-class sons and fathers resisting microaggressions in the school. *Urban Education, 48*(2), 171-197.
- American Civil Liberties Union. (n.d.). What is the school-to-prison pipeline? Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/what-school-prison-pipeline?redirect=racial-justice/what-school-prison-pipeline>
- American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools: An evidentiary review and recommendations. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/zero-tolerance>
- Archer, D. N. (2009). Introduction: Challenging the school-to-prison pipeline. *New York Law School Law Review, 54*, 867.
- Barnert, E.S., Perry, R., Azzi, V.F., Shetgiri, R., Ryan, G., Dudovitz, R....Chung, P.J. (2015). Incarcerated youths' perspectives on protective factors and risk factors for juvenile offending: A qualitative analysis. *American Journal of Public Health, 105*(7), 1365-1371.
- Barrett, D. E., Katsiyannis, A., & Zhang, D. (2006). Predictors of offense severity, prosecution, incarceration and repeat violations for adolescent male and female offenders. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 15*(6), 708-718. doi:10.1007/s10826-006-9044-y

- Bates, L.A., & Glick, J.E. (2013). Does it matter if teachers and schools match the student? Racial and ethnic disparities in problem behaviors. *Social Science Research, 42*(5), 1180-1190.
- Battistich, V., Solomon, D., Kim, D., Watson, M., & Schaps, E. (1995). Schools as communities, poverty levels of student populations, and students' attitudes, motives, and performance: A multilevel analysis. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*, 627-658.
- Bell, D. A. (1980). Brown v. board of education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review, 93*, 518-533.
- Benner, A.D., & Graham, S. (2013). The antecedents and consequences of racial/ethnic discrimination during adolescence: Does the source of discrimination matter? *Developmental Psychology, 49*(8), 1602-1613.
- Berman, G. & Paradies, Y. (2010). Racism, disadvantage, and multiculturalism: Towards effective anti-racist praxis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(2), 214-232.
- Bernard, T. J. (1990). Angry aggression among the "truly disadvantaged." *Criminology, 28*(1), 73-96.
- Berry, T.R., & Candis, M.R. (2013). Cultural identity and education: A critical race perspective. *Educational Foundations, 27*(3-4), 43-64.
- Borders, A., & Liang, C. T. (2011). Rumination partially mediates the associations between perceived ethnic discrimination, emotional distress, and aggression. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*(2), 125-133.
- Bogart, L.M., Elliott, M.N., Kanouse, D.E., Klein, D.J., Davies, S.L., Cuccaro...Schuster, M.A. (2013). Association between perceived discrimination and racial/ethnic disparities in problem behaviors among preadolescent youths. *American Journal of Public Health, 103*(6), 1074-1081.
- Bottiani, J.H., Bradshaw, C.P., & Mendelson, T. (2016). Inequality in Black and White high school students' perceptions of school support: An examination of race in context. *Journal of Youth Adolescence, 45*, 1176-1191.
- Bradshaw, C. P., Mitchell, M. M., O'Brennan, L. M., & Leaf, P. J. (2010). Multilevel exploration of factors contributing to the overrepresentation of black students in office disciplinary referrals. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 102*(2), 508-520.
- Brittian, A.S., & Gray, D.L. (2014). African American students' perceptions of differential treatment in learning environments: Examining the moderating role of peer support, connection to heritage, and discrimination efficacy. *Journal of Education, 194*(1), 1-9.

- Brody, G.H., Chen, Y-F, Murry, V.M., Ge, X., Simons, R.L., Gibbons, F.X....Cutrona, C.E. (2006). Perceived discrimination and the adjustment of African American youths: A five-year longitudinal analysis with contextual moderation effects. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1170-1189.
- Brown, T. M. (2007). Lost and turned out: Academic, social and emotional experiences of students excluded from school. *Urban Education, 42*(5), 432-455.
- Brondolo, E., Brady, N., Thompson, S., Tobin, J. N., Cassells, A., Sweeney, M.,...Contrada, R. J. (2008). Perceived racism and negative affect: Analyses of trait and state measures of affect in a community sample. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 27*(2), 150-173. doi:10.1521/jscp.2008.27.2.150
- Brooks, J. (2006). Working definitions: Race, ethnic studies, and early American literature. *Early American Literature, 41*(2), 313-320.
- Broudy, R., Brondolo, E., Coakley, V., Brady, N., Cassells, A., Tobin, J.N., & Sweeney, M. (2006). Perceived ethnic discrimination in relation to daily moods and negative social interactions. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 30*(1), 31-43.
- Bryant, W.W. (2011). Internalized racism's association with African American male youth's propensity for violence. *Journal of Black Studies, 42*(4), 690-707.
- Butler, B. R., Joubert, M. D., & Lewis, C. W. (2009). Who's really disrupting the classroom? An examination of African American male students and their disciplinary roles. *Online Submission, The National Journal of Urban Education and Practice, 3*(1), 1-12.
- Capper, C.A. (2015). The 20th-year anniversary of critical race theory in education: Implications for leading to eliminate racism. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 51*(5), 791-833.
- Catalano, R.F., Haggerty, K.P., Oesterle, S., Fleming, C.B., & Hawkins, J.D. (2004). The importance of bonding to school for healthy development: Findings from the social developmental research group. *Journal of School Health, 74*(7), 252-261.
- Carter, P., Skiba, R., Arredondo, M., & Pollock, M. (2014). You can't fix what you don't look at: Acknowledging race in addressing racial discipline disparities. *Urban Education, 52*(2), 207-235.
- Carter, R.T. (2007). Racism and Psychological Emotional Injury: Recognizing and Assessing Race-Based Traumatic Stress. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35*(1), 13-104.
- Center for Public Education. (2017). What is the racial and ethnic makeup of our school(s)?. Retrieved from data-first.org
- Chao, R. C., Mallinckrodt, B., & Wei, M. (2012). Co-occurring presenting problems in African American college clients reporting racial discrimination distress. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 43*(3), 199-207.

- Chavous, T.M., Rivas-Drake, D., Smalls, C., Griffin, T., & Cogburn, C. (2008). Gender matters, too. The influences of school racial discrimination and racial identity on academic engagement outcomes among African American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(3), 637-654.
- Christle, C. A., Jolivette, K., & Nelson, C. M. (2007). School characteristics related to high school dropout rates. *Remedial and Special Education, 28*(6), 325-339.
- Clair, M., & Denis, J.S. (2015). Sociology of Racism. *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 19*, 857-863.
- Coker, T.R., Elliott, M.N., Kanouse, D.E., Grunbaum, J.A., Schwebel, D.C., Gilliland, M.J., Tortolero, S.R.,...Schuster, M.A. (2009). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination among fifth-grade students and its association with mental health. *American Journal of Public Health, 99*(5), 878-884.
- Cohen, A. K., & Short, J. F. (1958). Research in delinquent Subcultures. *Journal of Social Issues, 14*(3), 20-37.
- Collins, K. M. T., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Jiao, Q. G. (2006). Prevalence of mixed-methods sampling designs in social science research. *Evaluation and Research in Education, 19*(2), 83-101.
- Connelly, L.M. (2010). What is phenomenology? *Medsurg Nursing, 19*(2), 127-129.
- Crenshaw, K. (2011). Twenty years of critical race theory: Looking back to move forward. *Connecticut Law Review, 43*, 1253-1353.
- Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches, 2nd Edition*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Darensbourg, A., Perez, E., & Blake, J. (2010). Overrepresentation of African American males in exclusionary discipline: The role of school-based mental health professionals in dismantling the school to prison pipeline. *Journal of African American Males in Education, 1*(3), 196-211.
- Davis, J., & Sorensen, J. R. (2013). Disproportionate minority confinement of juveniles. A national examination of Black–White disparity in placements, 1997-2006. *Crime and Delinquency, 59*(1), 115-139.
- DeCuir, J.T., & Dixson, A.D. (2004). “So when it comes out, they aren’t that surprised that it is there.” Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, 33*(5), 26-31.

- Dotterer, A.M., McHale, S.M., & Crouter, A.C. (2009). Sociocultural factors and school engagement among African American youth: The roles of racial discrimination, racial socialization, and ethnic identity. *Applied Developmental Science, 13*(2), 51-73.
- DuRant, R. H., Cadenhead, C., Pendergrast, R. A., Slavens, G., & Linder, C. W. (1994). Factors associated with the use of violence among urban black adolescents. *American Journal of Public Health, 84*(4), 612-617.
- Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative Analysis*. Allen and Unwin: Crows Nest, AU.
- Fancher, M. P. (2011). Born in jail: America's racial history and the inevitable emergence of the school-to-prison pipeline. *The Journal of Law in Society, 13*, 267-555.
- Felson, R. B., Deane, G., & Armstrong, D. P. (2008). Do theories of crime or violence explain race differences in delinquency? *Social Science Research, 37*(2), 624-641. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2007.08.001
- Ferguson, A.A. (2011). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Fisher, C.B., Wallace, S.A., & Fenton, R.E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 29*(6), 679-695.
- Forsyth, C. J., Asmus, G., Howat, H., Pei, L. K., Forsyth, Y. A., & Stokes, B. R. (2014). Examining the relationship between school suspensions/expulsions and felonies. *Criminal Justice Studies, 27*(2), 149-158.
- Flannery, M.E. (2015). The school-to-prison pipeline: Time to shut it down. Retrieved from neatoday.org
- Franke, T.M. (2000). Adolescent violent behavior: An analysis across and within racial/ethnic groups. *Adolescents and Violence, 8*, 47-70.
- Froggio, G. (2007). Strain and juvenile delinquency: A critical review of Agnew's general strain theory. *Journal of Loss and Trauma, 12*(4), 383-418.
- Furman, R., Langer, C. L., Davis, C. S., Gallardo, H. P., & Kulkarni, S. (2007). Expressive, research and reflective poetry as qualitative inquiry: A study of adolescent identity. *Qualitative Research, 7*(3), 301-315.
- Ganao, J., Silvestre, F., & Glenn, J. (2013). Assessing the differential impact of contextual factors on school suspension for black and white students. *The Journal of Negro Education, 82*(4), 393-407.
- Gaylord-Harden, N.K., & Cunningham, J.A. (2009). The impact of racial discrimination and coping strategies on internalizing symptoms in African American youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(4), 532-543.

- George, J. A. (2015). Stereotype and school pushout: Race, gender and discipline disparities. *Arkansas Law Review*, 68(2), 101-129.
- Gershenson, S., Holt, S.B., & Papageorge, N.W. (2016). Who believes in me? The effect of student-teacher demographic match on teacher expectations. *Economics of Education Review*, 52, 209-224.
- Gibson, P. A., Wilson, R., Haight, W., Kayama, M., & Marshall, J. M. (2014). The role of race in the out-of-school suspensions of black students: The perspectives of students with suspensions, their parents and educators. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 47, 274-282.
- Gibbons, F.X., Gerrard, M., Cleveland, M.J., Wills, T.A., & Brody, G. (2004). Perceived discrimination and substance use in African American parents and their children: A panel study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86(4), 517-529.
- Glasgow, J. (2009). Racism as disrespect. *Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political, and Legal Philosophy*, 120(1), 64-93.
- Graham, A., & Erwin, K. D. (2011). I don't think Black men teach because of how they get treated as students: High-Achieving African American boys' perceptions of teaching as a career option. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80(3), 398-416.
- Graham, S., Bellmore, A. D., & Mize, J. (2006). Peer victimization, aggression, and their co-occurrence in middle school: Pathways to adjustment problems. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 34(3), 349-364.
- Graves, J.L. (2009). Biological v. social definitions of race: Implications for modern biomedical research. *The Review of Black Political Economy*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1007/s12114-009-9053-3
- Greenwood, D.J., & Levin, M. (1998). *Introduction to action research: Social research for social change*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA
- Guthrie, B.J., Young, A.M., Williams, D.R., Boyd, C.J., & Kintner, E.K. (2002). African American girls' smoking habits and day-to-day experiences with racial discrimination. *Nursing Research*, 51, 183-190.
- Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Stanford University Press.
- Hairston, K.R. (2010). A composite counterstorytelling: Memoirs of African American military students in Hawaii public schools. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(4), 783-801.
- Harlow, C. W. (2003). Education and correctional populations. Bureau of justice statistics special report. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ecp.pdf>

- Hatt, B. (2011). Still I rise: Youth caught between the worlds of schools and prisons. *The Urban Review*, 43(4), 476-490.
- Heitzeg, N. A. (2009). Education or Incarceration: Zero Tolerance Policies and the School to Prison Pipeline. In *Forum on Public Policy Online* (Vol. 2009, No. 2). Oxford Round Table. 406 West Florida Avenue, Urbana, IL 61801.
- Heinfield, M.S., Moore, J.L., & Wood, C. (2008). Inside and outside gifted programming: Hidden challenges for African American students. *Exceptional Children*, 74, 433-450.
- Holt, A., & Pamment, N. (2011). Overcoming the challenges of researching 'young offenders': Using assisted questionnaires – a research note. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14(2), 125-133. doi:10.1080/13645579.2010.507366
- Hope, E. C., Skoog, A. B., & Jagers, R. J. (2015). “It’ll never be the white kids, It’ll always be us” black high school students’ evolving critical analysis of racial discrimination and inequity in schools. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30(1), 83-112.
- Hoskin, A. (2011). Explaining the link between race and violence with general strain theory. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 9(1), 56-73.
- Hoskin, A. W. (2013). Experiencing prejudice and violence among Latinos: A general strain theory approach. *Western Criminology Review*, 14(14), 25-38.
- Howard, T. (2008). Who really cares? The disenfranchisement of African American males in preK-12 schools: A critical race theory perspective. *The Teachers College Record*, 110(5), 954-985.
- Hurwitz, J., & Peffley, M. (Eds.). (1998). *Perception and Prejudice: Race and Politics in the United States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ihde, D. (1977). *Experimental Phenomenology*. State University of New York Press: Albany, NY.
- Ikomi, P. A. (2010). Juvenile violent felony referrals and high school dropouts: Is there a relationship? *International Journal of Academic Research*, 2(4), 379-384.
- Jarjoura, G. R. (1993). Does dropping out of school enhance delinquent involvement? Results from a large-scale national probability sample. *Criminology*, 31(2), 149-172.
- Jenson, J. M., Potter, C. C., & Howard, M. O. (2001). American juvenile justice: Recent trends and issues in youth offending. *Social Policy and Administration*, 35(1), 48-68.
- Jones, J. M. (1972). *Prejudice and racism*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Joseph, N.M., Viesca, K.M., & Bianco, M. (2016). Black female adolescents and racism in schools: Experiences in a colorblind society. *The High School Journal*, 100(1), 4-25.

- Kaufka, B. (2009). The shadows within: Internalized racism and reflective writing. *Reflective Practice, 10*(2), 137-148. doi:10.1080/14623940902786115
- Kaufman, J. M., Rebellon, C. J., Thaxton, S., & Agnew, R. (2008). A general strain theory of racial differences in criminal offending. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 41*(3), 421-437.
- Kennedy, T. D., Burnett, K. F., & Edmonds, W. A. (2011). Intellectual, behavioral, and personality correlates of violent vs. non-violent juvenile offenders. *Aggressive Behavior, 37*(4), 315-325. doi:10.1002/ab.20393
- Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 40*, 208-230.
- Kim, C. Y. (2009). Procedures for public law remediation in school-to-prison pipeline litigation: Lessons learned from Antoine v. Winner School District. *New York Law School Review, 54*, 955-974.
- Knaus, C. B. (2009). Shut up and listen: Applied critical race theory in the classroom. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 12*(2), 133-154.
- Klonoff, E.A., Landrine, H., & Ullman, J.B. (1999). Racial discrimination and psychiatric symptoms among Blacks. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 5*(4), 329-339.
- Krieger, N., Kosheleva, A., Waterman, P.D., Chen, J. T., & Koenen, K. (2011). Racial discrimination, psychological distress, and self-rated health among US-born and foreign-born black Americans. *American Journal of Public Health, 101*(9), 1704-1713. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2011.300168
- Ladson-Billings, G., and Tate IV, W. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *The Teachers College Record, 97*(1), 47-68.
- Leonardo, Z. (2013). The story of schooling: Critical race theory and the educational racial contract. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 34*(4), 599-610.
- Lindsay, C.A., & Hart, C.M.D. (2017). Teacher race and school discipline. *Education Next, 17*(1), 72-78.
- Long, J. J., & Davis, J. O. (2011). Pen and paper: A prescription for adolescents' emotional and psychological well being? *Journal of Correctional Education, 62*(1), 7-25.
- Lowe, W.Q. (2010). Understanding race: The evolution of the meaning of race in American law and the impact of DNA technology on its meaning in the future. *Albany Law Review, 72*, 1113-1143.

- Mabry, J.B., & Kiecolt, J. (2005). Anger in Black and White: Race, alienation, and anger. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 46, 85-101.
- Mann, E.A., & Reynolds, A.J. (2006). Early intervention and juvenile delinquency prevention: Evidence from the Chicago longitudinal study. *Social Work Research*, 30(3), 153-167.
- Marable, M. (1992). *Black America*. Westfield, NJ: Open Media.
- Martin, M. J., McCarthy, B., Conger, R. D., Gibbons, F. X., Simons, R. L., Cutrona, C. E., & Brody, G. H. (2011). The enduring significance of racism: Discrimination and delinquency among black American youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(3), 662-676.
- Maschi, T. (2006). Unraveling the link between trauma and male delinquency: The cumulative versus differential risk perspectives. *Social Work*, 51(1), 59-70.
- Matsuda, M. (1991). Voices of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100, 1329-1407.
- Mazerolle, P., & Piquero, A. (1997). Violent responses to strain: An examination of conditioning influences. *Violence and Victims*, 12(4), 323-343.
- McCoy, D.L., & Rodricks, D.J. (2015). Critical race theory in higher education: 20 years of theoretical and research innovations. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 41(3), 1-117.
- McGrady, P.B., & Reynolds, J.R. (2013). Racial mismatch in the classroom: Beyond Black-white differences. *Sociology of Education*, 86(1), 3-17.
- McMurtrie, B. (2016). "I believe I can leave this place better than I found it": Black students describe racial divisions; isolation; and prejudice at the U. of Missouri. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 17, 21.
- McNeal, L.B. (2016). Managing our blind spot: The role of bias in the school to prison pipeline. *Arizona State Law Journal*, 48(2), 285-311.
- McNulty, T. L., & Bellair, P. E. (2003). Explaining racial and ethnic differences in serious adolescent violent behavior. *Criminology*, 41(3), 709-747.
- Mendez, L. M. R., & Knoff, H. M. (2003). Who gets suspended from school and why: A demographic analysis of schools and disciplinary infractions in a large school district. *Education and Treatment of Children*, 26(1), 30-51.
- Mester, D.C, Spruill, S.A., Giani, J., Morote, E., & Inserra, A. (2015). Personal safety and teacher/student relationship viewed through Black/White framework in a suburban middle school, an exploratory study. *Journal for Leadership and Instruction*, 14(1), 15-19.

- Monahan, K. C., VanDerhei, S., Bechtold, J., and Cauffman, E. (2014). From the school yard to the squad car: School discipline, truancy, and arrest. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43(7), 1110-1122.
- Nance, J.P. (2016). Over-disciplining students, racial bias, and the school-to-prison pipeline. *University of Richmond Law Review*, 50(3), 1063-1074
- National Assessment of Educational Progress. (n.d.). School composition and the Black-White achievement gap. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/subject/studies/pdf/school_composition_and_the_bw_achievement_gap_2015.pdf
- National Association of School Psychologists. (2013a). Position Statement: Racial and Ethnic Disproportionality in Education. Retrieved from http://www.nasponline.org/about_nasp/positionpapers/Racial_Ethnic_Disproportionality.pdf
- National Association of School Psychologists. (2013b). NASP 2013 Congressional Briefing. Retrieved from <http://www.nasponline.org/advocacy/updates/2013-congressional-briefing.aspx>
- National Clearinghouse on Supportive School Discipline. (2014). Positive approaches to school discipline. Retrieved from <http://supportiveschooldiscipline.org/learn/reference-guides/positive-approaches-school-discipline>
- National Juvenile Defender Center. (n.d). Retrieved from <http://njdc.info/practice-policy-resources/state-profiles/alabama/>
- National Research Council. (2004). Measuring Racial Discrimination. Panel on Methods for Assessing Discrimination. Rebecca M. Blank, Marilyn Dabady, and Constance F. Citro, Editors. Committee on National Statistics, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.
- Nicholson-Crotty, S., Birchmeier, Z., & Valentine, D. (2009). Exploring the impact of school discipline on racial disproportion in the juvenile justice system. *Social Science Quarterly*, 90(4), 1003-1018.
- Nicolas, G., Helms, J. E., Jernigan, M. M., Sass, T., Skrzypek, A., & DeSilva, A. M. (2008). A conceptual framework for understanding the strengths of black youths. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 34(3), 261-280.
- Niwa, E.Y., Way, N., & Hughes, D.L. (2014). Trajectories of ethnic-racial discrimination among ethnically diverse early adolescents: Associations with psychological and social adjustment. *Child Development*, 85(6), 2339-2354.
- Noguera, P. A. (1995). Preventing and producing violence: A critical analysis of responses to school violence. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(2), 189-213.

- Noguera, P. A. (2003). Schools, prisons, and social implications of punishment: Rethinking disciplinary practices. *Theory into Practice*, 42(4), 341-350.
- Noguera, P. A. (2003). The trouble with black boys: The role and influence of environmental and cultural factors on the academic performance of African American males. *Urban Education*, 38(4), 431-459.
- Noltemeyer, A., & Mcloughlin, C. S. (2010). Patterns of exclusionary discipline by school typology, ethnicity, and their interaction. *Penn GSE Perspectives on Urban Education*, 7(1), 27-40.
- Nyborg, V. M., & Curry, J. F. (2003). The impact of perceived racism: Psychological symptoms among African American boys. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 32(2), 258-266.
- Office of Civil Rights. (n.d.). 2009-2010 Civil Rights Data Collection. Retrieved from <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/DataDefinitions>
- Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (n.d.). Glossary. Retrieved from <https://www.ojjdp.gov/grantees/pm/glossary.html>
- Offices of the United States Attorneys. (n.d.). Legal terms glossary. Retrieved from <https://www.justice.gov/usao/justice-101/glossary>
- Ogbu, J. U. (1987). Variability in minority school performance: A problem in search of an explanation. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18(4), 312-334.
- Pachter, L.M., & Coll, C.G. (2009). Racism and child health: A review of the literature and future directions. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics*, 30(3), 255-263.
- Paetsch, J. J., & Bertrand, L. D. (1997). The relationship between peer, social, and school factors, and delinquency among youth. *Journal of School Health*, 67(1), 27-32.
- Parker, J. S., Morton, T. L., Lingefelt, M. E., & Johnson, K. S. (2005). Predictors of serious and violent offending by adjudicated male adolescents. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 7(3), 407-417.
- Payne, A.A, Gottfredson, D.C., & Gottfredson, G.D. (2003). Schools as communities: The relationships among communal school organization, student bonding, and school disorder. *Criminology*, 41(3), 749-777.
- Peck, J.H. (2013). Examining race and ethnicity in the context of general strain theory, depression, and delinquency. *Deviant Behavior*, 34(9), 706-726.
- Peoples, F., & Loeber, R. (1994). Do individual factors and neighborhood context explain ethnic

- differences in juvenile delinquency? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 10(2), 141–157.
- Pieterse, A. L., & Carter, R. T. (2007). An examination of the relationship between general life stress, racism-related stress, and psychological health among black men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(1), 101.
- Pieterse, A. L., Todd, N. R., Neville, H. A., & Carter, R. T. (2012). Perceived racism and mental health among black American adults: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 59(1), 1-9.
- Piquero, N. L., & Sealock, M. D. (2000). Generalizing general strain theory: An examination of an offending population. *Justice Quarterly*, 17(3), 449-484.
- Plummer, D. L., & Slane, S. (1996). Patterns of coping in racially stressful situations. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 22(3), 302-315.
- Pollard, R., & Pollard, C. (2001). Trouble voices: A qualitative inquiry. *Education*, 121(3), 476-484.
- Prelow, H.M., Danoff-Burg, S., Swenson, R.R., & Pulgiano, D. (2004). The impact of ecological risk and perceived discrimination on the psychological adjustment of African American and European American youth. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 32(4), 375-389.
- Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Trenerry, B., Truong, M., Karlsen, S., & Kelly, Y. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science and Medicine*, 95, 115-127.
- Priest, N., Perry, R., Ferdinand, A., Paradies, Y., & Kelaheer, M. (2014). Experiences of racism, racial/ethnic attitudes, motivated fairness and mental health outcomes among primary and secondary school students. *Journal of Youth Adolescents*, 43, 1672-1687.
- Rajan, S., Namdar, R. & Ruggles, K. V. (2015). Aggressive and violent behaviors in the school environment among a nationally representative sample of adolescent youth. *Journal of School Health*, 85(7), 446–457. doi:10.1111/josh.12272
- Rashid, K. (2011). To break asunder the lesions of race. The critical race theory of W.E.B. Du Bois. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 14(5), 585-602.
- Reed, D. K., & Wexler, J. (2014). “Our teachers... Don’t give us no help, no nothing:” Juvenile offenders’ perceptions of academic support. *Residential Treatment for Children and Youth*, 31(3), 188-218.
- Respress, B.N., Morris, D.L., Gary, F.A., Lewin, L.C., & Francis, S.A. (2013a). Social determinants of adolescent depression: An examination of racial differences. *Issues in*

Mental Health Nursing, 34(7), 539-549.

- Respress, B.N., Small, E., Francis, S.A., & Cordova, D. (2013b). The role of perceived peer prejudice and teacher discrimination on adolescent substance use: A social determinant approach. *Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse, 12(4)*, 1-16.
doi:10.1080/15332640.2013.836728.
- Richman, L.S. (2009). Reactions to discrimination, stigmatization, ostracism, and other forms of interpersonal rejection: A multimotive model. *Psychological Review, 116(2)*, 365-383.
- Ridley, C.R. (1994). *Overcoming unintentional racism in counseling and therapy: A practitioner's guide to intentional intervention*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.
- Robinson, O. C. (2011). Relational analysis: An add-on technique for aiding data integration in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 8(2)*, 197-209.
- Rocque, M., & Paternoster, R. (2011). Understanding the antecedents of the school-to-jail link: The relationship between race and school discipline. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 101(2)*, 633-666.
- Ross, T., Kena, G., Rathbun, A., KewalRemani, A., Zhang, J., Kristapovich, P., & Manning, E. (2012). Higher educations: Gaps in access and persistence study. Statistical analysis report. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2012/2012046.pdf>
- Salole, A.T., & Abdulle, Z. (2015). Quick to punish: An examination of the school to prison pipeline for marginalized youth. *Canadian Review of Social Policy, 72-73*, 124-168.
- Sander, J. B., Sharkey, J. D., Olivarri, R., Tanigawa, D. A., & Mauseth, T. (2010). A qualitative study of juvenile offenders, student engagement, and interpersonal relationships: Implications for research directions and preventionist approaches. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 20(4)*, 288-315.
- Sanders-Phillips, K., Kliewer, W., Tirmazi, T., Nebbitt, V., Carter, T., & Key, H. (2014). Perceived racial discrimination, drug use, and psychological distress in African American youth: A pathway to child health disparities. *Journal of Social Issues, 70(2)*, 279-297.
- Seaton, E.K., Caldwell, C.H., Sellers, R.M., & Jackson, J.S. (2008). The prevalence of perceived discrimination among African American and Caribbean black youth. *Developmental Psychology, 44(5)*, 1288-1297.
- Seaton, E.K., & Douglass, S. (2014). School Diversity and Racial Discrimination among African American Adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20(2)*, 156-65.
- Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38(2)*, 153-163.

- Shakur, T. (1999). *The rose that grew from concrete*. In *The rose that grew from concrete*. New York, NY: Pocket Books.
- Shetgiri, R., Kataoka, S., Ponce, N., Flores, G., & Chung, P.J. (2010). Adolescent fighting: Racial/ethnic disparities and the importance of families and schools. *Academic Pediatrics, 10*(5), 323-329.
- Sickmund, M., Sladky, T.J., Kang, W., & Puzanchera, C. (2013). Easy Access to the Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement." Retrieved from <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezacjrp/>
- Sickmund, M., Sladky, T.J., Kang, W., & Puzanchera, C. (2015). "Easy Access to the Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement." Retrieved from <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezacjrp/>
- Simons, R.L., Murry, V., McLoyd, V., Lin, K-H, Cutrona, C., & Conger, R.D. (2002). Discrimination, crime, ethnic identity, and parenting as correlates of depressive symptoms among African American children: A multilevel analysis. *Development and Psychopathology, 14*, 371-393.
- Simons, R.L., Simons, L.G., Burt, C.H., Drummund, H., Stewart, E., Brody, G.H.,... Cutrona, C. (2006). Supportive parenting moderates the effect of discrimination upon anger, hostile view of relationships, and violence among African American boys. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 47*, 373-389.
- Simmons, R.W. (2012). Exploring how African American males from an urban community navigate the interracial and intra-racial dimensions of their experiences at an urban Jesuit high school. *Journal of Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research, 8*, 4-12.
- Simson, D. (2013). Exclusion, punishment, racism, and our schools: A critical race theory perspective on school discipline. *UCLA Law Review, 61*, 506-563.
- Skiba, R. J., Eckes S. E., & Brown, K. (2009). African American disproportionality in school discipline: The divide between best evidence and legal remedy. *New York Law School Law Review, 54*, 1071-1112.
- Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Chung, C., Rausch, M. K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). Race is not neutral: A national investigation of African American and Latino disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Review, 40*(1), 85-107.
- Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review, 34*(4), 317-342.
- Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an

- analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 23-44.
- Soumah, M.A., & Hoover, J.H. (2013). A conversation with students of color about inequality. Reclaiming children and youth. *Sociological Studies of Children and Youth*, 22(1), 18-23.
- Speight, S.L. (2007). Internalized racism: One more piece of the puzzle. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(1), 126-134.
- Spencer, M.B. (2003). Vulnerability to violence: A contextually-sensitive, developmental perspective on African American adolescents. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1), 33-49.
- Stefancic, J., & Delgado, R. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Su, C. (2007). Cracking silent codes: Critical race theory and education organizing. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 28(4), 531-548.
- Sullivan, A.L., A'Vant, E., Baker, J., Chandler, D., Graves, S., McKinney, E., & Sayles, T. (2009). Confronting inequity in special education, part I: Understanding the problem of disproportionality. *Communique*, 38(1). Retrieved from <https://www.nasponline.org/publications/periodicals/communique/issues/volume-38-issue-1/confronting-inequity-in-special-education-part-i-understanding-the-problem-of-disproportionality>
- Sumner, S.A., Mercy, J.A., Dahlberg, L.L., Hillis, S.D., Klevens, J., & Houry, D. (2015). Violence in the United States: Status, challenges, and opportunities. *JAMA*, 314(5), 478-488.
- Sweeten, G., Bushway, S. D., & Paternoster, R. (2009). Does dropping out of school mean dropping into delinquency? *Criminology*, 47(1), 47-91.
- Tate IV, W. F. (1997). Chapter 4: Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications. *Review of research in education*, 22(1), 195-247.
- Teddle, C., & Yu, F. (2007). Mixed methods sampling: A typology with examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 77-100.
- Thornberry, T. P., Moore, M., & Christenson, R. (1985). The effect of dropping out of high school on subsequent criminal behavior. *Criminology*, 23(1), 3-18.
- Tobler, A. L., Maldonado-Molina, M. M., Staras, S. A., O'Mara, R. J., Livingston, M. D., & Komro, K. A. (2013). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, problem behaviors, and mental health among minority urban youth. *Ethnicity and Health*, 18(4), 337-349.

- Todorova, I. L. G., Falcón, L., Lincoln, A. K., & Price, L. L. (2010). Perceived discrimination, psychological distress and health. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 32(6), 843–861.
- Unnever, J.D., Cullen, F.T., & Barnes, J.C. (2016). Racial discrimination and pathways to delinquency: Testing a theory of African American offending. *Race and Justice*, 1-24. doi:10.1177/2153368716658768
- Unnever, J. D., Cullen, F. T., Mathers, S. A., McClure, T. E., & Allison, M. C. (2009). Racial discrimination and Hirschi's criminological classic: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *Justice Quarterly*, 26(3), 377-409.
- U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Policy and Program Studies Service. (2016). The State of Racial Diversity in the Educator Workforce. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/highered/racial-diversity/state-racial-diversity-workforce.pdf>
- Unruh, D., Povenmire-Kirk, T., & Yamamoto, S. (2009). Perceived barriers and protective factors of juvenile offenders on their developmental pathway to adulthood. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 60(3), 201-224.
- Van Dorn, R. A., & Williams, J. H. (2003). Correlates associated with escalation of delinquent behavior in incarcerated youths. *Social Work*, 48(4), 523-531.
- Van Wijk, A., Loeber, R., Vermeiren, R., Pardini, D., Bullens, R., & Doreleijers, T. (2005). Violent juvenile sex offenders compared with violent juvenile nonsex offenders: Explorative findings from the Pittsburgh youth study. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research and Treatment*, 17(3), 333-352.
- Vakalahi, H. F., & Godinet, M. T. (2012). Lived experiences of youth of color in secured facilities. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 10(4), 295-315.
- Vincent, C. G., Tobin, T. J., Hawken, L. S., & Frank, J. L. (2012). Discipline referrals and access to secondary level support in elementary and middle schools: Patterns across African-American, Hispanic-American, and White students. *Education and Treatment of Children*, 35(3), 431-458.
- Wallace, J. M., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among U.S. high school students: 1991-2005. *The Negro Educational Review*, 59(1-2), 47-62.
- Walker, H. M., & Sprague, J. R. (1999). The path to school failure, delinquency, and violence: Causal factors and some potential solutions. *Intervention in school and clinic*, 35(2), 67-73.
- Wang M.T., & Huguley, J.P. (2012). Parental racial socialization as a moderator of the effects of racial discrimination on educational success among African American adolescents. *Child*

- Development*, 83(5), 1716-1731.
- Wang, X., Blomberg, T.G., & Li, S.D. (2005). Comparison of the educational deficiencies of delinquent and nondelinquent students. *Evaluation Review*, 29(4), 291-312.
- Watts, I. E., & Erevelles, N. (2004). These deadly times: Reconceptualizing school violence by using critical race theory and disability studies. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 271-299.
- West-Olatunji, C.A., & Baker, J.C. (2006). African American adolescent males: Giving voice to their educational experiences. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 8(4), 3-9.
- Wester, K.L., MacDonald, C.A., & Lewis, T.F. (2008). A glimpse into the lives of nine youths in a correctional facility: Insight into theories of delinquency. *Journal of Addictions and Offender Counseling*, 28(2), 101-118.
- Williams, D. R., Yan, Y., Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 2(3), 335-351. doi:10.1177/135910539700200305
- Wong, C.A., Eccles, J.S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality*, 71(6), 1197-1232.
- Wun, C. (2016). Unaccounted foundations: Black girls, anti-Black racism, and punishment in schools. *Critical Sociology*, 42(4-5), 737-750.
- Yang, J., & Anyon, Y. (2016). Race and risk behaviors: The mediating role of school bonding. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 69, 39-48.

APPENDIX A

Pilot Study Parental Consent Script

“Hello, my name is Desiree` Tallent and I am a student at the University of Alabama. One of my jobs as a student is to do research. For my research, I like to work with young men and women who are placed in juvenile justice facilities. I am here today because I am currently looking to conduct a study here at the detention facility where your child is currently placed. In my study, I am trying to figure out what causes youth who are in juvenile justice facilities to act aggressively sometimes. Some studies have shown that experiences with racism can make people feel sad, angry, worry, and act aggressively. In my study, I would like to see how experiences with racism in public schools have made youth in juvenile justice facilities feel and act and if these experiences with racism made these youth act aggressively.

Specifically, in this study, I am going to interview youth in juvenile justice facilities about any experiences they may have had with racism in public schools and how those experiences made them feel, act, and want to act.

Your child’s choice to not participate in this study will not affect his or her treatment or sentencing. Likewise, your child’s choice to participate in this study will not affect his or her treatment or sentencing. Please feel free to ask questions if you would like to know more about this study.”

Once all questions have been answered

“Your child meets the criteria to participate in this study because they are currently placed in a juvenile justice facility. Now that you know about this study, would you like to give

permission for your child to participate in this study?”

For those not willing to give permission for their child to participate in the study.

“Thank-you for taking time to listen about the study.”

For those willing to give permission for their child to participate in the study

[Give-out parental consent form to each interested parent]. “This form explains the study and why the study is important. This form also tells what your child will be asked to do, how long it will take them to participate, and any risks or benefits they may encounter during the study. Your child’s privacy during the study is also mentioned in the form. To make sure all parts of the consent form are covered, I will read it aloud to you. Feel free to follow along with your copy.”

Once the parental consent form is read the researcher will provide time for questions.

Once all questions have been answered, the researcher will ask the parents for their signature. Once the signature has been obtained.

“Thank-you very much for allowing your child to participate in this study. This study will be conducted next week. If you have any questions, concerns, or problems with the study there are several phone numbers on the last page of the consent form that you can call.”

APPENDIX B

Pilot Study Parental Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FOR A RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Study Title: Juvenile offenders' perceptions of racism in public schools

Desiree` A. Tallent, Principal Investigator

You are being asked to give permission for your child to take part in a research study. This study is called "Juvenile offenders' perceptions of racism in public school." The study is being done by Desiree` Tallent, who is a graduate student at the University of Alabama.

What is the study about? What is the researcher trying to learn?

This study is being done to find out what causes some juvenile offenders to act violently. Miss Tallent would like to learn if being treated differently because of your race makes youth want to act aggressive. She is also interested in how being treated differently because of your race makes you feel.

Why is this study important or useful?

This study is important because little is known about how being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel and behave. This study is useful for finding out if being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel bad and want to be aggressive.

Why has my child been asked to be in this study?

Your child has been asked to be in this study because he or she is an adolescent that is currently placed in a juvenile justice detention facility.

How many people will be in this study?

About 20 other people will be in this study.

What will my child be asked to do in this study?

If your child meets the criteria and agrees to be in this study, he or she will be asked to do these things:

- Complete a task that asks them to memorize numbers and letters
- Complete a task that asks them about their feelings, thoughts, and behaviors
- Complete a task that asks them about their experiences of being treated differently because of

their race

- Tell about their experiences with being treated differently because of their race
- Write a poem about any of their experiences with being treated differently because of their race

How much time will my child spend in this study?

Overall this study is expected to take no less than 2 hours of your child's time and no more than 2.5 hours of your child's time.

Will being in this study cost my child anything?

The only cost to your child from this study is their time.

Will my child get anything for being in this study?

Your child will not get anything for being in this study.

Can the researcher take my child out of this study?

Miss Tallent may take your child out of the study if she feels the study is upsetting him or her.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to my child if he or she is in this study?

This study involves the discussion of stressful events. As a result, your child may experience negative emotions and begin to feel upset during this study if he or she begins to think about times they were treated differently because of their race. However, your child has the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Also a counselor, [REDACTED], will be available after the study if your child becomes upset. If your child becomes visibly upset about any of the study's topics Miss Tallent will remove him or her from the study and make a referral to [REDACTED] in order to address any negative emotions your child may be experiencing.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if my child is in this study?

There are no direct benefits to your child for being in this study.

What are the benefits to science or society?

The potential benefits to society include knowing more about how being treated differently because of one's race makes them feel and behave.

How will my child's confidentiality be protected?

Your child will be assigned a number to put on all of the study's documents. Your child's name will be matched to their assigned number on a name-number list. This list will remain with the student-researcher at all times. Once all study documents have been collected the student-researcher will destroy the name-number list. Your child will not be asked to put any of his or her personal information on any of the study's documents. All of the study documents will be put in a confidential envelope.

These envelopes will be stored in a locked drawer in the co-researcher's private office when the study documents are not needed. In addition, your child can withdraw from the study at any time.

Aside from these protections, Miss Tallent cannot guarantee confidentiality (or privacy) of your child's written work. However, all participants will be asked to not talk about the written work. Also, some information, such as reports of child abuse and self-harm, cannot be kept confidential and must be reported to local law enforcement.

Miss Tallent is not obligated to report any instances in which your child tells about a previous crime he or she may have committed. However, if your child tells about committing a serious violent offense then staff present during the study may report this crime to a law official.

What are the alternatives to being in this study? Does my child have other choices?

The alternative to being in this study is for your child not to participate.

What are my child's rights as a participant in this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your child's free choice. Your child can refuse to be in this study. If your child starts the study he or she can stop at any time. Your child's choice to not participate will not affect his or her treatment or sentencing. Likewise, if your child chooses to participate in the study her or his treatment or sentencing will not be affected.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board ("the IRB") is the group of people that protect the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review studies to be sure that people in the studies are being treated fairly and that the study is done the way it should be.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions about the study right now please ask them. If you have questions about the study later you can call Miss Tallent at [REDACTED].

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your child's rights as a person in a study call Ms. Tanta Myles, the Research Compliance Officer of the University of Alabama at [REDACTED] or toll-free at [REDACTED].

You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email the Research Compliance Office at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu.

After your child participates he or she is encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it. Your child can mail their copy to University Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

I have read this consent form. The study has been explained to me. I understand what my child will be asked to do. I have had a chance to ask questions. I agree to allow my child to take part in this study. I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

Signature of Research Participant's Parent or Legal Guardian

Date

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX C

Dissertation Study Parental Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FOR A RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Study Title: Detained youths' perceptions of racism in public schools

Desiree` A. Tallent, Principal Investigator

You are being asked to give permission for your child to take part in a research study. This study is called "Detained youths' perceptions of racism in public school." The study is being done by Desiree` Tallent, who is a graduate student at the University of Alabama.

What is the study about? What is the researcher trying to learn?

This study is being done to find out what causes some juvenile offenders to act violently. Miss Tallent would like to learn if being treated differently because of your race makes youth want to act aggressive. She is also interested in how being treated differently because of your race makes you feel.

Why is this study important or useful?

This study is important because little is known about how being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel and behave. This study is useful for finding out if being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel bad and want to be aggressive.

Why has my child been asked to be in this study?

Your child has been asked to be in this study because he or she is an adolescent that is currently placed in a juvenile justice detention facility.

How many people will be in this study?

About 20 other people will be in this study.

What will my child be asked to do in this study?

If your child meets the criteria and agrees to be in this study, he or she will be asked to do these things:

- Complete an interview about their school experiences including experiences with being treated differently because of their race

How much time will my child spend in this study?

Overall this study is expected to take no less than 2 hours of your child’s time and no more than 2.5 hours of your child’s time.

Will being in this study cost my child anything?

The only cost to your child from this study is their time.

Will my child get anything for being in this study?

Your child will not get anything for being in this study.

Can the researcher take my child out of this study?

Miss Tallent may take your child out of the study if she feels the study is upsetting him or her.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to my child if he or she is in this study?

This study involves the discussion of stressful events. As a result, your child may experience negative emotions and begin to feel upset during this study if he or she begins to think about times they were treated differently because of their race. However, your child has the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Also a counselor, [REDACTED], will be available after the study if your child becomes upset. If your child becomes visibly upset about any of the study's topics Miss Tallent will remove him or her from the study and make a referral to [REDACTED] in order to address any negative emotions your child may be experiencing.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if my child is in this study?

There are no direct benefits to your child for being in this study.

What are the benefits to science or society?

The potential benefits to society include knowing more about how being treated differently because of one’s race makes them feel and behave.

How will my child’s confidentiality be protected?

Your child will be assigned a number to put on all of the study’s documents. Your child’s name will be matched to their assigned number on a name-number list. This list will remain with the student-researcher at all times. Once all study documents have been collected the student-researcher will destroy the name-number list. Your child will not be asked to put any of his or her personal information on any of the study’s documents. All of the study documents will be put in a confidential envelope. These envelopes will be stored in a locked drawer in the co-researcher's private office when the study documents are not needed. In addition, your child can withdraw from the study at any time.

Aside from these protections, Miss Tallent cannot guarantee confidentiality (or privacy) of your child's reported experiences. However, all participants will be asked to not talk about their reported experiences. Also, some information, such as reports of child abuse and self-harm, cannot be kept confidential and must be reported to local law enforcement.

Miss Tallent is not obligated to report any instances in which your child tells about a previous crime he or she may have committed. However, if your child tells about committing a serious violent offense then staff present during the study may report this crime to a law official.

What are the alternatives to being in this study? Does my child have other choices?

The alternative to being in this study is for your child not to participate.

What are my child's rights as a participant in this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your child's free choice. Your child can refuse to be in this study. If your child starts the study he or she can stop at any time. Your child's choice to not participate will not affect his or her treatment or sentencing. Likewise, if your child chooses to participate in the study her or his treatment or sentencing will not be affected.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board ("the IRB") is the group of people that protect the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review studies to be sure that people in the studies are being treated fairly and that the study is done the way it should be.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions about the study right now please ask them. If you have questions about the study later you can call Miss Tallent at [REDACTED].

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your child's rights as a person in a study call [REDACTED], the Research Compliance Officer of the University of Alabama at [REDACTED] or toll-free at [REDACTED].

You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email the Research Compliance Office at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu.

After your child participates he or she is encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it. Your child can mail their copy to University Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

I have read this consent form. The study has been explained to me. I understand what my child will be asked to do. I have had a chance to ask questions. I agree to allow my child to take part in this study. I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

Signature of Research Participant's Parent or Legal Guardian

Date

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX D

Pilot Study Assent Script

“Hello, my name is Desiree` Tallent, and I am a student at the University of Alabama. One of my jobs as a student is to do research. For my research, I like to work with young men and women who are placed in juvenile justice facilities. I am here today because your parent(s) gave me permission to ask you to be in one of my research studies. In my study, I am trying to figure out what causes youth who are in juvenile justice facilities to act aggressively sometimes. Some studies have shown that experiences with racism can make people feel sad, angry, worry, and act aggressively. In my study, I would like to see how experiences with racism in public schools have made youth in juvenile justice facilities feel and act and if these experiences with racism made these youth act aggressively.

Specifically, in this study, I am going to interview youth in juvenile justice facilities about any experiences they may have had with racism in public schools and how those experiences made them feel, act, and want to act.

Since your parent(s) gave you permission to be in this study you can participate in this study. Your choice to not participate in this study will not affect your treatment or sentencing. Likewise, your choice to participate in this study will not affect your treatment or sentencing. Please feel free to ask questions if you would like to know more about this study.”

After all, questions have been asked and answered.

“Would you like to participate? You can say yes or no.”

If they do not provide assent by saying “no” ...

“Thank-you very much for showing an interest in the study. Remember that your decision to not participate in this study will in no way affect your stay here at the detention facility or your sentencing. You may now rejoin your classmates.”

If they provided assent by saying “yes” ...

“Thank-you very much for agreeing to participate in this study.”

[Give assent form to potential participants]. “For you to better understand the study I will read this form (i.e. the assent form) aloud to you. Please follow along with your copy.”

Once assent form has been read

“Do you have any questions about the study?”

Allow time to answer questions.

APPENDIX E

Pilot Study Assent Form

INFORMED ASSENT FOR A RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Study Title: Juvenile offenders' perceptions of racism in public schools

Desiree` A. Tallent, Principal Investigator

You are being asked to take part in a research study. This study is called “Juvenile offenders' perceptions of racism in public schools.” The study is being done by Desiree` Tallent, who is a graduate student at the University of Alabama.

What is the study about? What is the researcher trying to learn?

This study is being done to find out what causes some juvenile offenders to act violently. Miss Tallent would like to learn if being treated differently because of your race makes you want to act aggressive. She is also interested in how being treated differently because of your race makes you feel.

Why is this study important or useful?

This study is important because little is known about how being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel and behave. This study is useful for finding out if being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel bad and want to be aggressive.

Why have I been asked to be in this study?

You have been asked to be in this study because you are an adolescent that is currently placed in a juvenile justice detention facility.

How many people will be in this study?

About 20 other people will be in this study.

What will I be asked to do in this study?

If you meet the criteria and agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do these thing:

- Complete a task that asks you to memorize numbers and letters

- Complete a task that asks you about your feelings, thoughts and behaviors
- Complete a task that asks you about your experiences of being treated differently because of your race
- Complete an interview about your experiences with being treated differently because of your race
- Write a poem about your experiences with being treated differently because of your race

How much time will I spend in this study?

Overall this study is expected to take no less than 2 hours of your time and no more than 2.5 hours of your time.

Will being in this study cost me anything?

The only cost to you from this study is your time.

Will I get anything for being in this study?

You will not get anything for being in this study.

Can the researcher take me out of this study?

Miss Tallent may take you out of the study if she feels the study is upsetting you.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to me if I am in this study?

This study involves the discussion of stressful events. As a result you may experience negative emotions and begin to feel upset during this study if you begin to think about times you were treated differently because of your race. However, you have the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Also your counselor, [REDACTED], will be available after the study if you become upset. If you become visibly upset about any of the study's topics Miss Tallent will remove you from the study and make a referral to [REDACTED] in order to address any negative emotions you may be experiencing.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if I am in this study?

There are no direct benefits to you from being in this study.

What are the benefits to science or society?

The potential benefits to society include knowing more about how being treated differently because of one's race makes them feel and behave.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

You will be assigned a number to put on all of the research materials. You will not be asked to put any of your personal information on any of the research materials. All of the study materials will be put in a confidential envelope. These envelopes will be stored in a locked drawer in the co-researcher's private

office when the study documents are not needed. In addition you can withdraw from the study at any time.

Aside from these protections, Miss Tallent cannot guarantee confidentiality (or privacy) of your written work. However, you will be asked to not talk about the written work. Also, some information, such as reports of child abuse and self-harm, cannot be kept confidential and must be reported to local law enforcement.

Miss Tallent is not obligated to report any instances in which you tell about a previous crime you may have committed. However, if you tell about committing a serious violent offense then staff present during the study may report this crime to a law official.

What are the alternatives to being in this study? Do I have other choices?

The alternative to being in this study is not to participate.

What are my rights as a participant in this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your free choice. You can refuse to be in this study. If you start the study you can stop at any time. Your choice to not participate will not affect your treatment or sentencing. Likewise, your choice to participate will not affect your treatment or sentencing.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board (“the IRB”) is the group of people that protect the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review studies to be sure that people in the studies are being treated fairly and that the study is done the way it should be.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions about the study right now please ask them. If you have questions about the study later you can call Miss Tallent at [REDACTED].

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a person in a study call Ms. Tanta Myles, the Research Compliance Officer of the University of Alabama at [REDACTED] or toll-free at [REDACTED]

You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email the Research Compliance Office at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu.

After you participate you are encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it. You can mail your copy to University Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

If you are willing to participate in this study please say “yes.” If you are not willing to participate in this study please say “no.”

APPENDIX F

Dissertation Study Assent Form

INFORMED ASSENT FOR A RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Study Title: Detained youths' perceptions of racism in public schools

Desiree` A. Tallent, Principal Investigator

You are being asked to take part in a research study. This study is called "Detained youths' perceptions of racism in public schools." The study is being done by Desiree` Tallent, who is a graduate student at the University of Alabama.

What is the study about? What is the researcher trying to learn?

This study is being done to find out what causes some juvenile offenders to act violently. Miss Tallent would like to learn if being treated differently because of your race makes you want to act aggressive. She is also interested in how being treated differently because of your race makes you feel.

Why is this study important or useful?

This study is important because little is known about how being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel and behave. This study is useful for finding out if being treated differently because of your race makes juvenile offenders feel bad and want to be aggressive.

Why have I been asked to be in this study?

You have been asked to be in this study because you are an adolescent that is currently placed in a juvenile justice detention facility.

How many people will be in this study?

About 20 other people will be in this study.

What will I be asked to do in this study?

If you meet the criteria and agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do these thing

- Complete an interview about your school experiences including your experiences with being treated differently because of your race

How much time will I spend in this study?

Overall this study is expected to take no less than 2 hours of your time and no more than 2.5 hours of your time.

Will being in this study cost me anything?

The only cost to you from this study is your time.

Will I get anything for being in this study?

You will not get anything for being in this study.

Can the researcher take me out of this study?

Miss Tallent may take you out of the study if she feels the study is upsetting you.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to me if I am in this study?

This study involves the discussion of stressful events. As a result you may experience negative emotions and begin to feel upset during this study if you begin to think about times you were treated differently because of your race. However, you have the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Also your counselor, [REDACTED], will be available after the study if you become upset. If you become visibly upset about any of the study's topics Miss Tallent will remove you from the study and make a referral to [REDACTED] in order to address any negative emotions you may be experiencing.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if I am in this study?

There are no direct benefits to you from being in this study.

What are the benefits to science or society?

The potential benefits to society include knowing more about how being treated differently because of one's race makes them feel and behave.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

You will be assigned a number to put on all of the research materials. You will not be asked to put any of your personal information on any of the research materials. All of the study materials will be put in a confidential envelope. These envelopes will be stored in a locked drawer in the co-researcher's private office when the study documents are not needed. In addition, you can withdraw from the study at any time.

Aside from these protections, Miss Tallent cannot guarantee confidentiality (or privacy) of your reported experiences. However, you will be asked to not talk about your reported experiences. Also, some information, such as reports of child abuse and self-harm, cannot be kept confidential and must be reported to local law enforcement.

Miss Tallent is not obligated to report any instances in which you tell about a previous crime you may have committed. However, if you tell about committing a serious violent offense then staff present during the study may report this crime to a law official.

What are the alternatives to being in this study? Do I have other choices?

The alternative to being in this study is not to participate.

What are my rights as a participant in this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your free choice. You can refuse to be in this study. If you start the study you can stop at any time. Your choice to not participate will not affect your treatment or sentencing. Likewise, your choice to participate will not affect your treatment or sentencing.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board (“the IRB”) is the group of people that protect the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review studies to be sure that people in the studies are being treated fairly and that the study is done the way it should be.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions about the study right now please ask them. If you have questions about the study later you can call Miss Tallent at [REDACTED]

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a person in a study call Ms. [REDACTED] the Research Compliance Officer of the University of Alabama at [REDACTED] or toll-free at [REDACTED]

You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email the Research Compliance Office at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu.

After you participate you are encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it. You can mail your copy to University Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

If you are willing to participate in this study please say “yes.” If you are not willing to participate in this study please say “no.”

APPENDIX G

IRB Approval for Pilot Study

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

February 12, 2015

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
R E S E A R C H

Desiree Tallent
Dept. ESPRMC
College of Education
Box 870231

Re: IRB Application # 14-017, "A Mixed Method-Analysis of
Agnew's General Strain Theory among Juvenile Offenders in the
South"

Dear Ms. Tallent:

The University of Alabama IRB has received the revisions requested by the full board on 1/16/15. The board has reviewed the revisions and your protocol is now approved for a one-year period. Please be advised that your protocol will expire one year from the date of approval, 1/16/15.

If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the IRB Renewal Application by the 15th of the month prior to project expiration. If you need to modify the study, please submit the Modification of An Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent/assent forms to provide to your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,




Stuart Usdan, PhD.
Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board

358 Rose Administration Building
Box 870127
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0127
(205) 348-8461
FAX (205) 348-7189
TOLL FREE (877) 820-3066

APPENDIX H

Site Approval for Pilot Study



February 10, 2014

To whom it may concern,

I am writing this letter as an official statement of permission for Miss Desiree` Tallent to use 35 hard copies of archived poems composed by former detainees here at the Tuscaloosa County Detention Facility as data for her pilot study "The Power of Words: A Qualitative Analysis of Socioemotional Factors in Juvenile Offenders' Expressive Work." These poems originated as a non-academic classroom activity in 2007. During this time, I asked my students to write a story about their experiences, feelings, and any other personal account they wished to tell. The original purpose of this activity was to show the students they were not alone; that others had gone through similar life experiences as they had. Once the stories were written some of the students shared their work aloud. Following these oral reports, several students became intrinsically motivated and desired to edit their work into a formal narrative. Some of these narratives unexpectedly became powerful poems. Realizing the potential of the detainees poems I asked the students permission to share their work with others, such as judges, other detainees, parole officers, teachers, parents, and counselors. Most of the detainees gave their verbal permission for their work to be exposed to individuals outside of the classroom. Following their permission a three-ring binder was composed of their written worked in typed format. The poems Miss Tallent wishes to use in her pilot study are bound in this three-ring binder. It should be noted that all initials, nicknames, or dates in the poems will be redacted by staff here at the juvenile detention facility prior to Miss Tallent's analysis, thus removing all personal identifying information. It should also be noted that all authors have been dismissed from, and have not current affiliation with, the Tuscaloosa County Detention Facility. Please feel free to contact me if you need additional information.

Sincerely,



APPENDIX I

Site Approval for Revised Pilot Study



June 10, 2015

To whom it may concern:

We have received notification of the changes to Miss Tallent's research study. Being informed of these changes, we still agree to allow Miss Tallent to conduct her study here at the Tuscaloosa County Juvenile Detention Center. Please feel free to contact me if additional information is needed.



APPENDIX J

Pilot Study Interview Protocol

1. Introduce self
2. Tell them “I am going to ask you to talk to me today about your experiences with racism.”
3. Provide definition of racism
4. “Now that you know the definition of racism, tell me if you have ever had an experience with racism in your school.
 - a. Who was this experience with? (peers, teachers, principals).
 - b. Why did you experience this?
5. “Sometimes people get in trouble at school. They may get yelled at by a teacher, sent to the office, or kicked out of school.”
6. “Did you ever think that racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults in your school?”
7. We have talked about your experiences with racism in school and when you got in trouble in school. Think back to those times.
 - a. “How did these experiences make you want to act?”
 - b. “Did you act this way?”
 - c. If not, “how did you act, instead?”
8. Is there anything else you would like me to know?

APPENDIX K

Demographic Information

Please check the box next to your race. You may check more than one box:

- White
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Native American or Other Pacific Islander

For Researcher's Use

Current Offense: _____

ID Number: _____

APPENDIX L
IRB Approval for Dissertation

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA[®] | *Office of the Vice President for*
Research & Economic Development
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

May 20, 2016

Desiree Tallent
Department of ESPRMC
College of Education
Box 870231

Re: IRB Application # 14-017-R1 "Juvenile Offenders' Perceptions of Racism in Public Schools"

Dear Ms. Tallent:

The University of Alabama Non-Medical IRB recently met to consider your renewal application. The IRB voted to approve your protocol for a one year period.

Your application will expire on May 19, 2017. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the IRB Renewal Application. If you need to modify the study, please submit the Modification of An Approved Protocol Form. **Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants.** When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent/assent forms to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this application, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,


Stuart Usdan, PhD
Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board

358 Rose Administration Building | Box 870127 | Tuscaloosa, AL 35887-0127
205-348-8461 | Fax 205-348-7189 | Toll Free 1-822-920-3066

APPENDIX M

Renewed IRB Approval for Dissertation Study



April 26, 2017

Desiree Tallent
Dept. of ESPRMC
College of Education
Box 870231

Re: IRB Application #: 14-017-R2 "Detained Youths' Perceptions of Racism in Public Schools"

Dear Ms. Tallent:

The University of Alabama IRB has received the revisions requested by the full board on 4/20/17. The board has reviewed the revisions and your protocol is now approved for a one-year period. Please be advised that your protocol will expire one year from the date of approval, 4/20/17.

If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the IRB Renewal Application by the 15th of the month prior to project expiration. If you need to modify the study, please submit the Modification of An Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent/assent forms to provide to your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,


Stuart Usdan, PhD
Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX N

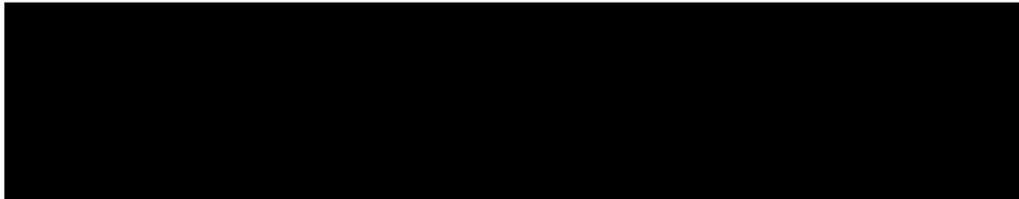
Site Approval for Changes to Dissertation Study



April 7, 2017

To whom it may concern:

We have been notified of the changes to Miss Tallent's research study regarding interview protocols, study procedures, informed consent, and all other relevant changes. Being informed of these changes throughout the study, we continue to agree and allow Miss Tallent to conduct her study here at the Tuscaloosa County Juvenile Detention Center. Please feel free to contact me if additional information is needed.



APPENDIX O

Dissertation Interview Protocol

1. Introduce self
2. Tell them “I am going to ask you to talk to me today about your experiences with racism.”
3. Provide definition of racism: Racism occurs when a group of people are treated or perceived differently because of the color of their skin.
4. How would you define racism?
5. What kind of school did you go to?
 - a. Location
 - b. Racial composition
 - c. Resources
 - d. Available help
6. What was your experience at this school like?
 - a. Who was this experience with? (peers, teachers, principals).
 - b. Why did you experience this?
 - c. Related to being Black
 - d. How would it have been different if you was White
 - e. What did/would racism look like in your school?
7. “Sometimes people get in trouble at school. They may get yelled at by a teacher, sent to the office, or kicked out of school. Did you ever get in trouble at school?”
 - a. Sequence of events
 - b. What happened before, during, after [treated, perceived, acted differently]
 - i. At school
 - ii. At home
 - c. How long did punishment last?
 - i. Did this contribute to delinquency?
 - d. What else could have been done instead of punishment?
 - e. What could have been done to prevent you from getting in trouble?
 - f. Who else got in trouble at your school [mostly]?
 - g. Who did not get in trouble at your school [mostly]?

- h. What was your school experience right before you came here?
 - i. What could your school have done differently to keep you from coming here?
- 8. “Did you ever think that racism was the reason you got in trouble with the adults in your school?”
 - a. Why do you think more Black kids get in trouble at school?
- 9. We have talked about your experiences with racism in school and when you got in trouble in school. Think back to those times.
 - a. “How did these experiences make you want to act?” Why?
 - b. “Did you act this way?” Why?
 - c. If not, “how did you act, instead?” Why?
- 10. Is there anything else you would like me to know?
- 11. Name three reasons why you are proud to be part of the racial group you identified with.

APPENDIX P

Themes and Definitions

Theme	Definition	Example
Discrimination	An act by school staff or peers that is perceived as either verbal or physical mistreatment due to their race.	A teacher speaking more time with White students than Black students
Racial Divide	A division of people, either physically or socially, based on people's race.	White students and Black students sitting apart during lunch
Demographic	A homogenic representation of a certain racial group.	Having mostly White teachers
Negative Perceptions	Prejudicial thoughts, biased beliefs, or ill-conceived notions about the participants' racial group	Students thinking Black hair-styles are "nappy."
Disrespect	Feeling disrespected due to perceived incidents of racism.	Feeling disrespected when White teachers do not let Black students engage in preferred activities
Bias in Discipline	Unfair or bias treatment, based on student race, in the allocation of school discipline	Black students getting in trouble for behaviors that White students do not get in trouble for.
Excessive Discipline	Discipline perceived as excessive or extreme in relation to the behavior infraction.	Being suspended each time after being sent to the office.
Physical Aggression	Physical actions involving aggression or violence and directed toward others	Fighting a student
Verbal Aggression	Verbal actions involving aggression or of a violent nature and directed toward others	Cursing at a student