Title

The Impact of Youth Incarceration on Violent Crime and Behavior: an examination of youth arrests, incarceration and recidivism by race among male youth in Los Angeles, California

Author

Dupuy, Danielle Marie

Publication Date

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Impact of Youth Incarceration on Violent Crime and Behavior: an examination of youth arrests, incarceration and recidivism by race among male youth in Los Angeles, California

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Community Health Sciences

by

Danielle Marie Dupuy

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Impact of Youth Incarceration on Violent Crime and Behavior:
an examination of youth arrests, incarceration and recidivism by race
among male youth in Los Angeles, California

by

Danielle Marie Dupuy
Doctor of Philosophy in Community Health Sciences
University of California, Los Angeles 2019
Professor Courtney Thomas Tobin, Chair

The number of youth incarcerated in Los Angeles (L.A.) has declined over the past several years,[1,2] however the significance of this decline is uncertain. As the number of incarcerated youth in Los Angeles decreases, there has been a simultaneous increase in the proportion of youth arrested that are charged with violent crimes.[3,4] At the same time, recidivism is high among California youth.[5] Given this information, the downward trend in youth incarceration may be driven by changes in the policing of non-violent crimes rather than changes in the policing of all youth. Additionally, incarcerating youth may further promote violent crime instead of deterring it. In order to confirm or refute these implications, it is necessary to fully understand the relationship between youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime.

To date, there have been numerous studies that examine the effects of youth incarceration on recidivism, mental health and long-term socio-economic outcomes, but relatively few studies

that assess the impact of youth incarceration on violent behavior and re-arrest for violent crime specifically. This study aims to expand our understanding of the impact of youth incarceration on behavior and re-arrest for violent crime with a focus on race and racism. I use a mixed-methods approach to answer questions about youth arrests, the experience of incarceration and recidivism among male youth in L.A. I analyze arrest data from the L.A. Police Department to assess the risk of re-arrest for violent crime and conduct interviews with L.A. County Probation officers, who oversee the care of male youth in detention, in order to understand the aspects of incarceration that impact youth behavior. Results from this research have the potential to inform future studies on the relationship between youth incarceration and recidivism, as well as contribute to a broader understanding about violence prevention strategies for high-need youth.

The dissertation of Danielle Marie Dupuy is approved.

Anne R. Pebley

Chandra L. Ford

Noah David Zatz

Courtney S. Thomas, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

Dedicated to my father, John Oliver Dupuy, whose belief in me has been a consistent and loving source of motivation; to my sister, Brittney Dupuy Bishop, whose relentless support has helped me persevere through any and all challenges; and to my mother, Barbara Tervalon Dupuy, whose selfless spirit and strength is, and will always be, my inspiration.

Table of Contents

Tables

Figures and Graphs

Acknowledgement

Thank you to my advisor Anne Pebley, my chair Courtney Thomas Tobin and my other committee members Chandra Ford and Noah Zatz for your thoughtful feedback and patience through this journey. Thank you to Kelly Lytle Hernandez for your mentorship and guidance. A special thank you to my fiancé, Kenjus Watson, for your incredible knowledge and constant support. Finally, I want to express my eternal gratitude to all the youth I've worked with over the years at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall. Your insight has given me new perspective in everything I do.

Danielle M. Dupuy, MPH

EDUCATION

PhD candidate, Community Health Sciences, Minor: Law — June 2019
University of California Los Angeles — Los Angeles, California
MPH, International Health and Epidemiology — April 2006
University of Michigan — Ann Arbor, Michigan
BS, Microbiology — May 2003
University of Michigan — Ann Arbor, Michigan

EXPERIENCE

Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies — **UCLA, Los Angeles, CA**
Director of Research and Programs — January 2019- current
Assistant Director — January 2018- December 2018
Million Dollar Hoods — **UCLA, Los Angeles, CA**
Co-Lead January — 2018-current
Graduate Student Researcher — August 2017-January 2018
Prison Education Program at UCLA — **Los Angeles & Sylmar, CA**
Lead and Liaison — July 2016 - current
UCLA Center for Health Policy Research — **UCLA, Los Angeles, CA**
Project Manager — August, 2015-June, 2017
Metropolitan Chicago Breast Cancer Task Force — **Chicago, IL**
Consultant — September 2013 – February 2015
Associate Director of Chicago Breast Cancer Quality Consortium — May 2010- September 2013
Sr. Data Coordinator — September 2008- May 2010
Independent Consultant
Los Angeles, CA
Implicit Bias training, LA County Probation — August 2018
Implicit Bias training, LA County Child and Family Services — October 2018
Research Assistant, Violence Prevention Coalition — March 2015- September 2015
New Orleans, La
Program Advising, Southeast Regional Re-entry Program — December 2015 – July 2016
*Program Advising***,** Mosi Makori & The Star Institute — September 2013 – April-2015
Chicago, IL
Data Analysis, Rush University Medical Center — September 2013- April 2017
Program planning, Washington Park Consortium — November 2010 - May 2013

AWARDS & AFFILIATIONS

Board Member: Association for Criminal Justice Research- California — March 2019- Current
Dean Hansell Award to Reduce Gun Violence — January 2016 - Current
Co-founder: UCLA Justice Workgroup — Winter 2014 - Current
Member of the University of California Justice & Health Consortium — 2015 - 2016
Justice Policy Network Fellow — April 2015 – November 2015

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Sinai Urban Health Institute — **Chicago, IL**
Evaluator — October 2006-September 2008

Engineers Without Borders (EWB), Pipeline Project **Ongole, Andhra Pradesh, India**
Health Analyst July 2006
Women's Health Study **Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico**
Research Assistant May – July 2005
Former Congressman Rob Portman, U.S. House of Representatives **Washington D.C.**
Staff Assistant August 2003 – August2004

BOOKS

Murphy AM, Estwing-Ferrans C., Ansell D., Dupuy D. Chapter 12:Creation Of A Statewide Mammography Surveillance Program. In J.M. Phillips & B.H. Damron (Eds.),Cancer and Health Policy: Advancements and Opportunities. Pittsburgh, PA: Oncology Nursing Society

PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Rauscher G., Murphy AM., Orsi J., **Dupuy D.,** Grabler P., Weldon C. "Beyond the Mammography Quality Standards Act: Measuring the Quality of Breast Cancer Screening Programs". AJR Am J Roentgenol. 2014 Jan; 202(1):145-51. doi: 10.2214/AJR.13.10806. Epub 2013 Nov21.

Grabler P., **Dupuy D.,** Rai J., Bernstein S., Ansell D. "Regular screening mammography before the diagnosis of breast cancer reduces black:white breast cancer differences and modifies negative biological prognostic factors". Breast Cancer Research and Treatment. (2012). doi: 10.1007/s10549-012-2193-3.

PEER REVIEWED ABSTRACTS

Trosman J., Weldon C., **Dupuy D**., Roggenkamp B., Ganschow P., Schink J., Murphy A.M. "Why do breast cancer programs fail to refer patients to genetic counseling upon obtaining f family history?" abstract accepted for presentation ASCO (2012)

Weldon C., Trosman J., **Dupuy D.,** Roggenkamp B., Schink J., Orsi J., Murphy A.M. "Do patient tracking, follow-up, and referral practices contribute to breast cancer disparities in a large urban area?" abstract accepted for presentation ASCO 2012

Dupuy D., Knightly E., Weldon C., Trosman J., Murphy A.M "Examining Variation in Mammography Quality: the case of Chicago, Illinois" abstract accepted for presentation at NCBC (2012)

Murphy AM., **Dupuy D.,** et al. "Quality Improvement as a tool to reduce disparities". American Association for Cancer Research (AACR)- Cancer Disparities Conference – 2011

Weldon C., Trosman J., **Dupuy D.**, Alvarez R., Murphy A.M. "Breast Cancer Care Improvements in an Urban Environment" Abstract accepted for Academy Health 2011

Weldon CB, Trosman JR, **Dupuy D**, Alvarez R, Marcus EA, Schink JC, Murphy AM. Facilitators of quality breast cancer screening and diagnosis in an urban environment. J Clin Oncol 29: 2011

PRESENTATIONS

March 2019 – Panelist: Gender, Policing and Public Health at Scripps College
March 2018 – Guest Speaker: Association for Criminal Justice Research Annual Conference
April 2016 – Guest Lecture: UCLA Community Health Sciences Course 296
Presentation: "Public Health Perspectives on Violence, Incarceration & Anti-Black Racism"
November 2015- Panelist -UCLA -USC Minority Health Conference: Social Injustice as a Public Health Crisis.
February 2012- Guest Speaker- UIC Minority Health Conference. "Why are black women in Chicago disproportionately dying from breast cancer and what is being done about it?"

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Youth violence and incarceration in Los Angeles (L.A.) has declined significantly over the past few decades. Between 1998 and 2015 there was a 69% decline in arrests of youth for violent offenses.[6] Similarly, there are fewer youth incarcerated in L.A. juvenile halls and camps now than there were in the 1990s. Juvenile halls and camps are the two primary types of detention facilities where incarcerated youth are held in L.A. County. With few exceptions, juvenile halls are where youth are detained as they go through the adjudication process before they are convicted and sentenced. Juvenile camps are where youth are detained after they have been convicted of a crime and sentenced. The population of both types of youth detention facilities has declined dramatically. Approximately 1,956 youth were detained in L.A. County juvenile halls in 1998[7] in comparison to about 700 youth in 2016.[8] Similarly, the L.A. County juvenile camp population has declined from 983 youth in 2012-2013 to 350 youth in 2017-2018.[9] Across both juvenile halls and camps, the rate of youth incarceration has also dropped, from 211 youth incarcerated for every 100,000 young people in L.A. County in 2010 to 109 youth incarcerated per 100,000 youth in 2016.[10]

These trends are meaningful in terms of public safety and youth development outcomes. They suggest that fewer youth are engaging in violent activities and also that fewer youth are being subjected to the harms of incarceration. Despite the decline however, there is no foreseeable end to incarcerating young people in L.A. County. For example, recidivism is high: 74% of those released from California's state juvenile facilities are re-arrested and 54% are convicted of a new crime within a three- year period.[5] This means that roughly 3 out of every 4 youth released from custody in California are re-arrested and 1 out of every 2 youth released are

convicted of a new crime. All together, these promising and sobering statistics imply that even though fewer youth are incarcerated today compared to decades ago, the experience of incarceration does little to deter future crime.

Although there is an abundance of research demonstrating the negative impact of incarceration[11] and the benefits of alternatives such as diversion programs,[12] detention remains a common response to youth violence. Fortunately, L.A. County has recently made a commitment to invest in youth diversion programs that have proven to reduce and prevent crime.[12] Young people are being referred to these programs in lieu of arrest and/or incarceration in certain circumstances. The increased use of diversion programs can already be seen in L.A. School Police arrest data, where the number of arrests resulting in diversion has more than doubled since 2014.[13] However, access to diversion programs is limited as youth charged with violent crimes are not typically eligible for these programs. Instead, youth charged with violent crimes are often incarcerated and may eventually find themselves transferred to the adult criminal court in the process.[14]

Another strategy that L.A. County has implemented to address the negative impact of incarceration on youth is the re-design and restructuring of a youth detention facility using, what is referred to as, "the L.A. Model". This has resulted in the opening of Campus Kilpatrick in Malibu, California (formerly Camp Kilpatrick). In Los Angeles, Campus Kilpatrick was redesigned in response to both research about the impact of existing detention facilities on youth outcomes and also lessons learned from youth incarceration reform in other states.[15] It is a multi-million dollar structure that incorporates state of the art technology for vocational training, hires staff trained in trauma-informed care and has implemented youth sleeping arrangements that were designed to promote both safety and community.[15] The camp was reopened in July of 2017

and approximately 24 youth were transferred to the newly designed secure lock up facility[9]. The outcomes of these youth post release will be instrumental to evaluating whether the redesign was effective at reducing recidivism. But even if Campus Kilpatrick is determined to be successful, access to this new facility will be restricted. There is currently no evidence that Kilpatrick will be open to youth charged with violent crime, nor is there any evidence that programs proven to reduce recidivism, like those available at Kilpatrick, will be made available in other camps and halls for youth charged with violent crimes.

Because of these trends, there will likely be an increase in the proportion of incarcerated youth that have been charged with violent offenses. For example, although there was a 70% decrease in juvenile arrests in California between 2010 and 2017, there was a 12% increase in the proportion of juvenile arrests for violent crime. Similarly, the number of juvenile petitions[a] filed in court declined 52% between 2010 and 2017. However, the proportion of cases that involved violent crime rose from 25% of felony cases in 2010 to 36% of felony cases in 2017.[3,4] These trends bring up two questions. The literature suggests that youth charged with violent crime are more likely than their peers to have experienced significant trauma, substance abuse disorders and be gang affiliated among other indicators of high-need.[16,17]: Will L.A. County Probation, who oversees youth detention facilities, be prepared to care for a population with increasing needs? And will continuing to incarcerate youth charged with violent crimes improve public safety and youth outcomes?

[a] Petitions are filed by district attorneys to initiate court action in juvenile courts

CHAPTER 2: Background and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The growing proportion of incarcerated youth arrested for violent crime in L.A. suggests that an evaluation of the impact of youth incarceration on violence is overdue. Our current understanding about the relationship between incarceration and violence is limited, partially because of a lack of available data on youth recidivism for violent crime. Although recidivism rates are often documented, they are rarely documented by crime type. Furthermore, a review of the literature yielded little evidence on recidivism trends for youth in L.A. County although they were available for the state.[5] Only a handful of reports identified a recidivism range for youth in L.A. County at a single point in time, but not over multiple years nor for violent crime specifically.[18]

In this Chapter, I evaluate information that has been published about the impact of youth incarceration on violence. Because there are so few studies on this topic, it is important to discuss what is understood about violence and youth incarceration separately, in addition to what is known about their relationship. In the second section of this chapter (Section 2.2), I will review the literature relevant to the relationship between youth incarceration, violent crime, and behavior. I will then provide background on common risk factors for both youth violence and incarceration (Section 2.3) followed by a discussion of the local context around these issues in Los Angeles and in California (Section 2.4). In section 2.5, I describe the role of probation officers and the probation department in the experiences of incarcerated youth. Section 2.6 provides a summary of gaps in the existing literature followed by section 2.7 where I list the research aims and explain how I expect to fill gaps in the literature by answering six research questions. I conclude with section 2.8 by summarizing the importance of this dissertation.

2.1.1 Terminology

Before describing the existing research on youth incarceration and violence, it is helpful to provide clarification around terms used throughout this and subsequent chapters. In the literature, 'recidivism' can be used to discuss re-arrest, re-conviction or return to prison or jail. In this dissertation, 'recidivism' will be used to refer to re-arrest unless otherwise explained. I also use the term "Latinx" to refer to an individual of any gender of Latin American descent and Latino to refer specifically to males of Latin American descent. The term "Latinx" has been presented and used as a gender neutral way of labeling the racial category that has previously been "Hispanic".[19] Finally, throughout this dissertation, I capitalize the word "Black" when referring to the race of people and youth of African descent but I do not capitalize white when referring to people and youth of European descent. This decision is consistent with other research and publications that use Critical Race Theory as a guiding framework.[20–22] "Black", similar to other minority groups such as (Latino) refers to a specific cultural group and requires a proper noun. Similar to Kimberlé Crenshaw (2011), I suggest that also capitalizing "white", would " presume a greater parallelism between these racial designations than their histories suggest. Of the myriad differences is the fact that while white can be further divided into a variety of ethnic and national identities, Black represents an effort to claim a cultural identity that has historically been denied"[22].

2.2 The Impact of Incarceration on Youth Violence

A handful of studies have quantified the relationship between violence and youth justice-system involvement but are limited in their findings. One identified study examined the previous experiences of youth arrested for violent crimes and concluded that these youth were more than three times as likely as youth arrested for non-violent offenses to have been first arrested before the age of 12.[23] Although the results from this study imply that the age of contact with law enforcement has an affect on future arrest for violent crime, the results could also indicate that youth arrested for violent offenses face significant challenges earlier in life that put them at higher risk for both arrest at a young age and for arrest for violent crime as an adolescent. A second study in L.A. looked at first-time arrests of youth for violent crime and found that incarcerating youth increased their likelihood of recidivism when compared to sending youth to in-home probation or a suitable placement (such as group home). Although this study concluded that incarceration has a relatively higher impact on recidivism, it did not assess recidivism by crime type and therefore made no suggestion about recidivism for violent crime. A third study that provides empirical evidence relevant to this dissertation, examined data on youth who were incarcerated in Cook County between 1990 and 2006 and assessed their likelihood of being incarcerated later as adults for violent crime.[24] This study found that there is a significant relationship between youth incarceration for any reason and future adult incarceration for a violent crime. One limitation of this study is that it only looked at incarceration as an adult. This may underestimate the effect of youth incarceration on future violence overall by excluding youth who were subsequently arrested or detained for violent crimes. A second limitation of this study was that it could not rule out the possibility that adult incarceration may be a function of having a prior record as opposed to an effect of the experience of incarceration as a youth.

Taken together, these research studies suggest but do not confirm that there is a relationship between youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime. Although they present results implying that youth arrest and incarceration is associated with recidivism, they do not directly investigate youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime.

A few qualitative studies have also examined the relationship between youth incarceration and violence through interviews. One study in New Mexico conducted 20 focus groups with incarcerated youth. Researchers identified risk factors for violence and protective factors against violence. Youth participants felt that incarceration provided a safer and more structured environment than their homes but also felt an ongoing tension to be reunited with their families. Youth that participated in the study desired a life that was free of violence and wanted to positively contribute to society but needed in-depth support upon returning home.[25] Although these findings are indicative of how incarcerated youth can best be served, this report was published over a decade ago and was conducted in New Mexico, which may have a different culture around youth incarceration compared to other states and cities. A more recent qualitative study was conducted with incarcerated youth in Los Angeles and was aimed at identifying protective and risk factors for recidivism. This study had similar results as the New Mexico study concluding that youth felt that they needed structure, positive mentorship and a supportive home environment.[26] Although this study provides more updated information in Los Angeles, it focused on all delinquent behavior and did not examine recidivism for violent crime specifically. The limited number of qualitative studies on this topic warrant additional research and despite limitations, the findings of these particular studies suggest that there are specific experiences of youth while incarcerated that impact behavior both while in detention and when they return to their communities. In order to identify these experiences in the local context, a qualitative study

that examines youth incarceration experiences and their relationship to violent behavior in L.A. is needed.

2.3 Risk Factors associated with Youth Violence and Incarceration

Although there is a dearth of evidence about the impact of incarceration on youth violence, an extensive amount of literature broadly examines the facilitators, deterrents, and other risk factors that are separately associated with youth violence[16,27–30] and youth incarceration[31–33]. This area of research provides an understanding of the etiology of youth violence and demonstrates a way to conceptualize the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. For example, a common focus in this literature is the role of trauma. As I describe below, trauma and strategies to cope with trauma are associated with violent behavior and also found in the personal histories of incarcerated youth. Youth that exhibit violent behavior and incarcerated youth are more likely than other youth to have experienced multiple forms of past trauma.[16,32] The forms of trauma affecting both groups includes poverty, direct and indirect exposure to violence, child abuse and neglect.[16,32–37]

Research on coping strategies used by youth to deal with traumatic events points to another commonality between incarcerated youth and youth that exhibit violent behavior. For example, substance abuse is a strategy that youth use to cope with exposure to violence[38] that may increase risk for violent behavior and also increases the likelihood of incarceration.[39,40] Substances used by youth to cope with trauma (e.g. alcohol, cocaine, and methamphetamines) have also been linked to physical aggression,[40] and youth arrested for violent crimes are more likely than other arrested youth to meet the criteria for substance use disorder.[41] There has been less attention to whether overlapping risk factors for youth violence and incarceration, such as

trauma and substance abuse, may explain a relationship between the two. Nevertheless, the breadth of research that has been conducted on the connection between trauma and violence, offers some perspective on how incarceration (a potentially traumatic life event[42]) may impact future violent behavior.

Another theme in the youth violence literature that has implications for the relationship between youth incarceration and violence is the bidirectional relationship between exposure to violence and violent behavior. This relationship is referred to as the "cycle of violence".[36,43,44] People who are victims of or witnesses to violence are more likely to perpetrate and be victims of future violence, resulting in a potentially endless cycle. Research implies that youth who have been exposed to violence and are later incarcerated face a greater risk of committing violence post-release unless there is some explicit intervention during their time in detention. Unfortunately, interventions that address trauma are uncommon in juvenile detention facilities. A 2012 Attorney General's National Task Force on Children Exposed to Violence released a report indicating that detention facilities are slow to adopted trauma informed approaches. This report highlighted studies that suggest that the juvenile justice system lacks staff trained in mental health and substance abuse. They also note that existing staff have varying attitudes towards mental health, some refusing to acknowledge the need for mental health services at all.[45–47] At the same time, unaddressed childhood trauma may have a life-long impact on psychological, emotional, social and physical wellbeing that can promote violent behavior.[38,48] With this in mind, it is possible that the experience of incarceration may not directly facilitate future violence but by doing little or nothing to address trauma, the juvenile justice system acts with deliberate indifference towards violence post-release when it otherwise could attempt to prevent it.

In addition to the literature on violence, substance abuse and trauma, there is also a significant body of research that investigates the general effects of incarceration on youth outcomes. This evidence sheds light on how the relationship between incarceration and future violence might work without drawing a connection to violent crime directly. Existing research implies that detaining arrested youth in group settings leads to future criminal activity,[42] that the design of juvenile detention facilities may foster competition and exacerbate gang issues, and that interactions between incarcerated youth and staff can be adversarial.[49] Lambie and Randall published an article in 2011 reviewing literature dating back to 2000 about the impact of incarceration on youth outcomes. The studies reviewed concluded that prison has the potential to exacerbate poor mental health due to isolation, the promotion of substance abuse, bullying, and other forms of victimization for youth. Moreover, they found that the experience of incarceration for youth fosters antisocial behavior due to removal from pro-social environments.[11]

Other studies have demonstrated that incarceration negatively affects future employment and educational outcomes as well as physical and mental wellbeing.[42] The culture of the detention facility can have differential effects on youth, such that more punitive environments can increase youth anxiety and contribute to poor mental health further contributing to antisocial behavior.[50] Additionally, there is evidence that incarcerating youth for longer periods of time in response to the severity of the crime has little to no effect on future recidivism.[51] This suggests that in addition to increasing exposure to risk factors for violent behavior, that the length of incarceration for youth also has a null impact on re-arrest for future crime. This particular finding is consistent with high recidivism rates for youth in California.

Collectively, the literature on youth violence and youth incarceration points to a few mechanisms that can explain a relationship between youth incarceration and violence. First, incarcerated youth are likely to have experienced the same risk factors that are associated with youth violence such as trauma and substance abuse. Second, the experience of incarceration may expose youth to situations that promote violence due to the conditions of confinement. Third, by doing little to address trauma, youth detention facilities may be missing the opportunity to prevent future violent behavior. Together, these previous research findings further support the idea that youth incarceration negatively impacts violence and identifies aspects of the experience of youth detention to focus on in this dissertation.

2.4 The California Context

As described in the previous section, the literature identifies an abundance of risk factors associated with youth incarceration and violence. One challenge of assuming that these risk factors are also relevant to youth in Los Angeles is that the culture of communities and justice system policies vary considerably by state and county. Because of this challenges, it is helpful to understand the nature of youth incarceration and violence at the local level. Assessing the local environment around these social issues contextualizes the relationship between youth incarceration and violence in L.A., providing the evidence to prioritize specific risk factors in this dissertation as opposed to examining them all.

2.4.1 Race

In Los Angeles, race is associated with both youth incarceration and violence. Black and Latino male youth are disproportionately impacted by violence. Homicide was the leading cause

of death among Black and Latino males each year between 2007 and 2013 (most recently available data)[52]. These young men, between the ages of 15 and 24, are most often killed by other youth[53] in the context of gangs and with guns. In 2012, 77% of youth homicide victims were killed with handguns and 79% were gang-related.[54] Furthermore, of the youth arrested for violent crime by the L.A.P.D., over 90% are Black and Latino.[55]

While homicide rates provide information about the most severe outcome for youth victims, it is also important to examine the circumstances surrounding youth charged with or convicted of violent crimes (including but not limited to homicide). Coincidentally, 2015 marked the first year in decades that the majority of felony youth arrests were for violent offenses in California and in L.A. County.[6] Although there are no publically available data on youth incarcerated by race and crime type in L.A. County, accessible state-level data demonstrate that the majority of youth arrested for violent crime in California are Latino and Black.[56]

It is imperative to note that these statistics do *not* indicate that race is a determinant of violence. Instead, they suggest that race is a proxy for exposure to systemic and criminogenic conditions such as poverty and traumatic experiences. For example, research has demonstrated that reductions in neighborhood poverty result in similar reductions in violent crime in white and Black neighborhoods.[57]

In terms of youth incarceration, the plurality of youth incarcerated in L.A. County is Latino however Black youth are incarcerated at a higher rate. Black youth represent 30% of the youth incarcerated in the County but only account for 8% of the total youth population in the County. Latino youth on the other hand, represent 65% of the incarcerated youth population and 62% of the youth population in Los Angeles.[49]

2.4.2. Incarcerated Youth in California

California county governments are the primary overseer of the juvenile justice system and the vast majority of incarcerated youth (99%) are under the supervision of probation departments in 56 of the 58 counties in the state[4]. Roughly 17,000 youth are under the supervision of L.A. County Probation, and anywhere from 1,300- 2,000 of those youth are incarcerated in juvenile halls and camps.[8,49]. It is estimated that up to 80% of these young people are gang involved, span the ages 11 to 19 with an average age in the range of 15 to 17 and are overwhelming Black and Latino.[49] Furthermore, youth incarcerated in Los Angeles are disproportionately affected by mental health concerns and learning disabilities. One study estimated that approximately 50% of incarcerated youth in L.A. County have had mental health treatment prior to incarceration and 58% have a substance abuse disorder.[49] This same study estimated that about 1 in five L.A. County probation-involved youth is in need of specialized education because of a learning disability compared to 1 in ten youth in the whole county. These characteristics of the juvenile justice system and youth violence landscape in L.A. are essential to this dissertation research. They shed light on what elements of the youth experience may impact the relationship between youth incarceration and violence in Los Angeles such as race, gangs, substance abuse and education.

2.4.3 History of Youth Incarceration in California

In addition to understanding which factors are related to youth incarceration and violence in present-day L.A, it is also important to comprehend the history of juvenile justice in California. The operations of California county's youth detention facilities have been informed

by over a century of state juvenile justice practices.[58] The juvenile justice system in California was established and has been primarily controlled by the state for the majority of California's existence. Therefore, understanding the historical state context of the juvenile justice system also helps provide additional insight into the relationship between youth incarceration and violence in Los Angeles.

While California's law and juvenile justice system has evolved in its approach to youth delinquency since its inception in 1850, at least two features have remained constant: 1) a racially disparate impact of incarceration on youth of color; and 2) physical abuse of youth as a method of behavior control.[58,59] California was established as a state shortly after the end of the Mexican-American war and about 25 years after the first detention institution for youth opened in New York.[60] Once California became a state, consequences for youth who violated social and legal rules transitioned from being handled through a family or community model to being handled by the state and people of European descent who claimed ownership over the land. Laws were established to distinguish racial and ethnic groups and white Americans from Europe were empowered to enforce the law at their own discretion. As a result, Native American, Black and other youth of color were subjected to more severe consequences than white youth who violated the law. For example, white youth were often sent to state funded "child saving" institutions while youth of color faced both extralegal and legal consequences such as indentured servitude to Euro-American individuals and/or incarceration. It was common for the consequences for youth, white or minority, to involve regular physical abuse including whippings.[58]

Courts dedicated to youth (also known as tribunals) were not established in California until 1903, and since then, there has been a rise and fall in various state-run institutions charged

with taking care of delinquent youth. There was an early focus on sending youth to reform schools and orphan asylums. However this option was initially available only to white youth, eventually opening to youth of all races with segregated units. These reform schools continued to use physical abuse as a form of punishment, and also transferred youth considered unfit for rehabilitation to mental institutions where they were sterilized as part of policy.[58]

Reform schools were eventually closed or structurally changed in response to the public perception that conditions were abusive and practices were ineffective at addressing youth delinquency. In their place, a set of detention camps and schools were established in 1941 under the jurisdiction of a new state department called the California Youth Authority (CYA)[b]. The CYA was seen as a progressive step that incorporated standards for youth treatment that were meant to deter abuse. Over time however, the population of youth detained in CYA facilities grew faster than the system was prepared for which resulted in a lack of available resources to appropriately care for the incarcerated youth. Similar to the early reform schools, CYA was soon accused of youth abuse and substandard conditions. A series of lawsuits and negative media in the early 2000's led to a sharp decline in the CYA's youth population through the re-alignment of juvenile justice practices and as a result, local counties became the primary overseers of youth detained for non-violent crimes.

It should be noted that youth charged with serious and violent crimes have had a different trajectory throughout the history of juvenile justice in California. There has always been the possibility of being sentenced in adult criminal court for youth charged with violent crimes, and until the 1940's, youth could also be housed in adult detention facilities. The passage of Senate Bill 1391 in 2018 changed the law so that children ages 14-15 could no longer be tried and

[b] California Youth Authority (CYA) is now called the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ)

convicted in adult court. Up until this point, they could be transferred to adult detention upon their 18th birthday, depending on their case.[58,59,61] With the passage of SB 1391, 16 years old is now the minimum for trying California youth as adults. Youth convicted of a violent crime in juvenile court, however, were and continue to be sent to the CYA for some portion of their sentence.

Throughout the rise and fall of the CYA population and charges of abuse and poor living conditions, young people charged with violent crimes have continued to be housed in the CYA facilities even as other youth were sent back to county detention centers. Today, the CYA has a relatively small population of less than 1000 youth, who are between the ages of 12 and 28 years old. Among these, 50% are Latinx, 36% are Black, 10% are white and 4% are of other races.[5]

Overall, there is a long-standing history of abuse, substandard conditions of confinement and racial inequities in the California juvenile justice system. Unfortunately, past attempts to reform California's juvenile justice system have not led to documented improvements on any of these fronts. This historical context coupled with the existing literature provides further support for investigating specific aspects of the relationship between youth incarceration and violence in this dissertation study including: 1) race and racism, 2) poor conditions of confinement, and 3) relationships between detained youth and detention facility staff.

2.4.4 L.A. County Youth Adjudication Process

Another aspect of the local context that helps guide this dissertation research is the current process of arresting and incarcerating youth in Los Angeles. For example, it is important to know that when a young person is arrested and incarcerated in L.A., they are sent to one of a few juvenile halls under the authority of the Los Angeles County Probation Department. There

are three juvenile halls and 9 juvenile detention camps in LA County.[8] As previously stated, youth are detained in juvenile halls during the adjudication process. After the court reaches a verdict, it determines whether the youth will be sentenced to camp, transferred to adult court, released or will go to suitable placement[c]. The average stay in the L.A. County juvenile halls during the adjudication process is 16-24 days[19] and youth who are sentenced to camp typically receive a 3, 6 or 9 month sentence based on the circumstances of the crime they've been charged with.[1849] Youth charged with violent crimes may be sentenced to camp depending on the seriousness of their case, but often will have their cases considered for transfer to adult court. There is a list of violent crimes under Welfare and Institution Code 707b and some listed under Penal Code 667.5(C) that make a youth case eligible for transfer to the adult court system. Among other things, these crimes include, robbery, homicide, rape, kidnapping, torture and assault. A full list of these crimes is provided in Appendix B.2.

The process of transferring a juvenile case to adult court is longer than the adjudication process for youth who are sentenced in the juvenile court. The length of time youth facing transfer to adult court spend incarcerated in juvenile detention is an average of 13 months and ranges from 1 to 38 months. During this time, most young men charged with violent crimes are held at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall (Sylmar, CA) in a segregated area of the facility called "the Compound". The Compound has three living units and two living quarters per unit where approximately 71 youth are held[d]. The young people in the Compound are generally assigned to a unit based on known gang affiliation (to keep rival gangs separate and reduce potential conflict) and also by age. Specifically, youth who have turned 18 but are still going through the adjudication process are housed in a specific unit. It is important to keep in mind that juvenile

[c] Placement includes alternative living situations such as foster care or group homes

[d] Length of incarceration and number of youth based on Query of youth population in the Compound on 11/25/17

detainees are legally considered minors until they turn 18 regardless of the whether their cases are tried in adult or juvenile court. Because of their status as minors, information surrounding their cases is not publically available as it is in the case with incarcerated adults. Despite being considered minors, those whose cases are under consideration for transfer to adult/criminal court are also not permitted to interact with youth whose cases are charged in juvenile court. These young people are housed in different buildings, go to school in different areas and have different recreation times to prevent interaction.

Transfer of a youth to adult court involves two steps. First, the youth must have a transfer hearing to determine whether their case will be adjudicated in adult or juvenile court. The goal of the youth and their defense attorney during this stage is typically to have the case remain in the juvenile court system. This process involves attempting to convince the juvenile court judge that the young person meets the criteria for youthfulness and is "fit"[e] to remain in the juvenile system. If successful, the case will be tried in juvenile court and the most severe sentence possible is incarceration up to the age of 25 in a juvenile detention facility. As of December 31, 2018, if a young person loses the transfer hearing, his/her case will be transferred to the adult court system and he/she could receive a life sentence in prison. Eighty-eight percent of juveniles tried in adult court in California are convicted.[56] If youth lose their transfer hearing or lose their cases in adult court but are under the age of 18, they will remain in the Compound until their 18th birthday upon which they will either be sent to adult prison or transferred to the L.A. County adult jail system to continue the adjudication process.

The process of youth adjudication in L.A. County points to a few important things to consider in this dissertation research. One, it identifies which charges are considered violent

[e] "fitness" refers to whether a youth "is amenable to the care, treatment and training program available through juvenile court facilities, it is manifest that a finding of fitness or unfitness is largely a subjective determination based on hearsay and opinion evidence" *People v Chi Ko Wong (1976)*

crimes for youth in California. Two, it points to the fact that all youth incarcerated in L.A. County spend some time in juvenile halls and youth who face transfer to the adult court system are incarcerated for longer periods of time in juvenile hall relative to other youth. This suggests that the juvenile hall experience may be particularly important to the relationship between incarceration and violence relative to the juvenile camp experience. Finally, it shows that youth can be incarcerated in the juvenile justice system up to the age of 25, which suggests an age range to analyze in data collected on youth arrests and incarceration.

2.5 Juvenile Probation

Both the historical and current context of youth incarceration in L.A. County highlights the importance of Juvenile Probation officers in the experiences of incarcerated youth. The history highlights abuses by staff working in the juvenile justice system and the present-day information points to length of time that incarcerated youth spend in the care of the Probation Department. Probation officers interact with detained youth from the moment they wake up until the moment they go to sleep and are present during stressful moments for youth as they go to court and receive their sentences. Although probation officers play an instrumental role in the experiences of incarcerated youth, few studies have examined the relationship between officers and youth in detention and no studies could be identified that investigated officer perspectives on violence prevention and recidivism.

A handful of articles that I identified assessed the relationship between detention officers and incarcerated youth. One study found that a primary reason that probation officers chose to work with incarcerated youth is because they wanted to help people and bring about positive change in the lives of others.[62] Another study, in Canada, involved interviews with probation

officers about their attitudes toward youth and found that these officers attempted to promote change, instill optimism and also hold youth accountable for their behaviors to give them a sense of self-determination.[63] A third study examined incarcerated youth perceptions of probation officers. This research found that youth relationships with probation officers were associated with their perceived likelihood of success after release.[64]

These limited studies reference other research on the importance of adult mentorship in youth development, which encompasses a more extensive body of research. Unfortunately, there was little else that could be found about the role of youth detention officers or about the relationship between these officers and incarcerated youth. This lack of information in the literature represents a significant gap that this dissertation research aims to fill.

2.6 Summary of the Background and Literature

In summary, there has been extensive research on violence and youth incarceration separately, but evidence about the impact of youth incarceration on future violence is lacking. Upon reviewing the literature on the separate topics of youth incarceration and youth violence, there are several highlights: (1) both incarceration and violence among youth are associated with substance abuse and childhood trauma; (2) youth exposed to violence are at increased risk for experiencing and committing future violence, which puts these youth at higher risk for arrest and incarceration; (3) youth incarceration does not necessarily improve public safety because it does not prevent recidivism.

When examining information on the context of youth incarceration and violence in Los Angeles and California, several additional factors stand out: (1) Black and Latinx youth are disproportionately affected by both violence and incarceration; (2) there is a long history of

racial inequity and abuse within California's juvenile justice system (3) local studies highlight the importance of gangs, substance abuse and education in the experiences of incarcerated youth in Los Angeles.

Although this summary of research provides insight into factors that influence the relationship between youth incarceration and violence, there are also several gaps in the literature that, if addressed, could provide the confidence necessary for practitioners to make decisions about youth incarceration that could also address violence. For example, although Black and Latinx male youth are primarily impacted by youth incarceration and violence, a major gap in the literature is that there is little research available that explains how race is related to these issues other than to point out the racial disparity. On the other hand, the literature does acknowledge the role of institutional racism in relationship between race and incarceration generally. The juvenile justice system was established and continues to operate in a manner that places Black, Latinx and Native American people at a disadvantage.[58,65] After initial point of contact with the justice system, biased operators of the policies and laws (e.g. judges, officers and lawyers) continue to disenfranchise minority youth above and beyond their white peers for similar crimes.[65] If additional research demonstrates that placing youth in custody does contribute to future violence, and minority youth are disproportionately referred to detention facilities for the same crimes as other youth, then the case can be made that rather than deter violence or keep communities safe, the justice system may in fact, contribute to the higher rates of violence in minority communities.

Another gap in the literature is the lack of available statistics on youth arrests, subsequent incarceration and recidivism for violent crime in L.A. This lack of information prevents an adequate assessment of the proportion of youth arrested for violent crimes that have been

previously incarcerated. It also limits the ability to assess the relative impact of incarceration on violence relative to other risk factors. Addressing these research gaps to gain a better understanding of the relationship between youth incarceration and violence is important both to public safety and youth outcomes.

2.7 Research Aims and Questions

The aims listed below describe the goals of this dissertation study related to youth incarceration and violence.

Aim 1: Describe the frequency and determinants of incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.

Research Question 1.1	What is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism?
Research Question 1.2	How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime?
Research Question 1.3	To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

Aim 2: Describe the structural, environmental and experiential factors in youth detention that impact violent behavior and risk of re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.

Research Question 2.1	What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?
Research Question 2.2	What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention do probation officers believe impact youth behavior and violence?
Research Question 2.3	What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?

Accomplishing Aim 1 establishes a foundational level of information about arrests, incarceration, and recidivism among male youth in Los Angeles by race that can be used in future research. The literature reviewed earlier in this chapter suggests that results will demonstrate a disproportionate impact of arrest and incarceration for Black and Latino youth and that there will also be a significant impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime. Furthermore, results in response to research question 1.3 will provide a way to compare the impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime to other factors identified in the literature that have been associated with violent behavior and youth incarceration such as poverty and exposure to family violence.

Accomplishing Aim 2 provides context to the findings related to research questions 1.1-1.3. If incarceration has a significant impact on re-arrest for violent crime, results from Aim 2 can point to potential pathways in which the experience of incarceration affects violent behavior among male youth. For example, the literature suggests that relationships between youth and L.A. County probation officers, history of substance abuse, and gangs may all play a role in the relationship between youth incarceration and violence.

2.8 Conclusion

Considering the lack of information on youth recidivism for violent crime and a general need to more fully understand the effects of youth incarceration on behavior and violent crime, particularly in terms of race and racism, this dissertation will add to the small body of research currently available. The continued decline of youth incarceration is contingent on understanding

and addressing the needs and circumstances of all youth and not solely youth who are charged with non-violent crime. Furthermore, understanding how the current experiences of incarceration in L.A. may negatively impact youth behavior provides direction on how the existing system can be changed to promote positive youth behavior, as well as how different models to address youth violence can be constructed.

CHAPTER 3: Integrated Conceptual Model

3.1 Introduction

The conceptual model guiding this dissertation considers evidence from the literature and integrates multiple theoretical perspectives to investigate the relationship between youth incarceration, re-arrest for violent crime and violent behavior among male youth. Theories that stand out as particularly useful for understanding this relationship include importation and deprivation theories, theory on stress proliferation, human development theories as well as Critical Race Theory. In this chapter, I provide background on these aforementioned theories and describe how they are integrated to inform the conceptual model (section 3.2). I then define the constructs incorporated into the model in section 3.3 and provide details about the variables associated with each construct that I intend to analyze. I end the chapter with section 3.4 by explaining how the conceptual model will help answer six research questions associated with the two research aims of this dissertation.

3.2 Theoretical Perspectives Relevant to Youth Incarceration and Violence

3.2.1 Importation and Deprivation Theories

Importation and deprivation theories are especially useful for understanding how incarceration affects violence because they were developed to explain violence in the prison environment.[50,66,67] These two competing theoretical perspectives suggest that violence while incarcerated is influenced by experiences and socialization prior to incarceration (imported factors) and by experiences in and qualities of the detention facility that deprive people in

custody. Studies that have tested importation theory found a relationship between violence and factors such as gang involvement and beliefs about the morality of violence. [66–68] Studies that have applied deprivation theory suggest that a young person's behavior while incarcerated is affected by the structure and culture of confinement and is a result of their adaptation to the experience of prison. In other words, factors such as strict rules, punitive environments, staff attitudes, and other functional aspects of prison or jail can impact youth outcomes. Researchers that have used deprivation theory to guide their studies have concluded that these conditions have social, emotional and psychological affects that can influence behavior leading to violence while in custody.[50,69]

While many studies have used one perspective or the other, Poole and Regoli(1983) have published research that supports the use of blended models. They argue that focusing solely on importation factors assumes that youth behavior is not affected by their environments and focusing solely on deprivation factors assumes that conditions of confinement will have similar effects on a person regardless of their individual experiences and beliefs.[67] Thus, stressing the importance of one model over the other oversimplifies the complex circumstances that incarcerated youth face and ignores the diversity of backgrounds represented. Although studies that test importation and deprivation theories have focused almost exclusively on violence in detention, it is reasonable to think that the factors that influence youth behavior while incarcerated are also likely to influence youth behavior after incarceration. No studies could be identified that apply these theories to violence after release however one study was found that blended importation and deprivation theories to explain general recidivism of youth.[68] The author hypothesized that imported and deprivation factors play an important role in recidivism when they interfere with youth development and found that importation factors were more

predictive than deprivation factors of recommitment to jail or prison. The integrated model used to guide this dissertation research (Figure 1) draws from both importation and deprivation theories suggesting that imported and deprivation factors help explain violence both while incarcerated and after release from a juvenile detention facility. In other words, youth experiences while incarcerated likely interact with attitudes and behaviors that began in the home environment and have the potential to influence violence.

3.2.2 Stress Proliferation

A useful framework that explains how stressors such as imported factors and deprivation factors can accumulate and further increase the risk of future adversity was articulated by Pearlin and colleagues (2005) in published literature on the stress process and stress proliferation.[70] Initially conceptualized in the relationship between stress and health, stress proliferation can also be applied to the relationship between incarceration and youth violence where incarceration may act as a primary stressor or a secondary stressor. As a primary stressor, the experience of incarceration can lead to secondary stressors. For example, incarcerated youth may become disconnected from support networks and experience a disruption in normal developmental experiences and activities. As a secondary stressor, incarceration may also result from primary stressors such as family poverty and/or community violence and simultaneously represent a new traumatic experience that can cause additional stress. The accumulation of multiple stressors and the potential for each stressor to facilitate another can further increase risk of violence perpetration post release. In other words, it is not only that personal experiences, neighborhood disadvantage, and the conditions of confinement increases risk of violence as suggested by blended importation/deprivation models, but also that these disadvantages can happen as a result

of one another, leading to an accumulation of stress that further influences youth violence. Evidence of the accumulation of stressful circumstances in the lives of incarcerated youth is apparent in the literature. Young people affected by incarceration or violence often come from homes with a family income below federal poverty levels, live in neighborhoods where there is increased exposure to violence and face a higher proportion of childhood adversities relative to their never-incarcerated peers.[32] Stress proliferation informs the conceptual model used in this dissertation by explaining how the relationship between imported and deprivation factors can interact to influence behavior and violence.

3.2.3. Human Development Theories

The relevance of stress proliferation to the relationship between youth incarceration and violence can be further understood in the context of theories of human development.[71] Two human development theories that are used to create the conceptual model for this dissertation are Life Course Theory[72] and Psycho-social Development Theory[73]. A Life Course perspective highlights the influence of historical events in shaping the development, behavior, and life trajectories of individuals. Within the Life Course framework, there is a particular focus on transitions between stages of life and the importance of one stage on the next.[72,74] This framework also implies that the accumulation and proliferation of stress in one stage of life may contribute to adversities within subsequent stages in ways that delay, shorten, or lengthen a developmental period, influences behavior, and has a ripple effect on future development.

A key assumption of this dissertation is that the relationship between incarceration and violence is dependent on age and developmental stage. Youth are distinguished from adults in the literature and by the law because they are in a stage of human development marked by

particular social, emotional, and biological processes, and because youth are also legal dependents. Erik Erikson's Theory of Pyschosocial Development(1972) and Glen Elder's Life Course Theory(1979) are especially useful when thinking about age and developmental stage in the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. Erikson's theoretical perspective provides an understanding of why incarceration may have a unique impact on youth when compared to other age/developmental stages. In his work, he describes adolescence as a period of identify formation, which if successfully completed contributes to an individual's ease in transitioning into adulthood. Youth in this developmental stage (12 years old- "adulthood"[f]) are experiencing a critical period in their pscyho-social growth. It is a relatively fragile period of emotional development marked by personal and group identity formation[73]. Between the ages of 12 and 20, a person is developing new relationships, experiencing self discovery and learning social norms.[75] When a youth is incarcerated, they are essentially removed from the social environment that promotes development.

Elder's discussion of the life course in development adds value to the understanding of age and developmental stage. In Elder's words, "historical forces shape the social trajectories of family, education, and work, and they in turn influence behavior and particular lines of development"[76]. Whereas Erikson's work provides an understanding of what happens during a certain period of development, Elder's perspective suggests that experiences in previous stages of development contribute to the current stage. For adolescents, incarceration in the current stage or trauma in an earlier developmental stage may have a particularly profound effect because of the social, emotional and biological changes that take place during this developmental stage. At the same time, biological changes during adolescence can influence reasoning,

[f] Different end ages of this period of development have been empirically tested in relation to Erikson's theory. Although original work stated the 5th stage occurs between 12-18, I take the position that 18 was selected based on social-legal definitions of "adult" and is subject to an evolving understanding of development.

impulsivity and emotional responses.[77] These developmental characteristics of adolescents have the potential to exacerbate the impact of stressful events for youth such as incarceration.

The conceptual model pictured in Figure 1 uses the Life Course Framework to identify how the pathway for youth from arrest to incarceration, and back to community and re-arrest can operate as a cycle. The experiences of youth, including arrest and incarceration, can delay development by removing the youth from society and can further influence the subsequent stage of development influencing behavior and subsequent consequences for that behavior. The unique aspects of adolescence as a developmental stage identified by Erikson can further affect the impact of these experiences for youth suggesting that the conceptual model here created to explain the relationship between incarceration and violence is unique for youth.

3.2.4 Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is another perspective used to examine the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. CRT is a critical theory currently used to inform research methods, interpret research and results and as a lens to understand racism in social structures. Unlike the previously mentioned theories, which solely inform how the relationship between incarceration and youth violence operates, I use CRT to provide additional guidance for the methodological approach and interpretation of the results. CRT, which originated in legal studies in the 1960's and 1970's, is focused on the ways in which the law is used to uphold white supremacy.[78] More recently, its use has been expanded to the fields of education,[20,79] sociology,[80] and public health[81,82] to examine the ways in which societal forces and institutions produce and maintain racial inequities. Considering that youth incarceration and violence disproportionately impacts Black and Latino/a youth relative to white youth, CRT provides an important lens with

which to understand race and racism in the context of the relationship between youth incarceration and violence.

A few tenants of CRT are particularly appropriate for examining the association between youth incarceration and violence both in terms of the methodological approach and the interpretation of research results. These include interest convergence, racial permanence, structural determinism, and centering marginalized voices.[83] Interest convergence refers to the idea that benefits experienced by racial minorities are the result of efforts that have a simultaneous benefit to the racial majority. A classic example of interest convergence can be found in Derrick Bell's thesis on Brown vs. the Board of Education, which suggested that the decision in that case was not solely the result of advocacy work on behalf of Black people but instead a timely decision for the United State's international reputation[84]. Interest convergence may also be applicable to the relationship between incarceration and youth violence. For example, the recent decline in youth incarceration may benefit Black and Latino families but also have some other benefit to the criminal justice system or those that control it that is not yet realized. Racial permanence is the idea that racism is normal and culturally embedded within institutions such that it is not generally recognized as racism. The decades-long racial disparities in arrests and incarceration for violence suggest that racial permanence is related to these trends. Structural determinism refers to the ways in which institutions are ill suited to combat racism and its consequences because they are positioned to replicate as opposed to recreate themselves. In the case of racism and the relationship between youth incarceration and violence, the concept of structural determinism has implications for how racism should be addressed within the juvenile justice system. For example, because of the historical and current racism within criminal justice system operations, it is likely not the best entity to correct the problem. Instead, it may be that

the responsibility of addressing racism in the criminal justice system should be given to an outside group that has no ties to the system itself. The last CRT tenant I will highlight relevant to this research is centering the voices of racially marginalized groups. Incorporating this tenant into the methods has resulted in a focus on Black and Latino research participants. Unlike other approaches such as Community Based Participatory Research, which would also center these voices, the purpose of centering Black and Latino perspectives in CRT is based on addressing institutional racism and racial inequities as opposed to uplifting the views of people who are directly impacted. CRT suggests that a key facilitator to maintaining race-based power inequities is that the voices of racial minorities are absent from the production of knowledge.[83] In turn, uplifting these voices to shape what is known about the relationship between youth incarceration and violence is important to addressing racism that exists within the structure.

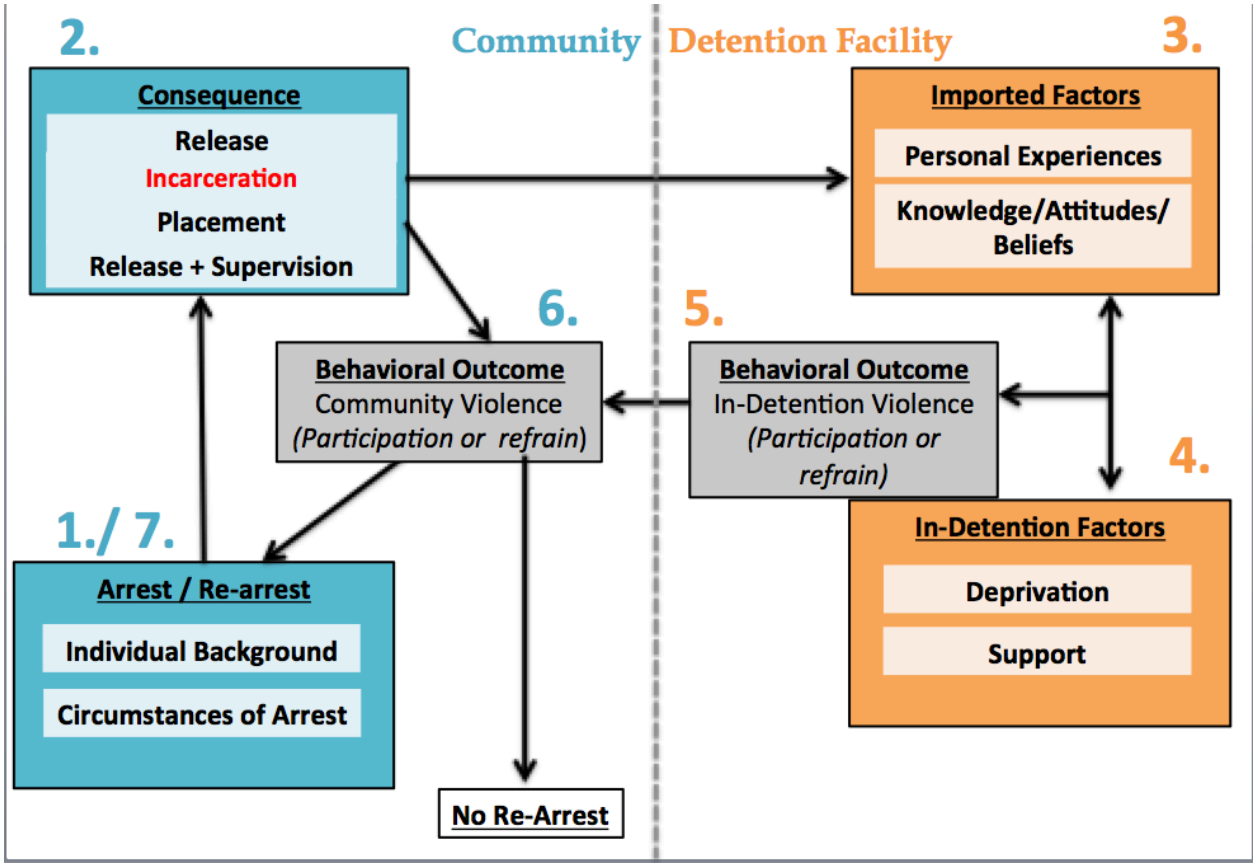
Ultimately, CRT helps contextualize the institutional setting that the system of incarceration is situated within and specifically centers racism as a primary factor and stressor that influences the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. Consider the current L.A. trends informed this dissertation study: namely a declining number of incarcerated youth and rising proportion of arrested youth charged with violent crime. CRT provides a necessary analytical framework to be critical about what these shifting trends signify. For example, some questions that CRT inspires towards this end include: will the decline in youth incarceration result in more extreme racial inequities? ; And does the potential impact of youth incarceration on violence have a more profound impact on Black people and communities? In turn, using CRT as an analytic approach guides how the findings from this study, particularly those that are relevant to race and racism, are interpreted. Because CRT informs the methodological approach and interpretation of research findings in addition to the theoretical approach in this dissertation,

it is further discussed in the subsequent chapters on the methods, findings and conclusions.

3.3 Integrated Conceptual Model

The conceptual model that guides this dissertation incorporates perspectives from deprivation/importation theories, stress proliferation theories, human development theories and Critical Race Theory. An integrated theoretical framework that presents how these theories were combined can be found in Appendix A.1. The integration of these perspectives has resulted in the following main premises of a conceptual model (Figure 3.1): (1) experiences in detention and prior to detention impact youth behavior while incarcerated and after release; (2) stressful events that youth experience interact and accumulate to increase the risk of anti-social behavior such as violence; (3) youth have distinct developmental characteristics and experiences that are related to the relationship between youth incarceration and violence; (4) race and institutional racism are integral how incarceration impacts youth; and (5) the impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime can result in an ongoing cycle of justice-system involvement.

Figure 3.1. Integrated Conceptual Model



The integrated conceptual model (Figure 3.1) outlines the trajectory of a youth through arrest, incarceration, release and potential re-arrest. The left side of the figure presents constructs that are relevant to the part of the pathway that occurs in community and addresses Aim 1 of this dissertation: to describe the frequency and determinants of youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A. The right side of the figure presents constructs that are relevant to the part of the pathway that occurs while incarcerated and addresses Aim 2 of this dissertation: to describe the structural, environmental and experiential factors in youth detention that impact violent behavior and risk of re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.

Beginning with the box on the left labeled *Arrest*, the figure walks the reader through the potential pathway and experiences of a youth after they are arrested.

3.3.1 Integrated Model Constructs

(1) Arrest. When a youth is arrested, their background and circumstances of the arrest influence their trajectory. This can include individual characteristics such as age and race, as well as circumstances of the alleged crime such as where the crime occurred, when it occurred and the nature of the charge.

(2) Consequence. Once a youth is arrested, they can face several consequences that are decided either by the arresting officer or a court judge. These consequences include being released and sent home, being released under the supervision of a law enforcement agency (e.g. at home probation), being sent to a social services caregiver (such as a group home) or incarcerated (placed in custody). This dissertation is focused on only one of the potential consequences for youth: incarceration.

(3) Imported Factors. If that young person is arrested and incarcerated, they enter a detention facility with their personal experiences as well as their attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge (imported factors).

(4) In-Custody Factors. Once incarcerated, I hypothesize that there are two types of factors that influence youth behavior: (a) deprivation factors, which includes structural, environmental, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of the in-detention environment that negatively influences youth behavior, and (b) supportive factors, which includes structural, environmental, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of the in-detention environment that positively influences youth behavior.

An example of a deprivation factor is disconnection from social support, including limited access to friends and family, limited visits and limited phone calls while incarcerated. This disconnection can be a major stressor and lead to conflict for youth[25]. Conflict can also arise between youth and between peers and staff during incarceration representing another potential stressor and deprivation factor. On the other hand, positive relationships between officers and incarcerated youth can also represent and in-custody supportive factor. Research suggests that positive relationships between youth and officers and structured environments can lead to pro-social youth outcomes.[25,26,63,64]

(5) Outcome: in-custody behavior and violence. I posit that imported factors interact with in-custody deprivation and supportive factors to influence behavior and violence while a youth is incarcerated. Youth may participate in violent activities or refrain from violence while they are in detention.

(6) Outcome: behavior and violence in the community. Once a young person returns to their community they are at risk for re-arrest regardless of whether they participate in violence. In addition to re-arrest for a violent crime, they could be arrested for non-violent but illegal behavior or arrested if they are associated with someone else who is accused of a crime. Furthermore, a young person's environment post-release undoubtedly plays a role in youth violence and may interact with past experiences during incarceration to further promote or prevent violence. The potential affects of the neighborhood environment and other aspects of a youth's experience post-release (such as factors around re-entry) are not presented in the integrated conceptual model and not examined in this research.

(7) Re-arrest. Regardless of whether the young person participates in violent activity upon release, they are at risk for re-arrest.

3.3.2 Relationships between Model Constructs and other Model Considerations

I hypothesize that the relationship between supportive and deprivation factors is bi-directional. Supportive factors may influence deprivation factors and vice versa. For example, the structure or content of daily activities may deter conflict between youth or youth and staff. At the same time, disconnection from social support (e.g. if a young person never receives a family visit) may activate staff to be more responsive to youth needs. The imported factors that youth bring with them into the carceral environment may affect the relationship between supportive and deprivation factors. For example, in one situation, a young person may have conflict with a peer that could be resolved as the result of supportive staff. In another situation, if a young person believes that fighting is the only way to resolve conflict, the support of staff may be ineffective at resolving conflict. The interaction between all three sets of factors (imported, deprivation and supportive) has the potential to influence violence while incarcerated and post release. If a young person comes in with significant family trauma that is never addressed, access to other supportive factors while in custody may have little or no impact relative to a youth who enters into a detention facility with no history of family trauma. If a young person enters custody and has never been incarcerated before but has significant conflict with other youth, it may change their perspectives and priorities while incarcerated and post release in a manner that influences behavior.

An additional aspect of the conceptual model worth explicitly discussing is age. The relationships in this model function in a way that is specific to the age and developmental stage of youth. Youth are more impressionable and emotionally immature relative to adults and research demonstrates a marked decline in crime overall and violence specifically as a person

ages.[85,86] During the adolescent stage of development, experiences are more likely to have a notable impact on behavior, which is why the impact of incarceration may be especially pronounced for youth. Because of the unique characteristics of this stage of development, this model is specific to the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. The variables examined are based on research about adolescents specifically.

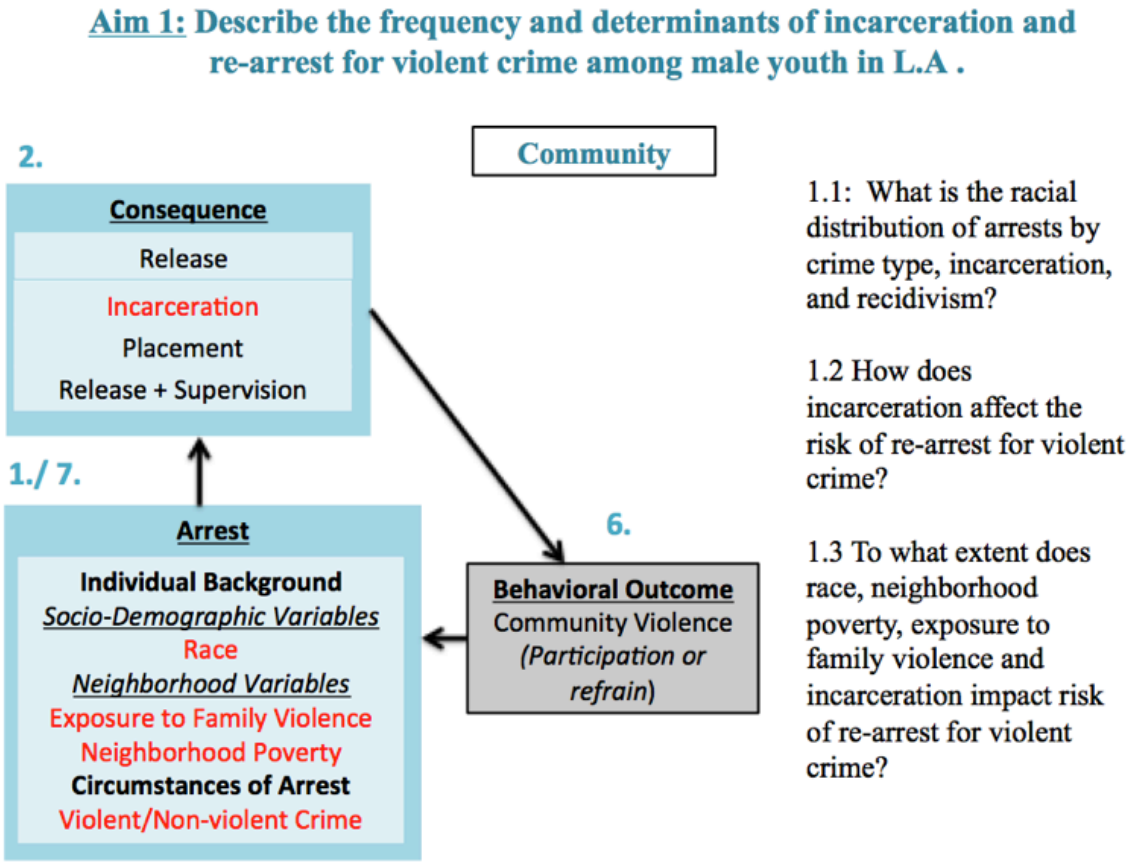
Finally, some constructs identified in the model are not investigated in this dissertation research but are included to provide an overall idea of how the relationship between youth incarceration and violence operates. For example, I do not assess the situation where the youth is not re-arrested, I do not examine other consequences or pathways after arrest besides incarceration, nor do I examine the potential interactions between supportive and deprivation factors. Additionally, although this dissertation is concerned with re-arrest for violent crime, examining whether or not the violent crime actually occurred is beyond the scope of this research. Instead the conceptual model provides a guiding framework to understand the relationships and variables that I do investigate that are specified in the research questions. Once the analysis is complete, I expect to uncover new findings and additional factors to contribute to the development of an expanded conceptual model.

3.4 Research Questions

As previously mentioned, the integrated conceptual model (Figure 3.1) outlines additional constructs and relationships that are not all examined within this dissertation study. The full conceptual model in Figure 3.1 is meant to provide an overall picture of how the relationships between arrest, incarceration and recidivism for violent crime operates. Figures 3.2 and 3.3, on the other hand, present the parts of the conceptual model and the specific variables

within each construct that are examined through the research questions associated with Aims 1 and 2.

Figure 3.2 Aim 1 Conceptual Model and Constructs



Research questions 1.1-1.3 related to Aim 1 and listed in Figure 3.2 focus on events and circumstances, in community, that are associated with whether or not a youth was incarcerated and re-arrested (e.g. circumstances of arrest and individual factors). Aim 1 research questions do not, however, examine aspects of the experience of incarceration. Therefor, only the left side of the integrated conceptual model, that describes what occurs in community, has been expanded in Figure 3.2 to highlight the specific variables and pathways examined in research questions 1.1-1.3. Research presented in Chapter 2 has shown that *poverty* and *exposure to family violence* are

both associated with youth violence and youth incarceration and are therefore are investigated in this model. The pathways related to each research question are listed in Table 3.1.

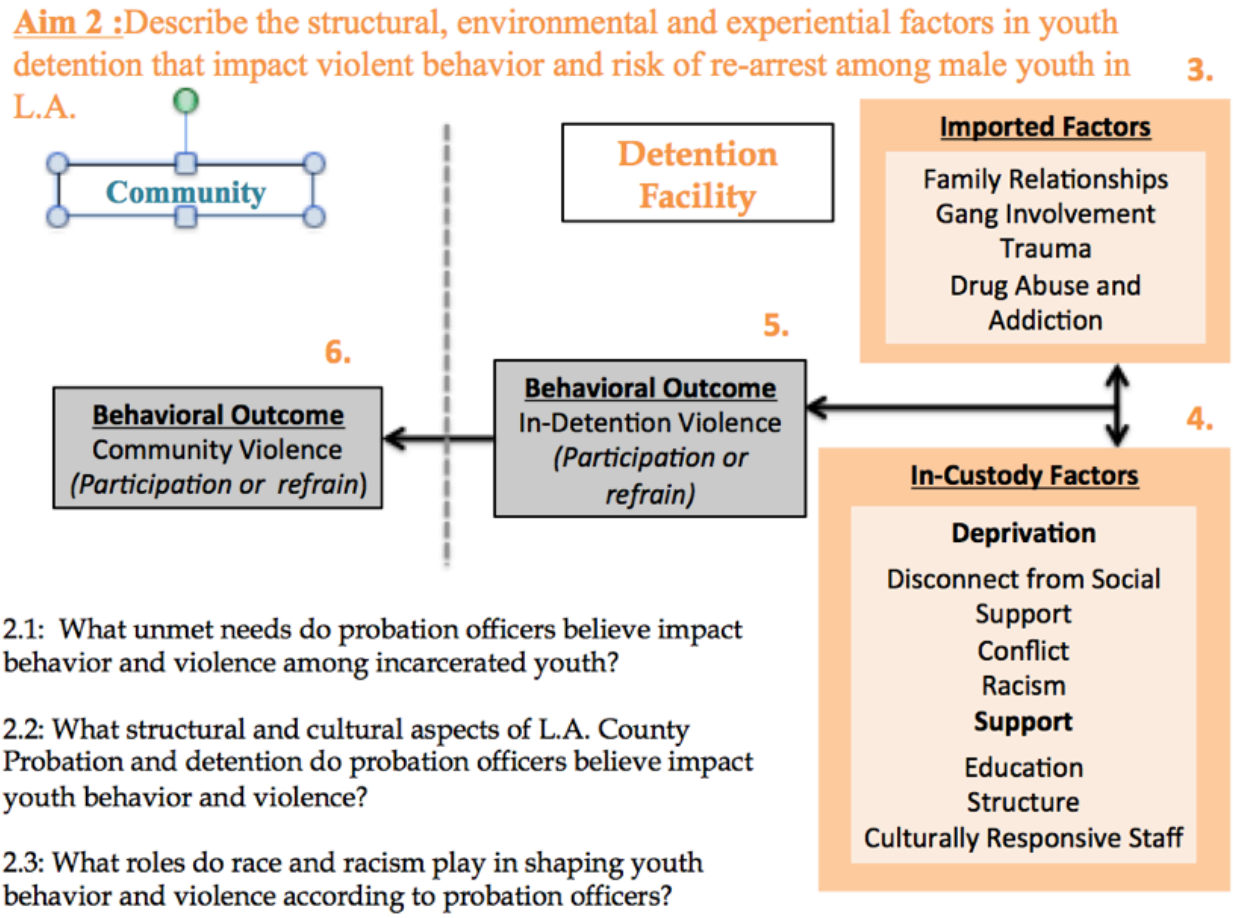
Table 3.1 Conceptual Model Pathways related to Aim 1 Research Question

Aim 1:	**Describe the frequency and determinants of incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.**	**Model Constructs and Pathways**
RQ 1.1	What is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism?	Box 1
		Box 1 --> Box 2
		Box 1 --> Box 7
RQ 1.2	How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime?	Box 2--> Box 6 *--> Box 7
RQ 1.3	To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?	Box 1 --> Box 7
		Box 2 --> Box 7

* Box 6, indicating violence in the community, is not directly examined through the research questions

Similarly, research questions related to Aim 2 are specifically concerned with events and circumstances that occur while a youth is incarcerated and how youth behavior is impacted by their experience in detention. The right side of the model, that describes features of the incarceration environment, has been expanded in Figure 3.3 to highlight the specific variables and pathways examined in research questions 2.1-2.3. The pathways related to each research question under Aim 2 are listed in Table 3.2.

Figure 3.3 Aim 2 Conceptual Model and Constructs



The expanded model in Figure 3.3 focuses on the imported and in-custody factors that influence youth behavior. Box 6 (in the community) is included in Figure 3.3 because the research questions 2.1-2.3 ask about youth violence, regardless of whether that behavior takes place in community or in custody. The variables presented in Boxes 3 and 4 in Figure 3.3 represent aspects of the experience of incarceration that I hypothesize impact youth behavior and violence and are informed by existing research.

The literature has suggested that imported factors such as *family relationships, gang involvement, trauma* and *substance abuse* impact the behavior of incarcerated youth and youth exposed to violence.[11,18,25,26,40,48] When youth enter a detention facility, I hypothesize that *disconnection from social support* and *interpersonal conflict* while incarcerated can be stressful and also influence behavior and violence. The third deprivation factor listed in Figure 3.3 is *racism* and refers to both interpersonal and institutional racism. Youth may feel that peers and officers treat them differently because of racism. Minority youth may also be aware that Black and Latino youth represent a higher proportion of incarcerated youth than other races. The experience of racism for youth has the potential to promote anti-social behavior and violence. In fact, previous research has shown that racist police violence and racism in public school practices has resulted in unresolved aggression and fatalism among youth[87].

In terms of supportive, in-custody factors, research also points to the need for quality *education* for youth while incarcerated as a means to improve post-release outcomes.[11,26] This can include school but can also include extra-curricular educational programs. *Structure* refers to an environment for youth where they have scheduled activities and set expectations and rules that they are asked to meet and follow. As previously mentioned, incarcerated youth have expressed the desire for structure to promote their success.[25] While deprivation models implicate punitive institutional cultures and adversarial relationships between officers and youth in promoting youth violence, other research suggests that positive relationships between youth and officers and structured environments can lead to pro-social youth outcomes.[25,26,63,64] The literature cites evidence that mentors who receive cultural competency training have higher quality relationships with their mentees.[64] Because of these studies, *culturally responsive staff* has also been added to the model.[50]

Table 3.2 Conceptual Model Pathways related to Aim 2 Research Questions

Aim 2:	Describe the structural, environmental and experiential factors in youth detention that impact violent behavior and risk of re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.	Model Constructs and Pathways
RQ 1.1	What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?	Box 3 <-->Box 4 --> Box 5
RQ 1.2	What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention do probation officers believe impact youth behavior and violence?	Box 4--> Box 5--> Box 6
RQ 1.3	What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?	Box 4--> Box 5--> Box 6

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of theories that inform the integrated conceptual model guiding this dissertation research and also describes how the research questions align with constructs and pathways included the conceptual model. Although the model presented in Figure 3.1 provides an outline of the process from arrest to incarceration and potential recidivism, there are other factors omitted from the model that are also related to this pathway. For example, one aspect of the youth experience in community, which is directly tied to justice system involvement, is schooling and education. A considerable amount of published information discusses the school-to-prison pipeline and how an increase in the use of punitive policies in schools has impacted the arrest and incarceration of youth.[88–90] Another aspect of a young person's community experience that can influence re-arrest, is the circumstances around re-entry

after release. For example, whether or not a young person has a support system to facilitate their integration back into the community may impact their likelihood of re-arrest.[91,92] Although the model for this dissertation does not include these factors, this research is primarily concerned with the experiences in detention and their effects on behavior post-release. Because of this more narrow focus, the youth experiences related to the school-to-prison pipeline and re-entry are beyond the scope of this research. At the same time, these particular omissions from the model point to important relationships that future research should explore when examining the impact of youth incarceration on violence.

CHAPTER 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 describes the methods used to address each research aim and answer the related questions. Aim 1 of this dissertation is to describe the frequency and determinants of incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A and involved the analyses of LAPD arrest data. Aim 2 is to describe the structural, environmental and experiential factors in youth detention that impact violent behavior and risk of re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A. and involved one-on-one interviews with L.A. County Probation officers. In this Chapter, I first describe the overall research approach in section 4.2. I then provide background on the different sources of data, the processes involved in setting up and/or collecting the data, explanations of the variables, measures and codes, analytic strategies, and limitations relevant to the research questions in sub-sections 4.2 and 4.3 for each research aim. The final sub-section, 4.4, provides an overview of the approach used to interpret the findings from both data sources.

The UCLA Institutional Review Board has approved this study; reference IRB#17-001756 and IRB#16-000010.

4.1.1 Mixed-Methods Approach

This dissertation uses a mixed methods approach by combining the analyses of arrest data from the Los Angeles Police Department with one-on-one interviews with L.A. County Probation staff. Mixed-methods is a term used to refer to research where quantitative and qualitative data is collected and analyzed to fulfill the aims of a study. Mixed-methods studies

have some clear research benefits compared to exclusively qualitative or quantitative research. Although quantitative data can provide a picture of population level effects and help estimate the scope of a problem, they are often less effective at providing an in-depth picture of the context in which events occur that can help to explain the findings. On the other hand, while qualitative data may allow researchers to uncover personal experiences that provide explanations for phenomena understudy, inferences from qualitative findings cannot be generalized to a larger, more diverse population. Thus, utilizing a mixed methods approach within this dissertation offers the opportunity to estimate the effect of youth incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime in L.A., while also gaining a more nuanced understanding of how aspects of the incarceration environment effects behavior and violence in detention facilities.

Of the numerous mixed-methods strategies that exist such as sequential explanatory and exploratory design or concurrent triangulation and nested designs, I used a *concurrent transformative strategy,*[93] which involves the simultaneous collection of quantitative data and qualitative data and theory to guide the methods and interpretation of findings. The concurrent transformative strategy was used because it aligned with both the data sources and theory used to in the dissertation. The strategy is concurrent because the quantitative and qualitative data were both collected and analyzed in 2018 and represent overlapping time periods. This research approach can also be characterized as "transformative" because Critical Race Theory informed the research questions, aspects of the data collection, analyses, and the interpretation of the findings. Transformative approaches use critical theories such as Feminist Theory, Queer Theory, and Critical Race Theory to center the experiences of the oppressed. Scholars using transformative methods attempt to orient their research goals towards addressing forms of oppression and inequity in society[94]. Moreover, this dissertation study is transformative because

its focus is explicitly on the examination of an institution that has been repeatedly found to be racially oppressive[95,96] and because principles of Critical Race Theory are operationalized in the methods and interpretation of the results. I use principles of CRT in the methods by using a Public Health Critical Race (PHCR) framework[82] and addressing race consciousness, centering the voices of racially marginalized groups, considering intersectionality (i.e. recognition that people's experiences intersect with multiple aspects of their identities such as race, gender, socio-economic status, ability, etc.), by examining the primacy of racism, and considering the ordinariness of racism and structural determinism.[81,83] Details about the incorporation of CRT principles into the methods used in this study are further elaborated in subsequent sections of this chapter (4.2 and 4.3) specific to the quantitative and qualitative approaches. Lastly, this research aligns with a transformative strategy because in addition to contributing to general public knowledge, it is also intended to inform and aid advocacy efforts to improve the circumstances for currently incarcerated youth as well as to end youth incarceration.

4.2 Data and Methods for Research Aim 1

Understanding the impact of youth incarceration on violence requires examining the frequency and circumstances under which youth are arrested, incarcerated and rearrested. As previously stated, limited information is available about youth arrests *and* recidivism by crime type[g] and, to my knowledge, no previous research has attempted to estimate youth recidivism for violent crime in Los Angeles by race.

In order to address this gap, the first aim of this study is *to describe the frequency and determinants of youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.*

[g] Crime type refers to whether the charge against the individual arrested is for a violent or non-violent offense.

This aim is accomplished by analyzing Los Angeles Police Department arrest data to answer three research questions: (1) what is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism? (2) How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime? (3) To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

4.2.1 Data Source: Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) Arrest Data

Administrative data on arrests by the Los Angeles Police Department between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2017 were acquired from the Million Dollar Hoods (MDH) initiative, a UCLA-based project that maps the fiscal and human costs of incarceration. Million Dollar Hoods originally requested this data in 2018 directly from the LAPD via a Public Records Act request for the purpose of understanding policing patterns in Los Angeles neighborhoods. Arrest data provided by the LAPD to Million Dollar Hoods includes information on youth arrested between the ages of 12 and 22 that was analyzed for this dissertation research.

Several steps were taken to remove duplicate observations, to format and standardize values, and to analyze the arrest data. For the first aim of this dissertation, I aimed to examine information on male youth arrested and incarcerated under the age of 18; this included their initial and subsequent arrests for violent crime as youth and as adults. Given this focus and the number of years for which data was available, the lower age limit of the youth included in the analysis was set to age 12 (the youngest age of any person arrested in the data) and the upper age limit was set at 22 in the event a person was arrested as a youth (at age 17) in the earliest year of the arrest data provided (2012) and again at age 22 in the last year of the data provided (2017).

In addition to restricting the data to youth, it was also necessary to uniquely identify individuals in the dataset. In the original LAPD data, each observation represented one arrest,

but there could be multiple arrests per individual. Because this research focuses on recidivism of the same person over time, it was necessary to link all the arrest records for each individual. However, a significant challenge to accomplishing this task was that the data did not include unique identifiers and the names of youth were redacted because of their age. Therefore, I used home address and date of birth as proxies to link arrest records for individual youth.

4.2.2 Variables and Measures

While, some variables provided by the LAPD were used in the data preparation and analysis without any modification, other measures were developed through re-categorization of the provided variables or by using population statistics from the U.S. Census. These measures are discussed below. Variables provided by the LAPD include information on demographic characteristics of the youth arrested, their home address, details about the circumstances of the arrest, and information about their transfer from LAPD custody. Variables provided by LAPD that were used in the analysis are described in Table 1. One variable that requires further explanation is "reason for release". "Reason for release" is the variable used to indicate whether the arrested youth was released to a juvenile hall, an indicator of incarceration. The LAPD does not oversee long-term detention so people are not typically held there for extended periods of time. Once an arrest is processed, the individual can be released to a number of other places or agencies. The agency or location a person is released to is indicated by a reason for release code in the arrest records (Appendix B.1).

Table 4.1 Los Angeles Police Department Arrest Data: Provided Variables

	Definition	Possible Values	Variable Type
Demographic Information			
Date of Birth	The month, day and year of birth of the person arrested	1/1/1995-12/31/2000	Date
Race[h]	Racial identity assigned to the individual arrested based on arresting officers perceptions	(A)Other Asian (B)Black (C)Chinese (D)Cambodian (F)Filipino (G)Guamanian (H)Hispanic/Latin/Mexican (I)American Indian/Alaskan Native (J)Japanese (K)Korean (L)Laotian (O)Other (P)Pacific Islander (S)Samoan (U)Hawaiian (V)Vietnamese (W)White (X)Unknown (Z)Asian Indian	Categorical
Gender	The gender identity of the individual arrested perceived by the arresting officer(s).	Male or Female	Categorical
Home Neighborhood Information			
Home Address	The street number, name, apartment number (if applicable), city, state and zip code of the arrested individual's home residence.	--	Text

[h] Refer to LA City Open Data Portal (Arrest Data) for Race categories: https://data.lacity.org/A-Safe-City/Arrest-Data-from-2010-to-Present/yru6-6re4

Table 4.1 (cont'd) Los Angeles Police Department Arrest Data: Provided Variables

	Definition	Possible Values	Variable Type
Arrest Information			
Date of Arrest	The month, day and year the person was arrested	1/1/2012-12/31/2017	Date
Arrest Charge(s)	Charge codes assigned to the arrest by the officer that indicate the legal violation(s) being charged against the arrested individual.	See *Law Enforcement Evidence & Property Management Guide*[97]	Categorical
Information on Release from LAPD Custody			
Date of Release	The month, day and year the person arrested was released from LAPD custody.	1/1/2012-12/31/2017	Date
Reason for Release	A code associated with the location or agency where the arrested individual was released to	74 possible codes[i]	Categorical

[i] See Appendix B.1

In addition to the variables provided in the LAPD arrest data, I developed other measures for the purpose of answering the research questions 1.1 – 1.3. These measures include race, violent crime, incarceration, recidivism, neighborhood family poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence. They are described in detailed below and then identified in section 4.2.3 in relationship to the analytic strategy used to answer each research question

Race: The race variable provided was re-categorized for analysis from nineteen race categories into four new values of the measure for race and includes "Black", "Latino", "White", and "Other". I combined race categories into a single "Other" group when the cell sizes for an individual race category was less than 5 after being stratified by variables of interest.

Violent Crime: Violent crime is a dichotomous variable that identifies whether the person arrested was charged with a violent crime (Violent Crime=1) or non-violent crime (Violent Crime=0). I developed this measure based on the California Welfare and Institution Code 707b and California Penal Code 667.5C which identifies charges indicative of violent crimes in the state of California. A list of these charge descriptions can be found in Appendix B.2.

Incarceration: Incarceration is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the youth was incarcerated after arrest (Incarceration =1) or not incarcerated after their arrest (Incarceration=0). I developed this measure by re-categorizing the *reason for release* variable provided by the LAPD. The variable provided by LAPD included a list of 74 codes that indicate the location or agency a person went to after they were released from LAPD custody (Appendix B.1). Of these 74 codes, 10 codes indicate whether the person was released from LAPD custody because they

were transferred to another law enforcement agency and incarcerated. If the reason for release was one of the 10 codes that indicate incarceration after arrest, the variable incarceration has a value of 1 for that arrest.

Recidivism: Recidivism is a continuous variable that indicates the number of times a youth was re-arrested. I developed this measure based on counting the number of arrests per individual in the dataset provided by the LAPD.

Neighborhood Family Poverty: I developed two measures of neighborhood family poverty because it was not clear what range of family poverty was most important in the analysis. Both measures were developed using 2017, 5-year estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey on the number of families in a zip code living below poverty with youth under the age of 18[98]. Both the average and quartile ranges were calculated using the proportion of families living below poverty in the home zip codes of arrested youth. One measure uses the average and indicates whether the youth arrested lives in a neighborhood where an above average proportion of families live in poverty (FAM_POV_avg=1) or an at/below average proportion of families live in poverty (FAM_POV_avg=0). On average, 17.9% of families live below poverty in zip codes of all arrested youth. The second measure uses the quartile ranges of the proportion of families living in poverty in the home zip codes of all the arrested youth. The variable FAM_POV_q can take a value of 1, 2, 3 or 4. These values are further defined below.

Quartile 1. FAM_POV_q=1: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where 2-12% of families live below poverty

Quartile 2. FAM_POV_q=2: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where the number of families living below poverty is greater than 12% and less than or equal to 16%.

Quartile 3. FAM_POV_q=3: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where the number of families living below poverty is greater than 16% and less than or equal to 27%.

Quartile 4. FAM_POV_q=4: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where the number of families living below poverty is greater than 27% and less than or equal to 43%.

Neighborhood Exposure to Family Violence: I also developed two measures of neighborhood exposure to family violence because it was not clear what range of exposure was most important in the analysis. Neighborhood exposure to family violence measures are based on the rate of domestic violence arrests by the LAPD between 2012 and 2017 in a zip code per population. Rates were calculated using Million Dollar Hoods data and 2017, 5-year population estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey[99]. Both the average and quartile ranges of domestic violence arrests per population were calculated among the home zip codes of arrested youth. One measure uses the average and indicates whether the arrested youth lives in a zip code where the rate of domestic violence arrests per 1,000 residents was above average (DV_avg=1) or at/below (DV_avg=0) the average rate of domestic violence arrests in the home zip codes of all arrested youth. There was an average of 9.8 domestic violence arrests per 1,000 residents across the zip codes of all arrested youth. The second measure (DV_q) is based on quartiles of the domestic violence arrest rates in the home zip codes of all arrested youth and can take the values of 1,2, 3 or 4. The values are further defined below.

Quartile 1. DV_q=1: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where between 0 and 6.9 domestic violence arrests were made per 1,000 residents.

Quartile 2. DV_q=2: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where greater than 6.9 and less than or equal to 10.3 domestic violence arrests were made per 1,000 residents.

Quartile 3. DV_q=3: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where greater than 10.3 and less than or equal to 12.4 domestic violence arrests were made per 1,000 residents of that zip code.

Quartile 4. DV_q=4: The arrested youth lives in a zip code where greater than 12.4 and less than or equal to 26.2 domestic violence arrests were made per 1,000 residents.

4.2.3 Analytic Strategies for Aim 1

I analyzed the LAPD data of youth arrested between 2012 and 2017, using a few different statistical methods to answer the three questions associated with Aim 1.

Research Question 1.1	What is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism?
Strategy 1.1	I conducted crosstabs and bivariate chi-square tests of association between the measures race, violent crime, incarceration, and re-arrest by crime type.
Cross Tabs	Race x Crime Type of Initial Arrest Race x Incarceration after Initial Arrest Race x Re-arrest
	After Initial Arrest for Non-Violent Crime Race x Incarceration Race x Re-arrest for Non-Violent Crime Race x Re-arrest for Violent Crime
	After Initial Arrest for Violent Crime Race x Incarceration Race x Re-arrest for Non-Violent Crime Race x Re-arrest for Violent Crime

Research Question 1.2	How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime?
Strategy 1.2	I conducted survival analyses using a Cox-Proportional Hazard model and Nelson Aalen estimators of cumulative hazard of re-arrest for violent crime based on previous incarceration.
Outcome Variable	Re-arrest for violent crime. Defined as any arrest after the initial arrest for a violent crime.
Independent Variable	Incarceration. Defined as incarceration that precedes re-arrest for violent crime.
Research Question 1.3	To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?
Strategy 1.3	Similar to the strategy used to answer research question 1.2, I conducted survival analysis using a Cox-Proportional Hazard model and Nelson Aalen estimators of cumulative hazard of re-arrest for violent crime based on incarceration, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and race
Outcome Variable	Re-arrest for violent crime. Defined as any arrest after the initial arrest for a violent crime.
Independent Variables	(1) Incarceration. Defined as incarceration that precedes re-arrest for violent crime. (2) Exposure to neighborhood poverty. Defined by whether the youth arrested lives in a zipcode where > 17.9% of families live in poverty or <=17.9% of families live in poverty. (See measure defined above FAM_POV_avg) (3) Exposure to family violence. One of 4 categories defined by the rate of domestic violence arrests that occur in the home zipcode of the arrested youth. (See measure defined above DV_q) (4) Race. Defined as white, Black, Latino or other.

The purpose of the first question is to compare arrest and incarceration rates among youth in L.A. by crime type and race. This is important for research on youth violence and criminal

justice system involvement as well as for policy discussions because so little information is currently available. The goals of the second and third research questions are to assess the impact of incarceration on the likelihood of re-arrest for violent crime and to compare this effect with the effects of other social and demographic characteristics. I use survival analysis to estimate hazard (or the rate) of re-arrest for violent crime conditional on initial arrest. The hazard of re-arrest for violent crime in this research was calculated based on incarceration, race, neighborhood family poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence over the six year period that data was available and also over 1 year, 3 years and 5 years consistent with follow up periods in other research on recidivism by the National Institute of Justice[100] and the California Department of Corrections[5].

Survival analysis is particularly useful for the purpose of this analysis for two reasons. First, it accounts for whether an event occurs and when it occurs. This feature provides the opportunity to examine the impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime during different periods of time (1,3 and 5 years) consistent with the aforementioned existing research on recidivism. Second, survival analysis is designed to deal with biases resulting from subjects who may only be observed for part of the observation period, an issue referred to as censoring. Dealing with this source of bias is important for the analysis of the LAPD dataset because the data only includes information on youth arrests between 2012 and 2017. Observations are censored if, for example, a teenager was first arrested in 2015 and was therefore only observed for two additional years. Survival analysis allows us to include these truncated observations even though they were not observed for a full five-year period after arrest. The alternative to survival analysis would be to examine 1 year re-arrest rates only for the sample observed for one

or more years, 3 year re-arrest rates only for the sample observed for 3 or more years, etc. This alternative unnecessarily discards data that should be incorporated in re-arrest rates.

Of the variety of survival analysis techniques that exist, Nelson-Aalen estimators and Cox-Proportional Hazard models were used to answer research questions 2 and 3 about the impact of youth incarceration relative to other factors on re-arrest for violent crime. Nelson-Aalen estimators are non-parametric and can be used to estimate the cumulative hazard function of censored survival data based on a single independent variable at a time. Cox-Proportional Hazard models are a semi-parametric method of performing survival analysis to examine the relationship of multiple variables on an event. Although there are no distributional assumptions associated with Nelson-Aalen estimators, Cox-Proportional Hazard models are based on the assumption that effect of a covariate on the hazard of an event occurring is constant overtime. For example, the effect of race on re-arrest does not vary with time since initial arrest, but rather shifts the entire hazard function up or down proportionally. On the other hand, the variable incarceration may change over time. An individual may not be incarcerated after their first arrest but may be incarcerated after their second or third arrest prior to being re-arrested for a violent crime. Because this variable does not remain constant over time, it violates the proportional hazards assumption. The variable was identified in the model as a time-varying covariate so STATA could appropriately account for this violation. After this adjustment, the proportional hazard assumption was also tested in a model that included incarceration, race, neighborhood family poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence but the assumption did not hold again. To deal with this violation, the analysis was stratified based on the variable violent crime under the idea that the effect of covariates may not be proportional over time between those who were initially arrested for a violent crime and those who were initially arrested for a non-violent

crime. Stratifying based on violent crime allowed the baseline hazard for violent and non-violent initial arrests to be different. After stratification, the proportional-hazard assumption held.

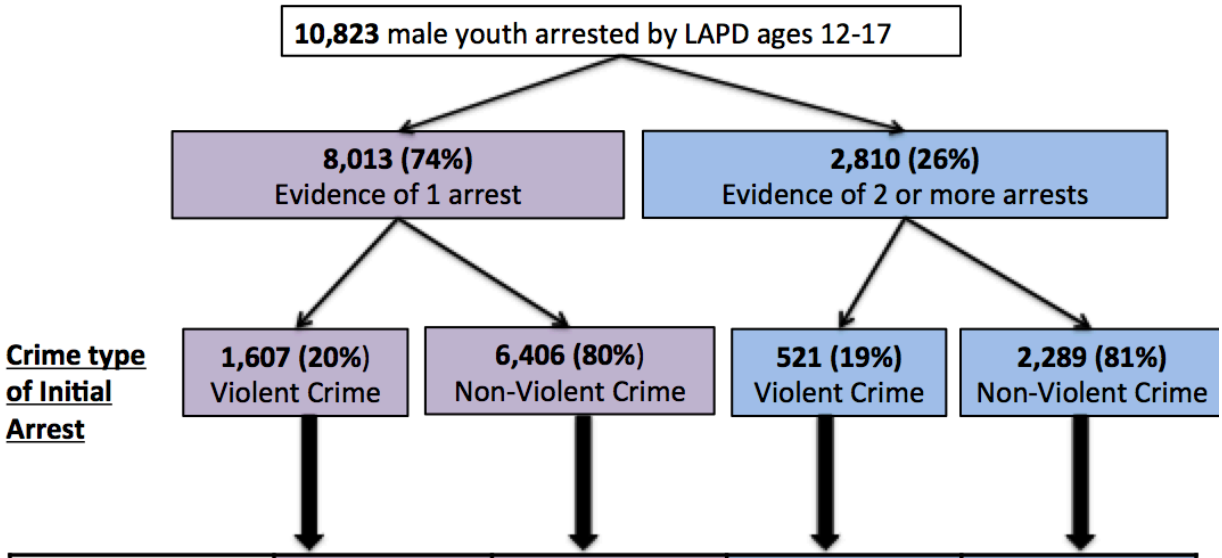
4.2.4 Limitations

Several limitations of the LAPD arrest data may affect the analyses and results. First, the original data are based on arrests rather than individuals and thus do not have a unique identifier with which to link arrests of a single individual. Furthermore, the names of the youth were redacted by the LAPD due to privacy considerations. This redaction made the process of identifying individual youth in the dataset especially difficult. I was able to link arrests based on date of birth and home address. This method of linkage requires us to assume that youth's home addresses remained constant at least until they were 18 years old. For example, if a young person was initially arrested while living at one address and moved to a second address before being rearrested, his two arrests would not be linked. Because name is available for those 18 and older, if a youth was arrested under the age of 18 and again at 18 years of age or older and lived at the same address when they were arrested as a youth and adult, subsequent arrests as an adult could be linked based on name.

A second limitation is the dataset does not include re-arrests by law enforcement agencies other than the LAPD during the observation period. This and the linkage problem mean that re-arrests can only be estimated for those individuals who did not move over the observation period and who were either not re-arrested or who were re-arrested by the LAPD. Since these re-arrests of youth who moved or were re-arrested by non-LAPD police are omitted from the data, the re-arrest rates estimated in this dissertation are likely to be biased downward (i.e., lower than they actually are) to an unknown degree. Nonetheless the re-arrest rates and estimated hazard ratios

that I present, even if artificially low, are useful because we know very little about youth re-arrest for violent crime and its determinants. They provide a lower bound on the frequency of re-arrest and the association between incarceration and re-arrest may be roughly similar to that in a less biased sample. To examine this issue further, I compared youth with evidence of one arrest to youth with evidence of two or more arrests by the type of crime he was initially arrested for and whether or not he was incarcerated after initial arrest (Figure 2). In this figure, initial arrest refers to earliest arrest observed for the youth between 2012 and 2017 and not necessarily the first arrest they've ever experienced. The first arrest a youth has ever experienced cannot be determined in this dataset. Although only a small portion of the youth in the data has two or more arrests, there were only slight differences between those with one arrest and those with two or more in terms of the type of crime they were initially arrested for and whether they were incarcerated after that initial arrest. The most notable difference is that a slightly higher proportion of youth with two or more arrests had been incarcerated after the first arrest for violent crime. If incarceration increases the risk of recidivism, this is what we would expect to see. However, it is possible that the difficulty of linking arrest records of individuals contributed to this difference. For this reason, the data analysis is restricted to the effects of initial arrest on the hazard of re-arrest.

Figure 4.1 LAPD arrests of Male Youth by Recidivism, Crime Type and Incarceration
(2012-2017)



Incarcerated after initial Arrest	**1,230 (76.5%)**	**2,235 (34.9%)**	**414 (79%)**	**808 (35.3%)**
Not Incarcerated after initial arrest	**369 (23%)**	**4,143 (64.7%)**	**102 (20%)**	**1,471 (64.3%)**
Missing Data	**8 (0.5%)**	**28 (0.4%)**	**5 (1%)**	**10 (0.4%)**

*Initial arrest refers to the earliest arrest of a youth between 2012 and 2017. It is unknown if it is the first arrest a youth may have ever experienced.

A third limitation of the data is that the distribution of the arrest data by arrest year is skewed by age. Specifically, there are fewer youth of younger ages in the latter years of the observation period compared to the earlier years (Table 4.2). Reasons for this may be that youth have been processed differently by the LAPD in more recent years or that less arrests youth of younger ages have occurred over time. Because there appears to be a clear pattern in the drop, however, it is more likely that it is an artifact of the way the data were abstracted from the files

by LAPD staff for Million Dollar Hoods. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any additional information on this issue from LAPD.

This data limitation suggests that age related findings are biased and that analysis may be less relevant to younger ages because these individuals may not be adequately represented in the dataset relative to their older peers. This limitation does not pose a significant problem to the analyses because this dissertation focuses on all youth ages 12-17 and their subsequent arrests as opposed to asking questions that require a differentiation between ages under 18.

Table 4.2 Age Distribution by Year of Initial Arrest *

	Year of Initial Arrest*						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**Total**
Age at Arrest							
12	105	0	0	0	0	0	**105**
13	371	104	0	0	0	0	**475**
14	519	367	131	0	0	0	**1,017**
15	838	618	457	157	0	0	**2,070**
16	1,030	785	614	569	185	8	**3,191**
17	518	963	821	680	595	388	**3,965**
Total	**3,381**	**2,837**	**2,023**	**1,406**	**780**	**396**	**10,823**

* Initial refers to the earliest arrest of a youth between 2012 and 2017. It is unknown if it is the first arrest a youth may have ever experienced.

Despite the data limitations, the analysis of this dataset adds to existing research in several ways. It provides new information on youth recidivism by race in L.A. To date, there has been no known research planned or completed using LAPD arrest data to estimate the relationship between incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime by race.

4.3 Data and Methods for Research Aim 2

The second aim of this study is *to describe environmental and experiential factors in youth detention centers that impact youth violence.* The questions underlying this part of the study are 1) what are unmet needs of incarcerated youth that probation officers believe impact behavior and violence? 2) What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention impact youth behavior and violence? And 3) what are probation officer perspectives on the influence of race and racism on incarcerated youth and how does this impact youth behavior and violence?

4.3.1 Interviews with Los Angeles County Probation Officers

Semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted with eight L.A. County probation officers who work(ed) at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall in Sylmar, California. As described in Chapter 2, most youth facing transfer to adult (criminal) court because of the serious nature of the crimes they have been charged with are detained in this juvenile detention facility. Probation officers interviewed for the study work directly with young men who are facing transfer to adult court and who are held in a segregated area of the juvenile hall referred to as the Compound. Officers working in the Compound are uniquely situated to provide input on the effects of incarceration on youth because they interact with youth that are incarcerated for extended periods of time as they navigate the court process. These officers are able to gain an intimate understanding of how the experience of incarceration and the legal system process affects youth.

I developed an interview guide (Appendix C.1) to cover several topics related to the impact of youth incarceration on violence and behavior. No scales are currently available that would be appropriate to measure perceptions of youth violence among probation officers. In

turn, the interview questions were based on the research goals, conceptual model and observations from my own volunteer experience working in the Compound over the past three years. Questions were asked both directly and indirectly about the cultural and structural aspects of the detention environment and the role of race on youth behavior and outcomes. Other questions that were asked focused on staff background, experience, job challenges and job satisfaction. During my time volunteering, many of these topics repeatedly came up as interrelated to probation officers' interactions with incarcerated youth. Other topics covered in the interview include what officers understand about youth violence and their ideas on violence prevention. The 54-item interview guide (Appendix C.1) was used to direct the conversation but the interviews also covered off-script items. Probation officers were encouraged to provide their thoughts and ideas if they were related to the purpose of the study regardless if those thoughts were in direct response to a question. Interviews took place over the course of three months, lasted anywhere from 45 to 90 minutes and were conducted in a location of the staff's choosing. The interview locations included private offices at the detention facility, open but restricted areas at the detention facility and a private office at UCLA.

Audio files of the interviews were transcribed by an independent service with documented HIPAA insurance and a signed confidentiality agreement. These transcriptions were then uploaded into Atlas TI, a qualitative data analysis software.

4.3.2 Participant Recruitment, Eligibility and Risks

At the time of the study, sixty-eight probation officers were assigned to work in the Compound and responsible for the day-to-day activities and care of the young men detained there. Of these 68 officers, thirty-nine had worked in the Probation Department for over 1 year and were eligible to participate in the study[j]. Eighteen of these officers were screened for participation (approximately 46% of all eligible Compound staff officers). The sampling strategy used to identify the officers screened for participation was a mix of criterion (or purposeful) sampling[101] and convenience sampling. The sampling method can be characterized as a convenience sample because I screened those who were present when I visited the Compound to recruit staff into the study. To account for the fact that some officers may work week shifts and others may work weekend shifts, I recruited during the week and weekend over the three-month period in an attempt to make contact with the as many staff as possible. The sampling approach can also be characterized as criterion sampling because several criteria were used to ensure a diverse sample of officer perspectives was incorporated in the study. The criteria used to select officers for recruitment into the study included gender, race, staff-level and unit assignment. This involved a purposeful screening of both male and female, Black and Latinx officers, as well as officers at different levels of seniority and staff that had worked in each of the three living units in the Compound. To be eligible to participate in the study, probation staff had to have been assigned to the Compound at some point within the past 5 years and have at least 1 year of continuous experience working with youth detained in the Compound in their work history.

Recruitment took place by providing an information sheet about the study to probation officers and conducting follow up in person and by phone to answers any questions. I visited

[j] Employment numbers were acquired directly from a personnel manager at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall.

the Compound one to three times per week over a three-month period to speak with staff on duty about their potential participation and also to conduct interviews. It was particularly challenging to identify female and Latinx probation officers to participate because they comprised a smaller proportion of eligible staff that had over 1 year of experience working in the Compound. An additional challenge to identifying participants was the high staff turnover that took place among staff assigned to the Compound. A few months prior to recruitment, a new superintendent began her tenure at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall. This superintendent systematically re-assigned long-term staff to other units (outside of the Compound) and assigned new Probation staff (with less experience) to the Compound. Many of these new staff were ineligible for participation in the interviews and contacting staff that had been re-assigned proved to be especially difficult.

The recruitment strategy resulted in twelve staff recruited to participate and a final sample of eight officers that completed interviews (66% of recruited officers). The majority of interview participants were officers who supervise youth during the weekdays. Although there is no standard way of estimating the adequacy of the sample size in qualitative research, the general goal is to achieve "saturation" of information collected as opposed to reaching a certain number of sampled respondents[102–104]. Achieving saturation means that participants discuss the same concepts repeatedly across interviews.

For those staff that did participate, confidentiality and informed consent were particularly important because responses to the questions may be perceived as (or actually be) a risk to employment (consent form can be found in Appendix C.2). It was critical for participants to be aware of the risks and that those risks be mitigated as much as possible. Participants were able to choose the location of the interview in a setting they felt most comfortable. Prior to participation, probation officers were informed that they could stop and record over any

information shared, decide to end the interview at any time or decide not to have their interviews included in the final analysis. No participant chose this route. They were informed that audio files were de-identified and kept in a secure location to be discarded at the end of the study period and that only study staff would have access to the audio files.

4.3.3 Approach and Analytic Strategy

The qualitative approach and analyses in this dissertation is based on a social constructionist perspective of Grounded Theory and also draws on Critical Race Theory. Grounded Theory is a qualitative methodology used to study processes, to examine the ways in which people understand and make meaning of their social surroundings and to develop theory[105]. There are at least two perspectives on Grounded Theory in qualitative research: objectivists and constructionists. These two approaches involve operationalizing Grounded Theory in very different ways. Objectivists assume the researcher is impartial and that the data collected is reflective of unbiased truth. Researchers that take this approach aim to generalize results in a way that separates findings from the process of data collection and analysis. Constructionists on the other hand, stress the importance of the social context of interactions between the study participants and the researcher in shaping the research process and findings. Rather than consider this bias a limitation, the social constructionist suggests that it is important to acknowledge and highlight the impact of the positionality of the researcher and participant on findings. This is consistent with the Public Health Critical Race (PHCR) principle of race consciousness highlighted earlier in this chapter and further described below. In contrast to objectivists, constructionists also reject the notion that researchers enter research with no prior

knowledge about the topic of study and embrace the idea that researchers can have preconceived ideas about what they will find as well as allow unexpected findings to emerge from the data[105].

The qualitative methods in this study are informed by a constructionists and critical race approach in a three ways. One way is that I explore how my position as a researcher may strengthen or weaken results. It is important to note that I began this study after three years of volunteering at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall, where I led after school education programs for incarcerated male youth charged with violent crimes. I spent that time building relationships with both youth and staff. Since I began volunteering, the relationships I've developed with staff have extended beyond Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall. Staff have been invited to UCLA to participate in and attend events and I have been invited to different detention facilities by probation officers for the purpose of leading additional after school programming. The relationships I have developed with probation staff may have impacted the information they've communicated with me during this study as well as my interpretation of the interviews. In terms of my research positionality, I have also been purposeful about approaching the study with the PHCR principle, race consciousness[82]. Race consciousness is explicitly related to how I recruited study participants and the information I provided during the consent process. I have incorporated this principle into my research approach by acknowledging my race and research position on racism with potential study participants. The incarcerated youth and probation officers that I have worked with over the past three years are aware that I'm a Black female and that my research has involved the examination of race and racial dynamics between Black, Latinx and white youth and probation officers as well as racial dynamics involved in the juvenile justice system and related to violence overall. Prior to conducting interviews, I led several presentations inside the juvenile hall for youth and probation officers that provided information

about my research and discussed what I've learned about the justice system as an institution of racial oppression. I also spoke directly with study participants about seeking to understand their perspectives on race as part of my study. The potential effects of this approach on the research findings are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this dissertation.

A second way the constructionist and critical race approach is used in this study is by acknowledging the position of probation staff in relationship to their work environment, centering the voices of Black and Latinx probation officers and highlighting intersectionality. The probation officers interviewed, who were all Black and Latinx, represent people whose identities are at the intersection of the oppressed and oppressor. Many of the officers interviewed were from the same neighborhoods as the incarcerated youth and all officers interviewed identified as the racial and ethnic minorities whom are oppressed[95] by the same system that the officers work to operate. I intentionally included questions in the interviews to better understand the motivations behind their choice to work in juvenile detention. Instead of asking this question directly, I asked *how* they came to work in the juvenile hall, if working in the halls was what they expected and if they felt their colleagues had similar perspectives as them. This prompted a range of response about their employment trajectories, how their perceptions of juvenile detention may have changed over time and also how they viewed themselves relative to other probation staff.

Both pre-set and emergent codes were used for the analysis representing a third way the constructionist approach is incorporated into the qualitative portion of this dissertation study. The three qualitative research questions and the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 3 led to the development of a pre-set list of codes (Table 3) used to analyze interview transcripts. These conceptual framework codes are based on terms and concepts defined in Chapter 3 and are those

that I expected to arise in the interviews. Although the codes in Table 3 were referenced during the analysis of the transcripts, not all pre-set codes were useful and emergent codes were used when the pre-set codes did not adequately describe the theme identified in the transcripts. These emergent codes, presented in Chapter 6, represent one of two types of findings: those that are consistent with the literature but were not expected or new concepts not currently found or sparingly found in the literature. Both pre-set and emergent codes were assigned to the appropriate text in Atlas TI. Coded interviews were then analyzed to identify common themes and new concepts that answer the research questions. Chapter 6 presents findings from the analysis of the interview data by describing study participants, identifying recurrent themes and exemplary quotes relative to each research question and explaining the expected and emergent concepts that arose during the interviews.

Table 4.3 Pre-set Codes used in the Analysis of Interviews of L.A. County Probation Officers.

Aim 2 Research Questions	*Research Question Codes*	*Conceptual Framework Codes*
2.1 What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?	Youth Needs Staff Views of Youth Impact on Behavior Violence in Detention Violence in Community	Deprivation Factor Education Family Support Staff support of youth Structure Support System Trauma
2.2 What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention do probation officers believe impact youth behavior and violence?	Structural Environment Cultural Environment Impact on Behavior Violence in Detention Violence in Community	Deprivation Factor Education Race Support System Staff support of youth Youth Conflict Youth-Staff Conflict
2.3 What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?	Racism Race Impact on Behavior Violence in Detention Violence in Community	Importation Factor Neighborhood Effects Race Trauma Youth Conflict Youth-Staff Conflict

4.3.4 Limitations

There are a few limitations of the data collection and analysis related to Aim 2. First, this study would have ideally incorporated interviews with incarcerated youth as a way of centering the voices of those that are racially marginalized and oppressed. Unfortunately, I was denied permission by the courts to interview incarcerated youth without going through a process that was beyond my capacity at the time. Therefore, interviews could only take place with probation staff. Despite this limitation, the experiences of the youth remain the ultimate focus of the study albeit through the perspectives of the probation officers who are responsible for their oversight and care. In addition to incarcerated youth themselves, interviews could also be conducted with families of incarcerated youth. Gathering the perspectives of probation officers, incarcerated youth and their families would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the effects of youth incarceration on violence. Despite this limitation, probation officers alone help further our understanding of the relationship between incarceration and youth violence, especially in terms of violence while in detention. Probation officers have a breadth of formal knowledge and training on detention facility policies and operations that impact youth violence as well as an understanding of how these policies and operations have shifted over time. Compared to incarcerated youth and their families, probation officers have interacted with a relatively larger number of incarcerated youth and therefore have substantial experience with young people from different backgrounds and have been privy to a potentially broad range of youth experiences in detention. By including probation officers interviews, this study is designed to strengthen the conclusions we can make about youth incarceration and it's impact on violence with information about the policies, culture and operations of youth detention that can effect youth.

A second limitation is the number and diversity of staff interviewed. Although similar ideas were expressed across interviews thereby achieving saturation[103], it's possible that new concepts were missed because only eight interviews could be conducted. Furthermore, it was challenging to recruit Latinx participants and female participants. The lack of representation of these two groups may have implications for findings, particularly those on race.

4.4 Conclusion

The mixed- methods approach used in this study extends what is currently understood about the relationship between youth incarceration and violence by analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data to inform a broader understanding of these issues. The limited research that has been conducted to date on this topic, has all only one of these two approaches. Therefore, in addition to expanding the available public information on this topic, this dissertation is also the first known study to use a mixed-methods approach to examine the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. Future studies on this topic can use this dissertation to guide mixed-methods approaches towards their research**.**

Chapter 5: Aim 1 Results from the Analysis of LAPD Arrest Data

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I address the lack of information on youth incarceration and recidivism for violent crime by *describing the frequency and determinants of youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A*. (Aim 1 of the dissertation). I present findings from my analysis of LAPD data and in doing so, fill a significant gap in public knowledge, paying special attention to variations by race. Specifically, I attempt to answer the following research questions in this Chapter:

Research Question 1.1 What is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism?

Research Question 1.2 How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

Research Question 1.3 To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

Results of the analysis relevant to each research question are described in sections 5.3 through 5.5 of this chapter. Prior to discussing these findings, I first provide background about youth arrested by the LAPD between 2012 and 2017 in section 5.2. The chapter ends with section 5.6 by discussing limitations and key takeaways from the findings.

5.2 Male youth arrested by the LAPD (2012-2017)

5.2.1 Youth Arrested between 2012 and 2017

The Los Angeles Police Department arrested approximately 10,823 males under the age of 18 between 2012 and 2017. Over 90% of the arrested youth were Black and Latino and all youth were primarily arrested for non-violent crime (80%). Although the majority of young males arrested by the LAPD were subsequently released, a large portion (44%) were also incarcerated after their arrest. The most common charge against youth who were arrested for a non-violent crime and incarcerated was burglary while the most common charge against youth who were arrested for a violent crime and incarcerated was robbery. The difference between these two charges is that robbery requires person-to-person contact and use of force while burglary is typically breaking and entering an establishment with the intent to steal something but with no personal contact.[106,107] The data shows that at least 26% of arrested youth in L.A are re-arrested within a five- year period subsequent to their initial arrest. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this number is underestimated because individual youth are identified based only on home address and date of birth and those who moved since initial arrest are not observed if they are rearrested.

The young men arrested by the LAPD come from neighborhoods where there are indicators of high levels of poverty and exposure to family violence. For example, 12.2 % of L.A. families with children under the age of 18 live below the poverty line[98] while the average proportion of families living below poverty in the home zip codes of arrested youth is 17.9% Furthermore, both neighborhood level indicators of family poverty and domestic violence are highly clustered among the home zip codes of arrested youth. Anywhere from 27%-43% of families live below poverty in just 12 of the 284 zip codes in the dataset. These zip codes

represent the home neighborhoods of 28% of the youth arrested. Similarly the highest rates of adult domestic violence arrests were concentrated in just 16 zip codes representing the home neighborhoods of 21% of youth arrests.

Table 5.1 Male Youth Arrested by the LAPD: Demographics, Circumstances of Arrest and Neighborhood Variables (2012-2017)

Individual-level Variables (N=10,823)				Neighborhood-level Variables (N=9,448)			
Age at Initial Arrest^		**Frequency**	**%**	**Neighborhood Poverty** % of families living below poverty in home zip codes of arrested youth (based on data average)		**Frequency**	**%**
	12	105	1.00%				
	13	475	4.40%		0-17.9%	5,201	55.40%
	14	1,017	9.40%		>17.9-43%	4,184	44.60%
	15	2,070	19.10%		Total	9,385	
	16	3,191	29.50%				
	17	3,965	36.60%	% of families living below poverty in home zip codes of arrested youth (quartiles)			
	Total	10,823					
Race				1st Quartile	0-12%	3,109	32.90%
	Black	3,101	28.70%	2nd Quartile	>12-16%	1,766	18.70%
	Latino	6,888	63.60%	3rd Quartile	>16-27%	1,967	20.80%
	Other	290	2.70%	4th Quartile	>27-43%	2,604	27.80%
	White	544	5.00%		Total	9,446	
	Total	10,823					

Table 5.1 (cont'd) Male Youth Arrested by the LAPD: Demographics, Circumstances of Arrest and Neighborhood (2012-2017)

Individual-level Variables (N=10,823)

Charge at Initial Arrest^	**Frequence**	**%**
Violent Crime	2,128	19.70%
Non-Violent Crime	8,695	80.30%
Total	10,823	
Placement after Initial Arrest ^		
Released**	5,797	53.80%
Incarcerated	4,687	43.50%
Dept. of Public Social Services	288	2.70%
Total	10,772	
Recidivism		
Evidence of 1 arrest	8,013	74%
idence of 2 or more arrests	2,810	26%
Total	10,823	

Neighborhood-level Variables (N=9,448)

Neighborhood Exposure to Family Violence

Rate of adult arrests for domestic violence per 1,000 residents in home zip code of arrested youth		**Frequency**	**%**
	0-9.8	4,406	46.60%
	>9.8-26.3	5,041	53.40%
	Total	9,447	

Rate of adult arrests for domestic violence per 1,000 residents in home zip code of arrested youth			
1st Quartile	0-6.7	2,240	20.60%
2nd Quartile	>6.7-10.2	2,319	21.30%
3rd Quartile	>10.2-12.4	2,568	23.60%
4th Quartile	>12.4-26.3	2,320	21.30%
	Total	9,447	

5.2.2 Youth Recidivism between 2012-2017

It is useful to compare the population of youth arrested once to those arrested more than once because differences between the two groups may suggest factors that are associated with re-arrest. There were 8,013 youth in the dataset who appear to have one arrest and 2,810 youth who appear to have two or more arrests between 2012 and 2017. Although chi-square tests of association demonstrate a significant difference between these two populations, these differences may not be meaningful. For example, there appears to be a significant difference between race and recidivism. Upon deeper investigation however, I found that this significance is driven by arrests of those identified as white or "other" in the dataset. Collectively, youth identified as white or "other" made up less than 10% of those with one arrest and less than 5% of those with evidence of more than one arrest. Looking only at youth who were identified as Black or Latino (who make up over 90% of arrests), there is no difference between race and recidivism.

There is also no significant difference between recidivism and whether the initial arrest is for a violent crime. Roughly the same proportion of youth arrested once and youth arrested more than once were initially arrested for violent crime. Although there is a significant association with placement after initial arrest, similar to race, this significance is driven by one category "Department of Public and Social Services". The Department of Public and Social services indicates that a youth was released into the custody of the state's social services agency and likely placed in a group home or the foster care system and represents a relatively small proportion of placements. Looking at only whether a youth was released to their home or incarcerated, there is no significant association between recidivism and placement after initial arrest. Finally, upon examining the relationship between recidivism and neighborhood level indicators I did find an association with recidivism. A larger proportion of youth arrested more

than once live in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of families living in poverty and where there is a higher rate of adult arrests for domestic violence.

Table 5.2 Male Youth Arrested by the LAPD: Tests of Association between Recidivism and Race, Circumstances of Arrest and Neighborhood Variables

(2012-2017)

Individual-level Variables	**Arrested Once (N=8,013)**		**Arrested at least twice (N=2,810)**		**Chi-square**	**PR=**
	Frequency	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**		
Race						
Black	2,280	28.5%	821	29.2%		
Latino	5,014	62.6%	1,874	66.7%	*72.0*	*0.000*
Other	242	3.0%	48	1.7%		
White	477	6.0%	67	2.4%		
Total	**8,013**		**2,810**			
Charge at Initial Arrest^						
Violent Crime	1,607	20.1%	521	18.5%	*3.0*	*0.08*
Non-Violent Crime	6,406	80.0%	2,289	81.5%		
Total	8,013		2810			
Placement after Initial Arrest ^						
Released**	4,250	53.3%	1,547	55.4%		
Incarceration	3,465	43.4%	1,222	43.7%	*44.59*	*0.000*
Dept. of Public Social Services	262	3.3%	26	0.9%		
Total	**7,977**		**2,795**			
Re-arrest						
1 Arrest	8,013	100%				
2 arrests	-	-	1,242	44.2%		
3 arrests	-	-	562	20.0%		
4 arrests	-	-	350	12.5%		
5 arrests	-	-	207	7.4%	-	-
6 arrests	-	-	168	6.0%		
7 or more arrests	-	-	281	10.0%		
Total	**8,013**		**2,810**			

^ Initial arrest refers to the first arrest between 2012 and 2017 and not the first arrest the individual ever experienced

** Released because of the following reasons: DA Rejection, Own Recognizance, Citation, Bonding out, Court order release or released home

Table 5.2(cont'd). Male Youth arrested by the LAPD: Demographics, Neighborhood Variables and Recidivism (2012-2017)

Neighborhood-level Variables	**Arrested Once (N=8,013)**		**Arrested at least twice (N=2,810)**		**Chi-square**	**PR=**
	Frequency	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**		
% of families living below poverty in home zip codes of arrested youth (based on data average)						
0-17.9%	3,717	56.5%	1,484	52.8%	10.9	*0.001*
>17.9-43%	2,859	43.5%	1,325	47.2%		
Total	6,576		2,809			
Rate of adult arrests for domestic violence per 1,000 residents in home zip code of arrested youth						
0-9.8	3,206	48.8%	1,139	40.5%	53.5	*0.000*
>9.8-26.3	3,370	51.2%	1,671	59.5%		
Total	6,576		2,810			

5.3 What is the racial distribution of arrests by crime type, incarceration, and recidivism?

The first research question of this dissertation is aimed at describing racial variations in youth arrest, incarceration and re-arrest by crime type. Results from the analysis testing the associations between race and these aforementioned arrest circumstances are presented in Table 5.3. The data shows significant differences in initial arrest crime type, incarceration and re-arrest of youth by race. Latino youth represent the largest proportion of young people arrested by the LAPD (64% of arrests) followed by Black youth (29% of arrests). About 5% of arrests are of white youth and youth of all other races make up 2% of arrests. Although the proportion of Latino arrests are consistent with population demographics (roughly 62% of L.A. County youth are Latinx), the proportion of Black, white and "other" youth arrests are disproportionate to their representation in the L.A. County population. About 8% of L.A. youth are Black, 18% are white and 14% are of other races[108].

Table 5.3 Variations in Crime Type, Incarceration and Re-arrest by Race among Male Youth in L.A. (2012-2017)
N= 10,823

	Black	Latino	Black -Latino Comparison		Other	White	All Race Comparison	
			Chi-Square	Pr=			Chi-Square	Pr=
Crime Type of 1st Arrest								
Non-Violent	2,253	5,723			241	478		
	72.7%	83.1%	*144.63*	*0*	83.1%	87.9%	*169.78*	*0*
Violent	848	1,165			49	66		
	27.4%	16.9%			16.9%	12.1%		
Incarceration after 1st Arrest								
Yes	1,706	2,699			99	183		
	55.2%	39.4%	*216.27*	*0*	34.4%	33.6%	*251.09*	*0*
No	1,383	4,152			189	361		
	44.8%	60.6%			65.6%	66.4%		
Evidence of More Than One Arrest								
Yes	821	1,874			48	67		
	26.5%	27.2%	*0.58*	*0.45*	16.6%	12.3%	*72.03*	*0*
No	2,280	5,014			242	477		
	73.5%	26.5%			83.5%	87.7%		

Table 5.3(cont'd). Variations in Crime Type, Incarceration and Re-arrest by Race among Male Youth in L.A. (2012-2017)
N= 10,823

	Black	Latino	Black -Latino Comparison		Other	White	All Race Comparison	
			Chi-Square	Pr=			Chi-Square	Pr=
After Arrest for Non-Violent Crime								
Incarcerated	1,037	1,804			60	142		
	46.2%	31.7%	*148.12*	*0*	25.1%	29.7%	167.49	0
Not Incarcerated	1,207	3,892			179	336		
	53.8%	68.3%			74.9%	70.3%		
Re-arrest for Non-Violent Crime	332	1,067			30	43		
	55.3%	67.0%	*43.9*	*0*	76.9%	74.1%	31.31	0
Re-arrest for Violent Crime	268	525			9	15		
	44.7%	33.0%			23.1%	25.9%		
After Arrest for Violent Crime								
Incarcerated	669	895			39	41		
	79.2%	77.5%	*0.81*	*0.37*	79.6%	62.1%	*10.44*	*0.015*
Not Incarcerated	176	260			10	25		
	20.8%	22.5%			20.4%	22.3%		
Re-arrest for Non-Violent Crime	105	134						
	47.5%	47.5%	*2.74*	*0.10*	cell sizes <5	cell sizes <5	-----	-----
Re-arrest for Violent Crime	116	148						
	52.5%	52.5%						

A higher proportion of Black youth are arrested for violent crime compared to other races (27% vs. 12-17%) and a higher proportion of Black youth are also incarcerated after they are arrested. Although the proportion of white and "other" youth arrested is a relatively small percentage of all arrests, there is a significant difference between the proportion of white and "other" youth with only one arrest compared to the proportion with multiple arrests. There is no notable difference between the proportion of Black and Latino youth with one arrest compared to multiple arrests.

There is no significant difference in the proportion of Black and Latino youth who are re-arrested for violent crime after an initial arrest for a violent crime. The proportion of youth who are re-arrested after initially being arrested for a non-violent crime varies by race in that a higher proportion of Black youth are re-arrested for violent crime after initial arrest for a non-violent crime. We would expect this finding if there is a significant effect of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime because a higher proportion of Black youth are also incarcerated.

When examining incarceration after arrest for a non-violent crime versus incarceration after arrest for a violent crime, results show that although roughly the same proportion of youth are incarcerated after arrest for a violent crime regardless of race, a significantly higher proportion of Black youth are incarcerated after arrest for a non-violent crime compared to other races (46% vs. 25-31%). This finding is consistent with the PHCR principles the primacy of racialization, the ordinariness of racism and structural determinism. The primacy of racialization has to do with how racial stratification contributes to the "1) observed outcomes, 2) production of knowledge and 3) field's impact on broader society".[82] If I had only examined the relationship between crime type and race and incarceration and race separately, it would not yield the same results. For example, because incarceration is more likely after arrest for violent crime compared to after arrest for a non-violent crime,[109] the finding that more Black youth are incarcerated after

arrest may be seen as a function of the finding that more youth are also arrested for violent crimes. When considering contemporary racism within the justice system however, the evidence is clear that Black people are more likely to receive harsher sentences for similar crimes relative to their non-Black peers.[110,111] In turn, when conducting a deeper analysis by crime type, I found that what drives the association between race and incarceration is that Black youth are incarcerated more often after arrest for *non-violent* crime as opposed to after arrest for *violent crimes*. Youth arrested for violent crimes are incarcerated at roughly the same rate regardless of race.

This finding also relates to structural determinism, which has to do with the ways in which institutions, systems and other macro-level forces maintain racism.[82] In this case, the significant racial variations in incarceration after arrest for a non-violent crime may implicate racism as a driver of racial inequities. Police officers and the courts have more discretion in sentencing for youth arrested for non-violent crime. In other words, racially biased discretionary practices of the justice system could be leading to the disproportionate sentencing of Black youth.

Finally, this finding confirms the PHCR principle of the ordinariness of racism which is a concept dealing with the permanence of racism that is embedded in social fabric of our environment. Multiple studies over decades have found that the criminal justice system exacerbates racial inequalities particularly in terms of sentencing.[95,96,110–112] This finding adds to the large body of evidence with additional findings about Black youth incarcerated in Los Angeles.

5.4 How does incarceration affect the risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

The second question under research Aim 1 was answered using survival analysis. Survival analysis allows for the estimation of the relative hazard of experiencing an event over time based on specified predictors when observations are censored (e.g., by the end of observation period). In order to answer the question about the impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime I conducted three different analyses. First, I looked at whether previous incarceration impacts a youth's hazard of re-arrest for violent crime using a Cox Proportional Hazard model. Second, I examined how the hazard of re-arrest for violent crime changes over time conditional on incarceration (at 1, 2, 3 and 5 years after arrest) using Nelson-Aalen estimators of cumulative hazard. Finally, I assessed the median times until re-arrest for violent crime after incarceration.

Table 5.4 presents findings from the Cox Proportional Hazard models of the impact of incarceration on the hazard of re-arrest for violent crime. In the first model that includes all youth who were arrested, the hazard of being re-arrested for violent crime is 15 times higher for those who had been incarcerated compared to those that had not been incarcerated prior to re-arrest.

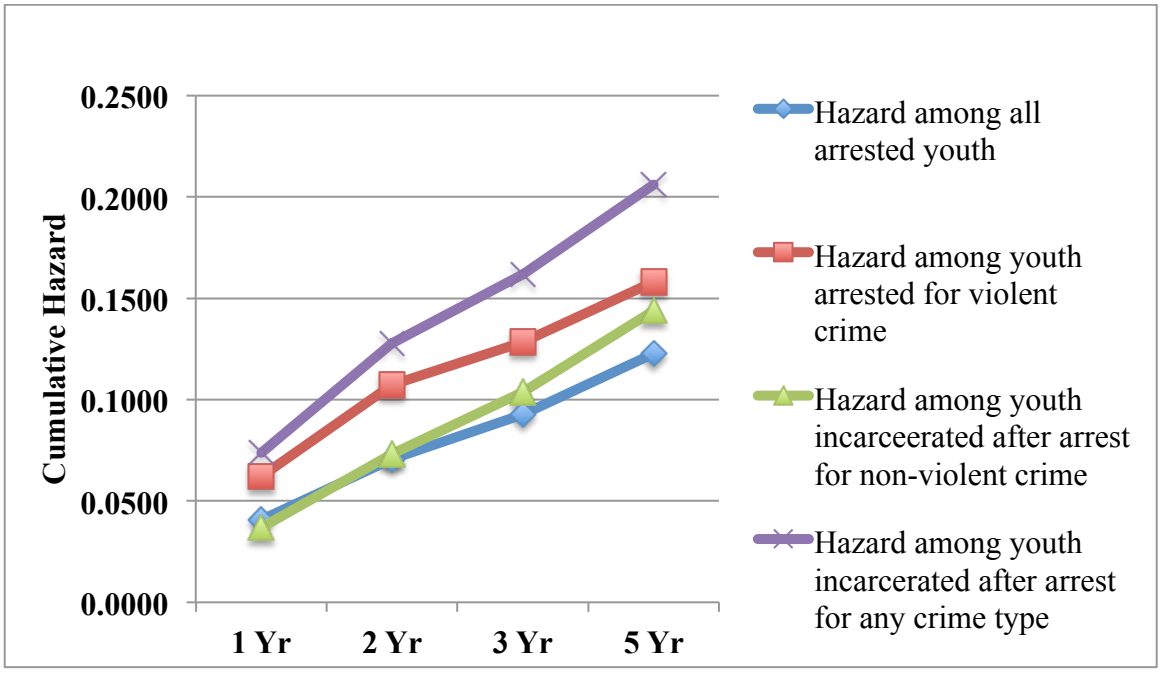
Table 5.4 Cox-Proportional Hazard Model of Re-arrest for Violent Crime based on Prior Incarceration

(2012-2017)

Number of subjects	*10,822*					
Failures	*967*				***Lr chi2(1)=***	*1626.33*
					Prob>chi2 =	*0.000*
Log likelihood	*-7947.8867*					
	Hazard Ratio	Standard error	Z	P>|z|	[95% Confidence Interval]	
Incarceration prior to re-arrest	15.34	1.04	40.2	0.000	13.42	17.52

Graph 5.1 presents the results of the second analysis I conducted to answer research question 1.2 and includes the cumulative hazard (cumulative risk) of re-arrest for violent crime among four groups: all youth in the data, youth who were initially arrested for a violent crime, youth incarcerated after arrest for a non-violent crime and youth incarcerated after arrest for any crime. These hazards were estimated over a 1-year, 2-year, 3-year and 5-year period. Results show that the highest cumulative risk at each time point is among youth incarcerated after arrest for any crime followed by youth who were initially arrested for a violent crime.

Graph 5.1 Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime among Male Youth Arrested by the LAPD (2012-2017)



* Reference Appendix D for exact estimates.

The final way that the impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime was examined was by estimating survival times among youth arrested two times or more. Findings show that incarceration shortens time to re-arrest among youth with more than once arrest.

Among these youth who were re-arrested, 25% who were not incarcerated were re-arrested for violent crime within 3.89 years compared to 25% of youth who were incarcerated and re-arrested for violent crime within 1.58 years. The analyses presented in this section suggest that there is a large and significant effect of incarceration on risk of re-arrest for violent crime regardless of how many times a youth has been arrested and that being incarcerated is related to a shorter time to re-arrest for violent crime among L.A. youth.

Overall, there were three primary findings from the analysis to answer research question 2: 1) incarceration is a significant predictor of re-arrest for violent crime among L.A. youth 2) the cumulative hazard of re-arrest for violent crime is higher for those who have been incarcerated compared to those who have not been incarcerated and this hazard increases over time 3) incarceration after arrest for any crime is related to a shorter time until re-arrest for violent crime compared to not being incarcerated after initial arrest

5.5 To what extent does race, neighborhood poverty, neighborhood exposure to family violence and incarceration impact risk of re-arrest for violent crime?

The purpose of the third research question under aim 1 is to understand the impact of incarceration relative to other variables on re-arrest for violent crime. Survival analysis was used again, this time with multiple covariates in the model including race, neighborhood poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence.

The measure of neighborhood poverty used in this analysis was a dichotomous variable based on the average proportion of families living below poverty among all zip codes in the dataset. As defined in Chapter 4, this measure of neighborhood poverty indicates whether the arrested youth lives in a zip code where greater than 17.9% of families live below the poverty line or if they live in a neighborhood where less than or equal to 17.9% of families live below

poverty. The measure of exposure to family violence was based on the number of adult domestic violence arrests per 1,000 residents that occurred in the youth's home zip code. The measure used in this model was based on the quartile distribution of domestic violence arrests among all zip codes in the data set. This measure was chosen instead of the average because it resulted in observable differences between the 3rd (>10.16-12.44 arrests/1,000) and 4th quartiles (>12.44-26.2 arrests/1,000) relative to the 1st (0-6.69 arrests/1,000) and 2nd (>6.69-10.16 arrests/1,000).

Neighborhood poverty was not significant in the model (Hazard= 1.03, P>|z|=0.66) and was removed from the analysis. Interaction terms between race and neighborhood indicators, race and incarceration and neighborhood indicators and incarceration were all tested and found to be insignificant. The final models (Tables 5.5) include race, incarceration and neighborhood exposure to family violence.

Being Black, a high exposure to family violence and prior incarceration were each significant in the first model that included all youth. In this model, Black youth have a 61% higher hazard of being re-arrested for violent crime compared to white youth with all other variables held constant. Youth in neighborhoods with high levels of family violence have a 25%-27% higher hazard of being re-arrested for violent crime relative to those with lower exposure to neighborhood family violence when all other variables are held constant. Being incarcerated had the largest effect and increases the hazard of re-arrest for violent crime by a factor of 12 compared to not being incarcerated with all other variables held constant.

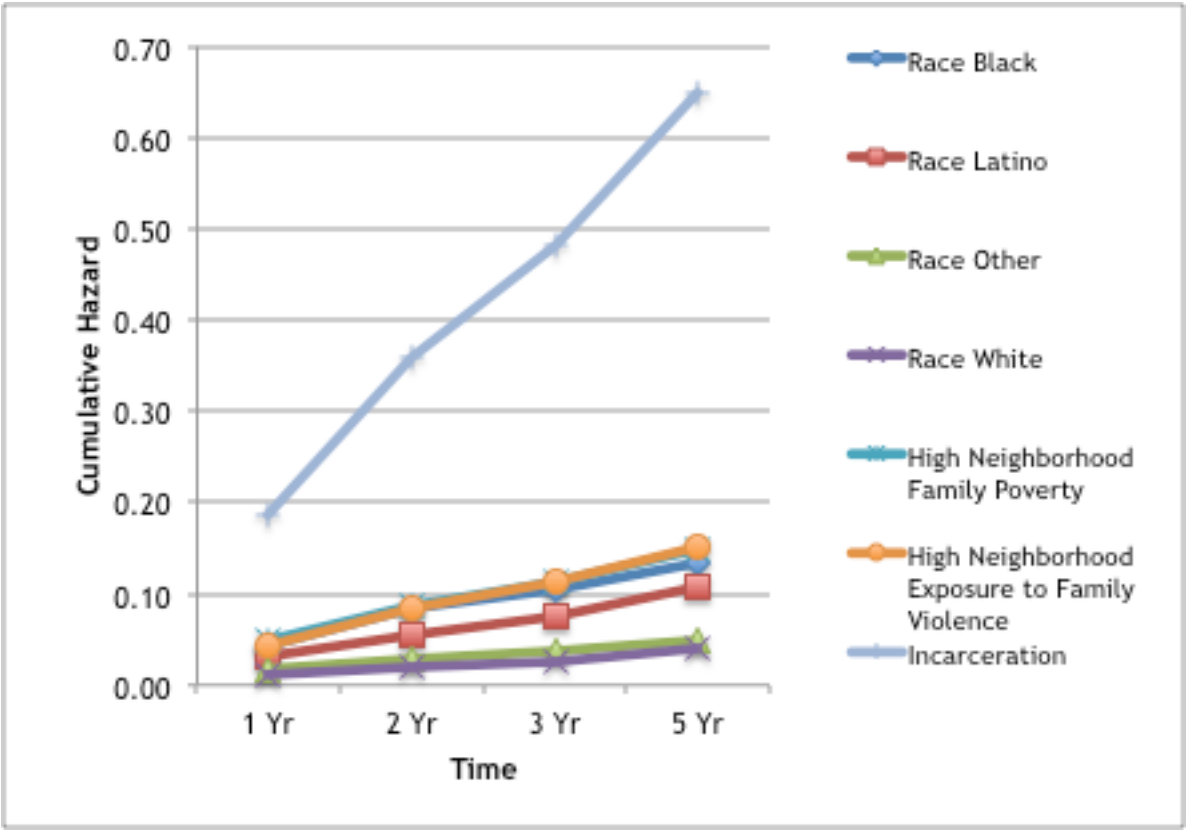
Table 5.5 Cox-Proportional Hazard Model of Re-arrest for Violent Crime based on Race, Neighborhood Exposure to Family Violence and Prior Incarceration

(2012-2017)

All youth arrests						
Number of subjects	*9,385*				***Wald Chi2(6)***	*1738.88*
Failures	*967*				***Prob>chi2 =***	*0.000*
Log likelihood	*-7321.1194*					
	Hazard Ratio	**Standard error**	**Z**	**P>|z|**	**[95% Confidence Interval]**	
Race (Comparison group= white)						
Black	1.61	0.39	1.98	0.05	1.00	2.64
Latino	1.38	0.32	1.40	0.16	0.88	2.17
Other	1.01	0.36	0.02	0.99	0.49	2.05
Exposure to family violence in home zip code (Comparison= 0-6.96 domestic violence arrests/1,000 residents)						
>6-10 arrests	1.17	0.14	1.28	0.200	0.92	1.49
>10-12 arrests	1.25	0.13	2.18	0.029	1.02	1.53
>12-26 arrests	1.27	0.13	2.28	0.023	1.03	1.57
Prior incarceration	12.24	0.808	37.94	0.000	10.76	13.93

Graph 5.2 show the cumulative hazards of re-arrest for violent crime based on incarceration prior to re-arrest for violent crime, race, neighborhood poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence at 1 year, 2 years, 3 years and 5 years after initial arrest.

Graph 5.2: Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime among Male Youth based on Race, Incarceration and Neighborhood Variables (2012-2017)



* Exact estimates and confidence intervals presented in the Appendix D

Previous incarceration is associated with the highest cumulative hazard of re-arrest for violent crime at each time point among all arrested youth. After incarceration, youth living in a neighborhood with high exposure to family violence, high poverty and Black youth have roughly

the similar cumulative hazards of re-arrest for violent crime over time followed by race for Latino youth. Although neighborhood family poverty was not significant in the survival model that assess multiple covariates at a time, cumulative hazard analysis evaluates each factor separately. This suggests that although poverty alone is influential on the cumulative risk of re-arrest for violent crime that it may interact with or be less impactful relative to other variables. As expected, white youth and youth of other races had the lowest cumulative hazard of re-arrest for violent crime.

5.6 Limitations and Summary of Aim 1 Results

The findings presented in this Chapter provide estimates of the impact of youth incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime by race and neighborhood variables. This adds value to the existing literature and public understanding of the relationship between incarceration and violence. Still, there are some limitations of these findings that are important to consider when interpreting the results. As described in Chapter 4, because the data are not structured to facilitate identification of individuals over time, preparation of the data for this analysis required several assumptions and a matching procedure. Since the not all youth could not be individually identified, it is likely that the number of arrests of youth in this dataset is overestimated and the rates of re-arrest are therefor underestimated. In turn, the estimates provided here should be considered conservative.

Another limitation is the neighborhood level variables used. Ideally, we would have poverty and exposure to family violence information available at the individual level. Information on household income and individual exposure to family violence would provide more insight on how these factors may directly impact youth. Unfortunately, these individual

level variables are difficult to obtain for reasons related to privacy of information and also data availability.

A third limitation is that this data did not include length of incarceration, which could have a significant impact on the results. Youth may be sent to juvenile hall and be incarcerated for only one week, several months or years depending on the crime their charged with, the court process and whether or not they're convicted. Incarceration in a juvenile detention facility for a few days is likely to have a different impact than incarceration for a year or more. Future research should attempt to include this variable to understand the effects of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime.

Despite these limitations, there are a few major takeaways from these findings. One is that incarceration, for any length of time, increases risk of re-arrest for violent crime. Incarceration also results in a shorter length of time until re-arrest for violent crime. Another key takeaway from these findings is that Black youth in L.A. are disproportionately impacted by policing and incarceration relative to youth of other races. This disparate impact is demonstrated by the proportion of arrests of Black youth relative to the population of Black youth in L.A. and is also exemplified by the proportion of Black youth that are incarcerated after arrest for a non-violent crime compared to youth of other races. This analysis did not explore how the accumulation of factors associated with violence and youth incarceration can increase risk of re-arrest for violent crime. Future research could assess the impact of simultaneous stressors, including incarceration, on re-arrest for violent crime.

CHAPTER 6. Aim 2 Results from Interviews with L.A. County Probation Officers

6.1 Introduction

As previously discussed, the Los Angeles County Probation Department oversees the operations of youth detention facilities for the county, including juvenile halls and camps. Probation officers who work in detention facilities are responsible for the daily activities of incarcerated youth. They accompany them to and from school, medical appointments, recreation and other programs. They are present 24 hours per day and 7 days each week making sure the youth have clean clothes, hygienic products and meals.

Despite a 25-plus year history of operating L.A. juvenile halls and camps, the perspectives of county probation officers on the effects of youth incarceration are absent from the literature. In this chapter, I address this research gap with findings from probation officers interviews where they *describe the structural, environmental and experiential factors in youth detention that impact violent behavior and risk of re-arrest for violent crime among male youth in L.A.* (AIM 2 of this study). Findings from the probation officer interviews build on the quantitative results discussed in Chapter 5. Whereas Chapter 5 provides information on whether or not incarceration has a measurable impact on re-arrest for violent crime relative to other risk factors such as race, family violence and poverty, findings presented in this chapter explain how the experience of youth incarceration can affect violence during incarceration and after release from detention from the perspective of probation officers.

Again, the interviews with probation officers covered a range of topics including, but not limited to, information about their personal histories, employment trajectories, beliefs and

attitudes about youth violence and violence prevention, the operations of detention facilities, the role of race, gangs, guns, drugs and family on violence. The findings presented here are not inclusive of all that was shared by probation officers during the interviews but are centered on those perspectives relevant to the conditions of youth confinement that impact behavior and violence.

I present the qualitative findings in this chapter by first providing background on the study participants (section 6.2) followed by three sections (6.3-6.5) relevant to the research questions of this dissertation under study aim 2:

Research Question 2.1	What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?
Research Question 2.2	What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention do probation officers believe impact youth behavior and violence?
Research Question 2.3	What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?

The analysis involved coding transcripts of the interviews with conceptual terms that describe the views of the probation officers. These conceptual terms are presented in two ways in subsections 6.3 through 6.5 of this chapter. First, the concepts are categorized by theme. Under each themed heading I provide a summary of the probation officer responses and the direct quotes. The second way the concepts are categorized is either as expected (pre-set) or emergent based on whether they were previously identified in the literature and included in the conceptual model or not (Tables 5-7). The value of reporting the findings in this second way is to assess what aspects of the conceptual model hold true in this study (expected) and what concepts could be used to improve the model (emergent). Emergent concepts are particularly

important because they offer potential new ways of understanding the impact of youth incarceration on re-arrest for violent crime. The sixth and final subsection of this chapter (subsection 6.6) discusses the key takeaways from the qualitative findings and describes how limitations of the data may impact the conclusions that can be drawn from this portion of the study.

6.1.1 Terminology and Quotes

Before presenting the findings, it is important to note the terminology used and how the quotes in subsections 6.3-6.5 are attributed to participants. Throughout this chapter, I use the terms probation officer, interview participant and staff or probation staff interchangeably when referring to the probation officers that I interviewed for this study. I also use the term youth detention center, which can refer to any type of facility where youth are incarcerated including juvenile halls or juvenile camps. As described in Chapter 4, the probation officers interviewed all work at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall overseeing the care of youth charged with serious and violent crimes.

In terms of attributing quotes, it is common to uniquely identify responses from participants and/or provide some demographic information about the person who is quoted when reporting qualitative findings. I take another approach here in an effort to further protect the privacy of study participants. Although perspectives from all probation officers interviewed are represented in the findings, the quotes are not linked to an individual's background (such as gender, age or race). Within each section, quotes are labeled to distinguish whether one or multiple participant responses are represented but quotes are identified differently in each section

using the term 'officer' or participant' followed by different alphabetic or numeric variables so that quotes cannot be linked across sections.

6.2 Interview Participants

Probation officers that participated in this study represent 144 collective years working for the L.A. County Probation Department, with individual work experience ranging from less than 5 years to greater than 20 years. Participants were anywhere from under 30 to over 50 years of age and all participants identified as African-American/Black, Latino or Latina. Some participants spent their entire careers working with youth incarcerated for violent crimes and overseeing their daily activities while in detention at Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall. Other participants had rotated among positions in the L.A. County Probation Department including working in school-based settings, placement, juvenile camps and other juvenile halls. All of the participants were either born and raised in Los Angeles County or had lived in L.A. since they were teenagers. Additionally, every participant remarked that the reason they continued to work for probation is because they had a desire to help youth. Some felt that their own childhood circumstances were similar to those of incarcerated youth, which better equipped them to relate and be of service. None of the probation staff interviewed had ever participated in a research study of this kind nor had they ever been interviewed about their views on youth incarceration and the operations of the juvenile hall.

6.3 What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?

Probation officers generally believed that incarcerated youths' behavior, both positive and negative, was most affected by their home environments and neighborhoods. Although there was consensus among interview participants about the relative impact of these importation factors[11], there was also a discussion of the unmet needs of incarcerated youth that affect behavior. These needs are categorized here based on their operational similarities and are discussed later in terms of whether they are expected or emergent concepts. Organizing the concepts by theme highlights three categories of need that if unmet, have the potential to impact youth behavior and violence. One category is 'structure, safety and staff support' which all have to do with the operations and environment that are regulated by probation staff. A second category is 'drug abuse intervention and group counseling'. These concepts are related to services that would be targeted for youth based on whether they had a history of drug abuse or interpersonal concerns. These types of programs could involve professionals trained in fields such as drug and alcohol counseling, social welfare and/or psychology. The third category is 'education and programs' and are services provided by outside agencies and volunteers for all youth in detention. Before discussing these themes relevant to the experience of incarceration, I will first highlight the overarching view expressed by interview participants, that youth are best served at home.

[11] Importation factors refer to experiences and influences prior to incarceration (reference Chapter 3)

6.3.1 Importance of the Home Environment

The majority of officers interviewed felt that the behavior of youth was most impacted by the environment in their homes and neighborhoods. They acknowledged that many of the incarcerated youth were regularly exposed to drugs, violence and indicators of extreme poverty that impacted their positive growth and development. Officers perceived that youth needed support in their home environments in order to succeed and if the support wasn't available, their chances of recidivism were much greater.

> *"I think the environments that they grow up in play one of the biggest roles and again it's consistency, but most people don't even use the word. It's just what you see on a daily basis. ... some kids they see violence when they wake up in the morning or they see giant holes on the walls or they see drugs on the table or they see a gun or they see moldy walls or moldy clothes. Just terrible conditions." (Participant 100)*

> *[Referring to preventing crime after youth are released]*
> *"It takes a lot of dedication from the parent and the people at home which I know a lot of these kids, don't have. You get frustrated with some of the socioeconomic issues that you see these kids are facing. You know what I'm saying? Like I said there needs to be a better advocate component involved here and I just don't know what that is." (Participant 101)*

> *"...let's figure out what's going on here. Is there something at school, there's a problem? Is there something in neighborhood, there's a problem and something at home, there's a problem. What's a home life like? Let's get into that. I think if they did that, you'd probably will cut down a lot of kids getting into that next step [next step refers to being arrested] (Participant 102)*

> *"From what I heard from our kids that when they go home, they start out -- they're trying to do what it was that they want to do in the halls. They start out knowing that's okay. I don't want to go there, the staff told me not to come back there, so I got to do this, I got to do that. All of a sudden, reality kicks in and they had way of leaving kids in that neighborhood, in that those same influences that they were escaped for a while and then back there. So now, actually to have them now deal with them have to turn away or have to change or whatever is different than you telling me in the halls, "Hey, look. When somebody tell you don't -- you got to understand, you're more important than that." (Participant 103)*

> *"Yeah. If they don't have that at home and no one's at home watching them or giving that support, the gang will take you" (Participant 104)*

I feel like they all have a choice to not be involved in gang in general but they don't have that support and cared for at home and they have to latch on to whatever comes their way. Being affiliated with someone, they might not know necessarily but if you are affiliated from somewhere and people know of you, there's no running from that. It's like you're going to be in here [juvenile hall] and some of them know who you are. Even if you don't want to fight, another person would be like, "All right. Cool. Make it easy for me. They'll still try get him" [get him= fight him]. (Participant 105)

It also has to do with their own family structure. If they have a mom or a dad or if they have both or they have none, if they have some sort of support at their home. Obviously, if they keep going to the same neighborhood, it's very, very hard for them to get away from that. If there's no change in that, there's like really, really low possibilities of them actually getting out of the gang or getting out of whatever the mess they're in. They end up falling right back into it because that's what they're surrounded by. That's just how it goes. (Participant 106)

[In response to what the youth's biggest concerns are when they go home] "How am I going to take care of my family legally? Resources. It's not even debatable. If I go back to the neighborhood, what are my options? I have no options. A part of being a man is providing for the family." (Participant 107)

Yeah, definitely. Then as far as them going home, I feel that in a way leaving out of this place and actually getting that second chance, they are hopeful and they have faith. But if they go back to -- they all tell me like, "If I go back to where I was living, I know I'm going to go back to the same thing because there's nothing else I can do." (Participant 106)

6.3.2 Structure, Safety and Staff Support

Although officers thought that the home environment had a larger impact on youth relative to the incarceration environment, they also acknowledged that youth had several basic needs that promoted positive development no matter what environment they were in. Officers felt that part of their responsibility was to meet these basic needs of youth while they were incarcerated.

Seven of the eight interview participants identified at least one the concepts structure, safety or staff support as needs of youth that can impact violence. Again, these concepts are grouped together because they are aspects of youth detention that fall under the formal or

informal responsibilities of probation officers. A probation officer's job responsibilities include leading youth through their daily activities, communicating expectations and ensuring a safe environment. Officers may also choose to be role models or provide mentorship to youth.

When discussing structure, interview participants said that structure involves providing youth with consistent messaging, having a regular schedule and repeatedly communicating what is expected. When structure is lacking, there tends to be more conflict and potential violence.

[In response to asking about what youth need to prevent conflict and violence]

"Put them [youth] in a decent environment and give them structure. You may have to double up on the resources depending on who they are and the majority of them will do very well" (Officer 1)

"Keeping structure, definitely repeating yourself. It doesn't matter how old they are. It doesn't matter. Just repeat yourself, repeat yourself so they know like this is what you're supposed to do, this is what you're not supposed to do."(Officer 2)

[Referring to a setting without structure] "You set the kids up for failure as they get to be adults because then they're expected to abide by rules and structure and they've never done it as a kid and they're definitely going to go to prison."(Officer 3)

Officers believed that these aspects of the environment give youth a sense of stability that fosters more positive interactions. One characteristic of a structured environment that probation officers could not always manage well was communicating expectations about court cases. The court process, including the length of time it takes to adjudicate a case, was identified as something that counteracted attempts to provide structure and impacts youth behavior and violence.

"..now, they are thinking that this [juvenile hall] is an environment that's very stable and, "Okay. I'll be here but that's only for a short period of time." But really it isn't because what the court system does and the way the court systems are, there's a process. During that process, the frustration comes out of how long I got to be here, and that's where a lot

of the acting out comes from. [the youth thinks] "I don't think this is going to take that long". They go to court, they continue it[12] *and the judge's calendar says that, "Hey, I'm on vacation." He's not going to say, "Okay. Let me get you out because I think you're right." No. I'll continue to -- "You just got in here in June, but I'm on vacation until August, so I'll see you on August 18." That's when they start to realize, "Wait a minute. This isn't what it's supposed to be" (Officer 4)*

Interview participants also stressed the importance of youth feeling safe. When youth thought they were susceptible to harm (especially from other youth) there was an increased likelihood of conflict and fights. On the other hand, when youth felt safe, they were more likely to have positive interactions.

"Not only that, when the kid's not feeling safe, the kids, that's when they tend to do more and try to get away with more"(Officer 2)

"People don't understand the culture or the mentality. These kids want to be safe. They want to be safe. They want to know that you can protect them. When you protect them, when they're safe, guess what? The fights go to." ["The fights go to" implies that there are less fights] (Officer 1)

"If you really want to see that kid grow, you have to provide a safe place for them"(Officer 4)

"What they need is safety, just safety." (Officer 5)

In addition to providing structure and safety, some probation officers also felt that it was their responsibility to be role models for the youth who they believed were unprepared for adult life. Probation staff regularly referred to incarcerated youth as "kids" and thought of themselves as providing parent-like guidance. As some staff put it, " the real world" involves consequences and youth needed practice following rules as well as experiencing consequences for not following rules. Youth also needed role models in order to be able to know how they should

[12] "continue it" refers to the court action where making a decision on the next step in a person's case is delayed until another date

behave. When these things were missing, then probation felt they were failing the youth because they would learn nothing from their experience in detention and there was greater chance they would recidivate.

> *"It starts with us -- I firmly believe that it starts with our staff, they got to make a change because you can only -- you can infuse some of which you think and some of what you feel on these kids and infuse the right stuff, and they will take it with them". (Officer 4)*

> *"I feel like we have a parenting role when it comes to them being here, but also I feel that they should have more consequences so that we could learn -- we could teach them how to learn, how they structure, how they behave, how to -- what's right, what's wrong."(Officer 5)*

> *"We are the teachers. We are the role models. Like I'm telling staff, "I don't think you guys realize that." We model the behavior that we want them [incarcerated youth] to do -- you see them act a certain way reminds me of so and so. They [incarcerated youth] take on that personality of that staff." (Officer 4)*

> *"We work with teenagers so what are we doing? We need to teach the teenager and teach them new skills -- there's so much they can do"(Officer 6)*

6.3.3 Drug Abuse Interventions and Group Counseling

Interview participants said that drugs and a lack of counseling services were two significant problems in youth detention that if addressed could reduce violence among youth. In terms of drugs, probation staff highlighted that drug use contributes to violence and aggression among incarcerated youth.

> *"[Youth name omitted] took off on me- like punched me in the face a couple of times maybe like two and half weeks ago. The reason he took off on me was because -- he had drugs."*
> *Interviewer: "In his system?"*
> *Interviewee: "Yes, in his system"*
> *(Participant 11)*

> *[In response to whether or not drugs play a role in conflict and violence] "Definitely. Definitely, definitely, definitely, because even here when you see that they're -- when you notice that they're high, their attitude is totally different like it changed and it messes*

with their emotions, it messes with the way they behave, so it's like drugs definitely has a lot to do with it
(Participant 12)

Interview participants recognized that the activities surrounding drug use such as the transport, possession and sale of drugs also promoted conflict and violence. This could be because the sale didn't go as intended, staff found the drugs before a transaction could take place, or someone didn't follow through with what they said they were going to do. When asked how youth got access to drugs while in-custody, staff believed that incarcerated youth primarily obtained drugs from visiting parents and guardians.

"You have to consider the effects of drugs. If you have a drug like crystal meth circulating through the unit and the kids were using it, their moods are going to change. They might have a short fuse or something and we have to consider that. If the kid sells some drugs or he was the middleman for a sale and it didn't go right, then not the effect of the drugs but just the effect of that transaction going wrong. That's going to cause a problem." (Participant 13)

"There've been fights, one or two fights in this building since I've been over here. I think both were about drugs. Somebody got drugs, somebody's holding the drugs, somebody got caught. Somebody didn't come through with drugs." (Participant 14)

"And then you have parents that come but they're no good to their children. So you see them come and bring stuff for them like their own parents bring stuff for them and it's like, 'How are you doing this to your own child?'"
Interviewer: "Like drugs?"
Interviewee: "Yeah, So how can you do that to your own kid? - I don't know"
(Participant 12)

Staff felt like there were several reasons that youth used both illicit drugs and prescription drugs, including: (a) they were exposed in their home environment or with their parents, (b) it is the best way they knew how to cope with their current situation and/or (c) peer influence. In terms of peer influence, staff felt that some youth would feign mental health issues to access

prescription drugs because other youth had access to a way to "get high" and they also wanted to be "part of the group".

> *"That type of stuff happens. I feel like sometimes when their own parents are on drugs and doing things that they're not supposed to, so how are they going to tell them not to do something when their parents themselves are in the same business or doing the same things? …Then sometimes you see the visitors coming in and it's like, 'Are they high?' It's like, 'What are you doing?' I just think and think about it and I just can't grasp what the reason behind why they would do that. Then I get it, that some of them are fighting their own demons. But in order for you to be a parent, I would think that you wouldn't want that for your child, so deal with it, get help, do your part, so that you can help your kids out." (Participant1 2)*

> *"As staff, it's like what can we do to help them emotionally like recover -- because they think that drugs is an outlet for them not to feel, but I feel like if they were given an option of like actually dealing with their emotions, dealing with what they're going through, actually growing. They then become stronger and they're not going to need the drug, they're not going to need something else." (Participant 12)*

> *[Referring to youth who get prescription medication] "I would say there are some that I can really see that have problems. There are a lot that it's all part of the game – they think 'I can get psych meds', 'I can get pills if no more than some Benadryl to sleep at night'. Benadryl's going to get you a little bit high. So you get a little bit high, everybody see that I'm part of the group, I'm getting some pills and go on with it." (Participant 14)*

Unlike the officer who thought youth feigned illness to get prescriptions, one staff felt like the increased use of medications was the result of a rise in prescriptions for youth prior to coming to juvenile hall.

> *"Now, compared to when I started this 17 years ago, I see so many kids on psych medications. …Oh my god. It may be used to have been one kid out of maybe 40 or 50 kids… Now, it's like candy.…But then, if you sit down and talk to some of them, you realized that they get on psych meds in the last couple of years, prior to coming to the Barry J. or LP. You want them to have the medical care that they're needing. You know what I mean? But I don't want to see them on psych meds. They are so young." (Participant 15)*

Interview participants did not discuss any drug abuse interventions that they were aware of however the repeated discussion of drugs across interviews as a major source of conflict and violence is suggestive that what programs may exist are ineffective and/or that new interventions are needed to address this problem.

In terms of group counseling, there were very specific ideas that probation officers had about types of counseling services youth needed. These included conflict resolution, gang intervention counseling and family counseling. Staff thought that counseling had the potential to resolve conflict between youth in detention and also between youth and their families.

> *"… everywhere there's teenagers and kids, there's a counseling center. You can't go into any college campus without a counseling center. You can't go into a high school without one but we don't have them… It's not been a counseling center for months. It's been pretty much shut down." (Participant R)*

> *"There [used to be] gang intervention [in the detention facility]. A person would come in and he would meet with our kids. [The person would meet with] the two kids that had the rivals and not that they were going to be best friends, but it was to teach them how to get along and coexist without fighting when they see each other." (Participant R)*

> *[Referring to the need for family counseling]" I think that would help a lot, to be honest with you. At least – if they can't do it every two weeks, at least once a month so that the kids could be -- so they can also know that they're loved because a lot of these parents, I haven't seen -- there's like five of these kids over here, they never ever, ever see their parents come through here. (Participant S)*

To fill in for the lack of counseling services, some staff took it upon themselves to counsel the youth but acknowledged that they were limited in their capacity to serve in this role due to other job responsibilities.

> *"And the kids, I'll start to talk to them immediately and the counseling begins immediately because I'm like, 'This isn't the right way you guys. Understand bad side, good side of the bed,' and then I'll make a joke. I'm like, 'You guys are sleeping in twin*

size beds, there's no side. There's one side.' I usually get a good response when that happens" (Participant T)

I really thought we were probably going to be doing more counseling-- but [it's difficult because] you're in the midst of the behavioral problems with the minors. (Participant U)

6.3.4 Education and Programs

Participants in the study said that youth needed quality education and programs and that they noticed a change in behavior when the youth were engaged in school and other activities. Staff felt like high school could be improved and that college classes seem to make a difference in attitudes about education. Staff also identified tutoring as a specific program that was needed and missing.

"There's some good [high school] teachers but sometimes you go in those classrooms and it's like, "What are they learning?" They have a sheet in front of them and they expect you to be telling the kids what to do, but it's like, "You're the teacher. We're just supervising. This is your classroom. Teach them something." I feel on that aspect too like we're letting them down when it comes to their education…. I'm glad they have college classes and they're actually really into them because there are a few -they come back and they're like really interested about it and I'm happy to see that they're actually like putting effort into those classes. You'll see them, they're studying overnight and it's really nice to see. (Officer A)

"[referring to the need for high quality tutoring] You need something like that -- if the kids were reading on grade level which is 9th, 10th, 11th grade, a lot of our problems wouldn't be our issues. The criminal justice will still be there but the problems at school wouldn't be there. You understand what I'm saying? I have brought this up to certain people who I know are influential and that can make things happen and they listen but they weren't very interested in it. I think that would be more trying to solve some of the issues long term because no matter what, you have to read wherever you go" (Officer B)

Participants listed characteristics of programs they thought would resonate with youth and promote positive behavior and development. Officers thought that programs that fostered unity, camaraderie, gave youth a sense of self-worth and promoted the idea that they are cared for would help prevent violence. Staff also thought that job programs to keep youth occupied and

allow them to receive praise helped youth with their attitude and self-esteem. Finally, staff mentioned that programs that provided guidance on how to live life when you were released were essential to giving them the tools they needed to prevent recidivism.

> *"I just feel like if there were -- I feel like if there's more programs like that [referring to programs that help with re-entry], they would -- we would be saving a lot more youth."(Officer C)*
>
> *[Referring to Inside Out Writers- a writing program for youth] "Programs like that they do help. But they also allow for the staff to learn about the kids. We need more of it and on a higher scale". (officer B)*
>
> *[Describing a type of program that would help youth]*
> *"If this -- I'm not saying that this should be like a military type thing or anything but they like that, feeling like they're part of something. They like the unity. They feel good about it. We're all together like moving with kids or goofing around. They like feeling like they're cared for." (officer D)*
>
> *"I think if the places they end up spending their time, if those places actually had them practicing what they want them to do when they get out. I guess that's my problem with the system. What they practice daily is what they usually do - you get repeat offenders. Why? Because they're around offenders and they're not around people who are trying to help them go to a place they want to be."(officer E)*
>
> *"These kids enjoy having anybody give them some responsibilities. I've seen where some kids been a total butt hole but you give them job, they have responsibility and for somebody to tell them, "You're doing a good job."(officer F)*

All together, interview participants identified what they perceived that incarcerated youth needed while they were incarcerated to promote positive development and deter violence. They believed that drug abuse was a significant problem for incarcerated youth that promotes conflict and that youth needed structure, safety and supportive staff to reduce violence while incarcerated and to improve their ability to thrive in society as adults. Participants also identified efforts they thought would prevent recidivism after release. In addition to a supportive home environment, officers thought that youth needed access to group and family counseling services, quality

education and job and re-entry programs that helped prepare youth for adulthood, fostered unity and made them feel cared for.

6.3.5 Research Question 2.1: Expected and Emergent Concepts

Probation officers identified unmet needs of incarcerated youth that align with both expected and emergent concepts (Table6.1). Expected concepts are those that were hypothesized to impact re-arrest for violent crime prior to collecting data and are listed in the conceptual model (Figure 3.3). Emergent concepts are those that were not included in the model but may or may not be consistent with existing research and literature on youth behavior, violence and incarceration.

Table 6.1: Expected and Emergent Concepts about the Unmet Needs of Youth that impact Behavior

Research Question 2.1: What unmet needs do probation officers believe impact behavior and violence among incarcerated youth?				
Unmet Needs of Youth in Detention		**Expected Concepts**	**Emergent Concepts**	
		Conceptual Framework: In-Custody Factors	***Consistent with Literature***	***Limited Published Evidence***
1	Structure	X		
	Staff Support	X		
	Safety		X	
2	Drug Abuse Interventions	X		
	Group Counseling		X	X
3	Education	X		
	Programs		X	

As previously discussed, officers said that having a structured, safe environment and role modeling, as a specific form of staff support, decreases youth conflict and violence. Both structure and staff support were expected concepts and identified in the original conceptual

model. *Safety* on the other hand, was an emergent concept that's consistent with existing literature on the positive effects of feeling safe on youth outcomes[26]. Findings from the interviews support including both *structure* and *staff support* as in-custody factors that can impact youth violence and also suggests that *safety* should be added to this list of factors in the conceptual model.

Drug abuse interventions were an expected concept while *group counseling* was emergent. There are conflicting conclusions in a limited amount of research on the effects of peer group counseling[113,114]. Although peer group counseling is not well studied, there has been a significant amount of research on the impact of family therapy, another form of group counseling suggested by officers. For example, Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST) has undergone a number of evaluations across different populations to understand its efficacy in improving outcomes for high risk and formerly incarcerated youth. These studies have found that MST is effective at reducing recidivism and preventing violence [115,116]. Despite the promise of these findings, when MST was evaluated by race, it was found to be ineffective at improving outcomes for Black youth[117]. With this in mind, findings here suggest that additional research should be conducted on the specific types of group and family counseling that would be best for youth to participate in while in-custody to prevent violence.

Education and *Programs* were grouped together in the third theme of unmet youth needs that probation officers discussed in the interviews. While education is an expected finding and identified in the conceptual model, programs is emergent but consistent with existing literature on what youth need to prevent justice-system involvement[11,26]. The literature suggests that types of programs that benefit youth include recreation/sports programs, community service programs and tutoring programs although there are likely others that have been found to be effective. This

suggests that *Programs* should be added to the conceptual model as an additional supportive factor that is related to the relationship between incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime.

6.4 What structural and cultural qualities of L.A. County Probation and detention impact youth behavior and violence?

The intent of this research question was to understand which, if any, juvenile hall policies or operations (structural qualities) impact youth violence as well as what, if any, individual and institutional attitudes and behaviors (cultural qualities) in juvenile halls impacts youth violence. Participants identified a few in each category. Structural qualities that have an impact on youth behavior and violence included: (a) changes in protocols around youth conflict and (b) hiring and training practices. Cultural qualities that have an impact on youth violence included: (c) the institutional climate and (d) the attitudes and approaches of probation staff. Interview participants associated these qualities specifically with youth conflict inside the detention facility and not after release. The evidence and summary of these findings are provided below followed by a discussion of whether they align with emergent or expected concepts.

6.4.1 Structural Qualities of Detention that Impact Youth Behavior and Violence

6.4.1a Protocols on Youth Conflict in Detention

In the previous section of this chapter (6.3), I discussed how probation officers identified 'safety' as a youth need that, when absent, could lead to violence and conflict. Here, I describe how probation officers also acknowledged that their ability to provide a safe environment for youth was limited by recent changes in department protocols. The department protocols are institutionally approved rules that govern staff activities and behavior. These protocols provide instruction to staff on how to operate the detention facility and how to respond to youth conflict.

When the protocol is not adhered to, there are employment consequences for staff such as being passed over for a promotion, unpaid leave, or termination.

The two protocol changes that were commonly discussed by interview participants were the elimination of "lock up"[13] as institutionally approved response to youth conflict and new restrictions on the physical restraint of youth who were involved in fights. Probation officers considered "lock up" a tool they could use to resolve physical conflict and provide consequences to youth who break the rules by being violent. Similarly, having the approval to physically restrain a young person who was in a fight was viewed as a quick way to end the altercation and prevent injuries. After changes in the protocol eliminated the practice of lock up, staff said that there were no mechanisms to replace it that provided accountability. Staff felt that some form of accountability is an important deterrent of future conflict that also increases the safety of the environment. Staff also felt that this particular protocol change was in response to a misguided perception by the public, commissioners and Board of Supervisors about what "lock up" is and how probation officers treat youth. Interview participants believed that this protocol change created an environment where youth feel increasingly unsafe and staff feel overworked. Interview participants thought that declining safety and overworked staff affects youth well-being, behavior, and youth relationships with the staff.

> *"If you're going to fight…it's just there's no lock up to pull them away from [the rest of] the group. So now we have staff, we get two kids fighting. They go talk to the psych, they get a phone call, get a treat and come back to the building and they may still want to fight. They fight again, we do the same thing over again." (Participant A.1)*

[13] "Lock-up is a term used to describe a type of punishment for youth. When youth were put in 'lock up' they were temporarily relocated to a different unit as a consequence for bad behavior. During this time, a young person lost their privilege to participate in extracurricular programs but they attended school, had group meals and had recreation time with other incarcerated youth."

[In response to a discussion on the elimination of lock-up]
"They [the incarcerated youth] don't belong in lock up with adults. He doesn't belong in solitary confinement for months on end……We've never had solitary confinement…. But there is a reasonable amount of time to separate them[the youth who are fighting] to go about getting a change for their behavior and actions – time to actually think about being social rather than anti-social. Some kids need it just to get their thoughts together. Just to think about what they've done. It's messed up, it's all messed up right now. I hope they go back[to having lock up]" (Participant A.1)

[Referring to new rules around restraining youth during conflict] "After that, everything went down. It's like -- I've told everybody, it's like people tend to think that we're [the staff] coming here trying to get them [the kids]. No, we're not. That's not what it is. 95% of us [staff] are coming here with a good heart, like trying to help them[the youth]…. They [people who criticize staff] have to also put themselves in the shoes of the staff as well….you see some of these minors, you're like, "What in the world is going on?" because they are out of control. They're disrespectful, from being disrespectful to being aggressive to hitting, doing -- punching, biting, but they don't ever see that side. They see the kids' side and I understand it because we're here to protect them and everything. But at the end of the day, it's like you also have to find a middle ground between both. Where now, if they have an issue – they want the staff to deal with the situation then its like, Okay, well, you don't want the staff to do this, this and this, but yet you don't give them another option so what do you want them to do? I feel that that has a lot to do with people not coming to work. It [not being able to restrain youth] just messes everything up." (Participant B.1)

[Participant recounts a discussion between incarcerated youth and a visitor about taking away staff tools to intervene in fights]
"And he said 'you can't do this! [take away the ability for staff to use pepper spray] because most of the staff can't restrain, so they can't protect us.' Then I let [the visitor] talk to [another youth] and he[the youth] said, 'you got to be crazy, you can't take this away'….they all told [the visitor] the same thing about how they feared for their safety."(Participant C.1)

6.4.1b Staff Hiring and Training

Probation officers have more interaction with incarcerated youth relative to any other group of adults. Because of this, they play a significant role in youth's experiences while they're incarcerated. Interview participants said that new hires that have a background working with youth and/or when new hires have had adequate training that prepares them to work inside the detention facility, the staff interactions with youth are more likely to be positive.

Many of the interview participants felt that recently hired probation officers are unprepared and/or unqualified to work in juvenile halls and camps. Interview participants said that this lack of preparation and experience places additional strain on other staff and can create a hostile or unsupportive environment for incarcerated youth. Officers have this view of recently hired staff because the new hires act surprised at youth behavior, are unfamiliar with issues that the youth face and have trouble responding appropriately.

> *"My academy was a lot different from what we've been hearing their [recently hired staff] academy is. They come here and they're like literally shocked to see what goes on and stuff. I don't know if it's in their head or I don't know if they've ever experienced anything like this - like people confronting you every minute of the day or if they've ever experienced that. But I feel that they don't have that history, so they don't really know how to react to a lot of things here, coming in" (Participant 101)*

> *"Well, our new staff that we have coming in now, some new wave. And right now, I think for them-- they haven't figured out themselves yet so there's a lot of fear that they have in the job. -- I think you read a job description but I don't think it really tells you what the job is about until you get there. And then you get there and it's like, 'Oh my goodness. This is not what I wanted to do,' or, 'This is not what I thought it was.' So a lot of officers come in with the intent that – 'I'm working with the kids, I'm just working with kids, work with detained kids'. Then they start seeing these cases and they start seeing they're [the kids] acting out and they start seeing some of the trauma that these kids present. So then it makes them look at themselves and go, 'I'm not ready for this, because how do I address this kid?'"(Participant 103)*

> *"It's just you need just more staffing and that's just the biggest issue we have, is the staff don't show up to work because they don't get proper training so they feel unsafe.(Participant 101)*

Another staff felt that deficits in the new wave of staff hires was a result of the type of people that were being selected for the job as opposed to a lack of training and experience.

> *"I think they're picking like cookie cutter type people whereas before I think they didn't mind if you got a little blemish in your record. It wasn't perfect. I think they should -- honestly, I think you can work better with people who are more flexible in their lifestyle versus someone who is black and white. They're picking on a lot of black and white*

people …So, when you get those kind of people here, they don't understand -- in this environment, you have to be flexible." (Participant 104)

Older interview participants identified youthfulness of newly hired staff as a concern because it is indicative of a lack of maturity that can be problematic in the position. This lack of maturity coupled with insufficient preparation for the job has resulted in inappropriate interactions between youth and staff and high turnover of newly hired officers. Interview participants felt that proximity in age between detained youth and staff makes conflict resolution more challenging. Officers also attributed the high turnover among newly hired, younger staff to a mindset about work that was more prevalent in younger generations. They felt that younger staff are less likely to work to overcome challenges on the job and more likely to quit instead. The high turnover of recently hired staff has resulted in fewer staff in each unit. When there are fewer staff available to work in the unit, the youth have a more strict environment with less programs because there aren't enough staff to do the work and oversee the youth activities.

Interviewee: "The maturity of the staff. Are they mature enough to deal with the population they are hired to work with? They're only 21 and so you've got a 22/23-year-old here, what you got? Even the 21-year-olds frontal lobes aren't fully developed working with teenagers whose frontal lobes are not fully developed, so what do you have? It's crazy.
Interviewer: "That's interesting, that you said that. Do you think the age should be raised to work inside?"
Interviewee: "Yeah. Absolutely. 25." (Officer AB)

"So I just don't think they have a real idea how to make that connection [with the kids], they're [the staff] so young themselves…There is also a generational thing where the new staff these days, they feel like -- I come there and this is not for me, "All right, bye. I'm going." (Officer CD)

"The egos of our young staff. Any insecurities you have, they're going to get you caught you up it's because you're a probation staff, you got the power. So, the question is you're going to have the last word because you can if you choose. You can choose to have the last word or you can choose to use it as a teachable moment." (Officer EF)

"There's a lot of turnover of younger officers and newer into the department. It's simply because that they didn't really think about what it was going to be, so what they thought it was going to be is going to be a lot of different than what it was. You hear a lot of that. I try encouraging them to stay because everybody has a bad day, everybody might have a bad situation and stuff like that but it gets better. But you know…it's bad." (Officer GH)

One interview participant who did not consider themselves a veteran staff but had been working in probation for several years, commented that there was a sense among more junior staff that senior staff are not willing to share their knowledge. They recognized tension between newly hired staff and more veteran staff was a significant problem for everyone.

" It feels like there's a division in probation right now. One side is veteran staff and the other side is newer staff. There's a really, really big division and it's starting to become obvious. And it's creating turmoil rather than relationship building and strengthening.…It also creates problems as far as training like if you have a veteran staff who has this knowledge, they've been here. They have the experience that we can't go back and channel, but they don't want to share that information or they want to share it the way they want to share it. That's a problem. We need that information so that we can help you guys keep this place safe. They're not sharing that information or they don't want to be helpful or they want to degrade other staff. That makes it harder." (Participant X)

Probation officers suggested that incoming staff would be better prepared to address and prevent youth violence in detention if they were trained on how to pick up on body language and cues that suggest a fight might happen and if they were trained on how to communicate effectively with youth. They felt that training from veteran staff would help.

"You have to pay attention. The body language will always tell half the time. You have to teach your staff, train your staff, to look at the body language. It doesn't matter what they say. Body language will tell you good or bad. If you're not sure, if you have any question, any uneasiness, you should confront it because body language tells everything. (Officer 41)

"they need to do there's some type of internship program like the Boys and Girls Club. At some inner city high school and maybe to give charter hours and this is -- there's

going to be a whole incentive from that because you really need them to be to communicate and I have staff who don't know how to communicate. They have no clue. They don't know how to project their voices. They don't know how to show presence. They don't know how to connect, engage the youth. They don't have a clue."(Officer 42)

"It should be something annually that we're going to be trained like how to communicate, how to identify if somebody is under the drugs, just how to get a staff out of a situation that shouldn't be a situation. That's not what we are trained on…" (Officer 43)

"So why doesn't the Probation department connect with DMH and be part of training? Let them bring that piece to the training because that's a huge part of this. They can teach officers how to be human, they can do the modeling for them. What's the problem? I don't really understand why we're not teaching our new staff how to communicate effectively with this population." (Officer 44)

"The newer staff comes the newer skills, veterans they know how to observe. They know what to look for. They know different triggers. They know different cues like I remember coming in new here and a veteran staff told me 'if you ever see a kid and he's just out of nowhere, strap his shoes up, really, really tight. There about to be fighting or there's about to be an attempt of a fight'. Just little, little things that some people just might not know to come and pay attention to and if certain staff are sharing that information, the newer staff never know and so you get some kind of conflict that could have been prevented. But instead it was right there in your face and you have no idea." (Officer 45)

Overall study participants felt that the deficits in staff hiring and training that impact youth behavior could be remedied by specifying certain qualifications in the hiring process, by adding specific modules to the training program, and by changing the structure of probation overall. Although the specifics of these recommendations are beyond the scope of this dissertation, they offer an opportunity for additional research.

6.4.2 Cultural Qualities of Detention that Impact Youth Behavior and Violence

6.4.2a Institutional Climate

Interview participants felt that the L.A. County Probation Department had a problematic way of operating that affected the work environment and impacted youth behavior. The

challenges that participants identified are collectively grouped under the theme 'Institutional Climate' referring to the informal institutional attitudes and behaviors that are not guided by any policy, written protocol or law. Probation officers named the following challenges related to the institutional climate: 1) decision making process 2) issues with staff morale and 3) a institutional lack of concern about recidivism.

In terms of the decision-making process, staff said that the department has a reputation for being reactive as opposed to prevention focused. Policies are developed and changed in response to negative public criticism and/or without input from on-the-ground staff. Participants said that this process of decision-making resulted in the aforementioned protocol changes that eliminated the practice of 'lock-up' and also created an undesirable work environment for staff that can result in ineffective approaches for working with youth.

> *"…probation is known as a reactive department. I mean I'm sure they don't want to hear that but it is. It should be a corrective department if you want to prevent things." (Participant 51)*

> *"And our department is lacking in the juvenile hall [referring to poor operations] and of course it's restrictive [of officers] in my opinion. We have no experts in juvenile hall in the executive role. None of them making these decisions have ever done what we've done" (Participant 52)*

> *[In response to a question about what more administrative support looks like] "It's hard to say because a lot of decisions that are made that dictates the structure of our days, we have nothing to do with those choices but we are the ones who have to carry them out daily. If they were present to see how things were run, why things were run the way they are, and then make a choice or make a choice that's guided by staff that actually work in these buildings daily - it would help, it would definitely help. To hear that the choices are being made from someone who never entered your building is kind of frustrating and insulting. It makes the job harder. Makes the job a lot harder*."(Participant 53)

> *[Referring to decisions made by Probation]"Everything goes to the pendulum, so it sways from one direction to the other direction. They will eventually go back to lockup. They just can't say it's a lockup. They'll go back but it's not going to happen until*

people get seriously hurt or the right person gets seriously hurt and then -- because everything is dollars and cents" (Participant 52)

Probation officers that were interviewed also thought that there was an issue with staff morale that could impact how staff interact with youth. The job environment is not supportive of staff with family and personal concerns which impacts feelings about the job. A low staff morale can affect officers who may have applied to the position to help youth but begin to resent their roles because of the work environment.

"The department is not adapting to the human part of this culture like if you want me to have this function every day I come to work. You want me to be present, you want me to be here, you want me to be ready to work at 100% but you're not interested in my human needs to be able to say, "Christmas, Thanksgiving and New Year's, which one do I want off." Doesn't matter if it falls on my shift, I can be guaranteed that one of those holidays, I'm going to spend with my family. It doesn't matter. They don't address to that." (Officer 11)

"I was telling someone a few days ago like when I first came here, first years, I felt I was coming to a career. I was beginning a career and now I felt like I'm just coming to a job. It's not a career anymore. It's just like my 9 to 5 and once I'm done, I want to get away from it. That's not a career anymore for me. [In a career] you get to work and then you feel, "Okay. I'm around people that want to be here, I want to be here," feels like a career. This is the difference." (Officer 12)

"I feel that if the staff are happy and they feel safe, that they're going to come and show up. Once you give them that stability pretty much, I feel that they're going to come to work….I feel like that would just eliminate a lot of the problems that we have now to be honest with you. But I mean management sometimes doesn't seem to be on our side for the most part." (Officer 13)

In addition to some staff saying that they feel unsupported, probation officers also believed that the department does not demonstrate concern about the trajectory of youth after they leave the facility. This may affect the likelihood that youth who are released will be re-arrested. Interview participants thought that there are indications that the department does not prioritize preventing recidivism. One indicator is that there was no institutional effort, such as

programs or workshops, to discuss the implications of incarceration with youth and how it might impact their future. A second indicator is that there is limited communication from the department to staff or youth about their transition home. Staff felt that providing guidance and follow through for youth returning back to the community was important if the department was interested in reducing recidivism.

> *"I think that because the kids are lacking the support. If you want to make sure the kids don't come back, you need to have that type of supervision that allows for the PO [Probation officer] to connect with that kid and the family to figure out what the problem is before it is too late. Before they exit the camp." (Participant ZZ)*

> [A Staff recounting a time when they were speaking to an incarcerated youth] " 'You know what man?' I said, 'Unfortunately, the system -- what the system does, the system gives you a credit card when you first start coming to jail. They don't tell you what the limit is. They don't tell you, Hey, you get a certain limit. This is what's going to happen.' So it's not informed because a lot of these kids keep thinking, 'Okay. Why do they keep sending me home?' And if you'll look at some of their crimes, it's a progression.". (Participant YY)

> *"And they're(the youth) telling you(the staff), so why not listen to it? But a lot of times that's what the system does. The system doesn't really listen to those early sign and warning signs." [referring to warning signs that a young person may commit a crime in the future](Participant YY)*

> *"....But if we're not doing our job here, to really put them on the right path and provide the structural support that they need once they get into the community and make sure that's followed through once they get out, then how do we want them to end up? I don't -- I never -- I don't get it. If we're not here to actually help and do the work – then what are we really doing?" (participant ZZ)*

6.4.2b Staff Attitudes and Approaches

Staff attitudes and approaches are a separate but related aspect of the cultural qualities of detention that impacts youth behavior and violence. Although staff attitudes can be impacted by

the institutional climate as just described, there is also a range of views among staff on the role of a probation officer. Officers that were interviewed commented that some staff think of their position as a pathway to another job or simply as way to make money. Others view the position as an opportunity to help youth and serve as positive role models. Whether or not a staff has the intent of helping youth impacts how they interact with a young person and in turn, that youth's experience while incarcerated. Staff that consider their role as a probation officer "just a job" tend to have poor communication with youth and do not make impactful connections.

> *"Then you see the people also -- some other people that work in our environment are people that this is just a job to them. There's not a connection with the kids. They are not trying to make a change and there's not a connection because they just see there is an avenue to something else."(Officer 91)*

> *"everybody's ultimate goal it seems to be to not have to work with the kids. But to me, that is why I took the job so it was kind of -- at first, it was kind of confusing. It was like, 'Where are you trying to go?' It was like -- that's why we were all here but then you start finding it out that not everybody has that the same ideology that you have about trying to help somebody." (Officer 92)*

> *"some people come in to work to make a paycheck and they're not there to actually to be influence somebody's life or to try to make a change or anything like that" (Officer 93)*

Probation officers that were interviewed clearly identified ways in which the culture and structure of the probation department and the ideals of people who worked there could influence youth outcomes. Staff hiring and training practices, the institutional decision making practices and probation safety protocols could have a significant impact on the staff and negative consequences for the work environment that can affect the experiences of incarcerated youth. The officers also highlighted that an institutional effort to reduce recidivism among youth was lacking from the probation department. These findings implicate departmental changes that have

the potential to positively impact youth and influence the relationship between incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime.

6.4.3 Research Question 2.2: Expected and Emergent Concepts

The participant-identified qualities of detention impacting youth behavior and violence included emergent but not expected (preset) concepts (Table 6.2). Many of these concepts were not supported in the literature and represent areas for additional research.

Table 6.2: Emergent Concepts on the Structural and Cultural aspects of Incarceration that impact Youth Behavior

Research Question 2.2: What structural and cultural aspects of L.A. County Probation and detention do probation officers believe impact youth behavior and violence?		
Qualities of Probation and Youth Detention	**Emergent Concepts**	
	Consistent with Literature	***Limited in the Literature***
Structural		
Protocols		X
Lock up'		X
Restraining youth		X
Hiring and Training	X	
Cultural		
Institutional Climate	X	X
decision-making		X
staff morale		X
recidivism focus	X	
Staff Attitudes and Approaches	X	

In terms of *lock up* and *restraining youth*, some research suggests the opposite of what probation officers reported in this study. Existing literature discusses evidence about the negative impact of punitive environments on youth anxiety and behavior suggesting that they can

increase the likelihood of violence[50,69]. No research could be identified that found a positive impact on the use of punitive consequences or restraint for youth in detention. This contradiction between probation officer perceptions and the literature could be a result of the officers lacking alternative approaches to addressing conflict among youth. For example, one interviewee commented that after the protocol change eliminated lock up and discouraged restraining youth, that the department didn't give staff any other options. It's possible that if probation officers were trained on other forms of de-escalation and conflict resolution, they would not perceive a need for lock-up or restraining youth. Still, the contradiction suggests that additional research on this topic is warranted.

In terms of staff hiring and training, the literature supports that professionals working with adolescent youth should have competencies in human and youth development, communication and relationships, diversity, and ethics[118,119]. This research is consistent with the idea that training staff in these areas could reduce conflict in detention facilities. However, there was no identifiable research related to correctional or probation staff competencies or training and their impact on youth violence. This research gap also demonstrates a need for additional investigation into correctional staff background and training and their effect on youth behavior and outcomes.

Interview participants identified cultural qualities of detention related to youth violence that included emergent concepts consistent and/or limited in the literature. Findings suggested that aspects of the institutional climate such as poor staff morale, inadequate decision-making processes and the lack of focus on reducing recidivism among youth may all contribute to violence. The literature supports the latter of these findings related to focusing on youth recidivism and concludes that when correctional goals are aligned with evidence based practices

known to reduce recidivism, youth are less likely to be re-arrested for any crime[120,121]. The support in the literature indicates that this aspect of the institutional climate should be added to the conceptual model. While there was no identifiable research connecting staff morale to youth violence in detention, there is evidence that job satisfaction among correctional officers is linked to turnover[122]. This may represent an indirect link to youth violence if high staff turnover results in a less supportive and more punitive environment for youth. Similarly, while there was no research found that examined the link between departmental decision making and youth violence in detention, there is literature highlighting the difficulty of achieving organizational change in correctional settings[121]. It's reasonable to think that these difficulties could lead to challenges in appropriately responding to youth violence in detention. Nonetheless, the lack of research on the topic implies that additional studies in this area are needed to better inform how correctional facilities are able to adequately respond to youth violence.

Participants highlighted a final cultural quality of detention that they believed impacted youth behavior, which were staff attitudes. Specifically, the probation officers interviewed felt that some staff worked for probation for reasons that were unrelated to helping youth. Interview participants viewed these staff as potentially having more conflict and lacking connections with youth. Although staff support was included in the conceptual model as a supportive factor, a lack of staff support was not and therefore represents an emergent concept. Unsupportive staff is distinct from the concept of conflict, which is already included in the model, because it represents passive neglect. This finding is consistent with the literature that states that perceptions of care and balanced relationships relative to poor relationships between youth and correctional staff is related to perceived success post release and positive outcomes[64,120]. This

consistency between the literature and the findings suggest that a lack of staff support should also be included in the model.

6.5 What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?

Probation officers believed that race and racism impacted youth behavior and violence. They highlighted interpersonal conflict as a result of racial prejudice between Latino and Black youth and institutional/structural racism that impacts staff behavior and how the system responds to youth. The violence that participants discussed related to race and racism primarily took place in detention however they also believed that some of these race-based conflicts were a function of beliefs and attitudes of the youth prior to being incarcerated.

Probation officers gave a few examples of how and why racial prejudice leads to youth violence in detention: (a) through youth interaction with incarcerated adults, (b) due to perceived favoritism by staff and (c) because of pre-existing prejudices held by youth. In terms of interaction with incarcerated adults, some background is necessary. As a reminder, the probation officers who were interviewed for this study are responsible for youth who are being charged with serious and violent crime and having their cases considered for transfer into the adult court system. Youth whose cases have been transferred to adult court end up interacting with adults when they go court because they are temporarily placed in a holding cell near adults while waiting for their turn in the courtroom. These interactions with adults have been known to precipitate fights between Black and Latino youth in the juvenile hall.

> "*For example, we had two kids [in adult court]. You wake them up and get them washed up, feed them so the sheriffs can come get them and they're laughing and talking. They*

come back from court that day and they want to fight because they went to county jail and sat up in the tank[holding cell where adults are]. The Hispanics have told the Hispanic kids to get the black kids. Black and brown, at war. These two were buddy-buddy this morning, now they want to kill each other because in the folks county jail say it's time to get into the ranks [related to gang status]. It's a racial thing."(Participant 70)

There are also instances when youth of one racial identity believe that youth of another racial identity are receiving preferential treatment by staff or are prejudiced prior to coming into the juvenile hall. Some youth may try to organize others against youth of a different race. Both the perception of staff bias, and racial division in the detention units can lead to conflict between youth and between youth and staff.

"And a lot of times we have conflict too is because one kid will sit and watch and may feel another kid is getting more than he's getting. And so then it becomes – 'why do you think that is?' and 'the staff have favoritism' and then that's when they're throwing in the racial aspect of it. As a staff - it is racial because you find that -- once again, that mixture, you can't just be because you're Latino, just stick with Latinos. Or just because you're black-stick over here with just the black kids because if you don't mix it up, trust me, they will think that you're biased in some kind of way."(Participant 71)

[In response to whether race causes conflict & fights] "*Definitely, racial, yeah, especially like racial tensions are a big thing. I don't really get it. I don't really know why it happens. I think it just depends on whether you have that one or two kids that are really racist and gather up the other ones that are easy to manipulate." (Participant 72)*

"These group of Hispanic kids want to hit a black kid and they felt they just need to send him a message. They waited for the perfect opportunity and they went for it. But luckily, we were able to deescalate it before it went to major scale." (Participant 73)

Another staff did not think that race or prejudice was the cause of most of the conflict on the surface but thought it may be an underlying issue that youth were not even fully aware of. However, this same officer did believe that race became a more important issue when youth were being transferred to adult prison.

Interviewer: "Do you think that race is that the foundation of a lot of conflict between the

kids inside?"
Interviewee: "No, I don't… because at the end of the day, they're all were -- I want to say a large percentage of them are gang members. It might be gang rivalry. It could be contraband, someone owe someone money and that could be across races. I don't think it's always racial. I think racial could play and probably it might be the underlying origin but, on the surface, no, it isn't." (Participant 74)

Interviewer: "Yeah. I kind of know the answer to this though. What if they're going to go to adult prison, what's their biggest concern?"
Interviewee: "Wow. That's a tough question because I think race plays a big role on that one and if they are a gang member" (Participant 74)

With regard to institutional racism, some interview participants said that the probation system operated in a way that privileged white youth relative to Black and Latino youth. There was a sense that if staff did not uphold these same practices of privileging white youth relative to other youth that their jobs would be in jeopardy. The definition of institutional racism that I use here is based on the definition articulated by Charles Hamilton and Kwame Ture. To paraphrase this definition: *"Institutional racism originates in the operation of established and respected forces in society. It operates on the active and pervasive operation of anti-Black attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: whites are "better" than Blacks; therefore Blacks should be subordinate to whites…"*[123] . In the findings presented here, probation officers discuss the privilege of white youth and communities relative to both Black and Latino communities.

"Okay, both of them [Persian youth and black youth]-- this is what happened. Both of them robbed somebody with a gun. The Persian kid had a loaded weapon. The black kid had an unloaded weapon. The Persian kid, the mother and father owned several gas stations. They had resources. The black kid had a single parent family, unloaded weapon. The black kid with the unloaded weapon got 12 years and the Persian kid I'm almost certain got six months." (Participant 75)

"There aren't many white kids, number one, but you always have to be careful because you will lose your job over a white kid. Black and brown, I treat them as me. But mess with a white kid and you'd be out of a job."

Interviewer: "Why? What happens? Their parents or what?"
Interviewee: "The parents, no. The system, the judge looks at them(white kids) as their kids." It's the system. Do you want to get fired? Mess with a white kid. You'd be out of a job. Believe what you want to believe but you'd better leave them alone. White kids are different"(Participant 75)

The institutional racism present within L.A. County Probation Department has impacted staff behavior and the treatment of youth detained in Barry J. Nidorf Juvenile Hall. Staff may refrain from enforcing consequences for white youth and minority youth equally, because they believe that they may lose their jobs. This could influence the youth's perception of biased treatment, which, as previously mentioned, provokes conflict.

One interview participant thought that trends in youth incarceration are based, in part, on the impact that youth violence has on white, affluent communities. This participant believed that people who make decisions about the juvenile justice system live in communities that are unaffected by youth crime. This officer said that the drop in numbers of youth who are incarcerated and closing of juvenile detention facilities is linked to a drop in crime in white communities but not black and Latino communities. Their belief is that if crime impacted these communities as much as it impacts poor, minority neighborhoods, that more youth would be incarcerated.

"*Imagine releasing the kids in the compound [youth charged with serious and violent crime], release them into Santa Monica, release them into Beverly Hills --Brentwood. Release them into areas of the people who make the choices of how these places [juvenile halls and camps] are kept open, kept close, the policies, all of the things that actually decide how these places are ran- put these kids in their neighborhoods and I bet they wouldn't want these places to close anymore. But it's not affecting them instead they're [the youth] going back to their communities and they're terrorizing their own people, black, brown, whatever. That's okay because they [white people] are not affected. I mean most of their [incarcerated youth] families are not in [white, affluent] communities. And if those kids happen to come to [white, affluent] communities, cops response time is much faster than in their communities. Let them go back to their communities and destroy them. And whatever happens after, happens after. If we need to go back to prison systems, we*

will if they get too bad. "If you hear probation officers talk about probation in 2005 to 2008, '09, '10 around that time, the number of cops was astronomical. I wasn't there. I didn't know. I just hear about it. If you compare them from then to now, they are a fraction of the size. Why? Because the crimes are being committed in different areas, they were committed in affluent areas back then. So they locked up more people to get them off the streets. Now, if the crimes are being committed in these impoverished neighborhoods or their own neighborhoods, let them do it. (People in white communities think) 'Let them continue to do it because we're not affected. In the meantime, we will just continue to make the policies to incarcerate them. (Participant 74)

These findings on institutional racism are related to the Public Health Critical Race principles laid out in Chapters 4: structural determinism and the ordinariness of racism. Structural determinism is related to all three of the findings listed above: 1) the racially disparate sentencing of youth 2) the probation officer's belief that his/her job security is connected to the treatment of white youth but not to the treatment of Black and Latino youth, and 3) that belief that the policies driving the incarceration of Black and Latino youth is related to how much it impacts people living in white, affluent neighborhoods. The findings have to do with institutional or societal forces that have the potential to drive racial inequities. Furthermore, the belief that differential treatment of Black and Latino youth is linked to employment is an example of interest convergence. By privileging white youth based on perceived employment, Black and Latino officers are representing the interest of the racially oppressive system and also the interest of themselves by the nature of their employment.

At the same time, while most interviewed officers expressed their views on racial prejudice between youth and acknowledged youth were concerned about being treated differently by staff based on race, only two of the interviewed officers expressed views on institutional racism. This suggests that additional research to verify some of these expressed beliefs on institutional racism are an important direction for future studies.

6.5.1 Research Question 2.3: Expected and Emergent Concepts

Racial prejudice was highlighted as a factor that influences violence and conflict in detention that was not originally included in the model. Racial prejudice between Black and Latino staff and Black and Latino youth was one aspect of the youth experience in detention that could lead to conflict as was pre-existing prejudice that youth brought into the incarceration environment. The idea that racial prejudice between youth is exacerbated through contact with incarcerated adults needs to be further explored.

Racism was an expected concept and was included in the conceptual model. The findings presented here support including racism in the model but also suggest that the concept could be further specified as institutional racism. Institutional racism may impact youth perceptions of biases and lead to conflict and violence in detention. It may also impact which youth are incarcerated for violent crime and how youth are treated once they are incarcerated. These findings suggest that interpersonal conflict based on race should also be specified in the model. In order to distinguish institutional racism from interpersonal conflict between Black and Latino youth based on race, I add racial prejudice to the model as well.

Table 6.3: Expected and Emergent Concepts on the Roles of Race and Racism in Youth Behavior

Research Question 2.3 What roles do race and racism play in shaping youth behavior and violence according to probation officers?			
Race and Racism	**Expected Concepts**	**Emergent Concepts**	
	Conceptual Model	***Consistent with Literature***	***Limited Publication***
Racial Prejudice		X	
Interaction with incarcerated adults			X
Imported racial prejudice		X	
Perceived favoritism by staff		X	
Institutional Racism	X		
Judicial decision making	X		
System culture	X		

6.6 Limitations and Summary of Results

Findings presented in this Chapter fills gaps in existing literature on the relationship between youth incarceration and violence from the perspectives of a underrepresented population in the research: probation officers. Specifically, results from the interviews provide information about the conditions of confinement for youth charged with violent crime in L.A. that can help explain how the youth experience of incarceration affects violence and recidivism. Below, I describe the limitations and summary of these findings, the latter of which includes a revised conceptual model informed by the interviews and outlining the relationship between incarceration, violence in detention and re-arrest for violent crime.

6.6.1 Limitations

The interpretation of probation officer interviews is limited in a couple of important ways. There is some indication that the sampling bias discussed in Chapter 4 impacted the perspectives shared. Specifically, all officers interviewed self-identified as staff who had a vested interest in helping youth and many also acknowledged that a lot of probation officers did not have that same interest. Similarly, the probation officers interviewed were oriented towards the social justice framework used in my research. This would suggest that the perspectives of officers who have different motivations or that disagreed with my approach, may not have participated in the study. These missing study participants may have contradictory beliefs about the impact of youth detention that were not represented. At the same time, it is likely that staff who do not have a vested interest in helping youth, may not have thought as much about the questions raised in this dissertation and would have less to share. While future research could attempt to include more probation officers with a wider diversity of backgrounds and perspectives, including probation officers who do not have an interest in helping youth or look at the position as "just a job" may be more difficult to recruit on a voluntary basis.

A second important limitation is that the majority of the information shared by interview participants is related to violence in custody and not violence in the community or re-arrest for violent crime. Because probation officers working in detention facilities lose connection with youth after release, they do not have first hand knowledge of violence and conflict that occurs once a young person returns to their community. On one hand, research supports the idea that exposure to conflict and violence increases risk for violence suggesting that factors that increase exposure to violence in detention would also increase risk after release. Despite the implication of existing literature, the results presented in this study cannot support or refute this

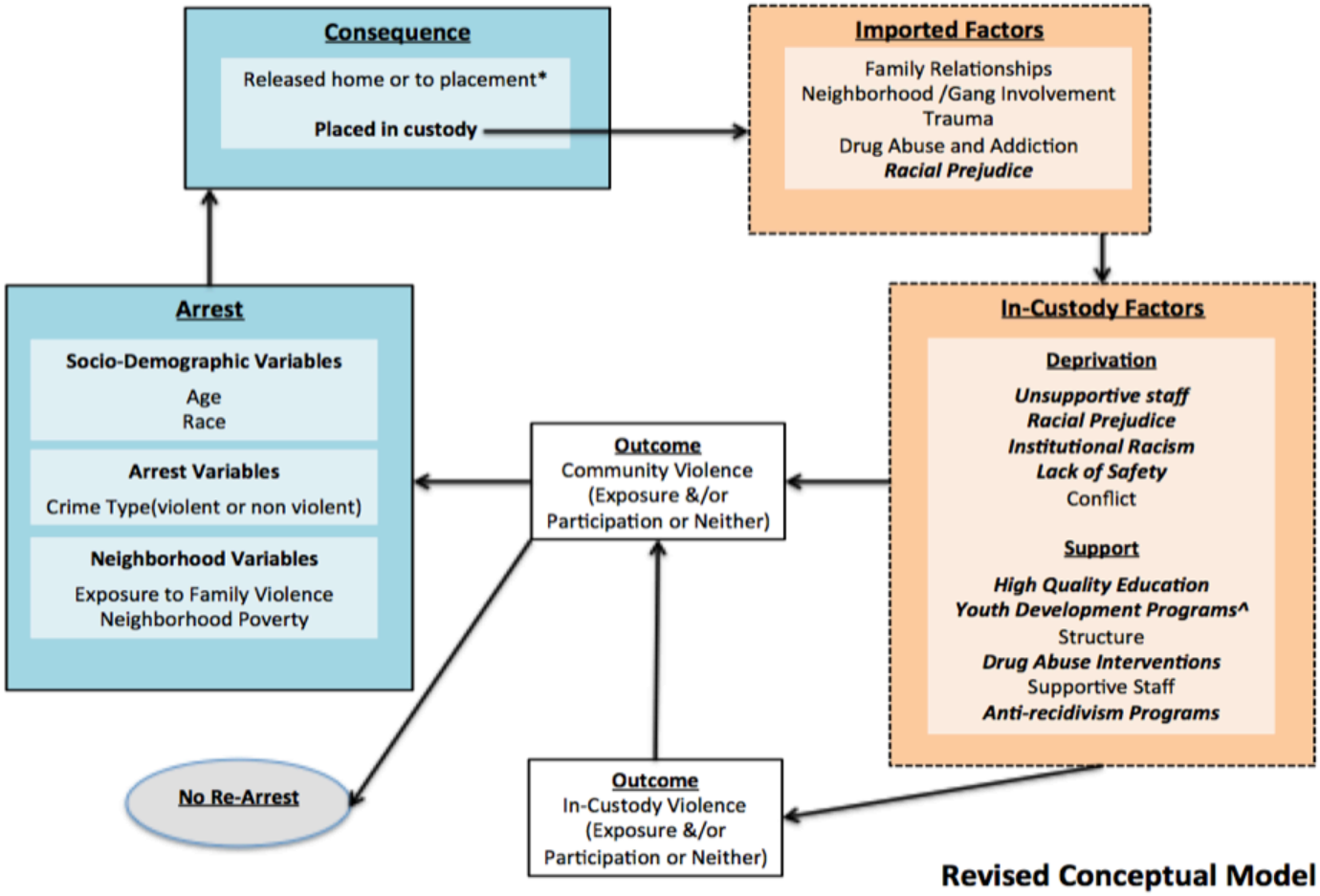
understanding of the cycle of violence. Regardless of this limitation, the results from the interviews do have implications for ways in which the conditions of incarceration address or ignore known risk factors for violence. One way to address this limitation in future research is to include probation officers who are assigned to work with youth after they are released from juvenile halls and camps.

6.6.2 Summary of Findings

Based on the results of the probation officer interviews, the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3 has been expanded to include emergent concepts from the findings (Figure 3). Emergent concepts that were not added to the model indicate topic areas where additional research is needed. Variables added or specified in the model are bold and italicized and details are provided in previous sections 6.3-6.5.

Some of the concepts included in the model were not explicitly discussed in the interviews or discussed sparingly. The imported factors, 'trauma', 'gang involvement", and 'family relationships' were alluded to in the interviews but the perspectives shared on these topics were limited. Because there is significant literature on the importance of these concepts however, they were kept in the model. These concepts also represent potential areas of focus if this study is expanded in the future to include additional interview participants.

Figure 6.1 Revised Conceptual Model



- Placement refers to group home or other non-secure center for youth operated by L.A. County government
- Youth Development Programs include *at least tutoring, sports, community service and job training*

In addition to an expanded conceptual model, there are a few key takeaways from the probation interviews. One is that probation staff face significant challenges maintaining a safe and structured environment for youth while in detention, in part, due to departmental policies and practices. Although probation officers said that youth need structure, staff support and safety to prevent violence and conflict, they also acknowledged that high staff turnover, a lack of adequate staff training and insufficient departmental support made it difficult for officers to meet these needs. The lack of support for staff affects probation officers ability to provide the level of mentorship and care that helps youth cope with their life and situational circumstances. Staff who provide the type of attention that youth often need may feel overworked, unprepared or detached from the position. These operational gaps have a negative effect on the work environment and youth resulting in increased conflict while incarcerated and reinforcing anti-social behavior among youth.

Second, the L.A. County Probation Department lacks purposeful efforts to deter or prevent violence and recidivism after release. Youth programs in detention do not address the causes of anti-social behaviors among youth that could prevent violence and re-arrest. Although quality programs and support do exist within the juvenile hall, the potential positive influence of these experiences in custody are limited because they are not available to everyone and may not be consistent. There are programs and services that probation officers believe the department could offer to youth while they're incarcerated that would help address risk factors for community violence and prevent youth recidivism after release. These include drug abuse intervention services, family counseling, tutoring programs and youth development programs that involve team-building, job training and life skills. In spite of these suggestions, staff do not

believe that the department prioritizes reducing recidivism which may partially explain why these types of programs are absent. The probation officers interviewed feel that if the department did prioritize reducing recidivism that there would be more policies, efforts and communication geared towards this goal.

Race and racism are important but unaddressed issues among youth and staff. Some staff said that they are conscious about making sure there is no perceived favoritism or racial bias in the youth activities they oversee but may also feel like they will be fired if they treat white youth and minority youth the same way. There are no youth programs that address racial prejudice between youth in detention and current protocols permit youth who are facing their charges in adult court to be temporarily held near or with adults who may impart the racial politics of the adult jail system onto youth. These interactions with adults can cause violence in juvenile detention based on racial prejudice.

Finally, an important implication from the information shared during these interviews is that the needs of youth that prevent and address violence are best met in the home and community. Probation staff felt that the home environment had the most significant impact on youth indicating that many of the suggested programs and interventions would be best implemented where the youth live and with people with whom they spend most of their time. If there is no effort to implement programs and initiatives in the home and community, then there is a high likelihood that any efforts implemented by the probation department will be undermined when the youth return home.

Chapter 7: Discussion, Implications & Conclusions

7.1 Summary of Findings

This dissertation provides new information about the relationship between youth incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime as well as new insights about the experiences of incarcerated youth in L.A. County. Findings from the analysis of LAPD arrest data presented in Chapter 5 provide estimates, by race, of the proportion of youth that are arrested, incarcerated and re-arrested for violent crime. These are the first known published estimates on Los Angeles Police Department arrests of youth by race, crime type, subsequent incarceration and recidivism. This analysis is also unique because it estimates the risk of re-arrest for violent crime. I find that incarceration is associated with a higher risk of re-arrest for violent crime compared to the risk associated with race, neighborhood level estimates of poverty and family violence.

Findings from the analysis of L.A. County probation officer interviews are presented in Chapter 6 and provide an understanding of the aspects of youth incarceration that can lead to violent conflict. Probation officers that oversee juvenile detention facilities offer a unique perspective on what works, what doesn't and what is needed to promote pro-social behavior for youth who have high-needs, justice-system involvement and have been exposed to violence. Officers that were interviewed identified factors that promoted violence and deterred violence. When present, drug use and racial prejudice could lead to conflict and violence among youth and between youth and staff. When absent, safety, structure and staff support could also lead to conflict. Overall, the probation officers believed that any effort to address or prevent anti-social and violent behavior among youth was best delivered in the home or neighborhood environment

and in connection with families or primary caregivers when possible. Interview participants highlighted safety as an essential aspect of appropriately serving high-need youth and promoting healthy development regardless of the environment where youth programming and interventions were delivered. If youth could not be offered a safe environment at home or in detention then attempts to foster positive growth and pro-social behaviors would be less successful. Officers also suggested that the probation department devotes little effort to preventing the recidivism of incarcerated youth but identified proactive strategies that they believed could help reduce conflict, violence and recidivism such as counseling, youth education and development programs along with departmental communication and strategies to reduce recidivism.

7.2 A Public Health Critical Race Interpretation of Results

In addition to the overall findings, this dissertation also explored the relevance of race and racism in the relationship between youth incarceration and violence through a Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework. The Public Health Critical Race[81] (PHCR) methods articulated by Ford and Airhihenbuwa outline a pathway to apply a CRT framework to public health research. Of the ten principles highlighted in the PHCR framework, six were used in the methodological approach to this dissertation (Chapter 4) and five are relevant to the interpretation of the results: 1) the primacy of racialization/racism, 2) the ordinariness of racism, 3) structural determinism, 4) intersectionality and 5) voice. The research results related to PHCR principles and definitions are listed in Table 7.1 followed by my interpretation of their significance.

Table 7.1. Findings and Corresponding Public Health Critical Race Principles

PHCR Principles	PHCR Definition[81]	Finding	Result
Primacy of Racialization/ Ordinariness of Racism	The fundamental contribution of racial stratification to societal problems; the central focus of CRT scholarship on explaining racial phenomena/ Racism is embedded in the social fabric of society	***Black youth are incarcerated at higher rates after arrest for non-violent crimes relative to youth of other races.***	Proportion of male youth incarcerated after arrest for non-violent crime: - 46% of Black youth - 32 % of Latino youth - 29 % of white youth - 25% of youth of other races * p-value = 0.000
Ordinariness of racism	Racism is embedded in the social fabric of society	***Incarcerated white youth are privileged over incarcerated youth of other races.***	**Exemplar quote:** "*The parents, no. The system, the judge looks at them (white kids) as their kids. It's the system. Do you want to get fired? - Mess with a white kid. You'd be out of a job. Believe what you want to believe but you'd better leave them alone. White kids are different" (Participant 75, pg 114)*
Structural Determinism	The fundamental role of macro-level forces in driving and sustaining inequities across time and contexts; the tendency of dominant group members and institutions to make decisions or take actions that preserve existing power hierarchies		
Intersectionality	The interlocking nature of co-occurring social categories (e.g., race and gender) and the forms of social stratification that maintain them	***Probation officers have a personal interest in the success of incarcerated youth***	**Exemplar quote:** *"It starts with us -- I firmly believe that it starts with our staff, they got to make a change because you can only -- you can infuse some of which you think and some of what you feel on these kids and infuse the right stuff, and they will take it with them".* *(Officer 4, pg 90)*
Voice	Prioritizing the perspectives of marginalized persons; Privileging the experiential knowledge of outsiders within		

Table 7.1 (cont'd) Findings and Corresponding Public Health Critical Race Principles

Structural Determinism	The fundamental role of macro-level forces in driving and sustaining inequities across time and contexts; the tendency of dominant group members and institutions to make decisions or take actions that preserve existing power hierarchies	***Black youth have a higher risk of re-arrest for violent crime relative to youth who live in neighborhoods with high indicators of poverty and family violence.***	Hazard ratio of re-arrest for violent crime associated with independent variables. Black *: 1.61 Poverty (Not significant): 1.03 Family Violence exposure - Low (not significant): 1.17 - Mid*: 1.25 - High*: 1.27 *significant in multivariate model at .05 level)

7.2.1 CRT Finding 1: Black youth are incarcerated at higher rates after arrest for non-violent crimes relative to youth of other races

The LAPD arrest data were analyzed to understand how arrest and incarceration patterns vary by race. A CRT perspective informed a deeper examination of the implication of these patterns when arrest data was stratified by race and crime type. Specifically, I analyzed the rates of incarceration after arrest by race separately for violent and non-violent crime because of the greater institutional discretion associated with incarceration after arrest for *non-violent* crimes. Within the L.A. County juvenile justice system, arresting officers and prosecuting attorneys have more discretion on processing and sentencing a youth if he is charged with a non-violent, as opposed to a violent, crime.[109] This discretion can include determining whether or not the young person is sent to court and/or incarcerated. There is considerably less discretion available, however, for youth who are charged with violent crimes and until 2018, youth in L.A county charged with violent crime almost always were incarcerated and had their cases directly filed in adult court.[124,125] My analysis of the LAPD arrest data shows that when there is discretion (i.e. when a youth is arrested for a non-violence crime), Black youth are incarcerated at a

significantly higher rate than other youth. When discretion is unavailable, as is the case of arrests for violent crime, the racial disparity in rates of incarceration disappears. This finding alone should be interpreted with caution because it is the result of a bivariate analysis without including other potential factors that could influence incarceration after arrest for non-violent crime (i.e. number of prior arrests). Still the idea that L.A. county may be enforcing harsher consequences on Black youth is supported by existing literature that highlights racial disparities in sentencing.[110,111]

Considering the likely harms of incarceration for youth and potential impact of incarceration on re-arrest for violent crimes, these results suggest that Black youth are disproportionately and unnecessarily exposed to incarceration leading to an increased risk of re-arrest for violent crime and potentially other adverse psychological and social consequences. This finding is most relevant to the PHCR principle, the primacy of racialization/racism. A standard approach to examining race that simply stratifies arrest and incarceration by race and crime type leads to the conclusion that more Black youth are arrested for violent crime and more Black youth are incarcerated after arrest. This analysis alone would not suggest that racism is implicated in the findings. However, when comparing the consequences of an arrest for a non-violent crime by race to the consequences of an arrest for a violent crime, it becomes apparent that racism may be a driving factor in the disparate treatment of Black youth, at least when discretion is permissible. Understanding the juvenile adjudication process implicates a variety of individual institutional actors (police officers, district attorneys and judges), that when faced with the choice to incarcerate or release youth after a non-violent arrest, tend to choose to incarcerate more Black youth than youth of other races.

7.2.2 CRT Finding 2: Incarcerated white youth are privileged over incarcerated youth of other races.

Interviews with probation officers suggested that incarcerated white youth are treated differently by the probation department compared to incarcerated minority youth. One probation officer expressed the sentiment that if officers enforced similar disciplinary consequences for white youth as other youth, that they might lose their jobs. Another account provided details of an instance where a Black and white youth were being held in custody on a robbery charge. The Black youth had an unloaded gun during the robbery and the white youth had a loaded gun. However, the Black youth received a sentence of years in jail while the white youth received a sentence of months. This finding is relevant to the PHCR principle of the ordinariness of racism and structural determinism. The differential treatment of youth based on race was characterized as normal and acting at various levels of the justice system (in custody and in court). Probation officers expressed these ideas and stories as if they were usual, long-standing and inherent characteristics of the juvenile justice system as opposed to unique and egregious examples of racism that could be addressed.

This result supports the conclusion that Black youth are disproportionately incarcerated and suggests that an accumulation of traumatic stressors is more likely to affect Black youth who come in contact with the justice system. For example, Black youth are more likely to be incarcerated after they are arrested for a non-violent crime and once incarcerated they may be more likely to be treated differently by the system in terms of day-to-day discipline and sentencing. These factors have the potential to further exacerbate racial inequities in the impact of incarceration on youth.

7.2.3 CRT Finding 3: Probation officers have a personal interest in the success of incarcerated youth.

This study purposefully involved interviews with Black and Latinx officers in an effort to center their voices in the production of knowledge. The position of Black and Latinx probation officers is unique within the criminal justice system because they are tied to two potentially conflicting identity groups. Black and Latinx officers are employed by a system that has historically and currently been found to oppress people from their racial and ethnic background[95,96]. Although this positionality can represent opposing interests for those officers who identify racism within the probation department, a conflict of interest was not highlighted as an issue among those people interviewed for this study. Instead, everyone interviewed intentionally sought out employment working with system-involved youth because they felt their identities were tied to the identities of the youth they were trying to help. Some justifications officers gave for working for Probation included that they were from the same neighborhoods as incarcerated youth, that they used to get in trouble as teens and someone had given them another chance, they had family and friends who had been incarcerated or had friends in gangs when they were young. Ultimately, it was the fact that they identify with the incarcerated youth that inspired their careers working for L.A. County Probation.

One conclusion from this finding is that Probation officers have a personal interest in the success of incarcerated youth. This success is defined, in part, by youth avoiding re-arrest or re-incarceration after they are released. None of the interviewed officers had ever been asked before about their perspectives on what promotes pro-social behaviors among youth or what they believe prevents crime after youth are released. These findings are related to the PHCR

principles of voice and intersectionality. By specifically interviewing Black and Latinx Probation officers, this study attempted to center the voices of those whose perspectives that lie at the margins of the probation department. Although probation officers represent a dominant power in the relationship between the criminal justice system and arrested youth, Black and Latinx people represent the subordinate group in the relationship between the criminal justice system and people who are arrested. These officers have limited power to influence programming while youth are in detention, limited input on decisions made by the probation department and limited access to provide support to youth after release. Given probation officers' experience working with incarcerated youth and their desire to help, the fact that they feel unable to contribute in the way they would like suggests that they are an untapped resource.

7.2.4 CRT Finding 4: Black youth have a higher risk of re-arrest for violent crime relative to youth who live in poverty or have high neighborhood exposure to family violence.

The LAPD arrest data suggests that Black youth have a higher risk of re-arrest for violent crime compared to youth that live in neighborhoods with high poverty and high exposure to family violence. This is consistent with other studies that have found that Black people, regardless of the neighborhood they live in, are more likely to be stopped by police and more likely to be arrested.[126] This finding on the relative risk of re-arrest for violent crime is related to the PHCR principle of structural determinism. The findings suggest that race plays a more significant role than poverty and neighborhood exposure to family violence in the policing of Black youth. Nonetheless, further investigation is warranted into the relative effects of poverty and family violence on re-arrest for violent crime. Poverty was not significant in the multivariate survival model and although this study was limited to examining a neighborhood-level indicator

of family violence, the literature suggests that individual family violence experiences are predictive of youth violence.[16,17] Unfortunately, no individual-level family violence indicators were available for this analysis.

7.2.5 Summary and Limitations of CRT Findings

The resulting story for Black youth in Los Angeles is that they are more likely to be incarcerated after being arrested for a non-violent crime, they may be treated differently when they're incarcerated relative to their white peers and after they're released, they are at increased risk of re-arrest for a violent crime, in part, because of their race. Limitations of this summary are that estimates of incarceration after arrest for non-violent crime are based on a limited analysis and that the finding about white incarcerated youth receiving privileged treatment is only based on two accounts. Regardless of these limitations, the information about Black youth who are arrested by the LAPD is consistent with other research about racially disparate sentencing and treatment in the juvenile justice system[111,127] and also consistent with existing research on racial inequities, criminal justice and health[128]. Additionally, research has shown that youth incarceration contributes to disparities in self-reported health and asthma later in life,[129] further disadvantaging youth who have entered the system. All together the CRT findings discussed here coupled with existing literature demonstrates that for youth in Los Angeles, policing and incarceration have the potential to exacerbate racial inequities in health and wellbeing outcomes.

7.3 Implications

Overall, the results of this dissertation suggest that the current system of policing and incarcerating youth does not adequately serve high-need youth, perpetuates racial inequities in the justice system and increases the risk of re-arrest for violent crime. Until an improved model can be developed to address these and other issues highlighted in this study, the findings presented here can be used to immediately improve the experiences and outcomes of currently incarcerated youth. Towards this end, my research has several implications for youth advocates, policymakers, researchers and the L.A. juvenile justice system - specifically for the probation department. I will discuss these implications separately and highlight where they are related to the interests or operations of more than one group. The findings are relevant in the following ways: 1) to inform programming for youth while they are incarcerated, 2) as justification to gather and incorporate probation officer perspectives into decision-making within the probation department 3) to encourage formal probation department collaboration with community-based organizations to reduce recidivism, 4) to establish race-conscious policies and practices in the juvenile justice system that promote equitable treatment of youth and 5) to provide direction for future research on the impact of youth incarceration on violence.

7.3.1 Incarcerated youth programming

Probation officers provided several ideas for youth program offerings and program improvements that are informed by their every-day experiences working with incarcerated youth. These findings, presented in Chapter 6, provide specific suggestions for youth programming in detention facilities that have the potential to reduce conflict and promote pro-social behavior. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the county has recently made efforts to improve the programming for

youth resulting in a completely redesigned juvenile camp, "Campus Kilpatrick". While this new facility incorporates many of the suggestions from probation officers interviewed in this study, access to campus Kilpatrick is limited for youth. To address the immediate needs of the majority of incarcerated youth in the other camps and juvenile halls, the probation department could use the suggestions here to bring new programs into the facilities and to modify and uplift existing programming for the benefit of incarcerated youth.

7.3.2 Regularly gathering probation officer perspectives on operations

In addition to offering insight about youth programming, probation officers also offered an informal evaluation of probation department operations. A key takeaway from the interviews was that the probation department has the potential to improve the work climate and in turn, also improve the environment for youth by making an effort to regularly gather and respond to feedback of the probation staff who work with youth on a daily basis. Although probation officers also acknowledged that many staff have no interest in helping youth and view the position as a paycheck, the option to provide input could still be useful for those who do have a vested interest in youth. A board of community members and probation officers could oversee this process.

7.3.3. Probation department and community organization collaboration to reduce recidivism

Interviewed officers consistently stressed the important role of home neighborhoods and family in the outcomes of youth. They also suggested that if the department was interested in improving youth outcomes after release, programming on the inside should have a family component and function specifically to prevent recidivism. One way to address this

recommendation is to establish community-driven collaborations between the probation department and organizations that already focus on anti-recidivism efforts with family and neighborhoods. Youth advocate organizations are often proponents of community and family-based alternative sentencing for system-impacted youth. For example, in Los Angeles, prominent youth advocates such as the Youth Justice Coalition, the Children's Defense Fund and Inside out Writers all advocate for referring arrested youth to community based programs as an alternative to incarceration.

7.3.4 Race-conscious policies and practices in the Juvenile Justice System

Findings can be used to advocate for race-conscious policies and practices within the juvenile justice system. Black youth arrested for non-violent crime are incarcerated at higher rates and probation officers believe that the juvenile justice system privileges white youth. These findings imply that the police, prosecuting attorneys, probation officers and the judges who decide sentencing are biased in their decision-making and implicates the probation department in a larger system of racial oppression. Unfortunately, there is currently no formal way for the juvenile justice system or it's staff to monitor and remedy their own bias. Police, district attorneys, judges and probation officers receive no regular feedback about their decision-making practices by race. Institutionalizing a feedback process for these employees could create awareness and change behaviors in a way that reduces racial inequities. Making these statistics transparent and open to the public would further incentivize police, probation and the courts to reflect on and change their decision-making.

These findings are relevant for L.A. County probation and policymakers but also for youth advocates. While probation and policy makers can implement these changes directly,

youth advocates can promote them as a transformative practice to reduce racial inequities in L.A. youth policing and incarceration..

7.3.5 Directions for future research on the impact of youth incarceration on violence

The findings from this study provide several directions for future research. For example, both previous studies[54] and the probation officers that were interviewed suggest that gangs play an important role in the relationship between incarceration and re-arrest for violent crime in L.A. however details about the influence of gangs is lacking in this study. Future research could make a greater effort to incorporate more information about the influence of gangs on youth re-arrested for violent crime through interview questions or other datasets.

Probation officers also highlighted problems with departmental hiring and training practices that could be remedied by specifying certain qualifications in the hiring process, by adding specific modules to the training program, and by changing the structure of probation overall. Although the specifics of these recommendations were beyond the scope of this dissertation they point to an opportunity for additional investigation about how L.A. county probation can be restructured.

An additional direction for future research is to expand the scope of data analyzed to examine the relationship between incarceration and recidivism for violent crime. Currently available data that accurately links youth incarceration to future violent activity is difficult to identify. Both arrest and conviction data have significant limitations. Police cannot identify and arrest all people who commit violent acts and they also arrest people for violent crime who are innocent. Although violent crime reporting may provide a more accurate assessment of violent activity, these reports cannot always be linked to the individual accused of committing the crime

nor to their incarceration history making it difficult to investigate the relationship between incarceration and future violence. A third source of data, self-reported participation in violence, is likely to be inherently biased because violent activity is illegal which creates a natural deterrent to reliable disclosure. Given these challenges, arrest and incarceration data may offer the most reliable way to assess the impact of youth incarceration on violence. Future research could work to obtain a complete sample of youth arrest data with unique identifiers, across a greater number of years and link the arrest data with youth incarceration data. Adding incarceration data would provide the opportunity to assess other variables associated with the experience of incarceration such as facility type and length of incarceration and give additional insight about the impact of incarceration.

Another way to investigate the relationship between incarceration and violence is through quantitative research with neighborhood level data or through qualitative interviews of youth and their families. One direction for future research is to connect the incidence of violent crime in a neighborhood to youth incarceration rates over time and provide additional evidence about an association between youth incarceration and violence. A second direction, previously stated, is to conduct interviews with currently and formerly incarcerated youth and their families about their perspectives on the impact of youth incarceration on violence. If this study is replicated and expanded to include additional data and interview sources, the updated conceptual model presented in Chapter 6 provides a useful framework using a mixed methods approach. These directions for future research have the potential to offer new insights into the experience of youth incarceration and it's effects.

7.3.6 Summary of Implications

The results of this research have important implications for multiple stakeholders. They cover the entire spectrum of the juvenile justice system including policing, courts, incarceration and recidivism. A common feature of all the conclusions listed above is that they are oriented towards improving the experiences and outcomes of youth that come into contact with the justice system. This purposeful interpretation of the results is consistent with the goals of this study and the Critical Race approach used in the research, both of which are oriented towards promoting social justice. One recommendation, that challenges a social justice framing, is the recommendation that the L.A. County Probation Department should routinely gather and use probation officer perspectives in decision-making. This recommendation is directed at improving the environment for incarcerated youth but also improving staff morale and probation operations. Youth advocates may resist the suggestion that probation officers have good ideas to promote positive outcomes for youth. Based on the results from this study and this anticipated criticism, it is ideal for the probation department to consider involving community organizations in any feedback mechanism they make available to staff.

7.4 Conclusions

The juvenile justice landscape is shifting rapidly in Los Angeles and in California. The population of incarcerated youth is declining and youth justice in the state is increasingly being addressed through a public health approach. In the past few years alone, California has passed legislation and changed government organizational structures to alter how youth encounter the justice system. For example, Proposition 57, passed in 2017, removed a prosecuting attorney's ability to try a juvenile case in criminal/adult court without first being decided upon by a juvenile

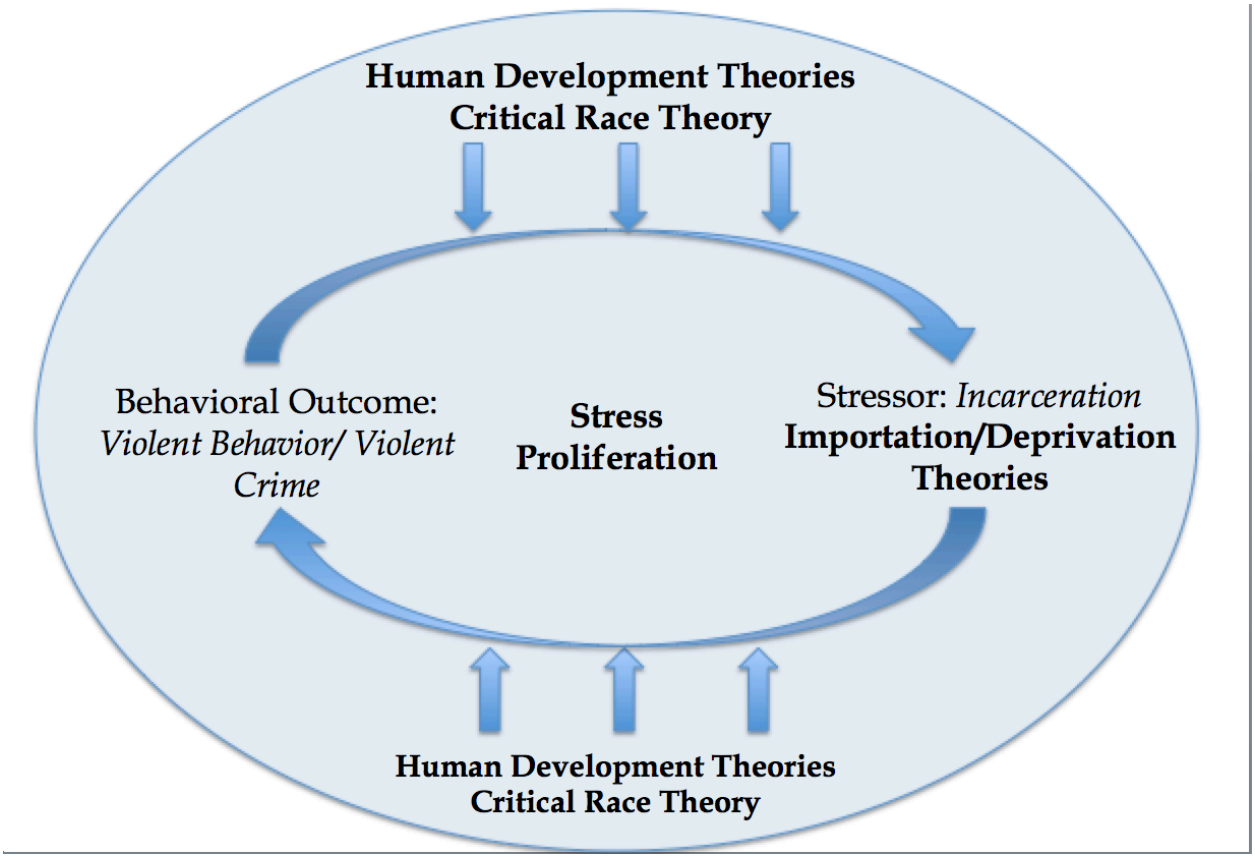
court judge. Before that, youth accused of committing violent crimes could be automatically transferred to adult/criminal court. Now, whether a youth case is transferred depends on a juvenile court judge's decision rather than a prosecuting attorney. Senate Bill 439, passed in 2018, changed the law so that youth under the age of 12 can no longer be admitted to the juvenile court system at all. Prior to this legislation, youth under the age of 12 could be arrested, incarcerated, and tried in juvenile courts. Now these youth are diverted to community-based diversion programs. Senate Bill 1391, which also passed in 2018, changed the age at which a youth's case was eligible for transfer to criminal/adult court. Since then, youth that commit a serious or violent crime while under the age of 16 can no longer be transferred to criminal/adult court. Their cases will be adjudicated in the juvenile courts and the maximum sentence they can receive is jail up until they're 25 years old. Prior to this, youth who committed a violent crime at age 14 or 15 could be sentenced to life in prison.

In addition to passing new laws, California and L.A. have also begun to establish new government offices and re-organize existing institutions under the direction of public health agencies. In 2015, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors established a new Office of Diversion and Re-entry under the Department of Health Services and in 2017 the Division of Youth Diversion and Development was launched to offer alternatives to incarceration to arrested youth in collaboration with community-based organizations. Although there has yet to be a formal evaluation of the impact of these new offices, it suggests that the county is re-thinking its treatment of youth. More recently, Governor Newsom released a 2019-2020 budget proposal that moved the state's Department of Juvenile Justice and Corrections from under the direction of the California Department of Corrections to California's Health and Human Services Agency. These are promising changes in California's youth justice approach.

As the public health field begins to take responsibility for youth incarceration in California, there will be an increasing need for public health grounded research on youth incarceration and particularly research with youth who are charged with violent offenses and have high needs. This dissertation study adds to the relatively small body of research taking a public health approach to investigating youth incarceration in Los Angeles and lays the groundwork for additional public health scholarship around the relationship between youth incarceration and violence. The Critical Race approach used in this dissertation will be especially important for future public health studies on youth justice because Black youth experience the highest rates of policing and incarceration in L.A. and across the country[127]. With this in mind, as long as future public health research on youth incarceration consistently and purposefully centers the experiences and beliefs of the youth and families most affected by the juvenile justice system, the policies and practices informed by research have the potential to lead to positive and long lasting change for California's youth.

Appendix A

Integrated Theoretical Framework



Appendix B

APPENDIX B.1 Release Reason Codes Used by LAPD

	Code	Definition
	ADLT	RELEASED TO SHERIFF
	AWOL	ESCAPE FROM CUSTODY
	BAIL	BAIL
	BOND	BOND
	BYP	BORDER YOUTH PROGRAM
	CANC	CANCELLATION(RE-BOOKING ONLY)
*	CDP	RELEASED TO COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM
	CDPT	CRIMINAL DEPORTED
	CITE	CITATION
*	CNTY	RELEASED TO OTHER COUNTY
*	CUST	CUSTODY RELEASE
*	CYA	RELEASED TO CYA
	DCLR	DCL/PAROLE RELEASE
	DCS	RELEASED TO DCFS
	DEAD	DECEASED
	DISM	DISMISSED
	DPSS	DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES
	DQWE	DELINQUENT WEEKENDER
	DQWR	DELINQUENT WORK RELEASE PARTICIPANT
	EMER	EMERGENCY RELEASE
	ERLY	EARLY RELEASE
	EROR	ERRONEOUS RELEASE
	ESCP	ESCAPED
	EXP	EXPIRATION (TIME HAS EXPIRED)
	FED	RELEASED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
	FINE	FINE
	GENR	GENERAL RELEASE (FKA EMERGENCY RELEASE)
	HOME	RELEASED HOME BY COURT
	IDC	RELEASED INTAKE DETENTION & CONTROL (IDC)
	IMP	IMPERATIVE RELEASE(825PC)-NOT ARRAIGNED
	INOW	AGY WILL NOT TRANSPORT TO FED DETENTION FAC
	JAWS	RELEASED JAWS

*	JPHC	JUVENILE PROBATION HALL CAMP
*	JUVH	JUVENILE HALL
	MCLA	RELEASED MACLAREN CHILDREN'S CENTER
*	MDC	METRO DETENTION CENTER
	MOD	MODIFIED SENTENCE
	NOFA	NO FURTHER ACTION
	NOTM	NO TIME GIVEN
	NTGY	NOT GUILTY
	Code	**Definition**
	OLIV	RELEASED TO OLIVE VISTA MENTAL HLTH FAC
	OR	OWN RECOGNIZANCE
	ORDS	COURT ORDER FOR RELEASE
*	OTHR	CUSTODY OF AGENCY NOT LISTED
	PAD	RELEASED TO PAD
	PLC	RELEASED TO SUITABLE PLACEMENT
	PLCH	RELEASED TO STATE HOSPITAL
	PRCT	PERCENT RELEASES
	PRET	SUPERVISED PRE-TRIAL RELEASE
	PROB	PROBATION
*	PTDT	PETITIONED AND DETAINED
	REBK	REBOOKED
	REJ	D.A.REJECTION
	RHAB	REHAB
	RICM	RELEASED RICARDO M EXPIRED
	RLM	RELEASE LEVEL MATRIX (IRC/SBI ONLY)
	SHRT	SHORT SENTENCE - RELEASE FORTWITH
	SODA	RELEASED TO SODA
	SRP	SUPERVISED RELEASE PROGRAM
*	STAT	RELEASED TO OTHER STATE
	STAY	STAY OF SENTENCE OR FINE
	SUIC	DEATH BY SUICIDE
	SUSP	SENTENCE SUSPENDED
	TEST	RELEASE OF TEST RECORDS ONLY
	TSER	TIME SERVED
	VLR	VOLUNTARY RETURNEE
	WDEF	WRONG DEFENDANT
	WRIT	WRIT
	24HR	RELEASED 48HRS PRIOR TO RELEASE DATE
	48HR	LACK OF PROBABLE CAUSE - PER MAGISTRATE

49B1	RLSE BY P/O-INSUFF GROUNDS FOR COMPLAINT
49B2	RLSE BY P/O-NO FURTHER PROCEEDINGS REQ
650	650 COURT ORDERED RELEASE
9DMP	PHL 9000 INMATES NEVER RELEASED BY ICE

** codes that indicate time incarcerated*

APPENDIX B.2 Charge Descriptions for Violent Crimes in California

(1) Murder.
(2) Arson, as provided in subdivision (a) or (b) of Section 451 of the Penal Code.
(3) Robbery.
(4) Rape with force, violence, or threat of great bodily harm.
(5) Sodomy by force, violence, duress, menace, or threat of great bodily harm.
(6) A lewd or Lascivious act as provided in subdivision (b) of Section 288 of the Penal Code.
(7) Oral copulation by force, violence, duress, menace, or threat of great bodily harm.
(8) An offense specified in subdivision (a) of Section 289 of the Penal Code.
(9) Kidnapping for ransom.
(10) Kidnapping for purposes of robbery.
(11) Kidnapping with bodily harm.
(12) Attempted murder.
(13) Assault with a firearm or destructive device.
(14) Assault by any means of force likely to produce great bodily injury.
(15) Discharge of a firearm into an inhabited or occupied building.
(16) An offense described in Section 1203.09 of the Penal Code: Commission of a violent felony against an elderly or disabled person.
(17) An offense described in Section 12022.5 or 12022.53 of the Penal Code: Using a firearm during the commission of a felony.
(18) A felony offense in which the minor personally used a weapon described in any provision listed in Section 16590 of the Penal Code (including dangerous weapons such as brass knuckles, cane gun, lipstick gun, concealed dagger, etc. (A full list of weapons can be found https://leginfo.legisL.A.ture.ca.gov/faces/codes_dispL.A.ySection.xhtml?L.A.wCode=PEN&sectionNum=16590)
(19) A felony offense described in Section 136.1 or 137 of the Penal Code: Falsifying Evidence, and Bribing, Influencing, Intimidating or Threatening Witnesses
(20) Enhancements for a violent felony, as defined in subdivision (c) of Section 667.5 of the Penal Code, which also would constitute a felony violation of subdivision (b) of Section 186.22 of the Penal Code
(21) Escape, by the use of force or violence, from a county juvenile hall, home, ranch, camp, or forestry camp in violation of subdivision (b) of Section 871 if great bodily injury is intentionally inflicted upon an employee of the juvenile facility during the commission of the escape.
(22) Torture as described in Sections 206 and 206.1 of the Penal Code.
(23) Aggravated mayhem, as described in Section 205 of the Penal Code. (
(24) Carjacking, as described in Section 215 of the Penal Code, while armed with a dangerous or deadly weapon.
(25) Kidnapping for purposes of sexual assault, as punishable in subdivision (b) of Section 209 of the Penal Code.
(26) Kidnapping as punishable in Section 209.5 of the Penal Code.
(27) Drive-by Shooting The offense described in subdivision (c) of Section 26100 of the Penal Code.

(28) Attempted murder through explosive device
(29) Voluntary manslaughter, as described in subdivision (a) of Section 192 of the Penal Code.
(30) Any felony punishable by death or imprisonment in the state prison for life.
(31) Assault with the intent to commit a specified felony, in violation of Section 220
(32) Any burglary of the first degree, as defined in subdivision (a) of Section 460, wherein it is charged and proved that another person, other than an accomplice, was present in the residence during the commission of the burglary

Appendix C

APPENDIX C.1 Probation Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE
Probation Staff Participant

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I'm going to ask questions about your experiences in juvenile halls and camps and also about your opinions on violence. First I'm going to start with some specific background questions about you. Feel free to pass on any question you don't want to answer.

1.a What year were you born?
1.b. What race do you identify with?
1.c. Were you born and raised in LA?
1.d. What area of Los Angeles County have you lived most of your life? Please indicate area by stating the number (Point to a map of service planning areas)
  1.d.1 What about your family, are they also from LA? If not, how long have they lived in LA?
1.e. What high schools have you attended?
1.f. Did you know people in gangs growing up? Friends? Family?
1.g. How long have you been working at this facility?
1.h. Is this your first time working in juvenile hall or camp?
(If no)
  1.h.1. How many jails or halls have your worked at?
  1.h.2. Which halls and camps were they?

Thank you for answering those questions. Next, I'd like to get a sense of your experiences in detention halls and camps. Again, feel free to say pass if there are any questions you don't want to answer.

2. How has your experience been here? (Prompts: what has been most difficult? What has been helpful? What would you tell another staff preparing to work here?)

  2a. What ideas did you have about this facility or being a probation officer before coming here? (Prompts: Had you heard about it among your friends or family? What did they say about it? Did that affect your perspective? How?)

  2b. Has your experience been the same as you expected? What was the same? What was different?

[IF FIRST TIME WORKING IN A HALL OR CAMP, THEN SKIP 3, a-b]

3 What about other camps or halls that you've been to? What was the experience like at those places and how was it different than your experience here? (Prompts: What was most difficult, what was most helpful? What would you tell another staff preparing to go to those places?)

3.a. What did you think about juvenile hall or camp the first time you worked there? (Prompts: What ideas did you have about it before going/coming in? Culture? Administration? Had you heard about it among your friends or family?, What did they say about it? Did that affect your perspective? How?)

3.b. How does this experience differ from others?

---

4. and Is there anything else you'd like to share about your experience here or in other camps halls that you think are important?

Thank you for talking about those experiences.

(Break)

[IF FIRST TIME WORKING IN A HALL OR CAMP, THEN SKIP 5.a., 6.a., 7.a..]

5. What were your first impressions about the appearance of this hall? (Prompts: Physically how did the space look, what adjective would you use to describe it, any feeling you got from it? Consider how the rooms are arranged, doors, bathrooms, entry and exit ways).

   5.a. If you've worked in other halls and camps, how do your impressions of those places differ from this one?

6. What about your schedule? What is that like? (Prompts: What time do you typically work? what are your daily activities like? How do you like the schedule? What makes it good or bad?)

   6.a. If you've worked in other halls and camps, how does the schedule differ from here? What makes it better or worse?

7. How is the staff training ? (Prompts: Which did you like? Why? Which didn't you like? What do you remember now,?)

   7.a. If you've been to other halls and camps, how does training differ from here?
   7.b. If you could request additional types of training, what would your request?

8. How about your relationships with others? Is it easy or difficult to work with others here? How about upper management? What makes it easy or difficult?

   8a. Do you have any examples that you could share about feeling supported or unsupported in your job?

8.b. If you've worked in other halls and camps, how does the relationship with staff, volunteers and upper managament differ from here? (Is it better, worse or the same? Why?)

9. How about working with the youth? How is that experience for you? (Prompts: Is it easy or difficult? What does that depend on?)
9.a. Is there support that would make working with the youth easier if any. (prompts: training, additional staff, better systems?)

You've shared a lot so far and I really appreciate it. Next I'm going to ask specifically about violent incidents that you have seen or heard about while working in juvenile hall or camp. Again, if you want to pass on any questions- just let me know. Please remember that I am obligated to report any instances of adult on youth violence or abuse to the mental health coordinator of the unit.

10. Can you tell me about any fights you've witnessed or heard about in camp/halls? Do any of these have to do with race or racism?

11. Were there places or times of the day when there was more conflict between youth? (if Yes)
11.a. Why were they more likely to happen at that place or at that time?

12. What about between youth and staff? (prompts: Are there times when there's been conflict between them? Can you tell me more about those situations and why they happened and what you think it has to do with?) (Was race or racism a factor?)

13. What systems or protocols are in place now to prevent youth violence in the halls/camps?

14. What other things could probation do to prevent violence or conflict in the halls and camps?

15. What are some ways that others that work at the hall or volunteer could help prevent violence or conflict in the halls and camps?

Considering the things you've just shared about your experiences and knowledge in halls and camps, I want to ask you for your opinions about how halls and camps affect young people when they go home.

16. What do you think prevents youth from committing crime again after they've been release?

16.a. Are any of these related to them being in camp/hall? How?

17. Do you think youth have a choice about whether or not to get involved in violence? How so? (Why do they Or why don't they?)

18. What are the primary reasons you think youth get involved in violence after they go home from juvenile hall or camp?
18.a. Do drugs play a role? How?
18.b. Are weapons usually involved? What kinds?

19. How easy is it for a young person to get a gun and learn how to use it?(prompts: what's the youngest person you've seen with a gun?)

20. Do you think the accessibility of guns affects violence among youth? Do (prompts: what if they were harder to get? How responsible are youth with guns?)

21. Do you believe that going to hall or camp affects violence when youth go home? (prompts- for example are young people more or less likely to get into trouble? Fights? Conflict with others?)
(IF YES)
21.a. What things about jail/camp make violence more likely when going home?(prompts:
experiences, people they've met, is race a factor)
21.b. Can you share any stories related to this?

22. Do you think that camps and halls affect youth when they go home in other ways (besides violence)? How? (prompts: does it effect their outlook and perspective on things, relationships with other people, behavior, mental health?) Why? (Does race play a role?)

23. If you think that camps affect violence when youth go home - Do you also think there are ways that probation, volunteers, teachers, medical staff or counselors could do something to prevent violence when going home? Or reduce the likelihood that violence will happen?
(if yes)
23.a. What could they do? How could they do it?

24. What do you think are the biggest concerns of they youth when they leave here? If they go to adult prison? California Youth Authority? Or go home?

25. What would they need to go home and feel supported and safe? (prompts: stable housing? Parents with job? Siblings cared for? To move?)

These last set of questions have to do with alternatives to incarceration and consequences for crime. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Instead, I'm hoping you'll share your opinion and perspectives based on your experiences.

26. What are other consequences, besides incarceration that might be appropriate for the youth held in the compound? oHw could these consequences can improve the lives of young people?
27. What role can probation play in alternatives to incarceration for youth? Youth charged with violent crime?
28. How can justice be restored between the victim and the offender without incarceration or additional harm?

In closing,

29. Do you think your perspectives on what you've shared are similar or different than your coworkers? How so?

30. As you know – the goal of this is to gather perspectives on what jails/halls can do to reduce youth violence. Do you have any final thoughts to share about that before we wrap up? Any ideas that come to mind or experiences that would help understand your thoughts on this issue?

Again- Thank you for your time! If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to let me know. I can be reached

APPENDIX C.2 Probation Consent Form

ID#

Probation Verbal Consent

Thank you for your interest in participating in this study. The purpose of this research is to better understand the ways in which incarceration can affect youth violence and also gather perspectives on alternatives to incarceration for youth charged with violent offenses. To do this, I will interview youth that are in the Compound and also probation staff about their opinions and ideas. You were selected to take part in this study because of your experiences in camps and halls. Probation officers that work with youth charged as adults have a unique and valuable perspective on the issue of youth violence. To date, few studies have gathered these important points of view. The information you provide will add to current knowledge about what promotes and what prevents youth violence. We hope to enroll 20-25 youth in the study and up to 10 probation officers and administrators.

During the interview I will ask questions about your background, your experiences in juvenile camps and halls and your opinions about violence. Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary. That means that you can decide to end the interview at any time. You can also choose which questions you want to answer and which questions you don't want to answer. Your decision to participate will not affect your employment.

This research is covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health. The researchers with this Certificate may not disclose or use information or documents that may identify you in any federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other action, suit, or proceeding, or be used as evidence, for example, if there is a court subpoena, unless you have consented for this use. Information and documents protected by this Certificate cannot be disclosed to anyone else who is not connected with the research except, if there is a federal, state, or local law that requires disclosure (such as to report child abuse or communicable diseases but not for federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings); or if you have consented to the disclosure.

You should understand that a Certificate of Confidentiality does not prevent you from voluntarily releasing information about yourself or your involvement in this research. If you want your research information released to a lawyer or any person not connected with the research, you must provide consent to allow the researchers to release it.

The Certificate of Confidentiality will not be used to prevent disclosure as required by federal, state, or local law of *child abuse and neglect, or harm to self or others*. All of these examples

are information that I am required to report. I will remind you of this again during the interview so that you don't unintentionally share information

Your responses will be recorded but you can decide to review, edit and erase any responses you give. The information you share will be kept confidential by keeping it in a secure and locked area at UCLA in Westwood. In the off chance someone is able to illegally obtain the recordings, the file will be password protected and the audio will be voice distorted preventing the listener from identifying the interview participant by voice. As another layer of protection, your name will not be linked with any file that includes information you have shared. The recordings will be transcribed at the earliest possible point after the interview and destroyed immediately after transcription.

The transcribed interviews will be stored and may be used by the PI for future research.

The interview can last up to 90 minutes. You will not receive any benefit from participating but the project is designed to advance knowledge that may help prevent youth violence ***Do you have any questions?***

Are you willing to talk with a researcher for up to 90 minutes? Yes ☐ No ☐

[If respondent declines to participate]:

I understand that you do not wish to participate in this project. Thank you for taking the time to talk.

[Left participants with contact information for questions?] *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐

Appendix D

Appendix D.1 Estimates for Graph 1: Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime among Male Youth arrested by the LAPD 2012-2017 (pg 97)

Nelson-Aalen Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime (2012-2017)

(N=10,823)

	Hazard among all arrested youth	Hazard among youth arrested for violent crime	Hazard among youth incarceerated after arrest for non-violent crime	Hazard among youth incarcerated after arrest for any crime type
1 Yr	0.0407	0.0621	0.0367	0.0738
2 Yr	0.0708	0.1072	0.0731	0.1277
3 Yr	0.0929	0.1285	0.1039	0.1618
5 Yr	0.1226	0.1581	0.1440	0.2062

Appendix D.2 Estimates for Graph 2: Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime among Male Youth based on Race, Incarceration and Neighborhood Variables (2012-2017) (pg101)

Nelson-Aalen Cumulative Hazard of Re-arrest for Violent Crime

(2012-2017)

Cumulative Hazard (N=10,823)							
	Race				High Neighborhood Family Poverty	High Neighborhood Exposure to Family Violence	Incarceration
	Black	Latino	Other	White			
1 Yr	0.0431	0.0301	0.0177	0.0114	0.049	0.043	0.1859
2 Yr	0.0838	0.0543	0.0288	0.0195	0.086	0.084	0.3589
3 Yr	0.1061	0.0760	0.0375	0.0243	0.1123	0.114	0.4816
5 Yr	0.1338	0.1078	0.0480	0.0395	0.1475	0.151	0.6502

References

1. Hockenberry S. *Juveniles in Residential Placement, 2015*.; 2018.

2. Goldstein B. California's Local Juvenile Facility Populations Continue to Decline in 2017. Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice.

3. California Department of Justice. *Juvenile Justice in California: 2010*.; 2010. http://ag.ca.gov.

4. California Department of Justice. *Juvenile Justice in California: 2017*.; 2017.

5. California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. *2016 Juvenile Justice Outcome Evaluation Report*.; 2016. http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/adult_research_branch/.

6. California Dept. of Justice AD. Juvenile Felony Arrests, by Type of Offense. www.kidsdata.org. Published 2016. Accessed October 10, 2018.

7. 1998-99 Los Angeles County Grand Jury. *Central and Los Padrinos Juvenile Hall Facilities*. Los Angeles; 1999.

8. *County of Los Angeles Probation Department: Departmental Overview*. Los Angeles; 2016.

9. County of Los Angeles Probation Commission Minutes of Regular Meeting June 22,2017. 2017:1-8.

10. Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice. California Sentencing Institute: Juvenile Felony Arrests by County 2010-2016. http://casi.cjcj.org/Juvenile/2010.

11. Lambie I, Randell I. The impact of incarceration on juvenile offenders. *Clin Psychol Rev*. 2013;33(3):448-459. doi:10.1016/j.cpr.2013.01.007

12. Wilson HA, Hoge RD. The Effect of Youth Diversion Programs on Recidivism. *Crim Justice Behav*. 2013;40(5):497-518. doi:10.1177/0093854812451089

13. Allen T, Bryan I, Guererro A, Teng A, Lytle-Hernández K. *Policing Our Students: An Analysis of L.A. School Police Department Data (2014-2017)*.; 2018.

14. Countywide Criminal Justice Coordination Committee Youth Diversion Subcommittee, L.A. County Chief Executive Office. *A Roadmap for Advancing Youth Diversion in Los Angeles County*.; 2017.

15. Korman HTN, Dierkhising CB. *A Culture of Care for All: Envisioning the LA*

Model.; 2016.

16. Duke NN, Pettingell SL, Mcmorris BJ, Borowsky IW. Adolescent Violence Perpetration : Associations With Multiple Types of Adverse Childhood Experiences. *Pediatrics*. 2010;125(4). doi:10.1542/peds.2009-0597

17. Wilson JJ, Administrator A, Hawkins JD, et al. *Predictors of Youth Violence*. Vol NCJ179065.; 2000. doi:NCJ 179065

18. Newell M, Salazar A. *Juvenile Reentry in Los Angeles County: An Exploration of Strengths, Barriers and Policy Options*.; 2010. https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B_iDZllaSGBfMDY1N2NmYjctMjI2Mi00N2NiLTg4ZmItZjM1ODhhYWFlYzMx/edit?pli=1.

19. Merriam-Webster. "Latinx" and Gender Inclusivity. https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/word-history-latinx. Published 2018.

20. Matias CE, Viesca KM, Garrison-Wade DF, Tandon M, Galindo R. "What is Critical Whiteness Doing in OUR Nice Field like Critical Race Theory?" Applying CRT and CWS to Understand the White Imaginations of White Teacher Candidates. *Equity Excell Educ*. 2014;47(3):289-304. doi:10.1080/10665684.2014.933692

21. Caldwell V. Critical Race Theory : The Key Writings That Formed the Movement by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw Review. *Columbia Law Rev*. 2018;96(5):1363-1374. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1123.

22. Crenshaw K. 20 Years of Critical Race Theory: Looking Back To Move Forward. *Conn Law Rev*. 2011;43(5):1243-1353.

23. Baglivio MT, Jackowski K, Greenwald MA, Howell JC. Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: A statewide analysis of prevalence and prediction of subsequent recidivism using risk and protective factors. *Criminol Public Policy*. 2014;13(1):83-116. doi:10.1111/1745-9133.12064

24. Aizer A, Doyle Jr. JJ. Juvenile incarceration, human capital and future crime: Evidence from randomly-assigned judges. *Q J Econ*. 2015;130(2):759-803.

25. Rael RM. *Incarcerated Youth Perspectives on Violence : The Voices from the Inside*.; 2007.

26. Barnert ES, Perry R, Azzi VF, et al. Incarcerated youths' perspectives on protective factors and risk factors for Juvenile offending: A qualitative analysis. *Am J Public Health*. 2015;105(7):1365-1371. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2014.302228

27. Sousa C, Herrenkohl TI, Moylan CA, et al. Longitudinal Study on the Effects of

Child Abuse and Children ' s Exposure to Domestic Violence , Parent – Child Attachments , and Antisocial Behavior in Adolescence. *J Interpers Violence*. 2011;26(1):111-136. doi:10.1177/0886260510362883

28. Center for Disease Control. The Prevention of Youth Violence: A Framework for Community Action. https://wonder.cdc.gov/wonder/prevguid/p0000026/p0000026.asp#Table_3. Published 1992. Accessed March 3, 2017.

29. Krug EG, Dahlberg LL, Mercy JA, Zwi AB, Lozano R, eds. Chapter 2: Youth violence. In: *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva; 2002:23-56.

30. Fagan AA, Catalano RF. What Works in Youth Violence Prevention. *Res Soc Work Pract*. 2013;23(141). doi:10.1177/1049731512465899

31. Shulman EP, Steinberg LD, Piquero AR. The Age-Crime Curve in Adolescence and Early Adulthood is Not Due to Age Differences in Economic Status. *J Youth Adolesc*. 2013;42(6):848-860. doi:10.1007/s10964-013-9950-4

32. Baglivio MT, Epps N, Swartz K, Sayedul Huq M, Sheer A, Hardt NS. The Prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) in the Lives of Juvenile Offenders. *J Juv Justice*. 2014;3(2):1-23.

33. Coleman D, Stewart LM. Prevalence and impact of childhood maltreatment in incarcerated youth. *Am J Orthopsychiatry*. 2010;80(3):343-349. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01038.x

34. Finkelhor D, Turner H, Hamby S, Ormrod R. *Polyvictimization : Children's Exposure to Multiple Types of Violence, Crime , and Abuse*.; 2011.

35. Macmillan R. Violence and the Life Course : The Consequences of Victimization for Personal and Social Development. *Annu Rev Sociol*. 2001;27:1-22.

36. Fowler PJ, Tompsett CJ, Braciszewski JM, Jacques-Tiura AJ, Baltes BB. Community violence: A meta-analysis on the effect of exposure and mental health outcomes of children and adolescents. *Dev Psychopathol*. 2009;21(01):227. doi:10.1017/S0954579409000145

37. Voisin DR. THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY VIOLENCE EXPOSURE AMONG YOUTH : RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND POLICY VIOLENCE EXPOSURE AMONG YOUTH : RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND. *J Soc Work Educ*. 2007. doi:10.5175/JSWE.2007.200400473

38. Mersky JP, Topitzes J, Reynolds AJ. Impacts of adverse childhood experiences on health, mental health, and substance use in early adulthood: a cohort study of an

urban, minority sample in the U.S. *Child Abuse Negl*. 2013;37(11):917-925. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.07.011

39. Kilpatrick DG, Ruggiero KJ, Acierno R, Saunders BE, Resnick HS, Best CL. Violence and risk of PTSD, major depression, substance abuse/dependence, and comorbidity: Results from the National Survey of Adolescents. *J Consult Clin Psychol*. 2003;71(4):692-700. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.71.4.692

40. Boles SM, Miotto K. Substance abuse and violence: A review of the literature. *Aggress Violent Behav*. 2003;8(2):155-174. doi:10.1016/S1359-1789(01)00057-X

41. Chassin L. Juvenile Justice and Substance Use. *Futur Child*. 2008;18(2):165-183. doi:10.1353/foc.0.0017

42. Holman B, Ziedenberg J. *The Dangers of Detention: The Impact of Incarcerating Youth in Detention and Other Secure Facilities*.; 2011.

43. Guerra NG, Rowell Huesmann L, Spindler A. Community Violence Exposure, Social Cognition, and Aggression Among Urban Elementary School Children. *Child Dev*. 2003;74(5):1561–1576. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.00623

44. Boxer P, Morris AS, Terranova AM, Kithakye M, Savoy SC, McFaul AF. Coping with Exposure to Violence: Relations to Emotional Symptoms and Aggression in Three Urban Samples. *J Child Fam Stud*. 2008;17(6):881-893. doi:10.1007/s10826-008-9196-z

45. Listenbee RL, Torre J, Boyle G, Al E. *Report of the Attorney General's National Task Force on Children Exposed to Violence*.; 2012.

46. Grisso T. Progress and Perils in the Juvenile Justice and Mental Health Movement. *J Am Acad Pyschiatry Law Online*. 2007;35(2):157-167.

47. Henderson CE, Young DW, Jainchill N, Hawke J, Farkas S, Davis RM. Program use of effective drug abuse treatment practices for juvenile offenders. *J Subst Abuse Treat*. 2007;32:279-290. doi:10.1016/j.jsat.2006.12.021

48. Hughes K, Bellis MA, Hardcastle KA, et al. The effect of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Lancet Public Heal*. 2017;2(8):e356-e366. doi:10.1016/S2468-2667(17)30118-4

49. Newell M, Leap J. Reforming the Nation's Largest Juvenile Justice System. 2013;(November):1-18. http://www.cdfca.org/policy-priorities/juvenile-justice/reforming-the-nations.pdf.

50. Gover a. R. Importation and Deprivation Explanations of Juveniles' Adjustment to Correctional Facilities. *Int J Offender Ther Comp Criminol*. 2000;44(4):450-

467. doi:10.1177/0306624X00444004

51. Loughran TA, Mulvey EP, Schubert CA, Fagan J. Estimating a Dose-Response Relationship Between Length of Stay & Future Recidivism in Serious Juvenile Offenders. *Criminology*. 2010;47(3):1-42. doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00165.x.ESTIMATING

52. Los Angeles County Department of Public Health. *MORTALITY IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY 2013 Leading: Causes of Death and Premature Death with Trends for 2004-2013*.; 2013.

53. Puzzanchera C, Chamberlin G, Kang W. Easy Access to the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports: 1980-2015 Online. http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezashr/. Published 2017.

54. *Lost Youth: A County-by-County Analysis of 2012 California Homicide Victims Ages 10-24*. Washington D.C.; 2014.

55. Million Dollar Hoods. Analysis of LAPD Arrest Data: 2012-2017. 2018.

56. California Department of Justice. *Juvenile Justice in California: 2015*.; 2015.

57. Hannon L, DeFina R. Violent crime in African american and white neighborhoods: Is poverty's detrimental effect race-specific? *J Poverty*. 2005;9(3):49-67. doi:10.1300/J134v09n03

58. Chavez-Garcia M. *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California's Juvenile Justice System*. (Lewis E, Lipsitz G, Sanchez G, Takagi D, Briggs L, Pal Singh N, eds.). University of California Press; 2012.

59. Krisberg B, Vuong L, Hartney C, Marchionna S. *A New Era in California Juvenile Justice : Downsizing the State Youth Corrections System*.; 2010.

60. Tanenhaus DS. *Juvenile Justice in the United States*. Vol 1. Oxford University Press; 2018. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.437

61. Nunn D, Cleary C. From the Mexican California Frontier to Arnold-Kennick: Highlights in the Evolution of the California Juvenile Court, 1850-1961. *J Cent Fam Child Court*. 2004;5:3-34.

62. Annison J, Eadie T, Knight C. People First: Probation Officer Perspectives on Probation Work. *Probat J*. 2008;55(3):259-271. doi:10.1177/0264550508095122

63. Umamaheswar J. Bringing hope and change: A study of youth probation officers in Toronto. *Int J Offender Ther Comp Criminol*. 2013;57(9):1158-1182. doi:10.1177/0306624X12445986

64. Marsh SC, Evans WP. Youth perspectives on their relationships with staff in juvenile correction settings and perceived likelihood of success on release. *Youth Violence Juv Justice*. 2009;7(1):46-67. doi:10.1177/1541204008324484

65. Rodriguez N. The Cumulative Effect of Race and Ethnicity in Juvenile Court Outcomes and Why Preadjudication Detention Matters. *J Res Crime Delinq*. 2010;47(3):391-413. doi:10.1177/0022427810365905

66. Tasca M, Griffin ML, Rodriguez N. The Effect of Importation and Deprivation Factors on Violent Misconduct: An Examination of Black and Latino Youth in Prison. *Youth Violence Juv Justice*. 2010;8(3):234-249. doi:10.1177/1541204010366619

67. Poole ED, Regoli RM. Violence in Juvenile Institutions: A comparative study. *Criminology*. 1983;21(1):213-232.

68. Matsuda K. The Impact of Incarceration on Young Offenders. 2009. doi:10.1177/0093854807299543

69. Feld C. Comparative Analysis of Organizational Structure and Inmate Subcultures in Institutions for Juvenile Offenders. *Crime Delinq*. 1981;(July):336-363.

70. Pearlin LI, Schieman S, Fazio EM, Meersman SC, Pearlin LI. Stress , Health , and the Life Course : Some Conceptual Perspectives *. *J Health Soc Behav*. 2005;46(2):205-219.

71. Pearlin LI. The Life Course and the Stress Process : Some Conceptual Comparisons. *J Gerontol Soc Sci*. 2009;65B(2):207-215. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbp106.

72. Elder GH, Rockwell RC. The Life-Course and Human Development: An Ecological Perspective. *Int J Behav Dev*. 1979:1-21.

73. Erikson E. *Childhood and Society*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books; 1972.

74. Johnson MK, Crosnoe R, Elder GH. Insights on Adolescence from a Life Course Perspective. *J Res Adolesc*. 2011;21(1):273-280. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00728.x.Insights

75. Klimstra TA, Hale WW, Raaijmakers QAW, Branje SJT, Meeus WHJ. Identity formation in adolescence: Change or stability? *J Youth Adolesc*. 2010;39(2):150-162. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-9401-4

76. Elder GH. The Life Course as Developmental Theory. *Child Dev*. 1998;69(1):1-12.

77. Steinberg L. Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice. *Annu Rev Clin Psychol*. 2009;5(1):459-485. doi:10.1146/annurev.clinpsy.032408.153603

78. Gabbidon SL, Greene HT. Theoretical Perspectives on Race and Crime. In: *Race and Crime*. ; 2011:70-102.

79. Howard TC. Who Really Cares ? The Disenfranchisement of African American Males in PreK-12 Schools : A Critical Race Theory Perspective. 110(5):954-985.

80. Yosso TJ, Solorzano DG. *Chapter 6: Conceptualizing a Critical Race Theory in Sociology*. (Romero M, Margolis E, eds.). Blackwell Publishing Ltd; 2005.

81. Ford CL, Airhihenbuwa CO. Critical Race Theory , Race Equity , and Public Health : Toward Antiracism Praxis. *Am J Public Health*. 2010;100(3):693-698. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2009.171058

82. Ford CL, Airhihenbuwa CO. The Public Health Critical Race Methodology: Praxis for Antiracism Research. *Soc Sci Med*. 2010;71(8):1390-1398. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.07.030

83. Delgado R, Stefancic J. Critical Race Theory and Criminal Justice. *Humanit Soc*. 2007;31:133-145.

84. Bell DA. Brown v . Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma Author (s): Derrick A . Bell , Jr . Published by : The Harvard Law Review Association Stable URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/1340546 to Harvard Law Review. *Harward Law Rev*. 1980;93(3):518-533.

85. Farrington DP. Age and Crime. *Crime and Justice*. 1986:189-250. doi:10.3868/s050-004-015-0003-8

86. Fabio A, Tu LC, Loeber R, Cohen J. Neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage and the shape of the age - Crime curve. *Am J Public Health*. 2011;101(SUPPL. 1):325-332. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2010.300034

87. Ginwright S, Cammarota J. New Terrain in Youth Development: The Promise of a Social Justice Approach. *Soc Justice*. 2002;29(4):82-95. http://youth.scusd.edu/sites/main/files/ginwright__cammarota_2002_the_promise_of_a_social_justice_approach.pdf.

88. Wald J, Losen DJ. Defining and redirecting a school-to-prison pipeline. *New Dir Youth Dev*. 2003;2003(99):9-15. doi:10.1002/yd.51

89. Heitzeg NA. Education or Incarceration: Zero Tolerance Policies and The School to Prison Pipeline. *Forum on Public Policy*. 2009:1-21.

https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ870076.pdf.

90. Wilson H. Turning off fhe School-to-Prison Pipeline. *Reclaiming Child Youth*. 2014;23(1):49-53. http://content.ebscohost.com.proxylib.csueastbay.edu/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=96044861&S=R&D=i3h&EbscoContent=dGJyMNHX8kSeprM40dvuOLCmr02ep7dSsqe4SbOWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGtsk2vp7VOuePfgeyx44Dt6fIA.

91. Abrams LS. From Corrections to Community: Youth Offenders' Perceptions of the Challenges of Transition. *J Offender Rehabil*. 2006;44. doi:10.1300/J076v44n02

92. Bouffard JA, Bergseth KJ. The Impact of Reentry Services on Juvenile Offenders' Recidivism. *Youth Violence Juv Justice*. 2008;6(3):295-318. doi:10.1177/1541204007313384

93. Creswell JW. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed.; 2009.

94. Mertens D. Mixed Methods and the Politics of Human Research: The Transformative-Emancipatory Perspective. In: *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*. ; 2003:135-164.

95. Finzen ME. Systems of Oppression: The Collateral Consequences of Incarceration and Their Effects on Black Communities. *Georg Jounral Poverty Law Policy*. 2005;12(2):299-324. doi:10.3868/s050-004-015-0003-8

96. Alexander M. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color-Blindness*.; 2010.

97. POST Management Counseling Services Bureau. *Law Enforcement Evidence & Property Management Guide*.; 2013.

98. U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B17010.

99. U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B01003. Presented at the:

100. Durose MR, Cooper AD, Ph D, Snyder HN, Statisticians BJS. Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005 : Patterns from 2005 to 2010. *US Dep Justice*. 2014;Special Re(April):1-31.

101. Palinkas LA, Horwitz SM, Green CA, Wisdom JP, Duan N, Hoagwood K. Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Adm Policy Ment Heal*. 2015;42(5):533-544.

doi:10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y.Purposeful

102. Dworkin SL. Sample size policy for qualitative studies using in-depth interviews. *Arch Sex Behav*. 2012;41(6):1319-1320. doi:10.1007/s10508-012-0016-6

103. Mason M. Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research [Online].

104. Baker SE, Edwards R. *How Many Qualitative Interviews Is Enough ?*; 2012. doi:10.1177/1525822X05279903

105. Charmaz K. Constructionism and the grounded theory method. Handbook of constructionist research. 2008:397-412. doi:10.1089/ten.tea.2010.0678

106. State of Calfiornia. *Penal Code 211*.; 1872.

107. State of California. *Penal Code 459*.; 1991.

108. California Dept. of Finance. Race/Ethnic Population with Age and Sex Detail; U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates, Vintage 2017 (Jul. 2018). 2018. https://www.kidsdata.org/topic/33/child-population-race/table#fmt=144&loc=2,364&tf=108&ch=7,11,726,10,72,9,73&sortColumnId=0&sortType=asc.

109. Brown B, Cabral E, Steenhausen P. California's Criminal Justice System: A Primer. California Legislative Analyst's Office. https://lao.ca.gov/reports/2013/crim/criminal-justice-primer/criminal-justice-primer-011713.aspx. Published 2013.

110. American Civil Liberties Union. *Racial Disparities in Sentencing: Hearing on Reports of Racism in the Justice System of the United States*.; 2014.

111. Jordan KL, Freiburger TL. Examining the impact of race and ethnicity on the sentencing of juveniles in the adult court. *Crim Justice Policy Rev*. 2010;21(2):185-201. doi:10.1177/0887403409354738

112. Western B. The Impact of Incarceration on Wage Mobility and Inequality. *Am Sociol Rev*. 2002;67(4):526-546.

113. Weiss B, Caron A, Ball S, Tapp J, Johnson M, Weisz JR. Iatrogenic Effects of Group Treatment for Antisocial Youth. *J Consult Clin Psychol*. 2005;73(6):1036-1044. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1036.Iatrogenic

114. Killian E, Brown R. What Incarcerated Youth Say Would Help Them Succeed: Can Extension Play a Role? *J Ext*. 2002;40(4):2.

http://www.joe.org/joe/2002august/iw2.php.

115. Tan JX, Fajardo MLR. Efficacy of multisystemic therapy in youths aged 10-17 with severe antisocial behaviour and emotional disorders: Systematic review. *London J Prim Care (Abingdon)*. 2017;9(6):95-103. doi:10.1080/17571472.2017.1362713

116. Henggeler SW, Cunningham PB, Pickrel SG, Schoenwald SK, Brondino MJ. Multisystemic therapy: An effective violence prevention approach for serious juvenile offenders. *J Adolesc*. 1996;19(1):47-61. doi:10.1006/jado.1996.0005

117. Fain T, Greathouse SM. Effectiveness of Multisystemic Therapy for Minority Youth: Outcomes over 8 Years in Los Angeles County. *J Juv Justice*. 2014;3(2):24-37.

118. Eckles F, Stuart C, Qaqish B, Curry D. National Child and Youth Care Practitioner Professional Certification : Promoting Competent Care for Children and Youth guiding a national certification initiative for. *Child Welfare*. 2010;89(2):57-78.

119. Curry D, Carpenter-williams J. Professional Child and Youth Work Practice : Five Child and Youth Care Work. 2018;(September).

120. Taxman FS, Ainsworth S. Correctional milieu: The key to quality outcomes. *Vict Offenders*. 2009;4(4):334-340. doi:10.1080/15564880903227347

121. Young DW, Farrell JL, Taxman FS. Impacts of Juvenile Probation Training Models on Youth Recidivism. *Justice Q*. 2013;30(6):1068-1089. doi:10.1080/07418825.2012.673633

122. Matz AK, Wells JB, Minor KI, Angel E. Predictors of Turnover Intention Among Staff in Juvenile Correctional Facilities. *Youth Violence Juv Justice*. 2012;11(2):115-131. doi:10.1177/1541204012460873

123. Ture K, Hamilton C V. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. New York: Vintage Books; 1967.

124. Attorney General. *Proposition 57: Criminal Sentences. Parole. Juvenile Criminal Proceedings and Sentencing. Initiative Constitutional Amendment and Statute*.; 2018. https://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/BTB24-5H-1.pdf.

125. Committee F and JLA. *Juvenile La: Implementation of Proposition 57, the Public Safety and Rehabilitation Act of 2016*.; 2017. doi:10.1016/S0950-3293(97)00052-9

126. Soss J, Weaver V. Police are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race–Class Subjugated Communities. *Annu Rev Polit Sci*. 2017;20:565-591. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-060415-093825

127. The W. Haywood Burns Institute. Unbalanced Youth Justice. http://data.burnsinstitute.org/about. Published 2015.

128. Males M, Macallair D. The Color of Justice: An Analysis of Juvenile Adult Court Transfers in California. *Justice Policy Inst*. 2000. doi:10.1007/s10611-010-9266-1

129. Wildeman C, Wang EA. Mass incarceration, Public health, and Widening Inequality in the USA. *Lancet*. 2017;389(10077):1464-1474. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(17)30259-3