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Research on Social Work Practice 2005; 15; 462
DOI: 10.1177/1049731505277717

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The African American Adolescent Respect Scale: A Measure of a Prosocial Attitude

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Objectives: The respect that African American youth feel promotes psychological wellness and social identity; conversely, a lack of respect compromises their identities and is viewed as a threat to safety. This article describes the development, psychometric analysis, and validation of the African American Respect Scale, a 20-item instrument measuring prosocial attitudes held by male adolescents. Method: The scale was administered to 200 African American male youth age 14 to 18 years; 100 were incarcerated in juvenile corrections facilities, 100 resided in the community. Results: After acceptable reliability was established, factor analysis revealed three principal components labeled societal, family, and peer subscales. The subscales correlated with racial socialization and predicted the use of violence. Nonincarcerated youth scored significantly higher on all three subscales than incarcerated youth. Conclusions: Suggestions for social work practice with African American youth include assessing their attitudes toward respect, and assisting them to handle disrespect without resorting to violence.

Keywords: psychometric analysis; attitude; African American youth; respect

The life experiences of contemporary African American male youth are accompanied by a host of social, psychological, economic, and political pressures. The lives of many of these young men are marked by racial intolerance, economic inequalities, unemployment or underemployment, lack of education, and violence (Dwyer, 1994; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Leary, 2001; Mauer & Huling, 1995).

We first address the significance of respect for these youth and consider the following question: "Is there a salient relationship (clinical or empirical, or both) between the pressures they experience and African American

male youth attitudes about respect?" Next, we consider the importance of respect in African culture, which is reflected in the lives of African American youth. Then we briefly examine respect as an issue for social work practice. Finally, we discuss the development of a scale designed to measure prosocial attitudes toward respect and explore the underlying dimensions, reliability, and validity of this scale, the African American Respect Scale for Male Adolescents.

The Importance of Respect for African American Youth

For African American youth, debilitating experiences result in frustrations with the larger social system's mistreatment and marginalization of Blacks (Gilder, 1995). Furthermore, these youth have anger toward people who disrespect them, and they are hypersensitive about their status among peers (Mattaini, Twyman, Chin, & Lee, 1996). These particular youth also resent rejection of themselves and their families by others (Leary, 2001). They rationalize this rejection as a function of society's fear of them and its failure to respect them as valuable and contributing members of society (Gilder, 1995). The reaction by some African American youth to these assaults on their family, character, and self-images is violence (Gilder). Thus for many youth, violence becomes a

Authors' Note: A contribution submitted in honor of the educational accomplishments of Professor Elsie M. Pinkston. This article is based on data collected for the first author's doctoral dissertation. Preparation of the manuscript was supported, in part, by the Research and Training Center on Family Support and Children's Mental Health of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services, Portland State University through National Institute of Disability and Rehabilitation Research (NIDRR) Grant H133B990025. We would also like to acknowledge assistance with manuscript review given by Nancy Koroloff and Paul E. Koren of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Joy DeGruy Leary, Graduate School of Social Work, Portland State University, Portland, OR-97207-0751; e-mail: learyj@pdx.edu. Scoring directions and permission to use the African American Respect Scale may be obtained from the first author.

Research on Social Work Practice, Vol. 15 No. 6, November 2005 462-469
DOI: 10.1177/1049731505277717
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retaliatory response to perceptions of disrespect by others (Bourgois, 2003), while some young people who feel respected are able to choose alternatives to violence. M. A. Mattiani (personal communication, December 31, 2003) argued that

one possible reason youth who experience high levels of respect are less likely to turn to violence is that they have found other forms of power and strength that lead to respect, while those with no other source of power may turn to violence, which in certain settings may increase respect as well as provide power of other kinds in the young person's world.

In other words, some African American youth adopt artificial symbols of dominance such as violence as a means of reinforcing cognitive distortions and unworkable images of respect and success. As a result, Gilder (1995) argued that "to fear Black males has become the mandate for survival on the streets of many American cities" (p. xxii).

According to Anderson (1999), respect is an essential part of street rules that are strictly enforced and regulated. Bennett and Fraser (2000) asserted that

simply maintaining eye contact for "too long" may be viewed as lack of respect, an affront that can escalate into a confrontation. In a similar vein, a snide remark that might otherwise be viewed as trivial may lead to an "honor" contest where no party backs down until someone is injured. (p. 97)

The following excerpt by Persaud (2004) describes how two African American male youths attempt to gain respect, control, and power:

On my way to school I saw a young Brother on a crowded N train eating sunflower seeds. Between his legs laid a mound of wet, disgusting sunflower shells that he kept enlarging by spitting on the floor. Though visibly frustrated and disgusted by his behavior, no one would dare challenge his position. An older White man motioned to him to stop spitting the seeds on the floor. In response, he spat the seeds with much more animation than before, while effortlessly trying to stare fear into the old man. I made eye contact with the young man and he said "What?" and then I said "What?" Believe me, in the world of powerlessness this is enough for a shoot out. He leered at me then said "I thought so" and I responded with my generation's favorite confrontation closer, "Whatever!" Now we were both staring, sneering, flexing, profiling and posturing at each other, refusing to yield the power we thought we had, creating two more powerless Brothers in a confrontation over bullshit. Two intellectual amputees looking for the upper hand while mentally handcuffed. (p. 148)

Respect in African Culture

To understand and define respect for African American male adolescents, it is necessary to examine the roots

of their value system, the African axiology. According to Nichols (1976), the primary value system that dominated the African continent placed its highest worth on the relationship between individuals. The member-to-member relationship was seen as the most important factor regulating the activities within the culture; integrity of relationships was the key to survival of the group.

Asante and Asante (1985) argued that African societies were further organized based on kinship relationships. Cooperation within a close-knit family helped to provide for the basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter. Consistent with the focus on interpersonal relationships was the responsibility and accountability of each member of the family for his or her personal actions and behaviors. Decisions relied on consensus (Mazrui, 1986), and all individuals were seen as important in determining the movement and direction of the family and of the group.

Given this view of the world, each individual is seen as a cherished and vital entity. When an individual is dysfunctional, the integrity of the group is diminished, and its continued existence is jeopardized. The implication of the African axiology is that a fundamental level of respect exists among the members of a group; this respect becomes the linchpin for the sustained health and survival of the group.

Slavery in the Americas tore the very fiber of African society and violated the family and group relationships that were the basis of its axiology. Large groups of people felt unapproved, unrecognized, disrespected, unsafe, conflicted, confused and were left with a heightened sense of shame. Unlike the African experience where everyone contributed and was held in high regard, the experience of slavery left African Americans feeling inferior and without worth (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000). To a young Black man in America, respect may be associated with issues of manhood and self-worth (Gilder, 1995). A White man may view respect as the deference that he is owed as a function of his position or status. Whatever one's view, the word *respect* is most often loaded with meaning. It embodies presumptions of integrity, ego, power, position, status, control, value, and worth.

Respect, then, involves the intrinsic worth that each individual has that entitles that person to be treated with dignity and regard (Sennett, 2003). *Respect* means to regard and value a person as a unique contributor to the whole (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000). From an ecological perspective, African Americans place great significance on maintaining positive relationships on multiple levels, with the family, with one's peer group, and within the society as a whole. From the point of view of a young Black male, if his parents are appreciated and admired,

and viewed as good role models, this implies that his whole family is perceived by others as being worthy of regard, and correspondingly he will be esteemed and valued.

Respect as an Issue for Social Work Practice

The issue of respect among contemporary African American male youth is an important one for social work practice. The level of respect they feel contributes to their sense of psychological wellness and their social identity; it is also critical for their feelings of safety, recognition, and acceptance. Conversely, the lack of respect is perceived by some of African American youth as compromising their identities, and as a threat to their safety. For groups subjected to trauma and oppression, these experiences produced feelings of uncontrollable aggression and hypersensitivity regarding one's self worth (Danieli, 1998). To reestablish self-worth, respect became an issue of power. Aggression is a response to perceived disrespect (Bourgois, 2003).

As marginalized and popular victims of institutional forms of oppression, the plight of African American male youth is no secret. Yet the internalization of their apparent victimization can be the source of their feeling disrespected by Whites and other African Americans, including members of their own peer group. It is tragic to note, for some youth, acts perceived as disrespectful may be triggers for violent retaliation (Mattaini et al., 1996). The results of African American youth violence are lives lost through homicide or limited through incarceration (Bell, 1997; Cole, 1999; Mauer & Huling, 1995).

Unfortunately the issue of respect has received very little attention in the social work literature. Their rejection by society coupled with the lack of significant-other relationships involving caring mothers or fathers from the home, and the rituals these particular youth engage in to establish social contacts, friendships, or "homies" (Anderson, 1999; Gilder, 1995), may be tied to the lack of respect they feel in these key domains of family, peers, and society. It is critical for social workers serving this population at risk to gain a better understanding of the attitude of African American youth toward respect (Leary, 2001).

This article has two purposes. The first is to echo the distressed voices of African American male youth who are violent and document their common beliefs and attitudes about the issue of respect. The second purpose of the current study is to describe the initial development and validation of the African American Respect Scale (AARS), an instrument intended to measure prosocial

attitudes toward respect held by this group of young people.

Development of a Measure of Respect

The AARS was designed to be used with African American male youth to measure their prosocial attitudes toward respect, defined as positive evaluative responses to the esteem or regard the person perceives he has received. In other words, the AARS measures the extent to which the person feels respected. These attitudes were measured in three domains: respect as a member of a family, respect within the peer group, and respect within society. The original development of this scale was part of a larger study examining the relationship of use of violence by African American male youth to stress factors such as daily urban hassles, witnessing violence, and victimization, and to the sociocultural characteristics of racial socialization, and attitudes toward respect (Leary, 2001).

The current study examined the psychometric properties of the AARS. First, the underlying dimensions of the scale were explored through the use of factor analysis, to gauge whether the domains of societal, family, and peer respect would be reflected in the factor structure uncovered in the current study. Next, when dimensions were established, the construct validity was examined by determining the relationships between the AARS subscales and key variables thought to be associated with attitudes toward respect such as racial socialization and the use of violence.

During the development phase for this instrument, four sets of items were designed that dealt with prosocial attitudes toward respect in the domain of the peer group, the domain of the family, and two aspects of the societal domain, institutions and culture. We expected that the factor analysis would support the presence of these four factors, with one factor each for the family and peer domains, and two factors for the societal domain: institutional respect, such as that received from the business and educational communities, and cultural respect, that given to African Americans from other members of society. The items developed for the family domain reflect the esteem the youth believes resides within his family. This respect within the family is theorized to contribute to the extent to which he feels respected as a person because being a member of a respected group raises the level of respect of the youth within African American culture. Items relating to the Peer Respect subscale were designed to reflect the extent to which a youth feels the need to demand respect from his peer group through aggressive acts or

intimidation. These items are reverse scored because Peer Respect subscale items relate to the lack of perceived respect demonstrated by willingness to act aggressively or take control with peers who could be disrespectful. Finally, items relating to societal issues were designed to measure the extent to which the youth felt respected when he interacted with institutions such as the school or business, and his evaluation of respect given to African Americans in the culture.

Construct validity was determined by examining the relationship between subscales of the AARS and the sociocultural variable of racial socialization. It was expected that the factors associated with the family and societal domains would be positively correlated with a measure of racial socialization that emphasized family and community socialization processes for African American youth (Stevenson, 1994a, 1995). Furthermore, it was predicted that all subscales of prosocial attitudes toward respect would be negative predictors of the intensity of the use of violence by these adolescents because it was noted that feeling disrespected could trigger violence on the part of the youth. Finally, it was anticipated that youth who were incarcerated would have significantly lower AARS scores than youth who not incarcerated and were involved in a prosocial community organization that focused on building the talents and self-respect of African American youth.

METHOD

Participants

The sample consisted of 200 African American male youth in Oregon who were between age 14 and 18 years ($M = 16.1$, $SD = 1.3$). A total of 100 youth who were incarcerated were recruited from one of three youth facilities in the state: a culturally based rehabilitative residential treatment program located in the Black community, and two youth correctional facilities designed to incarcerate delinquent juveniles. The remaining 100 participants who were nonincarcerated were members of a community-based youth development program specifically designed to support and assist African American males to be successful academically, socially, and personally. The youth had completed 9.5 years of formal education on average, and 85.5% were attending school at the time of the study. Home zip codes reported by the 80% of the youth in both groups were concentrated in a circumscribed area of the city of Portland.

Procedures

As part of a larger cross-sectional study investigating African American male youth violence, the participants completed The Survey of African American Youth Experience and Behavior in small group sessions in community or correctional facility settings. All sessions were conducted by the first author, who is an African American female. Survey booklets consisted of standard items measuring demographic characteristics, stress variables, and sociocultural variables. The final part of the data collection consisted of administration of two qualitative open-ended questions, which were distributed separately from the survey booklet: "If you and your friends have felt disrespected at some time in your life, why do you think it happened?" and "Why do you think people like you are disrespected?"

Measures

Items in the AARS were developed through a pilot study (Leary, 1999). The first author conducted a pilot focus group of youth in which she asked them to discuss their experiences with respect and disrespect. Using the group discussion as a basis, she drafted a set of 20 items; 9 of the items were negatively worded to reduce response bias. A 4-point scale rating scale was adopted: 0 = *strongly disagree*, 1 = *disagree*, 2 = *agree*, and 3 = *strongly agree*. A panel of five experts representing the fields of Black studies, community-based social work, and children's mental health reviewed the items for clarity, and for face and content validity. The items were administered to the 200 youth in the major study, as part of the survey instruments. An item analysis of the AARS was conducted to determine the combination of items with the highest internal consistency. All 20 items were retained as a result of the analysis, which yielded corrected item-total correlations ranging from .104 to .477, with a total Cronbach's alpha of .77, showing acceptable internal consistency for the scale as a whole.

Racial socialization was measured using the Scale of Racial Socialization—Adolescent Version that was developed by Stevenson (1994b). This scale consisted of 45 items employed to assess the level of racial socialization of the participants had received. Ratings in the instrument ranged from 0 (*disagree a lot*) to 4 (*agree a lot*). Items included such statements as "Teaching children about Black history will help them to survive in a hostile world" and "Black parents should talk about their roots to African culture to their children." The scale was found to

TABLE 1: Varimax Rotated Factor Loadings for Societal Respect, Family Respect, and Peer Respect Subscales of the African American Respect Scale

Item	Societal Respect	Family Respect	Peer Respect
Societal Respect subscale			
It is difficult to get appreciation as a Black man.	.507	.045	.175
The police trust and appreciate me.	.522	.115	-.003
African Americans are highly regarded in America.	.502	.036	.006
I am valued and appreciated by my teachers.	.565	.037	.111
Salespeople are happy to assist me in department stores.	.699	-.036	.181
I have a good chance of getting good jobs that I qualify for.	.643	.260	.081
Someone can offend me by the way they look at me.	.427	-.079	.365
When I am at a bank or other places of business people are helpful and pleasant toward me.	.661	.150	.032
Family Respect subscale			
I admire my family.	.102	.751	.004
I listen to and appreciate the guidance my parents give me.	.150	.718	.049
I am proud of my family's achievements.	-.014	.777	.083
My father is a good role model.	.074	.483	-.036
My family admires and appreciates me.	.085	.686	.055
Peer Respect subscale			
People treat me well because they are afraid of me.	.242	.011	.648
No one will respect you unless you demand it.	.182	.017	.521
A girl appreciates a young man that takes control.	-.104	-.155	.482
People will admire me if I have expensive things.	.024	.173	.507
I may try to hurt someone if they try to embarrass me in front of people.	.079	.138	.697
If someone curses at a member of my family, I might hurt them.	.106	-.107	.715
You can get respect if you are in a gang.	.119	.210	.420
Rotation sums of squared loadings	2.804	2.631	2.585
Percent of total variance explained by the factors	14.0	13.2	12.9

be moderately reliable for the youth with a Cronbach's alpha of .64.

Intensity of violence use was determined by ratings given by youth on seven items used by DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, and Linden (1994) in their study of urban Black adolescents. Participants indicated their intensity of the use of violence for each item using a rating scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 3 (*very often*). Youth were asked to indicate their ratings for such items as "Involved in a physical fight in the past 12 months" and "Attacked someone you lived with." The violence intensity measure was established as highly reliable having a total Cronbach's alpha of .83.

RESULTS

A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization was conducted to assess the instrument measuring prosocial respect of African American youth in the peer, family, and societal domains, which we expected to yield four factors. The scree plot in Figure 1 was examined to establish the appropriate number of factors. An examination of the plot for the first clear break upward from the line, revealed

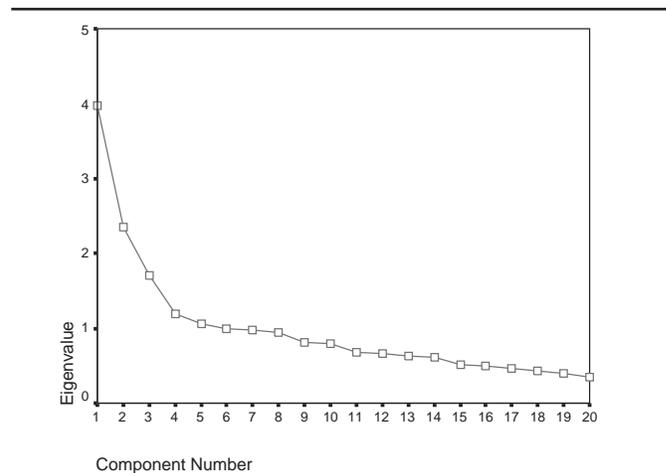


Figure 1: Scree Plot of Principal Components Factor Analysis of the Items of the African American Respect Scale—Adolescent Version

three distinct factors, instead of four. The first three factors (Societal Respect, Family Respect, and Peer Respect) had extraction eigenvalues of 3.97, 2.35, and 1.71, explaining a cumulative total of 40.1% of the variance in the scores (see Table 1). The expected fourth factor did not emerge because its eigenvalue was 1.19, not substantially different from 1.00. The critical value for factor loadings was set at .40. The factor analysis yielded

TABLE 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Study Variables: African American Respect Subscale Items, Racial Socialization, and Intensity of Use of Violence

Variable	M	SD	Societal Respect	Family Respect	Peer Respect	Racial Socialization	Violence Intensity
Societal respect	1.16	.55		.219*	.344**	.216*	-.380**
Family respect	2.16	.59			.124	.257**	-.223*
Peer respect	1.63	.56				.000	-.370**
Racial socialization	2.89	.32					-.199*
Violence intensity	2.59	2.12					

NOTE: * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$ **TABLE 3: Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for African American Respect Subscales and Intensity of Use of Violence**

Variable	b	SE	β	p
Constant	6.491	.637		.000
Societal Respect subscale	-.935	.275	-.243	.001
Peer Respect subscale	-.993	.269	-.258	.000
Family Respect subscale	-.551	.242	-.153	.024

NOTE: $R^2 = .219$ (adjusted $R^2 = .207$); $F(3, 182) = 17.053$; $p < .001$.

three subscales of the AARS with acceptable internal consistency: Societal Respect with 8 items ($\alpha = .72$), Family Respect with 5 items ($\alpha = .74$), and Peer Respect with 7 items ($\alpha = .69$).

In addition, bivariate and multivariate analyses were conducted to determine the construct validity of the respect measures. Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated for the three obtained subscales, the scale measuring racial socialization, and the total ratings for the intensity of the use of violence as can be seen in Table 2. As expected, Societal Respect ($r = .216$, $p < .01$) and Family Respect ($r = .257$, $p < .001$) were positively and significantly associated with racial socialization—a scale that focuses on family and societal domains. Racial socialization was not correlated with peer respect; socialization regarding the peer domain is not a focus of the scale of racial socialization. All three respect subscales were inversely related to the measure of intensity of the use of violence, with highly significant negative correlations as predicted.

The relationship of the respect subscales to intensity of use of violence was further explored by means of a stepwise multiple regression analysis using the respect subscales as predictors of violence intensity. The model that explained the most variance included all three subscales, as can be seen in Table 3. The three AARS subscales contributed uniquely and significantly to the prediction of the intensity of the use of violence reported by the African American youth, accounting for 20.7% of the variance in the violence intensity scores. The factor making the greatest contribution to prediction of the

reported intensity of violence was Peer Respect, followed closely by Societal Respect, and then Family Respect.

Finally, the relationship of the subscales to the incarcerated or nonincarcerated status of the youth was determined. A logistic regression using a combination of the three subscales as predictors of membership in the incarcerated versus the nonincarcerated groups approached ($p < .08$) but failed to reach significance. However, it was found that young African American males who were nonincarcerated had significantly higher scores on all three prosocial respect subscales than did the youth who were incarcerated. When comparing the Societal Respect scores of youth who were nonincarcerated ($M = 1.240$, $SD = .525$) to youth who were incarcerated ($M = 1.082$, $SD = .552$), those who were nonincarcerated had significantly higher scores, $t(194) = -2.0551$, $p = .05$. Similarly, the Family Respect scores of the youth who were nonincarcerated ($M = 2.239$, $SD = .564$) were significantly higher than those of the youth who were incarcerated ($M = 2.071$, $SD = .618$), $t(192) = -1.977$, $p < .05$. Finally, the Peer Respect subscale scores of the young males in the community program ($M = 1.711$, $SD = .463$) were also found to be significantly higher than those of the youth who were incarcerated ($M = 1.554$, $SD = .525$), $t(178.351) = -1.996$, $p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

As a measure of a key variable for social work practice, the AARS was found to have acceptable reliability for all three subscales: Societal Respect, Family Respect, and Peer Respect in the current study. In addition, Societal and Family Respect subscales were significantly and directly related to racial socialization, and all three subscales of Societal Respect, Family Respect, and Peer Respect were inversely related to the intensity of the use of violence.

We have learned much from these results. Primarily, we have quantitative evidence to substantiate the potential of the AARS to be a useful measure to gauge how

these particular youth approach the issue of respect in key domains of their lives. The Societal Respect subscale provides practitioners and researchers a lens for viewing these youths' ideas about acceptance by people in mainstream society, and the extent of external supports and resources they perceive are available to them. Youth who were incarcerated frequently reflected their belief that disrespect was rooted in racism in their qualitative response to the question "Why do you think that people like you are disrespected?" They commented "Because we are African Americans and society has put out a stereotype towards us," "Because it[s] always been that way, and it will always be because a lot of White people think that they are better than everybody," and "Because we are Black in a White man's America."

The feelings these youth who were incarcerated expressed are reflected in the recent literature. In a book on race and psychoanalysis, Marriott (2000) described the skepticism that some Black men have about better days in this country, and their potential for achieving respect. He elaborated on the late Joseph Beam's perspective on Black men and dreams:

Unlike Martin Luther King's famous address on dreams and dreaming a just future, Beam's later version seems only half-way hopeful that opening ourselves up to the unexpected can confer a new politics of "responsibility" (p. 242). But how, asks Richard Wright in *Black Power* "could one get the notion that the world could be different if one did not dream?" (Wright 1954:124). How could one "strain to feel that which was not yet in existence?" (Ibid.:175). (p. vii)

Others share Beam's skepticism, such as Braden (1999), who does research on African American male peer mentoring. Braden wrote the following: "The status quo of African Americans existing as subordinates of the mainstream culture was, and to a large degree still is, well entrenched in the American psyche" (p. 20).

Furthermore, what Braden (1999) argued is that the experience of the social structure of slavery producing "fear, intolerance, and hatred" may have relevance today when examining contemporary rejection of African Americans and the reactions of some to it. As in the case of the American Black slave, African American men today are "faced with their cultural and physical isolation and imprisonment" (p. 20). As in the case of the slave, contemporary African American men are "confronted with several clear choices: death or other form of rejection, or acceptance" (p. 20).

Our results revealed that youth who were nonincarcerated were more likely to report prosocial attitudes toward respect from society while the youth who were incarcerated did not feel such assurance. However, even

young men who were nonincarcerated revealed in their qualitative answers that they also experienced racism as a source of disrespect. One youth commented on the changing face of America: "There are still people out there that haven't realized that there is no longer just one dominant race anymore." Another young man stated "We are disrespected because we are not given the opportunity to show what we can actually do. Our potential cannot be presented because we are not given the same chances." Finally, the roots of violence were addressed in the answer of one young man who was nonincarcerated, as he pondered the sources of disrespect: "They don't know what we might do next. They think we're dangerous and hostile. They know that within ourselves we possess a lot of power and they're scared and intimidated by us."

Although destructive and not rational, the intergenerational pattern of using violence while feeling dehumanized and not counted in American society may need to be assessed by practitioners working with individual youth. At intake and further on assessment, those working with African American male youth who are violent should consider the issue of their attitude toward respect. The violence they use for retaliation should be viewed by practitioners as unworkable solutions resembling a trauma response to sustained injuries.

The results obtained from the Family Respect and Peer Respect subscales for youth who were nonincarcerated reinforce the importance of the presence of prosocial significant-other relationships among African American male youth who are violent. For youth who are incarcerated, social workers will need to consider the attitudes toward respect held at the family and peer level by individual youth as background information to use in assessing them. The absence of significant-other relationships, such as mothers or fathers from the home, and the thinking that these particular youth engage in to establish social contacts, friendships, or homies (Anderson, 1999) may be tied to the lack of respect they feel in these domains. Working with youth to establish their feelings of self-worth and to develop skills to handle disrespect in the family and peer domains may assist them to respond to challenges without the use of violence. The issue of respect, particularly the positive or negative perceptions of respect held by young African American men, provides a place for social workers and other clinicians to establish and build rapport with this population at risk.

As this psychometrically sound instrument measuring respect is used in further research with African Americans, it may be helpful to assess its applicability to African American females who are violent. Is the nature of their violent behavior substantively different from their male counterparts? Further research may also explore the

usefulness of this scale when studying violent behaviors and circumstances among other oppressed ethnic groups such as Latinos.

Finally, programs should be supported that are based on culturally sensitive models of helping; these programs should safeguard the dignity of the youth and their families and focus on strengthening their existing relationships and bolstering their feelings of self-worth. Social workers and other practitioners also need to be trained to work directly with Black youth who have been violent, to be aware of possible hypersensitivity to issues of respect, and to provide them with tools to articulate their frustrations and anger without becoming violent or feeling humiliated.

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