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A test of general strain theory with Somali refugee youth: a consideration of police, teacher, and family strains

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Dissertation

A TEST OF GENERAL STRAIN THEORY WITH SOMALI REFUGEE YOUTH: A CONSIDERATION OF POLICE, TEACHER, AND FAMILY STRAINS

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my parents, Mohamed Sh. Abdi Hersi who taught me about kindness and compassion and Asha Mohamed Mohamoud who taught me about hard work. May they both be granted a place in Jannah!

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ABSTRACT

This three paper dissertation tests whether General Strain Theory (GST) can be helpful in explaining the relationship between strains experienced by refugee youth and youth's anti-social behaviors such as delinquency and radicalization to violence and what factors mediate the relationship between strain and crime. Additionally, it uses mixed methods combining community meaning-making with quantitative research methods to provide multiple lenses to the issue of youth and negative outcomes. The first chapter presents the context in which Somali refugee youth experiences should be examined as well as relevant literature.

The second chapter examines if GST can help us understand the experiences of Somali youth and delinquencies. It examines if three strains (procedural injustice, teacher punishment and family conflict) are significantly related to crimes against people among this population and if this relationship is mediated by mental health symptoms and marginalization. The results show that both procedural justice and teacher punishment were able to predict crimes against people but the relationship between procedural injustice and crimes against people was fully mediated by mental health symptoms and by marginalization while the relationship between teacher mistreatment and crime

remained significant even when mental health symptoms and marginalization were added to the equation. Surprisingly, while family conflict was highly correlated with both marginalization and mental health symptoms, it was not significantly related to crimes against people.

The third chapter applies GST to radicalization to violence among Somali youth. It examines whether three strains (procedural injustice, teacher punishment and family conflict) predict youth radicalization to violence and whether this relationship is mediated by individual level factors such as mental health, marginalization and gang attitudes. The analysis shows that only procedural injustice is significantly related to radicalization to violence and that both marginalization and gang attitudes fully mediated the relationship while mental health partially mediated it.

The final chapter uses Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to examine community meaning making around youth radicalization. Qualitative interview results show that community members were able to identify important structural, cultural and individual level factors that led to youth radicalization and that many of the factors that they identified such as police and teacher mistreatment and gang presence where similar to the findings in the quantitative research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA	American Psychological Association
EAAM	East Asian Acculturation Measure
GST	General Strain Theory
HSCL	Hopkins Symptoms Checklist
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ORR	Office of Refugee Resettlement
PJPL	Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy
RTRC	Refugee Trauma and Resilience Center
SRD	Self-Reported Delinquency
SYLS	Somali Youth Longitudinal Study
TEP	Teacher Emotional Punishment
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER ONE

Somali Refugee Youth Pre-and Post-Migration Experience: An Overview

Introduction

"…crime is a mirror of the quality of social relationships among citizens..."

(Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999, p. 729)

Somali refugee youth and their families arrive in the West in search of safety after facing war and violence in their native country. Like many other refugee and immigrant groups, the majority of Somali refugees are resilient and adjust well in resettlement (Ellis et al., 2015; American Psychological Association [APA], 2010; Collier, 2015). However, some Somali youth have struggled integrating to their new countries and community violence has affected the lives of many young Somali refugees across North America (Forliti, 2011; Williams, 2007). In addition, there have been concerns about the radicalization of immigrant youth in the west, including Somali youth. The incidents of youth leaving safety in the West to join violent groups like al-shabaab and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has raised fears that youth that those youth would commit violence in refugee receiving countries. These fears have been heightened by the reports of few youth who left for Somalia and others who left or attempted to leave for Syria to join ISIS. Between 2007 and 2009, over twenty Somali youth were known to have joined al-shabaab and some of these youth died in the commission of terrorist acts in Somalia (Ellis et al., 2015). In addition, between 2014 and 2015, close to 30 Somali youth have either joined ISIS or have been stopped while trying to do so (Yourish & Williams,

2016). While these numbers are small and have been decreasing (Kurzman, 2019**),** they are still symbolic of threat and a loss for a community that came to the US to save its children from war and violence. It is important to point out that the majority of mass casualty attacks in the US are not committed by Muslims (Kurzman, 2019). Furthermore, the majority of Muslim refugee and immigrant youth are law abiding and well integrated. Often we give voice to the negative and we need to celebrate the positive. It is because one act of terrorism or radicalization can have such a negative impact on both the victims it targets as well as the Muslim community that are doubly victimized that we seek to advance the knowledge around understanding factors related to radicalization with the hope that this will contribute to the development of strategies to combat it.

This three-paper dissertation three aims to answer three questions:

(1) How do Somali community members make sense of the phenomena of youth leaving to join al-shabaab?

(2) What strains experienced by Somali youth are related to their willingness to use violence to achieve political goals and how are these different or similar to those strains that are related to other delinquent behaviors?

(3) What factors mediate between strain and willingness to use violence/delinquency?

Background and Relevance

Somali youth and Experience of War and Trauma exposure

As black youth in America who are often visible due to their race and ethnicity, Somali youth face poverty and discrimination similar to those faced by other

communities of color and as Muslim immigrants, they also face increasing discrimination and Islamophobia based on their religion. This multiple marginalization puts them at risk exposure to strain in multiple domains. Discrimination faced by minority youth has been shown to be linked to multiple negative outcomes including worse mental health outcomes and violence. The vulnerability of some Somali youth to the call of radical groups has to be examined in the context of these experiences.

Refugee youth experience many layers of trauma, including violent conflicts in their countries of origin from which they flee danger during migration as they seek a safe haven, and in refugee camps where they are held to be processed for resettlement (Berthold, 2000; Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005; Schweitzer, Brough, Vromans, & Asic-Kobe, 2011). In addition, research has shown that refugee youth continue to be exposed to trauma as they are resettled in US urban areas with high rates of community violence (Berthold, 1999). As Porter and Haslam (2005) argue, refugee youth, "experience diverse stressors that accumulate over the preflight, flight, exile, and resettlement/repatriation periods" (p. 603).

Somali youth between the ages 16-30 have only known their country of origin in the context of war because the conflict in Somalia has been going on for over 25 years. Like many other children who come from war-torn countries, they have been exposed to high levels of violence and extensive traumas (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). These traumas include physical injury, rape and threats of physical violence, and seeing loved ones killed, injured or threatened (Berthold, 2000). Due to these experiences, refugee youth have been shown to report trauma exposure rates which are much higher than those found

in the general population (Ellis, Murray, & Barrett, 2014; Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Porter & Haslam, 2005). For example, among a sample of Somali refugee youth living in the US, youth reported experiencing, on average, 7.7 traumatic events with some reporting as many as 22 experiences (Kia-Keating & Ellis., 2007). These findings are in line with those of refugees in general. According to Fazel et al., (2005), refugees "resettled in western countries could be about ten times more likely to have post-traumatic stress disorder than age-matched general populations in those countries" (p. 1309). Similar findings have been reported among refugee youth from other backgrounds. For example, Berthold (1999, 2000) reported high levels of violence exposure among Khmer youth both in the US and prior to migration. Somali youth often have demographic characteristics that put them at risk for violence exposure including living in crime ridden neighborhoods, living in poverty, being exposed to prior violence, living in single mother households and having a minority background (Berthold 1999; DuRant, Pendergrast, & Cadenhead, 1994).

The effects of violence exposure can be felt long after traumatic events have occurred. Children who experience violence at a young age are at risk for poor health outcomes, including physiological and psychological problems (APA 2010; Lustig, 2004). Often the victimization of these youth does not stop with them but they, in turn, are at risk for perpetrating violence against others (Wright, Fagan, A. & Pinchevsky 2013; Neller, Denney, Pietz, & Thomlinson, 2005; Thornberry, Ireland, & Smith, 2001). In a study of dangerously violent adolescents, Flanner and colleagues (2001) found a strong link between violent perpetuation and violence exposure and symptoms of

psychological trauma among this population, thus supporting the argument that youth who commit violence might themselves have been victimized and might be suffering from trauma-related psychological symptoms. In addition, research has shown that war-affected individuals such asylum seekers who have experienced trauma and have PTSD, have worse health outcomes and higher risk for developing chronic diseases such as diabetes (Agyemang et al., 2011). Therefore, exposure to trauma has a long-term negative effect on both physical and psychological health.

Being Muslim in Post 9/11 America: Somali Youth and Experience of Discrimination

The United States is populated by people who have sought to escape violence, prejudice and poverty. What makes Somali refugees somewhat unique is that the sense of safety that sought to find in the West is often illusive. The refugee status is enshrined in the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugee. This status is conferred on a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his {or her} nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (U.N. Charter art. 1, para. 2). Thus refugees are people who have faced persecution and are fleeing due to lack of safety and protection in their home country. Somalis are one of the largest refugee groups in the world and one of the largest groups resettled in the US (Office of Refugee Resettlement 2010).

Somalis are unique as they are both Muslim and black and, therefore, are inserted

into racial and religious categories in the US that put them at risk for discrimination and hate crimes. Since the tragic events of 9/11, research has shown that Muslims face increased discrimination since 9/11 (CAIR, 2017). In a survey of Muslims in the US in 2017, PEW Research Center found that 75% of Muslims surveyed believed that there was a lot of discrimination against Muslims. 62% reported that they believed that other Americans did not see Islam as part of the mainstream society (Pew Research, 2017). According Pew, in 2016, attacks against Muslims surpassed those of 2001 for the first time (Pew Research, 2017). Despite the difficulties and fears, 89% said they were proud of their religion as well as being American.

Acculturative Stress: Caught Between Here and There

One of the main challenges that refugee and immigrant youth face is acculturation (Berry, 1980, 2008). Acculturation has been theorized to "include language, lifestyle, cultural identity and attitudes as they are maintained or transformed by the experience of coming into contact with another culture" (Bernstein & al., 2011, p. 24). Acculturation not only impacts an immigrant youth's relationship with the dominant group but also with his/her family and community of origin. A youth might acculturate much faster than his/her parents, picking up language and cultural norms of the dominant community. This dynamic is called an "acculturation gap" (APA, 2010; Lau et al., 2005; Lee et al., 2000; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 993). It can create conflicts between parental/community's expectations and child's way of being. This gap might be stronger and more pronounced among cultures in which respect for cultural norms and parental authority is very strong (Phinney & Ong, 2002).

Berry (1997) introduced the concept of acculturation strategies "which refer to the various ways that groups and individuals seek to acculturate" (Berry, 2008, p. 331). Within this conceptualization, acculturation strategies vary widely among individuals and groups. Berry proposed four different strategies, each focused on how a person relates to her own culture and to the host culture (2008, p. 331): *Integration* is said to occur when a person is able to remain connected to the original culture while also adapting and easily functioning in the host culture. This is what is referred to as "biculturalism," and is often seen as the optimal strategy. *Separation* is characterized by a primary loyalty to the original culture and rejection of the host culture. *Assimilation* refers to adapting the new culture and rejecting the original culture and is the inverse of separation. *Marginalization* is said to happen when an individual is not connected to either culture. For young people, this means that they do not feel that they belong to either culture, and therefore they are alienated from both communities. Each of these strategies involves losses and/or gains and impacts relationships and social identity.

While many refugee and immigrant youth experience acculturative stress, research shows that youth who originate from cultures that are markedly different from the dominant culture such as Somali youth who are resettled in the US or other western countries face the herculean task of finding a healthy balance between the need to remain connected to the culture of origin and the impulse to fit into the new communities in which they seek to build new lives. Research has also shown that the greater the difference between the dominant culture and the native culture, the more difficult it is to create this integration (Rudmin, 2003; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006).

For youth who might be experiencing discrimination because of their race, religion or immigrant status, the additional burden of acculturative stress within their family and community can compound the sense of alienation and exacerbate the negative effects of discrimination. In addition, research has shown that the best psychosocial adjustment happens when integration of one's original culture and the dominant culture is achieved, and when a person does not feel they need to choose between the two cultures or is not perceived to be abandoning their original culture when they adapt to the dominant culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004).

Literature Review

Radicalization among Immigrant Youth: The New Delinquency

Since 9/11, there has been an explosion of studies of radicalization by social scientists (e.g., Ellis, et al, 2015; Altier, et al, 2014; Doosje, et al, 2016; Bongar, Brown, Beutler, Breckenridge, & Zimbardo, 2006; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007; Kruglanski & Fishman, 2006). Despite this attention, radicalization is a relatively new field among academics. Its definition remains a work in progress (Borum, 2011). Often radicalization is conflated terrorism but the two are very distinct. While terrorism has been defined as a "politically motivated violence, perpetrated by individuals, groups, or state-sponsored agents, intended to instill feelings of terror and helplessness in a population in order to influence decision making and to change behavior" (Moghaddam, 2005, p. 161), radicalization has been more nebulous. One of the reasons it has been so difficult to define what radicalization because it can cover multiple beliefs and actions

and it can be contested depending who is defining and who is being described as radicalized (Borum, 2011).

Schmid (2013) defines radicalization as,

> "An individual or collective (group) process whereby, usually in a situation of political polarization, normal practices of dialogue, compromise and tolerance between political actors and groups with diverging interests are abandoned by one or both sides in a conflict dyad in favor of a growing commitment to engage in confrontational tactics of conflict waging… The process is, on the side of rebel factions, generally accompanied by an ideological socialization away from the mainstream or status quo— oriented positions more radical or extremist positions involving a dichotomous world view and the acceptance of an alternative focal point of political mobilization outside the dominant political order as the existing system is no longer recognized as appropriate or legitimate" (p. 18).

What makes this explanation useful is that it attends to multiple important aspects of radicalization. For example, that it is a both group and individual process, that it involves both ideological commitment and active engagement in conflict and that there is a perception that existing systems are no longer legitimate or useful to those who are being radicalized.

Because radicalization is often seen as a precursor to terrorism, it is important for us to understand how people become radicalized (King & Taylor, 2011). It is also important to remember that terrorism is one of the multiple possible outcomes of radicalization. One of the most frustrating aspects of the study of terrorism is that there is not a linear relationship between radicalization and terrorism (Hafez & Mullins, 2015). Many people hold radical ideas, but few engage in terrorist activities. As Borum (2011) notes, "most people who hold radical ideas do not engage in terrorism" (p. 8). Unlike radicalization, which can be an attitude or belief unaccompanied by acts of violence,

terrorists engage in violent acts. Therefore, simply put, "terrorism is an act of violence" (Doosje et al., 2016, p. 79) which is committed to achieving political ends. In the US there has been a debate about why some acts (often those committed by Muslims) are quickly designated as terrorist acts while others (often committed by white males) are not. For example, the killing of a protester in Charlottesville, the attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburg and the attack of the mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand do meet the definition of terrorism in that they were acts of violence that were committed to intimidate others and in "the pursuit of political aims" (Scarcella, Page, Furtado, 2016). But these events committed by white are rarely presented as a terrorist acts in the national media as well as within the political and law enforcement discourse. While radicalization and terrorism are distinct from each other, terrorism is often, but not always, an outcome of radicalization. It is also important to point out that there are many who engage in terrorism that do not necessarily hold a deep commitment to radical ideas but rather are followers of leaders who are committed to terrorist action. As Borum (2011, p. 7) summarizes, "different pathways and mechanisms of terrorism involvement operate in different ways for different people at different points in time and perhaps in different contexts."

Given the existential threat that radicalization leading to violence presents to our society, there have been many efforts to formulate theories that can explain the radicalization process. However, we still lack a cohesive approach to the study of these important phenomena. Some experts argue that there are no theories of radicalization but rather a fragmented body of knowledge focusing on this issue (King & Taylor, 2011). In

studying radicalization, one can look at the questions of *why* or *how*. One can ask what are the root causes of radicalization-in essence *why* do people become radicalized? What are the processes or *how* do youth become radicalized? The *why* leads us to look at motivation while the *how* leads us to look at the process of indoctrination and effects of group membership (Mastors & Siers, 2014). In looking at motivation, some scholars have theorized that youth who become radicalized are looking for meaning in their lives (Cottee & Hayward, 2011) while others point to thirst for revenge (Jurgensmeyer, 2000), desire for belonging (Borum, 2004) or personal crisis (Silber & Bhatt, 2007); others point to economic disadvantage (Victoroff, 2005) and perceived injustice (Borum, 2004; Moghaddam, 2005) as push factors. Many in the field agree that there is a range of relevant personal, social, economic, and political reasons that often come together to lead to individuals becoming radicalized (Mastors and Deffenbaugh 2007)**.** These explanations demonstrate that the causes of radicalization are multidimensional and difficult to distill.

Another aspect in the process of radicalization is the importance of group dynamics (Kruglanski & Fishman, 2009; Sageman, 2008; Silke, 2008). Many experts have argued that radicalization is a process that takes place within social relationships where individuals learn to hold beliefs and act in ways that are consistent with a group of like-minded individuals (Lygre, Eid, Larsson, & Ranstorp, 2011; van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013). As one of the leading experts on radicalization, John Horgan explains, "terrorists do not just appear 'fully fledged'... they have to learn and be trained, make sense of what they learn and express that learning in various ways" (Horgan, 2009,

p. 145). Regardless of what theories are advanced to explain the radicalization process, there are still important questions that have not been answered. Why do some youth become radicalized or engage in acts of terrorism while other youth with similar experiences do not? Are there some experiences or characteristics that are key to this process? What is the role of religion, culture, community and family in the radicalization process and how do families and communities in which this happens make sense of it? What can community narratives teach us about youth radicalization? The answers to these questions are not yet clear and while the study of radicalization as a field is still emerging, what is clear is the need to look at both individual and societal factors that might play role in youth vulnerability to being radicalized. Therefore, any "useful framework must be able to integrate mechanisms at the micro (individual) and macro (societal/cultural) levels. It must account for the fact that 'one size does not fit all' when it comes to creating a violent extremist" (Borum, 2011, p. 8).

Delinquency and Segmented Assimilation: Coming from one war to another

An important factor in examining outcomes for refugee and immigrant youth is the role of acculturation process. Traditional acculturation theory assumes that immigrants have equal access to assimilate into the American society with all the opportunities and upward mobility that can represent. Portes and Zhou (1993) have challenged the assertion that immigrants who assimilate will be able to achieve upward mobility and access to the American dream. Instead, they proposed what they called "segmented assimilation," which argues that immigrants of color like Somalis face different choices because unlike others who arrive with wealth or education which

facilitate their upward mobility, they face barriers to achieving the American dream (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995). Instead, these poorer and ethnic minority immigrants assimilate to those who are "like them," in this case African Americans in urban, poor and often high crime communities. In these environments, youth find themselves facing choices between adapting the "American culture around them" or maintaining adherence to their parent's culture. These choices have consequences since "to remain (Somali) they would have to face social ostracism and continuing attacks in school; to become American-black in this case-they would have to forgo their parents' dreams of making it in the American dream" (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 83). Thus, for Somali youth who come from a Muslim culture that is markedly different from the American dominant culture, and who face high expectations in their community and great barriers and exclusion in the wider society, the acculturation process and the choices it represents can prove extremely challenging.

Theoretical Framework

General Strain Theory of Crime

Radicalization as a social problem is relatively new phenomena but youth crime has been studied for decades and many see the field of criminology as offering potential knowledge and resources in the attempts to decipher radicalization (Rosenfeld, 2002; LaFree and Dugan, 2004; Rausch and LaFree, 2007; Decker & Pyrooz, 2011). Lafree and Dugan (2004) examined the usefulness of applying criminology to study radicalization, they conclude that even though there are important differences between criminology and terrorism, "criminological theory, data collection, and methodological

approaches, are highly relevant to terrorism research" (p. 53).

One of the criminological theories that has been offer as promising in the study radicalization and terrorism is General Strains Theory (GST). GST was formulated by Robert Agnew (1992, 2001, 2006). Agnew build on traditional strain theories (Merton, 1938; Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). He reformulated these theories by moving away from the focus on goal blockage and instead focusing on relationships with others that are perceived to be unfair or negative (Agnew, 1992; 2001).

Agnew proposes three categories of strains that cause crime:

a) Situations where an individual is blocked from achieving valued goals

b) Situations where a highly valued stimuli is taken away

c) Situations where noxious stimuli is introduced.

He further argues that these strains are likely to lead to crime when they are seen as unjust; they are of high magnitude and when the individual has low self-control. Agnew also describes the mechanism by which strain leads to crime. He argues that strains lead to negative emotions such anger, depression and anxiety which then lead the person seek to relief through criminal act. Those individuals who lack the resources to address the strain in legal manner and/or who do not have the coping skills to manage the negative emotion might resort to illegal actions to relief the distress. GST has been criticized for being overly focus on individual level factors, but there has been a move to address macro level issues such as discrimination and poverty (Agnew 1999; Warner & Fowler, 2003). GST has been widely tested and validated (Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; 2000; Mazerolle & Maahs, 2000; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1997; Moon & Morash,

2004; Piquero & Sealock, 2000; Agnew, Brezina; Agnew & White, 1992; Hoffman & Cerbone, 1999). While GST has been applied to wide range of issues and populations, to our knowledge, it has yet to be applied to refugees and has been applied to radicalization in very limited way (see Callaway and Harrelson-Stephens, 2006; Hoffman, 2006; Post, 2007).

In this dissertation, we are proposing to test GST with Somali youth in North America because GST is theory that focus on strains which are ubiquitous in the lives of Somali refugee youth who faces multiple strains from migration, discrimination and family conflict (Ellis et al., 2008, 2018). They also experience higher levels of mental health symptoms due to exposure to strains (Jaranson, 2003) and they face family conflict and marginalization due to acculturative stress (Betancourt, 2014). Moreover, according to GST, it is not just the exposure to strain but the feeling of being unfairly treated that leads to crime. As multiply marginalized youth who face both Islamophobia and racism, Somali youth often report being unfairly targeted and mistreated (Ellis et al., 2018).

The project uses a database originated by Boston Children's Hospital Refugee Trauma and Resilience Center (RTRC). The Somali Youth Longitudinal Study (SYLS) led by Dr. Heidi Ellis has been going on since 2013. It focuses on looking at risk and resilience factors among Somali refugee youth in North America.

The studies contained here use Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR; Israel et al., 1998) as a method. CBPR is an approach to research which seeks to form equal and equitable partnerships with communities and stakeholders with the goal of enhancing community capacity and ownership of research process and outcomes. The

use of CBPR is especially recommended when working with marginalized and disadvantaged communities. Refugees have been called a difficult to reach group because of the challenges of engaging them in the research process (Spring et. al, 2003). One of the strategies that have been shown to be successful with marginalized communities is engaging community members as active partners in research For the projects presented here, the author was a community member as well as researcher who developed and implemented a community engagement protocol and reviewed all research methods and assessment batteries to ensure that community values and experiences were being integrated and that the research project was reflective of community input, relevance, and interest.

This dissertation is composed of three separate papers. The first paper tests if GST can be helpful in understanding the experiences of Somali refugee youth and delinquencies. This allows us to see if the theory works on an issue that it has been widely and successfully applied to but with a new population. The second paper applies GST to radicalization to violence among Somali youth. This paper ventures into the relatively new area of using this theory and does so with a new population. Finally, we present qualitative interviews with key informants from the Somali community. This paper uses Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith & Osborn, 2003). The of using IPA in research on radicalization is to bring a community lens to an issue that has been widely discussed and researched outside the Somali community but which has often been a taboo topic in the community due to the stigma, loss and discrimination that that youth radicalization has brought to the community.

The Theorized model for the dissertation is presented below as Figure 1.

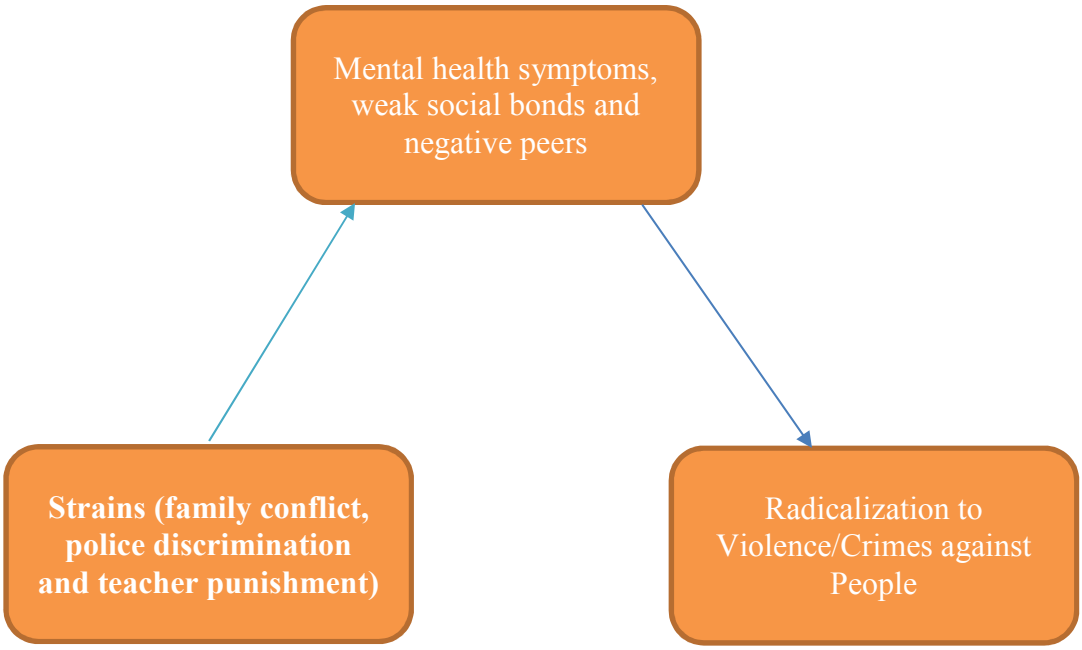

Figure 1. Theorized model (adapted from General Strain Theory) mental health symptoms, negative peers and social bonds Mediate the relationship between strains and openness to violence (violence against people or violence to achieve political goals).

Dissertation Hypotheses: Greater strains will be associated with greater endorsement of violence to achieve political ends (radicalization) and violence against people (delinquency). This will be mediated by association with negative peers, marginalization or mental health symptoms.

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CHAPTER TWO

A Test General Strain Theory

Introduction

General Strain Theory represents an extension of strain theories that have been used to explain delinquency since the 1930's. Merton (1938) argued that individual level differences in delinquency can be attributed to the inability of low-income individuals to achieve high aspirations. Building on previous strain theories (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Merton, 1938), Agnew sought to reformulate and improve on the strain theory's application to youth delinquency (1992, 2001, 2006). Agnew characterizes strain as a "relationship in which others are not treating the individual as he or she would like to be treated" (1992, p. 48). He proposes that certain strains are more likely to lead to crime (Agnew, 2010). Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST) differs from traditional strain theory, which focuses on the inability to achieve important goals as source of crime. GST argues that many types of strains can be sources of crime and the relationship between strain and crime is not limited to those that block goals. It specifies three types of strains that can lead to crime: a) situations that block the individual from achieving goals that are highly valued, b) situations that take away highly valued stimuli and, c) situations that lead to negative stimuli (Agnew, 1992). Agnew (2001) further developed the idea by clarifying what kinds of strains are most likely to lead to deviant/delinquent behaviors. He theorized that strains are likely to lead to deviance when a) they are seen as unjust (academic failure that is attributed to the teacher discrimination rather than student

ability); b) they are of high magnitude and severity (e.g., being arrested in front of family and community members); c) the individual has lower self-control; d) there is higher incentive to engage in criminal behavior (e.g., the individual has peers who encourage the negative behavior or loose social bonds so that the individual does not fear damaging important relationships) (Agnew, 2001). Examples of strains that might lead to criminal activities are child abuse/negative relationship with parents/caregiver, racial discrimination, problems with school or employment that are perceived as unjust, and failure to achieve desired goals, such as academic or professional goals. According to Agnew (1992), these types of strains are likely to lead to negative emotions, such as depression and anger. He further argued that it is this link between strain and its emotional impact that leads to crime as a person seeks to relieve the stress through crime.

GST has been called one of the most influential and important theories of recent years, and it has been extensively tested and supported. According to Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton and Agnew (2008), what makes GST unique among theories of delinquency is that it focuses on a negative relationship with society and the lack of necessary coping resources that is experienced by certain individuals. “GST is most clearly distinguished from competing crime theories by its assertion that negative experiences and relationships motivate and promote criminal behavior,” (p. 424) they write. It is important to highlight that GST does not say that strain alone leads to crime, but rather that it is because the strain causes negative emotions, such as depression and anger, as well as a sense of social marginalization, which lead to crime (Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994); therefore, any testing of GST must account for these mediating factors to see if

they can explain the relationship between strain and crime. This link between unfair treatment and delinquent behavior is especially important when looking at marginalized communities such as African Americans and immigrants and refugees who face individual and institutional discrimination and victimization on a daily basis and who often feel that they are being unfairly treated due to their identity.

Empirical support has been found for Agnew's proposition that certain strains promote crime (see Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; Aseltine, Gore, & Gordon, 2000; Mazerolle & Maahs, 2000; Mazerolle, Piquero, & Capowich, 2003; Moon, Hays, & Blurton, 2009; Piquero & Sealock, 2000, 2004). While Agnew's initial theory and research focused on the cumulative effect of strains, there has also been a call to look at specific and direct effects of individual strains such as bullying or discrimination on deviant behavior (Baron, 2004; Moon, Hays, & Blurton, 2009; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994; Simons, Chen, Steward, & Brody, 2003). GST has also been applied to procedural justice (Scheuerman, 2013) and perceived injustices among middle- and high-school aged American youth (Rebellon et al., 2012). To our knowledge, however, GST has yet to be applied to research on refugee youth and strains that they are likely to experience, such as acculturation, discrimination, and trauma, which are highly salient strains faced by this population. This theory is a good fit for looking at refugee youth in general and Somali youth in particular, because they have many of the characteristics that GST theorizes would lead to youth engaging in criminal activities. There is no evidence that Somali youth engage in criminal activities at a higher rate than other youth, and research actually shows that immigrant youth as a group engage in crimes at a lower rate than

American born youth (Salas-Wright et al., 2016). However, any factors that put youth at risk for bad outcomes are important to understand and address. Somali refugee youth experience multiple strains (Ellis et al., 2015; Betancourt et al., 2014). They often report experiencing discrimination (Ellis et al., 2008). They report higher levels of mental health symptoms than the general population (Jaranson et al., 2004), and they can have looser social bonds due to acculturation and the difficulties of navigating between two very different cultures (Ellis, 2015). Three types of strains that Somali refugee youth experience can be examined with GST: discrimination, such as procedural injustice and teacher punishment; acculturation strain, such as marginalization; and family conflict.

Somali youth often report negative interaction with police (Ellis et al., 2018) and they often experience discrimination in academic spaces (Fellin, 2015). Perceived injustice strains attributed to police and teachers have many of the characteristics theorized by Agnew to be necessary for a strain to lead to a crime. They can block the achievement of valued goals, such as academic and employment goals; they can take away highly valued stimuli since they can negatively impact the youth's family and community standing and cause shame and alienation. Youth who experience school failure might lose the admiration and respect of family, friends and community. Police and teacher strain can lead to disliked stimuli, such as being arrested or being suspended/expelled. These strains can be of very high magnitude as they can affect youth's future academic and professional opportunities (e.g., being labeled as a criminal, being denied a job due to a record, and being denied scholarships for further education) and youth's social connections, as often youth who are seen as in trouble with school and

police might not be allowed to associate with "good" kids in the community. Furthermore, it might even affect youth's marriage prospects, because families would not allow their children to marry a person with an academic failure or criminal record in a community where culturally-bound family must consent to a marriage proposal. These experiences can also damage youth's standing with both the community of origin and the host community, potentially leaving them marginalized. Examining whether perceived injustice and family conflict strains are pathways to crime for Somali refugee youth and what factors mediate the relationship between strain and delinquency can offer a unique window into these youths' experiences and can help us better understand where we might most effectively be able to intervene to support more prosocial outcomes. It can also help us test whether GST can be applied to this unique population.

Strains in the Lives of Refugee Youth

Refugees are a special group of immigrants who migrate due to displacement from their native country. The 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees defined a refugee as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [or her] nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (U.N. Charter part. 1, para. 2). As conflicts around the world displace more and more people, the number of refugees seeking safe haven continues to escalate, and a great number of those who arrive on American shores are children. Somalis are one of the largest refugees groups to settle in the United States within the past decade (Office of

Refugee Resettlement, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Furthermore, Muslims represent the largest religious group among refugees coming to the U.S. In 2016, Muslims accounted for 46% of admitted refugees, totaling 38,901. In the U.S., Somalis also represent one of the largest Muslim immigrant groups and the largest African immigrant group, a significant and growing population in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014, 2016).

The migration process of refugees, by its very nature, contains many strains. Refugees depart their country of birth because of violence. They are forced to flee without resources and often experience violence and lack of basic resources during flight. Once resettled in a host country, they often struggle with adjusting to a new life and face new strains that might lead to new trauma exposures. Refugee youth who have been displaced experience loss and trauma in multiple ways. They are driven from their homes, and in the process lose status and important relationships. In the process of migration, they suffer material deprivation and more loss and face danger and violence. Once they arrive in the country of resettlement, they are often resettled in crime-ridden neighborhoods where they face new types of war, such as community violence (Betancourt, 2014); thus, refugee youth such as Somalis have extensive life experiences in which they face adverse relationships with others and where they are not treated fairly by others in their community.

In this study, police and teacher perceived injustices were chosen, because those two interactions can have ramifications beyond the classroom and the streets where youth usually interact with the police. Being arrested by police can lead to youth being labelled

as “bad kids” in their community, and it can bring shame and despair to their families. Police interaction can also cause youth to experience a sense of failure.

Family Strain: Acculturation and Refugee Families’ Struggles

One of the main strains that refugee and immigrant youth face is acculturative stress. According to Berry, acculturation “is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005, p. 698). Acculturation can pose a threat to family cohesion and functioning at the time when the family is faced with many other stressors. Acculturative stress (Oh et al., 2002) can result from struggle with such things as changes in family roles and relationships, loss of status due to migration, change in social support and financial situation and daily struggle to fit into a new society while maintaining connections to the original culture/community. Within a family, acculturation stress can present itself in change in roles and relationships that create family and generational conflict and can affect emotional and psychological well-being (Noh & Kaspar, 2003).

Portes and Zhou (1993) propose that acculturation is different for minority youth who are inserted into the stratified racial categories in the U.S. Their Segmented Assimilation theory argues that acculturation is different for those who belong to marginalized communities, because upward mobility and opportunities enshrined in the immigrant dream are denied to them. The acculturation of minority immigrant youth often means insertion into a system of segregation and oppression where crime is the only pathway to achieve their American dream, and where the relationship with systems

of power often controlled by Whites is one of constant conflict and opposition rather than integration and achievement.

Discrimination: Being Muslim in Times of Muslim Bans

Somali youth face general strain because they come from a war-torn country and face acculturation strain as they resettle in a new country; but they also face strains that are unique to them as black, poor, Muslim refugees. After the tragedy of 9/11, Somali Americans, like many other Muslim Americans, have faced increasing discrimination (CAIR, 2017). Somalis also face racism due to their African heritage. Racial discrimination has been defined as "beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate or deny equal treatment to individuals or groups based on racial characteristics or group affiliation" (Clark et al., 1999, p. 805). While immigrants and people of color have always faced prejudice in the US, the events of 9/11 heralded new and more extreme forms of discrimination against Muslims, who came to be viewed as terrorists and as a threat to the very existence of the country. In fact, research shows that Muslims face the highest level of discrimination among all minority/marginalized groups in the U.S. (Pew Research, 2013). There has been a marked increase in the incidence of hate crimes against Muslim Americans, who have become "the most frequently targeted group, exceeding other minority groups that have historically been targeted" (Pew Research, 2013). The 2016 U.S. election has given rise to another era of overt hate crimes and discrimination against Muslims and other minority groups. The Pew Research Center also reports that there was a 67% rise in hate crimes against Muslims between 2014 and 2015. In fact, in 2016, assaults against Muslims surpassed the number in 2001

(Pew Research, 2017). Young Muslims are highly vulnerable because they interact more often with mainstream society than co-ethnic adults and often face "persistent problems in schools, including physical assaults and death threats from peers and overt ethnic and religious bigotry and harassment from teachers, school administrators, and peers" (Aroian, 2011, p. 206). Since the 2016 election and the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the new administration, including the banning of Muslim refugees from certain countries and barring of all Somalis from entering the US, Somali youth have been experiencing additional discrimination and scrutiny.

Racism: Being Black in Times of Aggressive Policing

Somali youth are unique among Muslim Americans. Muslim Americans are better educated and more affluent than the general population (Bukhari, 2003), but Somalis are not. Historical factors, such as an educational system devastated by decades of civil war and a generation of youth raised in refugee camps, likely contribute to this disparity. In contrast, the majority of other Muslims arrived in the U.S. as students or professionals. For example, research into the economic status of Muslims in the West found that Muslim Americans fare much better than their counterparts in Europe. They report having incomes over $100,000 at a rate similar to those of Americans of other faiths ("Islamic, Yet Integrated", The Economist, 2014). This same report notes that Somali Americans are poorer and less educated than the majority of Muslim immigrants to the U.S. who are from the Middle East and South Asia. In fact, Somalis have the highest poverty rates of any group in the US, according to the American Community Survey (Abdi, 2014; U.S. Census Bureau). As refugees, with limited resources and

education, Somali families are often resettled in urban, poor neighborhoods where they share the fate of their African American neighbors. Therefore, an addition to being impacted by strains associated with immigration such as acculturation, Somali youth experience strains that are unique to African Americans in the U.S. Research has shown that minority youth are over represented in the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2012; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997; Ulmer & Laskorunsky, 2016). African American encounters with law enforcement take place in the context of a history of black mass incarceration and unfair sentencing. Somali refugee youth are inserted in that system. Agnew and others have theorized that African Americans face strains such as poverty, victimization, and discrimination because of the racialized system that exists in the U.S. These types of strains are often perceived as unjust and might lead to sufferers responding with anger and violence to cope with the unjust treatment. (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton, & Agnew, 2008). Somali refugee youth can be said to experience multiple strains that have been identified as a result of their multiple marginalized identities. These strains are often seen as being unfair and unjust because they are racial/religious based discrimination (Ellis et al., 2018).

Perceived Injustice and its Relevance to Refugee Youth Experience

Perceived injustice is concerned with the sense that others are not treating an individual fairly. It has been theorized that "perceptions of injustice are likely to emerge in situations that are characterized by a violation of basic human rights, transgressions of status or rank, or challenges to equity norms and just world beliefs" (Sullivan et al., 2014, p. 326). Perceived injustice can include actions against an individual by authority figures

such as police and teachers, but it can also include acts by close family members, such as parents, when their action is seen as unfair and harmful. One type of perceive injustice, procedural justice, has been identified as important to the study of minority youth and crime in Western countries. Procedural justice has to do with whether a person feels that they and those in their community are treated fairly by police. Procedural justice has multiple dimensions, including whether a person feels that police treat them with *respect,* whether they feel police are *neutral* and unbiased, and whether one feels that police are *trustworth*y and helpful (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Procedural justice can determine police legitimacy when they interface with minority communities such as African Americans and refugee communities. Police legitimacy is an important determinant of whether people obey and cooperate with the police, as it represents "acceptance by people of the need to bring their behavior into line with the dictates of an external authority,'' according to Tyler (1990, p. 25). In other words, whether people believe that the police are utilizing procedural justice can determine whether they obey the law or whether they take the law into their own hands, because perceived injustice can "promote a cynical attitude and reliance on self-help, the very types of actions that can increase levels of community violence (Gau & Brunson, 2015, p. 133).

Belief in the fairness of the criminal justice system and that those in authority are trustworthy, respectful of minority youth and their community, and are fair and honest is particularly important to refugees. Refugees have had their human rights violated; they have experienced multiple transgressions and they often experience discrimination and denial of rights that challenge equity norms; therefore, one can argue that, given the

refugee experience with violations of human rights, perceived injustice can be a core strain that could cause negative emotion in refugee youth.

An example of how experiences unique to specific people can be linked to particular strains and coping mechanism can be seen in the African American community. Given the history of racism and discrimination in the US and the contemporary context of police racism, African Americans face unique strains that can have higher emotional impact than they would have on populations that have not had similar history. Kaufman et al. (2008) examined whether Blacks experience different kind of strains than Whites, and whether these strains (e.g., discrimination, victimization, economic deprivation) lead to greater negative emotions. Additionally, they looked at whether the unique experiences of African Americans can lead to some people coping with those strains by engaging in illegal activities. They found support for the GST assertion that higher levels of specific types of strain lead to higher emotion, which then can lead to criminal activities. Somali refugee youth often face strains that are similar to those faced by African Americans, but they carry the additional burden of multiple marginalizations as refugee and Muslim youth. Therefore, one can assume that their unique experiences can lead to particular strains that might lead to certain coping mechanisms, including delinquency, as advanced by GST.

Current Study

In this study we seek to examine whether perceived injustice, as measured by teacher and police mistreatment, and family conflict are sources of delinquency among a sample of Somali youth and if the relationship between strain and delinquency is

mediated by mental health symptom and social bonds measured by the acculturation strategy of marginalization. The study will test whether General Strain Theory (GST) can be used to understand the relationship between strains and crime among a refugee immigrant youth population that has experienced and continue to experience strains that GST advances are related to delinquency. We will test whether certain types of strains known to be experienced by refugee youth are predictive of delinquency and whether this relationship is mediated by marginalization/loose social bonds and mental health symptoms.

Hypothesis 1: *Youth who experienced strains will be more likely to endorse delinquency*

Hypothesis 2: *The relationship between strains and delinquency will be mediated by loose social bonds and mental health symptoms*

Methods

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR)

Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR; Israel et al., 1998) as a method has been used by researchers to engage in effective and equitable partnership with marginalized communities. CBPR is an approach to research that seeks to form equal and equitable partnerships with communities and stakeholders with the goal of enhancing community capacity and ownership of research processes and outcomes. The use of CBPR is especially recommended when working with marginalized and disadvantaged communities. Refugees have been called a difficult to reach group because of the challenges of engaging them in the research process (Spring et al., 2003). For the current study, the author was a community member as well as researcher who

developed and implemented a community engagement protocol and reviewed all research methods and assessment batteries to ensure that community values and experiences were being integrated and that the research project was reflective of community input, relevance, and interest.

Participants

The project utilizes data from a longitudinal project at Boston Children's Hospital Refugee Trauma and Resilience Center led by Dr. Heidi Ellis. The Somali Youth Longitudinal Study (SYLS) data were collected between 2013 and 2018. To be eligible to participate, participants had to be Somali youth between ages 18 and 30 at T1 (2014) who resided in Boston, Minneapolis, Portland and Lewiston, ME, and Toronto, Canada. They or their parents had to be born in Somalia, and they had to have lived in the U.S./Canada for at least one year. Furthermore, they needed to be fluent enough in English to compete the survey. A Somali-speaking staff member was available if particular linguistic or cultural issues arose. There were a total of 465 participants at T1 and an additional 62 at T2. The total number of participants who completed the survey in all time points was 527. The sample for this study is participants who completed T3 survey (n=279). The mean age of the participants at T3 was 24.36 years. 144 (54.7%) of the participants endorsed being male and 122 (45.5%) endorsed being female. Participants had lived in the US or Canada for an average of 16.46 years (SD=6.02).

Procedures

Refugees have been called a hidden community, making them a difficult group to sample randomly (Spring et al., 2003). This population is challenging to engage for

research, because there is mistrust of research institutions and a history of mistreatment and exploitation by various societal institutions. The current research adapted innovative methods to overcome these barriers. Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants. Snowball sampling is helpful in hard to reach populations as it allows researchers to make connection with some members of the community who then connect them to the next person. In turn, that person connects the researcher to the next person, et cetera, thereby enabling researchers to reach multiple participants using the initial contact. In addition, community members were part of the research team throughout the research process. Somali staff members were hired as part of the research team and were involved in the data collection and outreach to community members to introduce them to the project and answer any questions they may have had. In addition to having Somali staff members as part of the research team, community leadership teams were formed in each of the research sites. All recruitment and informed consent was performed by Somali American staff members who were trained in responsible research conduct. The data collection for the study in this manuscript took place between December 2016 and February 2018. Each interview took approximately 1.5 hours. All questionnaires were administered in English. A tablet was used to record the answers. In consultation with our Somali community leaders and staff, we decided to use non-Somali research assistants in order to allay any fears of confidentiality being broken in the community and to avoid social desirability, bias which might be stronger with co-ethnics. The sensitive items section of the

questionnaire (e.g., delinquency and openness to violence to achieve political goals) was entered privately by the participant to encourage more honest response.

Measures

Strain Measures

Three measures where used to measure strain.

Procedural Justice & Police Legitimacy Scale (PJPL): This scale was adapted from Gau (2011). It has 12 items and asks about the participant's perception of police fairness, honesty, and trustworthiness. Sample statements include, "Police in my community treat people fairly" and "Police in my community treat people with dignity and respect." Response choices range from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Teacher Punishment (TEP): The Teacher Emotional Punishment Scale was adapted from Moon et al. (2009). It contains 5 items and measures whether participants believe that teachers mistreated them or punished them. The original scale asked about experiences in the past year, but given the age of the sample in this study we removed the reference to specific time and asked about any time in the past. The items ask about being embarrassed, isolated, or ignored by a teacher. Response options are from 0 (never) to 4 (10 times or more).

Family Conflict (PCRS.FCS): The Family Conflict Scale (Moon, et al., 2009) contains 3 items and measures family conflict such as arguments. The original item was for the previous year, but given that some of participants were adults and no longer living with their parents, we asked them about their past experience with their primary caregiver. The choices range from 0 (never) to 3 (always).

Mediators

Acculturation (EAAMMarg): The acculturation measure used in the current study is an adapted version of the East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM, Barry, 2001). The complete EAAM has been adapted for Somalis and is used in SYLS (Ellis, 2015). For current study, we focus on the marginalization subscale, which is focused on a youth's sense that he or she does not feel accepted by the host or original community. It includes items such as "I sometimes feel that neither American nor Somalis like me" and "Sometimes I feel that Somalis and Americans do not accept me." This is a self-rating scale that consists of 9 items with answer choices ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

***Mental Health: Hopkins Symptoms Checklist* (HSCL** - 25; Parloff, Kelman, & Frank, 1954). The HSCL is a 25-item scale that measures multiple symptoms, such as anxiety (10 items, e.g., have you felt faintness, dizziness, or weakness) and depression (15 items, e.g., "Have you been feeling hopeless about the future?"). The questions ask about the 4 weeks prior to when the questionnaire was taken. This scale has been widely used with diverse populations, including Somalis.

Outcome Variable

Delinquency (SRDCAP): The self-reported delinquency scale is a 5-item crimes against people scale. It is subscale of the Self-Reported Delinquency Scale (SRD; Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton; Esbensen, He, & Taylor, 2001) The CAP measures acts of violence against people. Sample questions include, "During the past year have you hit someone with the idea of hurting them?" and "During the past year have you attacked someone

with a weapon?" Participants respond with a 1 (yes) or 0 (no). The mean score is used in the current analysis.

Analytic Strategy

Data were checked for violation of assumption of normality with the use of Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests. *P* values, skewness, and kurtosis for each variable was checked. Findings of significant values with both Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests showed evidence of a lack of normal distribution in the outcome variables with skewness and kurtosis values that exceeded the accepted ± 2 (Field, 2009). Given the lack of normal distribution in the outcome variable, bootstrapping was used. Preacher, et al. (2007) recommend using bootstrapping when running mediation models with non-normally distributed data. They argued that in bootstrapping, "the sample is conceptualized as a pseudo-population that represents the broader population from which the sample was derived, and the sampling distribution of any statistic can be generated by calculating the statistic of interest in multiple resamples of the data set." According to these authors, "no assumptions about the shape of the sampling distribution of the statistics are necessary when conducting inferential test" when using bootstrapping, thus removing the need to have normally distributed variables to throw inferences off of a specific sample (Preacher, et al., 2007, p. 190). Regression analysis was performed using PROCESS macro Version 3.2 (Hayes, 2017).

Results

Table 3 shows descriptive and Table 4 shows the results of bivariate correlations. We first tested the association between the three proposed independent variables (Procedural

Justice, Teacher Punishment, and Family Conflict) and the 2 proposed mediators (Hopkins Symptoms Checklist and East Asian Acculturation Measure Marginalization Subscale). Procedural justice was significantly and negatively related to both mediators, marginalization (b=-.137, SE=.062, P<.05) and mental health symptoms (b=-.087, SE=.028, p<.01). Teacher punishment was also significantly related to the two mediators, marginalization (b=.238, SE=.054, P<01) and mental health symptoms (b=.114, SE=.024, P<.01). The relationship between teacher punishment and the mediators was in a positive direction. Similarly, family conflict was significantly and positively associated with both marginalization (b=.326, SE= .082, p<.01) and mental health symptoms (b=.217, SE= .035, p<.01). In the second step, we analyzed the association between our independent and dependent variables. Procedural justice was significantly associated with delinquency (b=-.061, SE= .029, P= <.05). Additionally, teacher punishment was able to predict delinquency (b= .095, SE=.024, P<.01). Family conflict (b=.073, SE= p>.05) was not able to predict delinquency and was therefore dropped from the next stage in the analysis. In the final step, we tested the hypothesis that negative emotion and marginalization act as mediators in the relationship between strain and delinquency. The relationship between procedural justice and delinquency was mediated by marginalization, with this relationship no longer being significant with the addition of marginalization to the model (Figure 2, b=-.047, SE=028, P>.05). This was also true of the relationship between procedural justice and delinquency being mediated by mental health symptoms (Figure 3, b=-.038, SE=.028, P=>.05). Contrary the results for procedural justice in which the relationship between strain and delinquency was fully

mediated by mental health symptoms and marginalization, the relationship between teacher punishment and delinquency remained significant even with the introduction of the mediators into the model (Figures 4 and 5). The results, therefore, gave us three different outcomes, with family conflict dropping off early as it was not correlated with delinquency. Procedural justice was able to predict delinquency, and the relationship was mediated by both mediators, thus affirming both hypothesis 1 and 2; Teacher punishment supported our hypothesis that strain would be associated with delinquency but did not support our second hypothesis, that this relationship would be mediated by mental health and loose social bonds. Finally, our third hypothesis, which predicted that strains attributed to non-Somalis would be more likely to be associated with delinquency than those associated with Somalis, was supported, because the one strain involving the family did not predict delinquency.

Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of this study was to examine whether General Strain Theory (GST) could help explain the relationship between certain strains and crime among a sample of Somali refugee youth in North America. Agnew (1992, 2001, 2006) proposed that strains are a product of negative relationships with others. He argued that strains occur when a person is prevented from achieving cherished goals, such as academic or career aspirations, or when noxious stimuli are introduced, such as being punished or criticized or being arrested, or a positively values stimuli is removed or threatened to be taken away, such as loss of status in the community due to being stopped or arrested by the police or academic failure attributed to teacher discrimination. These strains lead to crimes as the

person tries to relieve the distress caused by the strain, and they lack the ability or the resources to relieve the strain through other means (Baron, 2004; Mazerolle & Maahs, 2000). Perceived injustice strains (procedural justice and teacher discrimination) were chosen for this research because they are important to the population being studied. As black youth who are often resettled in poverty ridden and minority-populated urban areas, Somali refugee youth report difficult relationships with police (Ellis et al., 2018). Additionally, these youth struggle in school due to the loss of educational opportunities during migration and due to both the lack of resources and discrimination in the school systems to which they are assigned (Fellin, 2015). Moreover, police and teachers represent two of the groups in the host country that are most likely to have frequent contact with refugee youth. These youth attend schools where teachers have power over their future achievements, and police can also interact with youth in urban, minority-populated areas even if the youth themselves did not commit any crime. Research has shown there is often over policing and disproportional search and arrest of black youth (Kane 2002; Klinger 1997; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Furthermore, because GST advances that those strains perceived as unjust are more likely to lead to crime, one might expect that Somali youth who endorse higher levels of strains that are perceived as unjust would also endorse committing crimes (Agnew, 2006; Ambrose, Seabright, & Schminke, 2002). Mediating variables (mental health symptoms and marginalization) were chosen because of the unique experiences of refugees due to trauma exposure and acculturative stress, which can lead to higher levels of mental-health distress and marginalization among youth.

Consistent with GST, two of the strains in our analysis are significantly related to delinquency, with only family conflict dropping off from the analysis due to its failure to predict delinquency. Youth who endorsed perceived injustice were more likely to report engaging in delinquency. This is similar to what was found in other populations. For example, Rebellon et al., (2012) found a strong relationship between perceived injustice and delinquency among a sample of middle and high school students in New Hampshire. The significant relationship between procedural justice and delinquency is similar to what has been found in previous studies. Scheuermann (2015), in a study of a convenience sample of undergraduate students, found that procedural justice had the strongest link to intention of responding to injustice with crime. Similarly, research with other populations has found that teacher punishment is criminogenic. For example, multiple studies have shown that teacher maltreatment is related to delinquency among East Asian youth (Bao et al., 2004; Moon & Morash, 2004; Moon et al., 2009; Morash & Moon 2007). Research has also linked teacher abuse to school violence (James et al., 2015). The family conflict strain was not significantly related to delinquency.

The second hypothesis, that the relationship between strain and crime would be mediated by mental health symptoms and loose social bonds, was partially supported. The relationship between procedural justice and crime was no longer significant once mental health symptoms were added to the regression. In the case of procedural justice, our findings again support the GST proposal that the relationship between strain and delinquency is mediated by loose social bonds and/or negative emotion. On the contrary, the results for the relationship between teacher punishment strain and delinquency show

that this relationship is not mediated by negative emotion or marginalization. Therefore, teacher punishment has a direct and significant effect on delinquency, independent of negative emotion and social bonds. The difference between procedural justice and teacher discrimination can be understood in multiple ways. First, these different results might indicate that, while different types of strains are related to delinquency as predicted by GST, the mechanism is different among those strains that are seen as individual strains, such as teacher mistreatment, and those that are seen as injustice toward a group, such as procedural justice. This is very important given that the procedural justice questions ask about how the police treated the "community" rather than how they interface with the individual themselves. Thus, beliefs about procedural justice might be seen as being linked to participants' group identity as well as the beliefs that are held collectively about how the group is treated by the wider society. Additionally, while the relationship with teachers might be limited to specific space and time (e.g., school time and when the youth was a child and could be punished in the ways described in the measure, such as being isolated), the experience with police might be more pervasive and reflect a sense of being under siege or being surveilled and might reflect a group perception of how police act similar to what Hagan, Shedd, and Payne (2005) called the "mental maps of distrust" that lead to minority youth distrust being negative independent of police contact. Teacher strain might also be less recent than procedural justice, which youth might report from their most recent experiences with law enforcement or that of other community members. This supports the GST prediction that more recent strains would have a greater emotional impact (Agnew, 2005). It is important to note that the students who were punished by

teachers might have been students who were already acting out. Therefore, the direct effect of teacher punishment might be that youth who were being punished were already struggling, and the punishment did not succeed in turning them away from the path to delinquency. The policing questions are about community and not linked to individual experiences in the way that the teacher questionnaire. Finally, in line with our hypothesis, family conflict strain did not predict delinquency. This finding supports the GST prediction that strains seen as unjust are more likely to be linked to delinquency.

Limitations

This research has multiple limitations. First, the sample was not a representative sample, and thus results cannot be generalized to the bigger population. Second, while we can show a relationship between the independent and dependent variables, we cannot make causal inference, as it is not clear whether youth who are already committing crimes are exposed to more police interaction and conversely whether, in line with previous research, youth who believe that the police are not fair engage in coping behaviors that lead to more negative police interaction, thus creating a vicious circle (Gau & Brunson, 2015) and whether youth who are struggling in school are more likely to have negative relationships with teachers and thus report teacher discrimination. Thus, while the findings support GST theory of a link between crime and perceived injustice, more work is needed to test the direction and the mechanism of this relationship. Moreover, this is cross-sectional research and does not look at whether the duration or intensity of the strain affects the relationship between strain and crime. GST argues that cross-sectional data might be useful, because it allows us to look into more recent strains and does not

involve the long time periods that might be necessary between longitudinal data collection (Agnew & White, 1992; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994). However, the effects of cumulative strain could tell us a more nuanced story than looking at only one time point. The data presented here are from one time point and do not allow us to test if youth who are endorsing these strains have experienced cumulative strains or if there are differences between youth who report cumulative strain and those who report a single strain. Similarly, we are aware that there could be differences depending on age and gender, which this research did not control for, but which may be important factors impacting the relationship between strain and delinquency. This is also true about the mediators, as we do not know whether they predate the strain. In other words, whether youth already had worse mental health and felt marginalized before exposure to the perceived injustice or whether the negative emotion and marginalization that youth reported are solely the result of the experience of the strains under study. More research is needed to address those limitations before strong conclusions can be drawn.

Clinical Intervention, Policy, and Research Implication

The findings are important because they show that GST can potentially be useful in understanding the relationship between strain and delinquency among Somali refugee youth. Further research is needed to better understand the mechanism of this relationship and to look not only at what the risk factors are, but to search for protective factors that can moderate the relationship between strain and crime.

The finding that perceived injustice is linked to delinquency among Somali refugee youth points to the importance of improving the school experience by, for

example, training teachers about the refugee experiences, trauma and its impact, and using methods that promote resilience. Such training could prevent teachers from using methods that might increase the youths' sense of alienation. Furthermore, providing support for youth in school could increase school connection. Additionally, refugee youth who might be struggling with academic tasks might perceive the relationships with teachers as more negative; providing additional, non-stigmatizing academic support for those youth might reduce their sense of victimization. Regarding the relationship with police, refugee youth often live in communities that do not have positive experiences with law enforcement, and thus they become inserted into the racialized struggles that other black youth face. The perception that police are unfair, cannot be trusted, and will not treat community members with respect, can create an environment where youth do not respect laws that they feel are unjust. Furthermore, some laws unjustly target minority and immigrant communities, adding to the belief that laws are made to target these communities. Thus, as youths become involved in the criminal justice systems, these feelings and beliefs are strengthened, leading to greater distrust. Training police to improve their interactions with the community and improving police and community relationships through collaboration and community policing might improve this adversarial relationship between the Somali youth and police. Negative perceptions of the police cannot be changed by talking, it has to done through positive interactions and demonstrations of fair treatment. Furthermore, because procedural injustice was mediated by mental health symptoms and social bonds, attending to youth's psychological needs and improving the sense of belongingness in both host community and the community of

origin may be a way to break the link between injustice and delinquency. This research shows that youth delinquency does not take place in a vacuum, and there is a need for systemic changes to improve youth outcomes.

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CHAPTER THREE

Can General Strain Theory Explain Radicalization among Somali?

Introduction

Since the horrific events of 9/11, there has been struggle among researchers and policymakers to untangle the mystery of what causes individuals to become radicalized and to commit terrorist acts against fellow citizens and non-citizens (Borum, 2011; Jensen, 2018). Radicalization is a difficult concept to define. In the broadest sense, radicalization is defined as "the social and psychological process of incrementally experienced commitment to extremist political or religious ideology" (Horgan, 2009, p. 152). Radicalization is often seen as a continuum that includes people who hold the belief that it is justified to engage in violence to achieve political ends, to those who support and join those groups but do not themselves engage in violence, and finally to people who themselves engage in violence to achieve political ends. Radicalization is different from terrorism which is defined as "as the commission of criminal acts, usually violent, that target civilians or violate conventions of war when targeting military personnel; and that are committed at least partly for social, political, or religious ends" (Agnew, 2010, p. 132). It is accepted that not all radicalized individuals commit terrorist acts but often those who commit terrorist acts are radicalized; therefore, understanding the radicalization process can help prevent terrorism. For the current study, we examine the endorsement of the commission of violent acts to achieve political goals.

Despite efforts to decipher the mystery of what leads an individual to decide to

engage in violence against innocent civilians, the radicalization process remains a puzzle (Hafez & Mullins, 2015). One of the challenges of articulating the dynamics of radicalization is that theories have been formed without the necessary empirical evidence to support them. A primary barrier to developing knowledge about radicalization is the difficulty of identifying and sampling the population. In addition, research often is conducted on people who have already committed violent acts and thus is not representative of all radicalized persons since only a small number of those who become radicalized go on to commit violent acts (Jensen, 2018; Barlett & Miller, 2012). The work done by researchers and theorists in the last two decades has created some understanding of the root causes of radicalization. But rather than leading to a grand theory or clear pathway that explains radicalization, what has become clear is that radicalization is a complex process that is the result of the convergence of multiple factors. As Jensen and colleagues (2018) write, radicalization "is best understood as a set of complex causal processes in which multiple factors work together to produce extremist outcomes" (p. 1).

Radicalization as the New Delinquency?

One question that has been raised is whether the well-studied field of criminology could offer a potential answer to the study of radicalization (Decker & Pyrooz, 2011). However, it is also accepted that radicalization is distinctively different from other criminal activities (Decker & Pyrooz, 2011; Pyrooz, LaFree, Decker, & James, 2018). For example, there is an ideological and identity component to radicalization that may not be present in the motivation to commit every day delinquency (Agnew, 2010). Yet, there

has been a general call for the field of radicalization and terrorism studies to examine whether crime theories, especially those concerning youth, can serve as a tool to understand radicalization (Rosenfeld, 2002; LaFree and Dugan, 2004; 2008; Rausch and LaFree, 2007). One of the theories that has been offered as a potentially applicable is Agnew's General Strains Theory (GST; Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2006). GST is one of the most important criminology theories of our time. GST builds on prior strain theories (Merton, 1938; Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960) but also seeks to address the criticism leveled against traditional strain theories such as that they over-focus on goal blockage. Agnew sought to move away from this singular focus by proposing that crime is not a product of simple goal blockage but rather the result of negative relationships where the youth feels mistreated by those around him or her (Agnew, 2001).

Agnew describes strain as "negative or aversive relations with others" (Agnew 1992, p. 61). He further argues that this unfair treatment causes youth to experience negative emotion which then leads to youth to engage in criminal activities as a way to cope with the strain (Agnew, 1992; 2001). He specifies that strains are more likely to lead to delinquency under these circumstances: (1) when a youth is unable to achieve desired goals, especially when the youth feels that desired goals are unfairly blocked; (2) when a noxious stimuli is introduced into a youth's life, for example, abuse or being arrested; (3) when a youth experiences the loss of valued stimuli such as losing community respect or sense that one will never be able to succeed (Agnew, 1992). Agnew specified the mechanism by which strain leads to crime. He argues that strain elicits negative emotions such as anger or sadness or isolation which creates pressures to relieve the emotional

distress. For some youth, delinquency is the only means to relieve the pressure that arises from unfair treatment and the emotion that the treatment elicits because they lack the resources, the coping mechanisms, or both to handle the strain in any other way. GST also says that there some strains that are more likely than others to lead to delinquency. Specifically, strains that "are seen as unjust, are high in magnitude, are associated with low social control, and create some pressure or incentive to engage in delinquent coping" are most likely to lead to delinquency (Agnew, 2002, p. 604). GST also argues that youth who have weak social bonds are more likely to engage in delinquency. Similarly, youth with who engage in delinquent behaviors are more likely to choose delinquency and to respond with crime upon experiencing a strain (Moon, et al., 2009)

GST has been tested with diverse youth populations and evidence has been found to support its applicability to explain pathways to delinquency among Asian youth (Agnew, 2015), and African American youth (e.g, Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton, & Agnew, 2008). Agnew (2010, 2016) has called for the application of GST to radicalization and terrorism. He presented what he called "General Strain Theory of Terrorism" in which he argues current terrorist theories fail for three reasons. First, they fail to explain the most important features of those strains most likely to result in terrorism. Second, they fail to explain the reasons why these strains result in terrorism while other strains don't and finally, they do not explain why only a few of those who are exposed to these strains engage in terrorism. Agnew argues that, as proposed by GST, it is only those strains that are of high magnitude, perceived as unjust, and are committed by those who are seen as more powerful that lead to violent acts. Furthermore, there are

individual level conditions that can either inhibit or facilitate the link between strain and violent acts, including emotional reactions to being mistreated such as anger, frustration or depression or having weak social bonds.

Agnew emphasizes the role of the perception of others treating the person unfairly and the emotion such as anger and depression that results from the unfair treatment in the relationship between strain and violence. Because radicalization and violent extremism have been theorized to be often motivated by a sense of injustice, humiliation and helplessness (Rice, 2009), a theory of radicalization that emphasizes the strains experienced by those who feel disempowered and marginalized and the psychological and social impact of these feelings which then can lead to a desire for action to avenge or remove the strain is promising. Previous research has shown an association between procedural injustice and terrorism (Doosje et al, 2013) and victimization and radicalization (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008; Karagiannis, 2012). Furthermore, social belonging and mental health symptoms such as PTSD were also associated with radicalization to violence among Somali refugee youth (Ellis et al., 2015) and weak social bonds have been identified as one factor that might contribute to youth radicalization (Al Raffie, 2013; Brinkerhoff, 2008). Family conflict and other stressors due to acculturation are another aspect of the factors that put refugee and immigrant youth at risk for negative outcomes (Noh & Kaspar, 2003).

GST has had limited application to radicalization but there have been some attempts to integrate radicalization and criminological theories by applying GST to radicalization. For example, Nivette et al. (2017) examined whether collective strains, which are

experienced as a group rather than at the individual level, predicted violent extremist attitudes and the role of moral and legal constraints such as respect for people's lives and for laws that govern society. They used the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youth which contains a sample of ethnically diverse youth, thus avoiding the sampling issue of looking at only those who have already committed terrorism. While the sample was representative of the geographical area in which the study was conducted, the authors indicate that youth of immigrant background were overrepresented with only 23.8% having two parents born in Switzerland. They tested the effects of collective strain on youth support for violent extremism. Their findings indicated that the experience of collective strain did not have a direct effect on extremist attitudes. On the contrary, moral and legal constraints had a strong and direct effect on extremist attitudes. They conclude that the "degree to which individuals neutralize moral and legal constraints amplifies the impact of collective strain on violent extremist attitudes" (p. 756).

Refugee Youth and Strains

GST is a theory that asserts that youth engage in delinquency because they are faced with strains that require remedy but some youth do not have the individual coping skills or the resources to address these strains in a pro-social way (Agnew, 1992). In addition, GST says that the negative emotion such as externalizing behaviors (anger) or internalizing behaviors (depression) that mediate between strain and delinquency (Agnew, 2006; Hay & Evans, 2006; Jang & Johnson, 2003). "Individual reaction to a strain is a function of both the individual characteristics and the characteristics of the strain that is

being experienced," according to Agnew (Agnew, 2006, p. 103). Agnew encourages research on the mediating role of mental health symptoms such as depression and anxiety that might result from exposure to strains such as victimization and discrimination. Furthermore, it has been theorized that those who associate with peers who engage in negative or criminal behavior, including gang membership, are more likely to cope with strains by committing criminal acts (Agnew and White, 1992; Aseltine et al., 2000; Moon et al., 2009). GST can be an appropriate frame for looking at whether the strains/stressors (e.g. trauma, discrimination, acculturation) experienced by Somali youth are related to the endorsement of radical ideology and if that relationship is mediated by variables such as mental health symptoms and social bonds as predicted by GST.

Driven Out by Violence: Trauma and Migration

Refugee youth and their families are exposed to violence in every phase of the migration process. In their countries of origin, they and their families faced violence and threats of violence. Often they had to travel long distances to reach camps or neighboring countries. These experiences often mean high levels of exposure to trauma. While everyone who is exposed to a traumatic event will not necessarily experience mental health symptoms as a result, research has shown that refugees have higher levels of mental health symptoms than the general population (Betancourt et al., 2012; Fazel, et al., 2012). Exposure to trauma has been linked to negative outcomes among refugee youth, including higher rates of mental health distress as well as higher levels of delinquency and violence perpetuation (Ellis et al., 2015) and victimization has been linked to violence among a wide range of populations (Malik et al., 1997).

From one War to Another: Discrimination and Acculturation in the US

Refugees often arrive in countries like the U.S. with the hope of finally finding a safe haven, but they are often met with more violence and instability. They face new strains including acculturative strain, discrimination, and community violence (Ellis et al., 2018). They also struggle with adapting to a new country such as finding a job, learning a new language and developing parenting skills necessary to help their children succeed in the U.S.

Acculturation: Acculturation is one of the major stressors faced by refugees. Acculturative stress has been defined as "the level of psychological strain experienced by immigrants and their descendants in response to the immigration-related challenges (stressors) that they encounter as they adapt to life in a new country" (Arbona et al., 2010, p. 364). Acculturation is the process that takes place as a person moves from one culture to another culture and adapts or refuses to adapt cultural norms and practices of the new setting. Simply put, the acculturation process can be stressful. For example, learning a new language, losing social support due migration, change in family roles, loss of status and change in social and economic status can all lead to stress (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Abdi, 2015). Families can especially experience stress due to the fractioning of family roles. Refugee children often learn English and integrate into the host community much faster than do their parents. Parents who do not speak English may depend on their children for interpretation and translation and parents might struggle with parenting a child who is acculturated in the host culture. Youth adapt cultural practices that might cause family conflict and lead to family violence. Acculturative stress also has been

linked to negative outcomes for immigrant youth (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Vega, et. al, 1995; Potochnick & Perreira, 2010).

Discrimination: Somali youth are unique among immigrants as they are black, poor, and Muslim. This multiple marginalization can leave Somali youth vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion. Discrimination has been linked to multiple negative outcomes for minority youth in the U.S. For example, research has shown a link between negative health outcomes and discrimination among Latinx youth as well as African American youth (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012; Bernstein, Park, Shin, Cho, & Park, 2011). Previous research has found that Somali youth report experiences of discrimination in their interactions with police (Ellis et al., 2018). Given the multiple marginalization experienced by Somali youth, discrimination is a core variable that must be studied and more deeply understood among this population.

Role of Perceived Injustice as Driver of Radicalization

Terrorism researchers commonly argue that strains or 'grievances' are a major cause of terrorism (e.g. Blazak, 2001; Victoroff, 2005; Callaway and Harrelson-Stephens, 2006; Stevens, 2002). Rosenfeld (2004, p. 23), states that "without a grievance, there would be no terrorism." It has been thus theorized that those who hold grievances against the societies in which they live might be more vulnerable to being radicalized to commit violence (Kruglanski & Orehek, 2011; Doosje et al., 2013; Moghaddam, 2005).

What makes GST a possible useful tool for the study of radicalization is that GST is concerned with the sense that one is being treated unfairly, meaning it is a theory built around grievances and their linkages to crime. Moreover, GST as a theory proposes that it

is not just the experience of strain but the perception that it is unjust that can lead to grievances and criminal activities (Agnew, 2001). Therefore, GST with its focus on strains which are an important factor in the lives of many Somali youth and the sense of being treated unfairly which can lead to both social and psychological issues is an appropriate theoretical frame to look at Somali youth and radicalization.

Current Study

The current study seeks to test whether Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST) can be used to understand the relationship between strains and radicalization to violence among a sample of refugee youth who have experienced and continue to experience strains that GST purports are related to delinquency. Specifically, we will test whether the strains of perceived injustice, as represented by youth perceptions of unfair treatment by police and teachers, and family conflict, can predict radicalization to violence among this group. Additionally, we will test whether the relationship between strain and radicalization to violence is mediated by marginalization and/or mental health symptoms and positive attitudes towards gangs.

Hypothesis 1: Youth who experienced strains will be more likely to endorse support for the use of violence to achieve political goals.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between strains and radicalization to violence will be mediated by mental health symptoms, marginalization and positive attitudes towards gangs.

Methods

Community-Based Participatory Research

This research is the result of 15-year partnership with the Somali community using Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR; Israel et al., 1998). CBPR is a methodology that has been shown to be effective in creating more fair and beneficial partnerships between research institutions and communities (Visvanathan et al., 2004). Wallerstein and Duran (2006) argue that CBPR "is not simply a community outreach strategy but represents a systematic effort to incorporate community participation and decision making, local theories of etiology and change, and community practices into the research effort" (p. 313). CBPR is thus about changing how powerful institutions and researchers work with communities. The relationship shifts from a one-way relationship where the research institutions come with a set of goals and methods toward one where the research questions, methods, and processes are co-created in a partnership with the community and community needs, goals, and ways of doing things are as prioritized as the goals identified by the researchers. In this current study, the lead author was both a researcher and a community member. It was the lead author's responsibility along with the principal investigator (PI) to engage with the community and build an equitable partnership where community members and researchers worked together in the design, implementation and dissemination of the research. The success of the project was due to the team's capacity to partner with a community-led team in each research location (Minneapolis, MN, Toronto, CA, Boston, MA and Portland and Lewiston, ME) and to continue those partnerships throughout the duration of the research project.

The success of this approach project is reflected in the fact that the research projects continue to grow with new arms, extensions, and partnerships. These outcomes are the result of a good community partnership and a testament to the research team's commitment that the work undertaken will be aligned with the community's values and interests. Our collaborative approach also illustrates that a trusting, strong and lasting partnership between researchers and refugee communities is possible. CBPR is highly effective when the research team includes community members and community needs, and when community priorities are given as much importance as the researchers' interests and the methods used respect community values and practices.

Participants

The data in this study are derived from research led by Dr. Heidi Ellis at Boston Children's Hospital Refugee Trauma and Resilience Center. Data collection for the Somali Youth Longitudinal Study (STLS) took place between 2013 and 2018. Eligibility criteria included being Somali or having a Somali parent, being between the ages of 18 and 30 at baseline (wave 1) and residing in one of the research sites - Boston, MA, Minneapolis, MN, Portland or Lewiston, ME and Toronto, Canada. In addition, participants had to have lived at least one year in the United States or Canada, and they had to have enough English fluency to complete the survey (although there was a Somali speaking research staff who could support the participants if they had difficulty with specific word or concept in the survey). A total of 465 participants completed the survey at T1. An additional 62 were added to the sample at the second wave of data collection (T2), making the total of participants who completed at least one-time point 527. The

present study will use only the Time 3 sample (n=279) because it was the only time point that contained all variables of interest for the research questions in this study as some of the measures were added to the protocol by the author. T3 mean age was 24.36, 144 (54.7%) identified as male and 122 (45.5%) identified as female. The average years of US/Canada residence was 16.46.

Procedures

Refugees are a unique population in that many of them have experienced abuse from powerful institutions prior to being resettled in the US and other Western countries. They have been targeted for their group membership and are thus suspicious of formal institutions, especially when they are asked for personal information. For these reasons, Somalis have been called a hidden community that is difficult to sample (Spring, 2003). The researchers conducting this study in partnership with community members adapted culturally informed innovative approaches to overcome these traditional barriers to sampling this unique community. First, community leaders for each city were recruited as team members. These team members used traditional communication mechanisms such as meeting women at tea ceremonies where women sit down together and talk and men's café gathering which traditionally involve men sitting and drinking Somali tea at a café and debating the politics of the home country. These are traditional spaces where community members gather to discuss community issues in a safe and familiar way. Additionally, Somali project staff members including led by author outreached to the community leadership to inform them of the project and to answer any questions that the community had about the project. Community project staff went out to these spaces to

speak to community members about it and to answer questions. Additionally, a snowball sampling method was used. In snowball sampling, a research team contacts community members and asks each person whom they engage with to connect them to other community members who might be interested in the research, thus creating a snowball effect where each person connects the next.

Project recruitment and consent were completed by Somali staff members who were trained in the ethical conduct of research. T3 data collection was conducted between December 2016 and February 2018. All interviews take place in a community setting provided by our community partners. Interviews lasted approximately 1.5 hours. The survey was administered in English and a tablet was used to enter the answers. We used a non-Somali research assistant in consultation with Somali community members to avoid any fears around confidentiality breaches and to avoid social desirability bias which might be manifested with co-ethnic interviewers. The questionnaire contained sensitive questions which the team decided would be best answered by the participant privately. This strategy was to encourage more honest responses around issues such as attitudes towards radicalization to violence. Computer-assisted structured interviews (CASI) is a method used to enhance client self-disclosure. The project staff member was available to help with any issues that came up.

Measures:

Outcome Measure

Openness to violence extremism: We use an adapted version of radicalism and scale of the Activism and Radicalization Intentions Scale (ARIS; Ellis et al., 2015;

Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009) to measure radicalization to violence. The scale was adapted to increase acceptability among the Somali community by changing some of the scale's phrasing. The original measured worded questions in direct form by asking participants to endorse "I would..." This phrasing was changed to "I can understand someone who would…" The radicalization subscale contains five statements to assess the support for violence to achieve political goals. Sample statements include, "I can understand someone who would participate in a public protest against oppression of her/his people even if she/he thought the protest might turn violent." The scale is rated on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 = "disagree completely" to 7 = "agree completely."

Strain Measures

Procedural Justice: Procedural Justice & Police Legitimacy Scale: This scale was adapted from Gau (2011). It has 12 items and asks about the participants' perception of police fairness, honesty, and trustworthiness. Sample statements include, "Police in my community treat people fairly" and "Police in my community treat people with dignity and respect." Response choices range from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

Teacher Punishment Scale (Moon, et al, 2009) contains 5 items and measures whether participants believe that teachers mistreated them or punished them. The original scale asked about experiences in the past year, but given the age of the sample in this study we removed the reference to specific time and asked about any time in the past. The items ask about being embarrassed, isolated or ignored by a teacher. Response options are from 0 (never) to 4 (10 times or more)

The Family Conflict Scale (Moon, et al, 2009) contains 3 items and measures family conflict such as arguments. The original item was for the previous year but given that some of the participants were adults and no longer living with their parents we asked them about their past experience with their primary caregiver. The choices range from 0 (never) to 3 (always)

Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL25; Parloff, Kelman, & Frank, 1954). The HSCL is a 25-item scale that measures multiple symptoms such as anxiety (10 items, e.g., "Have you felt faintness, dizziness, or weakness) and depression (15 items, e.g., "Have you been feeling hopeless about the future?"). The questions ask about the past 4 weeks. This scale has been widely used with diverse populations including Somalis. The scale has shown good validity and reliability.

Acculturation (Marginalization subscale): The acculturation measure used in the current study is an adapted version of the East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM, Barry, 2001). The complete EAAM has been adapted for Somalis and is used in the larger longitudinal study (Ellis et al., 2015). In the current study, we focus on the marginalization subscale which measures a youth's perception that they don't feel accepted by the host or original community. It includes items such as "I sometimes feel that neither Americans nor Somalis like me" and "Sometimes I feel that Somalis and Americans do not accept me." This is a self-rating scale which consists of 9 items with answer choices ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Gang Attitudes: Five items from Kent and Felkenes (1998) were used to examine attitudes to gangs. Sample questions included, "Gangs are needed because they can

protect you"; "Most kids in gangs are really okay." Responses were rated on the five-point scale with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 equaling strongly agree. Scores were calculated and dichotomized z-scores of the mean score were used in the analysis.

Analytic Strategy

Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests were performed and data was checked for violation of the assumption of normality with the use of p- values, skewness, and kurtosis for each variable. Findings of significant values with both Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov showed evidence of lack of normal distribution in the outcome variables with Skewness and Kurtosis values that exceed the accepted + 2 (Field, 2009). Bootstrapping was used to overcome the lack of non-normal distribution to data. Preacher, et al (2007), recommend using bootstrapping when running mediation models with a non-normally distributed data. According to these authors, "the sample is conceptualized as a pseudo-population that represents the broader population from which the sample was derived, and the sampling distribution of any statistic can be generated by calculating the statistic of interest in multiple resamples of the data set." With bootstrapping, "no assumptions about the shape of the sampling distribution of the statistic are necessary when conducting inferential test"; thus, the need to have a normally distributed variables to draw inferences from a specific sample is removed with the use of bootstrapping (190). Regression analysis was performed using PROCESS macro Version 3.2 (Hayes, 2018). Additionally, bivariate correlations between the predictor and outcome variables were performed (Table 1).

Results

Table 4 shows descriptive and table 5 contains the results of the bivariate analysis with Spearman's Correlations. We first tested the association between the three proposed independent variables (Procedural Justice (PJPL), Teacher Emotional Punishment (TEP), and Family Conflict (FCS) and the 3 proposed mediators (gang attitudes (GAISAtti), mental health symptoms (Hscl), and marginalization (EAAMarg). Procedural justice was significantly and negatively associated with all three mediators- marginalization (b=-.121, SE= .061 , P<.05) mental health symptoms (b=-.079 , SE= .027, p<.05) and gang attitudes (b=-.169, SE=.043, p<.01) Teacher punishment was also significantly related to the three mediators- Marginalization(b=.217, SE=.055, p=<.01), mental health symptoms(b=.210, SE=. .035, P<.01) and gang attitudes (b=.126, SE=.039, p=<.01). This relationship between teacher punishment and the mediators was in a positive direction. Similarly, family conflict was significantly and positively associated with marginalization (b=.326, SE= .082, p<.01), mental health symptoms (b=.217, SE= .035, p<.01), and gang attitudes (b=.136, SE=.059, p<.05).

Next, we analyzed the association between our independent and the dependent variable. Procedural justice was significantly and negatively associated with endorsing radicalization to violence (b=-.237, SE=.104, p=<.05). Neither family conflict (b= .117, SE=.141, P>.05) nor teacher punishment (b=.111, SE= .093, p>.05) was able to predict radicalization to violence. Therefore, these two variables were dropped from the next stage in the analysis.

In the final step, we tested the hypothesis that mental health symptoms, gang

attitudes and marginalization act as mediators in the relationship between strain and radicalization to violence. The results for each mediation model are presented in figures 6-8. Gang attitudes do mediate the relationship between our procedural justice and radicalization to violence as the two variables are no longer significantly associated once we add gang attitudes into the model (b=-.133, SE= .1043, P>.05). This was also true of the relationship between procedural justice and marginalization (b= -.204, SE=.104, P=>.05). On the other hand, mental health only partially mediates the relationship between procedural justice and radicalization as the relationship remains significant though weaker (total effect: b=-.241, SE= .104, p= .021 vs direct effect: b= -.209, SE= .105 p= .048)

Discussion

The present study sought to test whether GST is a useful theory to explain the relationship between strains experienced by refugee youth such as perceived injustice as represented by teacher and police discrimination and family conflict and radicalization to violence among Somali youth in North America. We used Agnew's General Strains Theory to test the hypotheses that strains predict radicalization to violence and that the relationship is mediated by specific psychological and social factors such as mental health symptoms, weak social bonds, and negative peers. Procedural justice and teacher punishment were chosen for this research because those are two strains that the population under study often report (Fellin, 2015; Ellis, 2018). They are also strains that might lead youth to feel that they are being treated unfairly by others who have enormous power over their lives.

Our first hypothesis — that youth who experienced strains will be more likely to endorse support for the use of violence to achieve political goals — was supported in the case of procedural justice but neither teacher punishment nor family conflict was significantly related to radicalization to violence. This finding is different than our findings in a test of GST and delinquency among the same sample (Abdi et al., manuscript in preparation). In that study, teacher punishment had a direct and significant effect on endorsement of violence against people. Thus, the current findings point to a difference between radicalization to violence and other types of delinquent acts. One explanation might be that procedural justice is about group injustice as the scale asks about community perception of the police. Therefore, youth's responses are not just about their own personal experiences but also about their perception of community experiences with the police. According to Agnew (2010, p. 132), "collective strains increase the likelihood of terrorism because they increase negative emotions, reduce social control, reduce the ability to cope through legal means." Our findings seem to support this assertion in that procedural injustice can be seen as a collective strain which is also of high magnitude given the power of law enforcement and the negative effect that it can have on youth's future. Agnew (2006) also theorizes that vicarious strain might have a stronger effect on crime. In the case of radicalization, it is possible that it, in addition to any personal negative experiences that youth might have had with police, their answers might also reflect a community discourse around procedural injustice which is negative and which becomes a strongly held belief that one would not be treated fairly because of their identity (Muslim, Black, and immigrant/Somali). Agnew writes that

these types of strains might create "a collective orientation and response" where the group members have a sense of being mistreated and not having the power to respond through legal means. This does not necessarily mean a person would act upon those feeling as there are individual-level factors which is why many people might experience the strain but only a few become radicalized or engage in violent acts. Understood this way, procedural justice can be related to radicalization to violence because the youth feel that they need to fight for their group as they are unfairly treated and discriminated against by those in power. They also might feel that unfair treatment is systemic discrimination against members of their group regardless of whether the person committed a crime or not.

The second hypothesis was that the relationship between strain and radicalization to violence will be mediated by mental health symptoms, social bonds and/or negative peers. Our findings again support GST theory. Both marginalization and gang attitudes fully mediated the relationship between procedural injustice and radicalization to violence while mental health symptoms only partially mediate the relationship.

The link between weak social bonds as represented by marginalization and radicalization to violence is important given that Somali youth often face acculturative stress that might threaten their connection to the original communities and discrimination which might weaken bonds to the host communities. Previous research has also found similar links between weak social bonds and radicalization to violence among this population (Ellis et al., 2015). These findings point to a need to address issues such as discrimination and social exclusion that might lead youth to disconnect from their

communities thus providing opportunities for negative influences to recruit them to violence.

Negative peers also fully mediated the relationship between procedural justice and radicalization to violence. This might be due to the youth who endorse radicalization to violence having disengaged from moral and legal constraints of the society and therefore, do not see youth engaging in gang activities as a problem. This is in line with previous findings that showed that collective strain does not in itself have a direct effect on radicalization but "that those who already espouse justifications for violence and rule-breaking are more vulnerable to extremist violent pathways, particularly when exposed to collective social strife, conflict, and repression" (Nivette et al., 2017, p. 756). In addition, research examining the association between strain and crime has found that youth with negative peers were more likely to respond to strains with crime (Mazerolle and Maahs, 2000). It might also point to some overlap between delinquency and radicalization to violence attitudes though this is something that warrants further exploration.

While mental health only partially mediated the relationship between procedural injustice and radicalization to violence, its importance cannot be underestimated given the history and experience of the Somali community. Somali youth experience higher levels of trauma exposure and mental health symptoms due to their experience of war and displacement (Jaranson, 2003). Previous research has shown a link between mental health symptoms such as anxiety and radicalization. For example, Ellis et al. (2015) found that PTSD symptoms mediated the relationship between trauma and openness to violence. Given how strains in resettlement can worsen mental health issues among refugee youth,

it is important to both continue to conduct research in this area and attend to the mental health needs of refugee youth.

In this study, we tested whether GST can be a useful tool to examine the experiences of strains by Somali youth and the endorsement of the use of violence to achieve political goals. Of the three predictors, only procedural injustice which asks about unfair police treatment was able to predict radicalization to violence. Procedural justice was fully mediated by both weak social bonds and negative peers and was partially mediated by mental health symptoms. The findings support GST predications and they suggest that GST can have some utility in explaining radicalization among Somali refugee youth. These findings represent a small step in examining the relationship between specific strains that Somali youth are known to experience and radicalization to violence which is an issue that has been of concerned with this population.

One important finding that can contribute to advancing the field is in looking at the differences between individual and collective strains. The importance of community-level perceived injustice has been found in other studies. Jensen et al. (2018) took radicalization mechanism from five important research approaches and combined them with real-life narratives of individuals who have been radicalized in the US to build the best pathway for explaining individual radicalization, while they say that multiple factors come together to lead to radicalize, they conclude that "a sense of community victimization and a fundamental shift in individuals' cognitive frames are present in all pathways and act as necessary conditions for radicalization to violence"(p.1). More research that examines both individual and community level strains, as well as individual

level characteristics like mental health and social bonds is needed to help us better understand the unique pathways to radicalization to violence among this population.

Limitations

There are multiple limitations to the present study. First, the sample was a convenience sample and not representative of the population. It is possible that results would be different with a randomly selected sample and thus results cannot be generalized to the larger Somali population. Second, while we can show a relationship between the independent and dependent variables, we cannot make causal inference, as it is not clear whether youth who hold radical beliefs might believe that police discriminate against them and their community thus reinforcing their belief that the system is unjust or if youth develop these beliefs because of the discrimination they face. Therefore, while the findings support GST theory of a link between radicalization and procedural injustice, further research is needed to test the direction and the mechanism of this relationship. Moreover, while GST proposes that cross-sectional data might be useful in examining the relationship between strain and anti-social behavior because of its focus on more recent strains (Agnew and White, 1992; Paternoster and Mazerolle, 1994), using cross-sectional data means that we cannot examine the cumulative effects of the strain as well as whether the duration and intensity of the strain impacts the relationship between strain and radicalization. Similarly, while we are aware of the importance of age and gender in the radicalization process, we did not control for those important variables in the current study though we hope to do so in the future. Finally, it is important to state that it is not clear whether the mediators that are significant in this study — marginalization, negative

peers, and mental health symptoms — predate the strain. In other words, we do not know whether youth already had associated with negative peers and felt marginalized before exposure to the procedural injustice which then reinforced their sense of marginalization for example, or whether the negative peer relations and marginalization that youth report solely results of the experience the strains of procedural injustice. More research is needed to address these limitations before strong conclusions can be drawn.

Program and research Implication

The radicalization of youth is one of the most important issues of our time. And, while a very small number of Somali youths have become radicalized, the devastation that it brings to the community, as well as the potential threat it poses to all of us, makes this a critical issue for us to better understand and prevent.

The finding that procedural injustice is linked to radicalization to violence among Somali refugee youth is important as is the finding that marginalization and negative peers mediate this relationship. Policy makers and community leaders can use this type of research to develop programs that reduce youth marginalization and strengthen social bonds. Furthermore, the possibility that collective strain which is related to the sense that a community is being oppressed or discriminated against by institutions that have power over them such as the police might promote radicalization gives us the opportunity to work towards creating a better police-community relationship and to ensure that refugee communities feel that our institutions work for them and not against them. This is very important because Somali youth often live in over-policed urban areas where their only interaction with police might be negative. The perception that police are unfair, cannot be

trusted and will not treat community members with respect, can create an environment where youth do not respect laws that they feel are unjust and radicalization might be one of the pathways out of the strain created by perceived injustice. Creating policies and procedures that help communities have a voice in their interaction with police and transparency in police procedures so that communities do not feel targeted might reduce the sense of injustice felt by these youth and break the link between strain and radicalization. More importantly, ensuring that police are not engaging in discriminatory practices and that they are listening to community members when they bring a grievance that involves police misconduct can help reduce the distrust.

Finally, training police to improve their interaction with refugee communities, creating spaces where police and community relationships can collaborate in a positive manner and having more community policing done by officers who have either cultural knowledge through their membership in the community or through cross-cultural training might improve this adversarial relationship between the Somali youth and police. Radicalization is about broken relations and broken bonds among youth and the communities that surround them according to our findings. Often refugee communities are familiar with oppressive systems because that is what drove them from their home countries. In resettlement, the perception that the police cannot be trusted and does not treat community members fairly can only be changed through changes in police practices both in their interaction with individual youth and in their interaction with the wider community. The link between procedural justice and police community relationship goes beyond youth who might be struggling. This research shows a path forward- one where

we begin to understand the problem and start thinking about the solutions by reducing strains that threaten the social bond of refugee youth. The alternative-leaving youth feeling oppressed and marginalized-threatens all of us.

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CHAPTER FOUR

"He Was a Good Kid": Community Meaning-Making of Factors Leading to Somali Youth Joining al-shabaab

Introduction

Somali immigrants often come to the United States as refugees fleeing war and violence in their native country. Like many other refugee and immigrant groups, the majority of Somali refugees is resilient and adjust well in resettlement despite horrific past experiences (American Psychological Association [APA], 2010; Collier, 2015). However, some Somali youth have struggled to adapt in the West. These include both youth who arrived as young children and those who were born in the US. These groups of youth have been referred to as 1.5 and 2.0s, reflecting their stage of migration. Concerns about the radicalization of immigrant youth in the West, including Somalis, and the fear that youth who have been radicalized by groups like ISIS could engage in violent acts in the US and other Western countries, are major current preoccupations to those tasked with keeping our communities safe. Between 2007 and 2009, over twenty Somali youth are known to have joined al-Shabaab and some of these youth died in the commission of terrorist acts in Somalia (Yuen & Aslanian, 2011).This is a small number compared the number of Somali youth who live in the West and it is in no way representative of the youth in the community, but it sent shock waves among community members given that they brought their children to the US to keep them safe from war and violence. While the

al-Shabaab recruitment happened almost 10 years ago, there are new concerns about other terrorist groups recruiting Somali youth for terrorist activities. For example, at least six Somali youth from Minnesota have been successful in joining terrorist groups in Syria with five known to have died (Yuen, Ibrahim, and Aslanian 2015). In addition, in the past two years, close to 30 Somali youth have either joined the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or have been stopped while trying to do so (Yourish & Williams, 2016). While these numbers are also small, they are still symbolic of threat and a significant loss for an immigrant community that came to the US to save its children from war and violence. Furthermore, the Somali community in the West has been plagued by gang violence which has claimed and continues to claim young Somali males in places like Toronto and Edmonton, Canada and Minneapolis, MN in the US (Forliti, 2011; Williams, 2007).

. It is important to point out that, as we saw in Las Vegas, the majority of mass casualty attacks in the US are committed by white males (Ruiz-Grossman, June 23, 2017). Still, while Islam should not be equated with violence, understanding why some Somali and other refugee and immigrant youth are vulnerable to the call of violent groups is critical. Research is needed to examine what factors have made Somali youth most vulnerable to the call of radical groups among Muslim communities in the US. It is also important to remember and address the loss and devastation suffered by the families and community that these youth leave behind. Therefore, a deeper understanding of the experience of these youth is important to the community because it may assist in finding solutions and may provide guidance in developing programs that potentially reduce youth vulnerability to radicalization. The quest for knowledge about this phenomenon is also

paramount for our nation as combatting all types of violence in our communities is critical for the economic, social, psychological and political stability of the country.

The discourse about Somalis being radicalized and joining violent groups such as al-Shabaab and ISIS often takes place outside the Somali community itself. While federal and state governments have been preoccupied with the issue as demonstrated by the multiple conferences and taskforces on this topic, and reporters and researchers have investigated and written about it, there is a hushed silence about this issue within the communities affected. In fact, in places like Minneapolis, the fastest way to end a conversation is to bring up youth radicalization. And yet, none has been more affected by this phenomenon than the Somali community in Minnesota for example. Not only have mothers lost their sons but communities lost promising young men who died in Somalia instead of graduating from universities and serving the community. The stigma left behind by these departures has also caused the community pain. The community also feels the loss of the sense of safety and security they had gained by moving to the US, and that they are constantly under scrutiny and seen as a threat. This is especially painful for a community that came to the United States seeking a place of safety and better future for their children.

2. From the Frying Pan into the Fire from Civil War Zone to Gang War Zone

Somali youth are unique among Muslim Americans in that, in general, Muslims Americans are better educated and more affluent than the general population (Bukhari, 2003). Historical factors, such as a nascent educational system destroyed by decades of

civil war and a generation that grew up in refugee camps, has led to many Somalis not being able to receive education or losing wealth and resources due to displacement. In the US, it is often said that Somalis face the triple jeopardy of being black, poor and Muslim. Research shows that Somalis experience poverty at much higher rate than the general populations (US Census Bureau 2009; Abdi, 2014). In Minnesota where the largest number of Somalis in the US reside, Somalis have the lowest income of any cultural group (Economic Status of Minnesotans, 2016). But there is more to the experience of Somali youth than just being refugees in the diaspora. The experience of Somali youth in America can only be understood by understanding the sociopolitical upheavals that led to large numbers of Somalis seeking refuge in the United States. In 1991, the government of Mohamed Siad Barre, who had ruled Somali with an iron fist since 1969, was brought down by militia from rival clans. The departure of Siad Barre did not lead to the hoped-for peace in the country but rather led to multiple factions fighting for the control of the country and especially for the capital, Mogadishu. This led many Somalis to flee to neighboring countries to escape the fighting. These refugees ultimately ended up settling in places like London, UK, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, and Minneapolis, MN. Since 1992, many Somalis were granted refugee status in the US and the majority settled in Minnesota. This concentration in specific areas by immigrant co-ethnics (meaning large concentration of Somalis) in the same area- is not unusual. It is the same phenomena that gives us little Italies and Chinatowns.

After the fall of the Siad Barre government, struggle for power waged among political groups such as the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) which enjoyed the

support of the international community, and the Islamic Court Union (ICU) which was formed by a coalition of eleven Sharia courts. Al-Shabaab (the youth in Arabic) was the youth wing of the ICU. The ICU had taken control of Mogadishu by 2006 while the internationally acknowledged Transitional Federal Government was forced to function far away from the symbolic center of Somali power, Mogadishu, and was located in Baidao, Southern Somalia (Barnes & Hassan, 2007). In December 2006, the struggle for Mogadishu was ended by the invasion of the Ethiopian army in support of the TFG and with the support of the United States government. The invasion achieved the intended goal as the Ethiopian army easily defeated the ICU but this was a hollow victory. Given the historical symbolism and the religious implications, the invasion by the Ethiopian army gave Al-Shabaab a religious and nationalist narrative that resonated with many Somalis, especially youth.

Somalis in North America created large ethnic enclaves like those in Minneapolis. "Ethnic enclaves" (Portes & Jensen, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993) is a term used in research to describe a neighborhood or community with high concentration of a group that shares ethnicity, religious or culture. Ethnic enclaves can offer opportunities for immigrant communities such as Somalis to create spaces where people can engage in activities that are geared towards providing support for these specific groups. For example, there can be ethnic owned businesses that cater to ethnic communities but they can also be an obstacle to integration and achievement (Xie & Gough, 2011). They can also act as echo chambers where community grievances are amplified and where communities find comfort without making an effort to integrate or interact with the wider

host community. In addition, Somali news programs such as *BBC Somalia*, *HiiraanOnline*, Somali online forums such as *Somalinet.com*, and close contacts across the diaspora and those left behind in Somalia meant that Somalis in North America were closely engaged with the events in Somalia.

Using this historic enmity between Ethiopia and Somalia, al-Shabaab sought to disqualify the TFG leadership as un-Islamic apostates who worked for Ethiopia and for the United States while presenting themselves as guardians of the Islamic faith in the mold of the prophet and his followers. Therefore, during the time when these youth in Minnesota were being recruited to leave the US and join the conflict in Somalia, the Somali civil war was moving from an internal war between Somali factions to a regional war located in the historic conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia and, even more importantly, to a religious war between Muslims and Christians with both historic and geopolitical overtones. In fact, the invasion was seen as a proxy war waged by the US against Islam and was put in the context of the wars against other Muslim countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq (Vidino et al., 2010).

Somali youth in the US in 2006–2009 were thus receiving often distressing information about the events in their country, especially regarding the invasion of Ethiopia and the bombing of Somali cities by Ethiopian airplanes. These youth were also struggling in their new country in the US. Fleeing war meant that most parents left their country with limited resources given the nature of the departure. Also, many families were led by single mothers who did not work in their home country or whose skills were not easily transferrable in their new country. Additionally, often families were resettled in

neighborhoods where gang violence was a major problem and before long Somali youth were also being caught up in gang violence. In the same period when the phenomenon of youth leaving to join al-Shabaab was in the news, there were also major concerns being raised about Somali youth and gang violence in large metropolitan Somali settlements such as the twin Cities, Toronto and London (community (Forliti, 2011; Williams, 2007).

Refugee Families and Acculturative Stress

Refugee youth and their families often experience acculturative stress as they try to build a new life in the West (Berry, 1980). Acculturation is defined as "a psychological process of adjustment when an individual of one culture (i.e., an immigrant) interacts with another culture" (Leu, et al., 2011, p. 168). Acculturation is thus about how an individual adapts (or does not adapt) to a new culture and the degree to which one maintains connections to one's original culture (Berry, 1980, 1997). This can be both an enriching and challenging process for individuals, families and communities because acculturation involves both gains and losses.

For example, a youth, seeking to be accepted by peer groups and success in the new country might adapt assimilation strategies, refusing to utilize cultural practices valued by her parents such as speaking the native language which might be the only way the parents are able to communicate with him/her. This can cause a loss of the capacity for the parents to provide guidance and advice to the child. This disconnect can lead to family conflict whereby parents and children are no longer able to communicate or share experiences because they "become increasingly alienated from one another with different cultural frames of reference" (Kim & Park, 2011, p. 1661).

Acculturation can be seen as bi-directional because it relates to both an individual's relationship to their culture of origin as well as the relationship to the dominant culture. Often remaining true to one might cause stress with the other culture. This is especially the case when the two cultures advance very different values around issues such as gender roles and parent-child relationships. For example, a Somali girl might struggle with her decision to wear the hijab (headscarf) because wearing it might leave her vulnerable to anti-Muslim discrimination and ridicule by her classmates. On the other hand, her decision not to wear it might create conflict with her family and the extended Somali community in which she lives. For a Somali boy, the simple act of wearing his hair long or piercing his ears to appear cool to his friends might throw his home life into chaos because his actions go against what is acceptable for males in the Somali culture. Discrimination can have an important effect on the acculturation experience as "receptivity of the dominant group in welcoming or stigmatizing the non-dominant group has been considered a powerful predictor of how stressful and difficult the acculturation experience may be for immigrants" (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2006, p. 662).

Downward Assimilation: Where is the American Dream?

Traditional acculturation theory assumes that immigrants have equal access to assimilate into the American society with all the opportunities and upward mobility that it represents. Theorists such as Portes and Zhou (1993) have challenged this straight-line assimilation approach which asserts that immigrants will be able to achieve upward mobility and access the American dream and that each new generation will integrate

better and achieve higher upward mobility. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) point to the "challenges confronting immigrant children in American schools and neighborhoods in a social context promoting dropping out of school, joining youth gangs, or participating in the drug subculture" (p. 59). Instead of straight-line assimilation, they proposed what they called segmented assimilation. A segmented assimilation framework proposes that immigrants of color such as Somalis who belong to a racially oppressed group and who arrive with limited educational and economic resources face different choices than other groups who come with wealth, education, or racial identity which facilitate their upward mobility. In this framework, immigrant of color like Somalis faces multiple barriers to achieving the American dream (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995). These theorists hypothesize that unlike the straight-line assimilation experiences by white immigrant groups who came before them, Somalis and similar immigrants face multiple possible outcomes, including the upward mobility proposed by the old acculturation theory, but also potential downward assimilation. With downward mobility, Somalis youth would face the possibilities of "joining in large numbers the ranks of a racialized, permanently impoverished population at the bottom of society" (Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller 2005, p. 1004). Instead of achieving the American dream, many of these poorer and ethnic immigrants assimilate to those who are "like them," in this case African Americans in urban, poor and often marginalized communities. According to Portes and Zhou, in these environments, youth find themselves facing choices between adapting to the "American culture around them" or maintaining adherence to their parent's culture. These choices have consequences since

"to remain (Somali) they would have to face social ostracism and continuing attacks in school; to become American-black in this case-they would have to forgo their parents' dreams of making it in the American dream" (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 83). Thus, for Somali youth who come from a Muslim culture that is markedly different from the American dominant culture, and who face high expectations in their community and great barriers and exclusion in the wider society, these choices can prove extremely challenging.

Because acculturation speaks to the youths' relationship to both original culture and the dominant white culture, it can be important to understanding why some youth become radicalized and why some might decide to turn against the West, whether by leaving for places like Syria and Somalia or by planning acts of violence against the countries where they spent most of their formative years. Indeed, acculturation stressors have been shown to be associated with immigrant youth involvement in criminal activities. This phenomenon has been called "the second-generation revolt" whereby immigrant youth facing discrimination, racism and lack of economic opportunities and seeing the failure to achieve the American dream among other minority youth turn to criminal activities (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1996).

Current Study

The current study is a part of larger research project that looks at the risk and resilience factors faced by Somali youth in North America. The Somali Youth Longitudinal Study (SYLS) study includes both quantitative and qualitative interviews. The qualitative analysis presented here focuses on key informant interviews that were

conducted to deepen understanding of community level perceptions of the phenomenon of Somali youth leaving to join groups designated by the US as terrorist organizations. The interviews were conducted in between 2015 and 2016 in Minneapolis, MN. Minneapolis was chosen because it is the city where the events under study took place and home to the largest Somali population in the West.

Outreach to the community to recruit participants used purposive sampling since we were looking for key informants that knew youth who left. We connected with community leaders and partners who were well-respected in the community and they connected us with the initial interviewees. Initial interviewees connected us to others that they knew through the shared experience of losing a family member or a friend. The recruitment was done carefully and with respect and awareness about the trauma that these participants had gone through. Informed consent was obtained by a Somali researcher. Interviews were conducted either in Somali or English depending on the participant's wishes and were later transcribed by a native Somali speaker who is also fluent in English.

Participants and Procedures

Community-Based Participatory Research

This project used Community-Based Participatory Research principles (CBPR, Israel et al., 1998). CBPR is an approach to research which incorporates an equal partnership between researchers and the communities they seek to study. As a method, CBPR involves a true collaboration throughout the research process from the development of the research questions, to the selection of methods and tools for analysis

and interpretation of data. CBPR is especially recommended when working with minority communities that are marginalized. These communities might not have the resources or power to challenge powerful institutions that seek to do research in their communities. On the other hand, if the community does not trust a researcher or an institution, they may not participate in a project or they may not engage in an open and honest way with the research team. This is not only problematic for that specific research project, but it can also deny the community the opportunity to benefit from research that could have helped address issues that are important to them. Refugee communities are especially difficult to reach due to the history of mistrust of authority and different explanatory models (Spring et al., 2003). Therefore, research methods that reduce stigma and build trust are crucial to successful research with and concerning refugee communities.

For the present research, CBPR was utilized to create a true partnership with the communities that were being engaged in the study. In fact, the first author is a member of the leadership team of the project as well as a member of the wider Somali community. Over the past 11 years, the author has served as the lead in community engagement and implementation of CBPR approach in research with the Somali community across North America (Ellis, et al., 2015, 2018). Because CBPR includes not only authentic collaboration with communities but also attention to diversity of voices within communities, the SYLS project engaged a diverse group of community leaders across the cities in which the research was taking place. These leaders informed the research process from inception to interpretation of findings to dissemination. Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith, Jarman &

Osborn, 1999) was used as a data analysis method. According to Smith & Osborn (2003), IPA focuses on the "meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants" (p.53). It is useful when doing research with marginalized communities because it gives voice to their own interpretation of their experiences, The main question we want to explore is : *How do the Somali Communities in which youth left to join al-Shabaab make sense of the youths' actions*? We interview 5 individual participants who had deep knowledge of both the youth themselves and of the community in which the youth lived and we chose to focus on 3 radicalized youth who these key informants knew.

Cases in this study

We chose to focus on the stories of three youth from the group of 20 or so youth who left for Somalia between 2007 and 2009. In accordance with Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) principles, we limited our examination to this small number of cases in order to allow an in-depth examination of these cases. The focus of the interviews concerned both these specific youth and more generally, the issue of youth joining violent groups overseas at that particular time and place. We elected to use pseudonyms for the youth even though we could not promise confidentiality because of the high-profile nature of these stories. We introduce the youth below.

Sahal (S): Left the US in November 2008. Sahal was his twenties when he left and died in 2011. He was reportedly attending college when he was arrested but left the country soon thereafter.

Jama (J): Left the US in 2008 and died in 2009. He was one of the youngest youths who left. He excelled academically and many of the participants expressed surprise at his departure.

Koshin (K): Left the US in 2008 and died in 2009. He had been previously involved in the criminal justice system and become very religious.

Interview Procedure

Interviews were semi-structured and in-depth in line with in IPA methodology (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999). The main question we wanted to understand was: *How do the Somali Communities in which youth left to join al-Shabaab make sense of the youths' actions*? We chose to interview 5 individual participants who had deep knowledge of both the youth themselves and of the community in which the youth lived, were recruited and left.

IPA recommends in-depth interviews with a small number of people from similar experiences to gain a deeper understanding of how they make meaning of specific experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Thus, we used purposive sampling to invite specific individuals to participate in the interview study. Those interviewed include a parent, an uncle of one of the youths, an uncle of another youth and a teacher to the other two and two friends/peers of all three youth. Finding key informants who were willing to speak about this topic was challenging given the stigma attached to the youth leaving and the time that passed between when youth left and when the interviews took place. These barriers were overcome by using CBPR and by using snowball sampling where key informants who were known to the researcher connected her to other key informants.

These key informants were chosen to reflect different levels of knowledge and different perceptions or angles; for example, the mother viewed the experience from her position of losing a child while both uncles are professionals who worked in the educations/youth services field which gave them different perspectives. The friends were the best proxy for the youth who died, as they were in the same schools and neighborhoods as the youth who left and could offer a window into what it was like to be a young Somali refugee in the environment at the time of the youth's departure.

In keeping with the principles of IPA, we did not develop hypotheses. Instead, IPA allows the participants and the researcher the flexibility to construct meaning from their experience without the constraints of predetermined expectations (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Below are the demographics of the participants. They included four males and one female (two youth and three adults). The overrepresentation of the males is due to the fact that the youth who left were all males and their friends also were younger males.

Key Informants (pseudonyms)

1. Jamila Ali: Mother whose child left the US
2. Keynan Yusuf: Uncle of one of the youths who left
3. Nur Abdi: Teacher who taught many of the youth in the group and is also a relative of one of the youths
4. Mohamed Abdulle: Peer who was friends with many of the youth and who went to school with them
5. Jama Khayre: Peer and friend to some of the youth

Data Analysis

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used as the method of analysis. IPA is appropriate for this study because it focuses on how participants make meaning of the experience being studied and how the researcher makes sense of these stories (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Based on the works of Edmund Husserl, IPA seeks to help researchers understand the lived experiences of the subject, in essence, to walk in their shoes. There are two aspects to this approach. The phenomenological aspects direct us towards the lived experience of the participants while the interpreter aspect refers to the double hermeneutic of both the participant and the researcher making meaning or interpreting the experience (Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA is especially useful when research is looking at the experience of marginalized or minority groups whose daily lives might be markedly different from those of the dominant group/researchers who might be interpreting the experience of the participants. In addition, it can be used to examine how theories created by experts to explain phenomena compare to the ideas and understanding of those directly affected by the events. Looking at radicalization, there are many theories from people who rarely have directly experienced this phenomenon who interpret the experiences of those directly impacted. Hearing from family members and friends who are directly affected by these events will allow us to formulate grounded theories that reflect the actual and nuanced experiences of the process of radicalization from multiple angles. In addition, the lead researcher is a Somali, a refugee, a licensed therapist specializing on trauma and immigration and also a PhD candidate. Thus sharing some of the experiences of the participants but also an academic who can offer her own

interpretation of the participants' stories. These assets will simply serve as a way to bring additional resources to the discussion rather than taking away or devaluing the participants' meaning-making of their own experiences.

Results

The key informants produced rich and detailed information regarding their perceptions about and understanding of the youth who left Minnesota to join al-Shabaab during the 2007-2009 period. Despite those interviewed being of different ages, gender, and education levels, the participants presented a number of common beliefs about the factors that they feel contributed to the youth leaving. There were five key themes that were shared by the majority of participants to explain which they felt contributed to the youth leaving. Each theme presented here was identified as uniquely affecting the youth under discussion; however, participants also described general stressors faced by Somali youth (e.g. gang violence) that they felt played a role in the overall process of youth radicalization. Each theme discussed below was cited by at least three of the five participants. Of the five themes presented, three can be said to be culturally and experientially specific to the Somali community. The five primary themes are illustrated in the table below

Table 1: Primary Themes from Interviews

Theme	Description	Cultural/Migration Context	Sample Quote
"Good Kids"	Youth who joined al-shabaab were not bad kids but good kids who were influenced by bad people	In Somali culture a kid who prays and is obedient to parents and cares about others is a good kid.	"He was a young man with good behavior and good religious practice."
"Brainwashed"	Related to the above theme, Participants expressed that youth were brainwashed as part of the process of radicalization by people that they and the community trusted	Culturally, adults are all responsible for the welfare/behavior of youth. Key informants believe trusted adults contributed to radicalization	"I really felt like they {people who recruited the youth) were the cause of his destruction"
War left Youth without Male Role Models	The war left many families with single mother households. Mothers sought support from males in the community and were betrayed.	Traditionally, father's discipline and guide teenage boys. Single mothers might feel that that role could be filled by males in the community.	"When he became older, become a man. You are not going to sit next to him like a baby. He would deal with the grown men. I wanted him to be like the religious leaders there, imitate their manners"
Gang Violence	Gang violence as factor due to threat of violence and fear that youth would join gangs; parents becoming overprotective trying to keep out of gangs	Somali community was introduced to gangs for the first time. The idea that youth would end up in criminal gangs or in jail was the greatest threat, not that they would go back to Somalia	**"**Parents were afraid that their kids might end up in the backseat of the police. Gangs were starting"
Systemic Discrimination	Youth were facing discrimination at school and in the streets	Somalis came from a country where racial stratification did not exist. For the first time they were finding out they were black and in America, blacks are treated differently	"There are a lot of cases where kids are being picked up from Cedar Riverside, taken to an alley and being beaten by police officers who then leave them bleeding there"

1. Good Kids.: The first theme discussed by the participants was the belief that the youth who left to join al-Shabaab were good kids influenced by adults with bad intentions who used issues that were important to the community such as the invasion of Somali to recruit youth.

2. Brainwashed: Related to the first theme was the theme that youth were brainwashed as part of the process of radicalization by people that they and the community trusted.

3. Fracturing of Families due to War left Youth without Male Role Models: The third theme of the community level explanation was that these young men were being parented by single mothers who were who sought support for their sons through traditional institutions such as mosques. A subtheme in this explanation was that there was an absence of positive male role models in the Somali community which left youth vulnerable to being attracted to joining gangs or radicalized groups. As such, two themes related to the youth's interface with host community and institutions were identified through this model.

4. **Gang Violence:** Participants also talked about how the threat of gang violence was an ever-present threat in the Somali community at the time that the youth left and that this constant threat might have contributed to why youth chose to leave to join al-Shabaab.

5. Systemic Discrimination: The key informants spoke about how Somali youth face systemic and structural racism and discrimination, including barriers to high quality educational opportunities and were being targeted by the police. The participants felt that these forces also contributed to why youth gave up on dreams of US success and pursued al-Shabaab.

1. He was a good kid

The theme of those youth who left "being good kids" was expressed throughout the interviews. Of the three cases studied, two were perceived to be "really good kids" all their lives. One had gotten into trouble with the law and had been previously involved with gangs but he also became very religious and was described as a leader and a good kid at the time of his departure for Somalia. The good kid theme came up in multiple ways. For example, participants just talked about how **J** was a good kid all around. "He was a fun guy, very funny, very smart, and very witty" said a friend. A parent similarly asserted, "He was a young man with good behavior and good religious practice." Furthermore, participants talked about how two of the youth **(J and S)** were on track to being successful in the US. A friend describing S stated, "This kid... he had high hopes. He was engaged in business." A friend of J's claimed, "He was a nice kid, good at school." To support their assertion that those were good kids, participants cited the youth's religiosity as evidence of their 'goodness'. "He was a young man with good behavior and good religious practice." One must understand what is meant by 'good' in the terms of the Somali cultural context. These youth were going to the mosque, following sermons, refraining from behaviors that are associated with being a 'bad kid" in Somali culture such as drinking, stealing or lying. Therefore, as far as those who knew them were concerned, they were good kids.

These young men were described as having a higher level of commitment to their faith. "He was very passionate about the religion" is how one of them was described. They did not just learn the Koran and practice it but they were also seen as teachers of the

Koran among young people. **"J,** he became very good with his Koran….He finished the Koran four times. He memorized it. He became a teacher himself," recalled one participant. It is interesting to note that while all three youth were described as very religious at the time of their departure, all three were also described as having changed, becoming less tolerant, more withdrawn and more rigid in their beliefs as they got closer to leaving. A friend of one of the youths describes this change by stating that "instead of talking about commerce and hopes, he changed to talking about 'I hate these naked (inappropriately dressed) girls. Why don't they dress as they are supposed to (*may is asturaan* - why don't' they dress more modestly)?".

Another important marker of the good kid theme was being good to one's parents and working hard to help them. Describing S, one participant reported, "He would say 'I want to build a house for my mother, I don't want my mother to work'." Being good also included being respectful of parents and making parents proud. Another participant explained: {He was} really nice, typical Somali kid, obedient kid…You know that is the kid that any ...mother would be proud of… You don't get a call from the police station, you don't go to court, you don't get embarrassed, he does not get bad grades, he does not miss school or he does not hate dugsi (Somali Islamic School), he loved his Koran.

Finally, they were seen as good boys because they cared about the situation in Somalia. One participant expressed: "He was a very patriotic person and he loved Somalia." Another interviewee suggested that love of the country was ignited even more when Ethiopia invaded Somalia in 2006. He continued: "Fighting for your country, thinking there are people outside of this world (Western World) who needed their

assistance" was what motivated the youth to leave.

The good kid theme was informed by the Somali cultural norms of what it means to be a "good child"; being a good Muslim, patriotic, being obedient to parents and caring for them and being good at religious practice are all culturally salient forms of being a "good child or youth" (ilma baarri ah) .

2. Brainwashed Youth

Given that these participants believed the youth were good kids - religious, obedient and hardworking - how did they explain why the youth joined al-Shabaab, a violent group?

A common explanation from participants was that "those kids were brainwashed." This perception was related to the first theme because the participants believed that the very goodness, the very obedience, religiosity and love of country that they previously discussed made the youth vulnerable to being brainwashed by negative elements in society. Specifically, participants believed that the youth were manipulated into leaving the US by people that the families trusted to keep them safe. The participants expressed the belief that the youths' love and strong connection to Somalia and Islam was used to recruit them and to ultimately make them participate in activities that led to their death. "He loved Somalia, he always talked about Somalia and he hated the state Somalia was in" was how one key informant put it, arguing that it was the wish to change that country that induced this young man to leave. "I really felt like they {people who recruited the youth} were the cause of his destruction. They brainwashed him to go out there," said a friend. "Our country is attacked by Ethiopia, the West is behind this, they want to take over our

country" is how the children were recruited, according to another participant.

Underlying the brainwashing argument was the idea that as a community, adults are supposed to protect and guide youth. While one expects youth to make mistakes, the argument goes that the families trusted adults to keep the youth safe and keep them from danger. One participant invoked a Somali proverb to explain youth impulsivity and vulnerability: "*wiil intuu ood ka booduu talo ka boodaa* (a youth skips over/disregards a wise counsel as fast/easily as he jumps over an obstacle)". This proverb also speaks to the cultural expectation that it is the guidance and wisdom of adults who keep youth from dangerous actions. There is an assumption that one can entrust one's child to other adults in the community as they will all protect them as a parent would. Thus, those who spoke of the youth being brainwashed expressed a sense of betrayal that trusted community leaders/elders played a role in these events.

3. Mothers struggling to Care for Their Children

The dynamics of single mothers raising boys in the absence of positive male Somali role models coupled with the tremendous challenges of family life in a strange and difficult environment emerged as a strong context for understanding youth radicalization. Multiple key informants made links between youth joining negative groups, including both gangs and al-Shabaab, and the fact that many Somali families are led by single mothers who are struggling to parent in American urban context. As one participant observed, "The first type are children from broken families, mostly no fathers and since they are immigrant, their socio-economic status is low…mostly boys who overpowered the mothers." Another key informant, a community leader and family

member of one youth, elaborated:

> "Mothers were struggling with 5-6 kids... They were struggling with their young people. Struggling with cultural identity, so things we have learned are cultural identity, identity crisis, we were pushing them more into religious study for fear of having them in the street because there were no other programs".

These mothers then sought role models and father figures for their sons in religious leaders whom they trusted. They handed their sons over and did not question what was happening in the environment in which the youth were learning about Islam nor did they feel any danger coming from those quarters. As one mother explained: "When he became older, become a man, you are not going to sit next to him like a baby. He would deal with the grown men. I wanted him to be like the religious leaders there, Imitate their manners."

These mothers thought that their sons were safe with respected religious leaders whom they expected to act as role models. Even when some parents expressed a concern that their children were changing and that they were feeling as though they were losing control of their children, people were telling them not to complain but rather to be thankful. As one mother stated, "Other mothers said 'you are so lucky, if your son is connected to the masjid (mosque), you should thank Allah. You see what is happening to other boys, so thank Allah'." These mothers felt that, sequestered in religious institutions, their sons were finding the strong and positive role models that they needed. They felt that these boys were in a safe space within the mosques by their very nature because these had been trusted institutions back home and were not understood to be political

spaces where you would be concerned about your child being recruited for combat.

This theme of the gendered nature of parenting boys can be seen in the context of Somali cultural practice around parenting. Boys are expected to learn roles and responsibilities from their fathers while mothers are responsible for girls. The saying, "Ragna waa shaah, dumarna waa sheeko," which translates to "men are about tea and women about chatting/sharing of stories," speaks to the separated spheres of men and women. In Somali culture, as boys enter puberty and adolescence, they enter into the sphere of adult males and leave that of their mothers. Mothers traditionally take on a nurturing and supportive role in relation to their sons. In contrast, mothers teach and discipline girls. There is a cultural division of labor where fathers are responsible for son's moral development and mothers are responsible to raise girls who can attend to families as mothers and nurturers of children. These very traditional gender roles may change for youth who are growing up in the US where both genders are able to access education and achieve professional success. However, the refugee mothers who were parenting the youth who left were raised in the traditional Somali culture and did not have access to parenting supports or training to support them in raising boys in an urban American context.

4. Gangs as a threat

All key informants spoke of the presence of gangs in the community in which Somalis resettled as a factor in the youths' decisions to leave. Gangs where ubiquitous in the lives of Somali youth during the years they decided to leave. As one participant explained, "Schools and neighborhoods had gangs. Roosevelt {high school which the

majority of Somali youth attended} was the center of the gangs." There were multiple ways in which gangs were seen as influencing Somali youth outcomes. First, Somali youth often experienced an identity crisis as they settled into a new world with different cultural norms while at the same time feeling pressured to uphold up traditional Somali values and deliver on their parents' American dreams. A Somali kid at that time was struggling trying to figure out if "he is Muslim, Muslim American, African American, Somali American or American," noted one participant. Gangs threatened the success of the Somali youth because if the boys fought back they got into trouble in school and lost the academic opportunities that they and their parents so coveted.

Gangs represented such a threat that Somalis formed their own gangs. As one peer participant described:

> When the African Americans started bullying us, in the hallways they would start pulling the girls' headscarves…. There were little kids who grew up in San Diego and in San Diego there are Latino and African American gangs that are more organized. There were kids who moved from San Diego who were trained, then they decided to defend Somali kids, especially girls and they started Rough Tough Somalis (RTS, the first Somali gang in MN).

But gangs also represented a pathway to fame and success for the Somali youth who had few resources as refugees in a poverty-stricken community. The participants assert that Somali youth became attracted to urban gang culture as a way to become popular and gain material things. One peer described this situation as follows: "Those were young kids who were handsome and they called themselves Hot Boyz. There was a hip-hop

group with the same name at that time whose songs were popular at that time. So the kids became famous and they got girls to follow them." Seeing youth who adapted American urban culture such as hip-hop gain popularity led to other youth starting to emulate them. A participant explained, "When you see other young people like those in the Hot Boys driving cars, or girls chasing them, if someone fights them they got jumped (by other gang members defending them) you might start to think that 'this is cool'."

According to the participants, the attraction of hip hop and gang culture for Somali youth created anxiety among parents who responded by further segregating their children in dugsi (Somali Islamic Schools). An adult explained, **"**Parents were afraid that their kids might end up in the backseat of the police. Gangs were starting. All these things were happening so everybody wanted his kid to be in dugsi. We had a lot of benefits, stay out of trouble, they are learning their culture, they are learning Koran."

The participants, thus, spoke extensively about the role of gangs in the experience of Somali youth in Minneapolis and the role they may have played in the youth's radicalization and departure. They spoke about the threat of African American gangs that were attacking Somali youth at the time; in fact, one mother reported that her first reaction when her son went missing was that he was killed by the gangs. In addition, as discussed above, Somali youth started to form their own gangs and to adapt some African American youth cultural norms such as dressing in urban attire and playing hip hop music in reaction to the gang threat. They also did this in an attempt to gain some of the material advantages (hot cars, pretty girls, and group protection) that they perceived gang membership offered. Consequently, this phenomenon of some Somali youth

adapting urban gang culture led to panic among Somali parents which in turn led them to hand their children over to religious institutions with the sense that they were safe as long as they were in a Somali Islamic School and sequestered in Islamic institutions.

5. Systemic Discrimination

The key informants talked about how, as new refugees who were both black and Muslim, the youth faced discrimination that contributed to their rejection of US and departure for Somalia. They identified two key institutions that they felt affected the youth's lives and they felt contributed to the environment that made it possible for youth to be recruited.

Teacher Discrimination: The participants talked about how teachers in public schools treated Somali students differently. For example, "There is discrimination at school. It still goes on. Young Somalis raise their hands. Oh, I can answer that. They complain that they never get picked to answer the questions. They complain about being hit or attacked or assaulted by another kid and when they complain, the investigation ends up with the victim, the Somali kid, being suspended," said one participant. Participants also felt that Somali youth were unfairly punished when they tried to defend themselves from the gang violence they faced in schools. "{When Somali youth fought back} then they got suspension after suspension and then their grades go down and they cannot get it back", explained one participant.

The participants also felt the students lacked resources to help with their learning. According to one of the participants, "They could not succeed in school and they did not have academic support or tutoring. All these problems overwhelmed them and that is why

they took these bad turns," according to one of the participants. Participants also spoke of violence in the schools which hindered learning and contributed to youth vulnerability to alternative, more destructive path. "The school had a lot violence**,** if you were strong you could defend yourself," says a parent who felt that her son was not able to defend himself and was under threat from gangs in the school. In fact, when she heard he was missing, her first thought was that he was killed by gangs in the school.

School barriers were thus identified as one of the contributing factors to the youth being vulnerable to being radicalized. Specifically, discrimination that hindered youth learning, school violence, and lack of support were two issues raised by the participants

Police violence and profiling black people/people of East African Descent.

Community members identified the police as treating Somali youth unfairly as one of the contributing factors to Somali youth leaving. They cited police profiling of Somali youth which often led to youth getting into trouble even if they did not commit a crime. **"**Whenever something happened at the university{University of Minnesota campus in next to the Cedar Riverside where many Somali and Oromo families reside}- they have made some changes now- but they used to say 'find some black person' or literally 'an East African' so any one passing would be arrested by the police," explained a peer participant. The key informants talked of youth being profiled and being physically abused in Cedar Riverside neighborhood.

"There are a lot of cases where kids are being picked up from Cedar Riverside, taken to an alley and being beaten by police officers who then leave them bleeding there… Calling them names. There were a lot of things and the worst thing is there was

nobody that was going to listen (to the kids), except one person {the terrorist recruiter},” argued one of the participants.

In these excerpts, the participant makes a connection between the rejection youth felt in the host society and the recruiter who would listen and offer a place of respect and belonging.

Participants felt that these discriminatory activities led to youth feeling like they have no chance to succeed in the US. As illustrated by a conversation that one of the youths who left had with one of the participants who was his friend after an incident in which the youth was arrested and for which he was seeking support with finding a lawyer and told him: “Muslims and minorities will never achieve anything. They will always use the systems against you.” These systemic oppressions were seen by the key informants to lead to a sense of dejection and hopelessness and disconnect from their host community. “They know that they don’t have a sense of hope, no sense of direction, nobody is telling these kids, go to school, do something with your lives, nobody” according to one participant.

Discussion

The participants in this sample represented a diverse group of people with first-hand knowledge of the context in which Somali youth left to join al-Shabaab in 2007-2009. They experienced these events from different vantage points and were impacted differently by the loss of the youth. Yet, they presented a shared understanding of what factors likely contributed to the youth leaving. Their perception that youth were not bad kids but rather that there was a failure at the community level, reflected a cultural lens in

which it is the adults' responsibility to guide the youth. It also reflects a reality that at the time of their departure, the youth who left were not engaging in activities that were seen as anti-social; they were doing the "right" things and were respected and admired for it. Indeed, they were examples of what it means to be in a good kid in the Somali culture. The participants' discussion of the 'good kid' trope brought forth the contradiction faced by refugee youth who can be "good boys" in their culture or "hot boys" and gang members in the host culture. But in either case, these youth might be also both endangered and ostracized by one of the communities to which they wish they could belong. From the perspective of these community members, facing constant danger from gangs and discrimination from the wider society and unable to turn to their community for relief, Somali youth chose to adapt what they perceived to be an empowering cultural practice such as hip-hop that they saw as a bridge to African American youth which led to admiration and popularity among their peers. Yet, in doing so, they adapted a culture that their parents viewed as threatening the hopes of American success that they had imagined for their children. Parents trying to protect their "good boys" (in quotation because it is culturally specific) from the danger of gangs and hip hop end up handing them over to potential terrorist recruiters because the danger posed by the terrorists is not as clear when it is cloaked in the familiar disguise of religious piety. This religious engagement created a second path for youth to escape the dangerous streets of America and to gain relevance in the eyes of the community. It provided a chance to return to the religious and cultural norms of their parents which ultimately took some of them back to Somalia and into the arms of a terrorist group.

The community members' meaning making of the factors related to the youth leaving greatly supports the segmented assimilation approach. According to this theory, immigrant youth face barriers to success due to discrimination and racial prejudice, lack of jobs that do not require professional level education which they lack. The presence of gangs and drug profits can present an alternative path to success (Zhou and Portes, 1993). While some youth overcome these obstacles with the support of strong families and communities, others lacking these protective factors experience downward assimilation where they drop out of school, join gang to make money or join the working poor (Zhou and Bankston, 1996; Vigil, 2002). What is also very relevant in the context of this discussion is the assertion by Portes and Zhou (1993) that immigrant youth find themselves in a catch 22, where if they join their peers and adapt American urban culture they risk damaging their relationship with their parents and community of origin but if they adhere to their ethnic cultural norms they face attacks and ridicule from the host community. The community members' meaning making of what was happening at the time of the youths' departures supports this analysis. The community members describe a situation in which Somali youth face discrimination and lack of educational advancement in the schools, and racial profiling by law enforcement agencies. Youth can come to believe that no matter what they do they will be arrested, shamed and harassed by police. They also face gang violence but also see gang members living the high life they aspire to. These youth have to choose between hip hop and gang culture that is seen as a way to success by some of the youth who see no other path for success for black youth in America or the cultural norms of the ethnic community, both of which represent a

rejection of mainstream culture which does not offer a pathway to success given the systemic discrimination faced by these refugee black youths. In other words, those Somali youth assimilate to the community that they view is like them-the the poor, urban African American community that surrounds them. But this is not a seamless assimilation. While some youth assimilate to the African America in an attempt to find a place to belong, there is a struggle for limited resources between the new immigrants and the African American community which is already economically marginalized. One of the participants asserted that there was resentment among African Americans who saw those new arrivals taking resources away from them. The gang violence between African Americans and Somalis and eventually between Somali gang members threatens all Somali youth in these neighborhoods as they can be killed by gangs or arrested by police who assume any crime committed in the neighborhood is committed by an "East African." Either way, the parents' hope for their children to achieve the American dream while maintaining the cultural norms of the original community is not realized. More importantly, as happened in the three youths profiled in this research, those youth who wish to return to the old culture and maintain cultural connection to the country of origin while rejecting the host culture, could be in danger of being recruited to violent groups which manipulate their love of nation and religion and their desire to leave the West with its unfulfilled dreams and return to the country of birth where all it takes to be a hero is to sacrifice a life already endangered by gang violence. One could argue that these youth saw no future success for themselves in the United States given the multiple barriers and dangers that they faced. Indeed, they faced a danger of dying or being arrested and

bringing pain and shame to their families. One can imagine that the decision to return home and die "defending' their homeland and/or their religion instead of dying in gang slaying or ending up in jail was an easy one.

The participants also spoke of the role the Somali war played in the youth's vulnerability. Somali women do not traditionally discipline boys; rather they nurture and support them while fathers provide the discipline and guidance needed to raise young men. But the war upended this cultural practice as many men were killed or failed to migrate with their families. Many families were also fractured by the stress of migration. The participants' identification of the lack of male role models and the difficulties faced by single mothers highlights a painful reality in the Somali community where approximately 50% of the youth in our Somali Youth Longitudinal Study (SYLS) sample were raised by single mothers. In patriarchal communities where males hold power and in families that are facing multiple stressors, this gender role reversal can create family discord that often overwhelms single mothers who are trying to learn how to survive in a new country while also trying to help their children maintain cultural and religious values that are so important to them. This is in line with what segmented assimilation theory proposes. It argues that the fracturing of families by both migration itself and different assimilation modes (children assimilating too fast while parents still adhere to the old culture) contributes to downward assimilation. What the participants share here is that mothers might often hand their sons to a male religious teacher that they don't know and who might have a different understanding of the faith. Yet, culturally, mothers cannot question these teachers and if they raise any issues as did the mother in this sample, they

are told to be thankful and be quiet because the children are in a religious space and not in the streets committing crimes or being arrested.

One can argue that having given up on the American dream, the youth who left found a way to opt out of the no win situation in which Somali youth found themselves in America. Thus, they returned to some idealized nation and faith that allows youth to be heroic rather than victim. In the three cases studied, one youth was previously in gangs and sought to return to the community and he did so by adapting a hyper conservative mode of Islam; another was hopeful and successful until he was shamed by an arrest. After he was arrested, he became more conservative by rejecting the more open society that he was previously "well integrated into" and starting to reject the American dream that he once openly and passionately embraced. Finally, the third was a young kid who was academically and religiously gifted (had memorized the Koran and led religious ceremonies) but who lived under a threat of gang attacks. At the end, each of these youth found a way to be 'heroic' by leaving the US and dying in Somalia.

There is a Somali saying "Ninkii qayrkiisa loo xiirow soo qoyso adiguna" which means those whose age group/cohort are shaved should also wet their hair/line up to be shaved (meaning be prepared for whatever happens to your age group or cohort happening to you as well). Somalis youth living in ethnic enclaves and communities with large Somali populations such as Minneapolis might be seen as a peer group facing the same struggles, pressures and unrealized expectations and social and family stressors. Responses to manage these stressors might be shared or emulated by members of a given age group. Furthermore, parents and other community members might imagine that youth

of the same age group would take the same route so if some are joining gangs then there might be a pervasive fear that others will also do so. In this context if you were a young Somali in Minneapolis at the time of the youth leaving, you watch your friends killed or killing others, being arrested and engaging in behaviors that bring shame to the family and you see your future in that context. You shave your hair and wait to be arrested or killed, or you might decide to leave for Somalia and fight in a war and die with "dignity". It is important that in these early years, radicalization was not a widely discussed issue in the community and youth might have thought they were being "good kids" as explained by the key informants. Furthermore, a community discourse around defending faith and country from the aggression of a historic foe (Ethiopia) can create a qayr (peer group) plan of heroic adventures which lead to longing for martyrdom. Thus, the story of the Somali youth leaving to join al-Shabaab was shaped by both contextual events taking place in the country of resettlement, US (gangs, discrimination, family breakdown, changes in cultural/religious practices), and geopolitical and historical factors (war in Somalia, Ethiopia's invasion of Somalia) that gave direction and meaning to the youths' experiences in the US and their decision to leave and join al-Shabaab. What the stories from the community members are telling us is that the story of these youth was not the result of a strategic decision made by rational actors to engage in terrorism (though at the level of the recruiters this might be the case) but rather a mix of pain, fear, hope, loss and search for redemption and the network, resources and social and political environments. These factors came together to create a perfect storm for indoctrination, activation and ultimately loss of youth whose community is still struggling to understand why this

happened to them and the rest of the world and law enforcement agencies are trying to figure out how to prevent it from happening the next time.

It is important to listen to the community meaning-making because, in understanding what was happening in the community at the time when these events took place and how the community understands what had happened, we can gain insight into issues that are important to the community and that must be included in any prevention activities. Furthermore, understanding the community's meaning making of what has been a devastating and stigmatizing issue, researchers, policy-makers and law enforcement can engage in a dialogue with the community to facilitate the development of common understanding and a shared vision of how to prevent the loss of more youth to violence both at home and abroad.

Limitations

There are multiple limitations in this study. These include the fact that the events under discussion happened almost ten years ago and many people did not remember some of the details or they were so traumatized by it they did not wish to remember it. Additionally, the story has been discussed in the community for many years and shared community narratives had developed so that it was hard to decipher what was individual understanding of the issue and what was a community narrative. Finally, even after many years, the issue remains very political. It has divided the community and it is seen as a taboo and stigmatizing issue to speak about. This made both recruitment and getting people to speak challenging. It meant that those who agreed to speak might have specific stances or understanding that is not reflective of others in the community.

Implications for programs, prevention and policy

The findings of this research have multiple implications for programming and prevention. The issues identified by the community such as discrimination and gang violence are issues that can be addressed through programming such as gang prevention programs and creating youth after-school support programs. It is also important that the community's voice about these issues is heard. This is such as sensitive issue and asking the community what they think were factors that led to the youth being radicalized and building programs that address those factors could increase community trust.

Furthermore, refugee youth struggle in schools both because they face violence in their communities but also because they face discrimination and lack of academic support. Addressing these issues could help install hope in youth instead of the despair that led to their departure. Similarly, the perception that police target Somali youth and that youth, whether at college or in a gang, are in danger of being stopped and arrested can lead them to lose hope in the US and seeking pathways to escape, such as being radicalized and joining radical groups. Perception of police fairness and stopping police violence against refugee youth and youth of color are a key policy issues that need to be addressed.

Finally, refugee parents arrive in the US with parenting and cultural practices that are very different than those found here. No one helps them learn how to parent in America. Programs can support acculturation challenges and can provide parents with tools to support their children, including planting concerns in parents to avoid entrusting their children fully to others. Ultimately, supportive and safe schools, more fair and

trusted police services and informed and empowered parents might have changed the trajectory of these youth and might prevent future radicalization of youth.

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Conclusion

Somali youth represent a unique population even among refugee and immigrant groups. As refugees, they experience extensive loss and trauma due to war and displacement. As Muslim immigrants in the West, they often confront Islamophobia and discrimination and other related forms of exclusion. Moreover, Somali refugee youth find themselves inserted into centuries-old racial stratification in the United States that still persists. The African American racial identity in the United States carries with it exclusion and oppression in all facets of life. These exclusions include being placed at the bottom of the power hierarchies in the political, socio-economic, education and residential segregation that continues into the 21st century. US born African Americans have historic understanding of the racism and prejudice in this country but, coming from a homogeneous society where race was not a relevant social category; Somalis are often exposed to racism for the first time.

This dissertation represents an attempt to add to the knowledge about the experiences of Somali youth and what factors in their experience might be linked to youth engaging in ant-social behaviors such as radicalization to violence and crimes against people. We use General Strain Theory, a theory that has never been used with this population, to test if specific strains experienced by the youth such as procedural injustice and teacher discrimination predict ant-social behaviors. GST posits that certain strains lead to crime. Robert Agnew (1992) who developed this theory also argues that it is not simply the strain experienced but the feeling that one is not treated fairly that leads to some people to respond with a crime. Both the type of strain and individual level

differences account for the fact that not everyone who is exposed to strain commits crime.

This dissertation had three research questions:

(1) How do Somali community members make sense of the phenomena of youth leaving to join al-shabaab?

(2) What strains experienced by Somali youth are related to their willingness to use violence to achieve political goals and how are these different or similar to those strains that are related to other delinquent behaviors?

(3) What factors mediate between strain and willingness to use violence/delinquency?

We found that Somali community meaning making around youth radicalization to violence was rich with culturally relevant meaning-making such as the role played by gendered parenting roles, attitudes towards religious institutions, and knowledge about the resettlement context that provides a lens through which the youth's actions could be understood. Key informants also talked about the presence of gangs that threatened both parental hopes and youth's physical well-being, the discrimination in school systems and in the streets due to police actions and the lack of positive role models.

Key informants also contributed new meaning in understanding to the quantitative results. For example, community member identification of police and teacher discrimination as contributing factors is similar to what we learned from our quantitative findings where we found that both police and teacher strains do predict delinquency and procedural justice predicts radicalization to violence. This is an important finding in that it points to that, for this population, some strains are more likely to be related to certain negative outcomes. Furthermore, our finding that radicalization to violence is predicted

by only procedural injustice and that negative peers, social bonds and mental health mediate this relationship leads us to propose that, for this population, radicalization to violence might have a different pathway than other crimes. While these findings suggest different strains relate to anti-social behaviors in different ways, GST as a theory does show a promise to help us understand both the experiences of Somali youth and the relationship between the strains they experience and types of ant-social behaviors youth might endorse. Additionally, the fact that procedural justice is significantly related to two of the strains is an important finding that will need to be further studied.

The findings presented in this dissertation can contribute to the field in multiple ways. They can inform policy, programs, and research. Linking teacher and police interaction of youth and how that experience shapes youth's outcomes can inform how these important institutions interact with refugee youth. The finding that teacher punishment has a direct effect on youth delinquency among this population is an important finding given that teachers are often key figures in youth's lives. This finding points us towards programs and training that improve youth school experience and to help teachers develop the skills needed to be positive forces in the lives of refugee youth. The effects of procedural justice on youth's ant-social behaviors also points to the similarity of Somali youth experience to that of other minority youth who often face police discrimination. These negative experiences often set up youth for failure as they might feel that the only road open to them is one where they are at war with the institutions that we often imagine serves us all. This again points to work that is needed to promote police knowledge and skills and to reduce systemic discrimination on the part

of law enforcement officials against refugee youth.

The integration of community-level understanding and quantities findings and the use of two theories (GST and Segmented Assimilation) reflect a need to pay attention to both the youth's past experiences such as displacement and migration and the post resettlement experiences such as racialized modes of incorporation that these youth encounters once they arrive in the US. This is meant to expand the lens through which we look at Somali refugee youth's experiences. While theories and measures formulated in Western settings can be useful, we need to complement these approaches with tools that allow the community to contribute its own voices and to interpret its own experiences. It is through the integration of these different ways of knowing and meaning-making that we can come to a richer and deeper understanding of the experiences of refugee and immigrant youth and we can develop programs and policies that are created in partnership with the community under study. The combination of key informant and quantitative methods might allow us to distal the different factors and pathways that are related to youth radicalization and delinquency in a way that allows us to point a more complicated and useful picture. Such an approach can facilitate community acceptance of any interventions that academics and practitioners propose for community members based on research findings.

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TABLES

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Independent, Dependent and Mediating Variables for Chapter #2

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Gender (Female=1)			0	1
Age	24.36	3.03	19	37
Years in the US/Canada	16.46	6.02	5	27
Procedural justice and police legitimacy	3.39	1.0	1	5.50
Teacher Emotional Punishment Scale	1.97	1.49	1	5
Hopkins Checklist	1.40	.45	1	3.38
Marginalization	2.50	1.02	1	5.67
Family conflict	2.37	.74	1	4.0
Self-Reported Delinquency	2.67	1.66	1	7

Table 3. Spearman's Correlations among Delinquency, Procedural Justice, Teacher Punishment, Family Conflict, Mental Health and Marginalization Variables for Chap. 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Delinquency	**1**					
2. Procedural Justice	**-.18****	**1**				
3. Teacher Punish	**.17****	**-.49****	**1**			
4. Family Conflict	**.19****	**-.24****	**.26****	**.1**		
5. Marginalization	**-.15***	**-.15***	**.17**	**.40****	**1**	
6. Mental Health	**.25****	**-.23****	**.27****	**.24****	**.43****	**1**

*p<.05; **p<.01

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics of Independent, Dependent and Mediating Variables for Chapter 3

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Gender (Female=1)			0	1
Age	24.36	3.03	19	37
Years in the US/Canada	16.46	6.02	5	27
Procedural justice and police legitimacy	3.39	1.0	1	5.50
Teacher Emotional Punishment Scale	1.97	1.49	1`	5
Hopkins Checklist	1.40	.45	1	3.38
Marginalization	2.5	1.02	1	5.67
Family conflict	2.37	.74	1	4.0
Radicalization to violence	2.67	1.66	1	7
Gang attitudes	1.66	.72	1	5

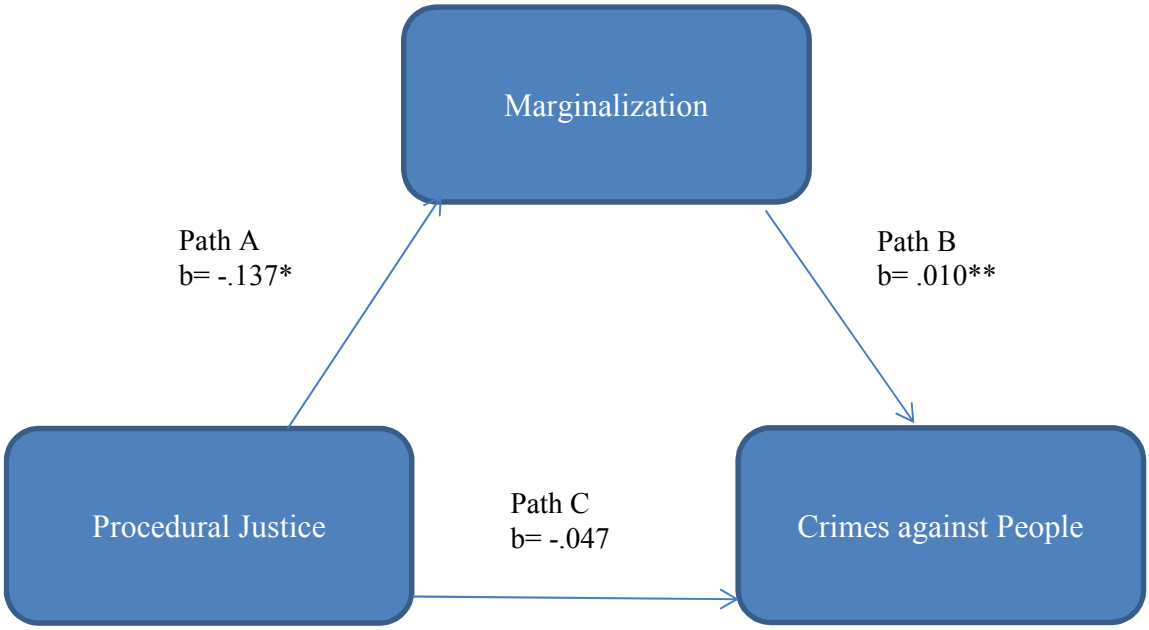
Table 5. Spearman's Correlations among Radicalization to Violence, Teacher Punishment, Family Conflict, Mental Health and Marginalization and Gang Attitudes Chapter 3

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Radicalization	**1**						
2. Procedural Justice	**-.16***	**1**					
3. Teacher Punish	**.13***	**-.49****	**1**				
4. Family Conflict	**.06**	**-.24****	**.26****	**.1**			
5. Marginalization	**.21****	**-.15***	**.17**	**.40****	**1**		
6. Mental Health	**.17****	**-.23****	**.27****	**.24****	**.43****	**1**	
7. Gang Attitudes	**.28****	**-.29****	**.23****	**.160***	**.19****	**.27****	**1**

*p<.05; **p<.01

Figure 2

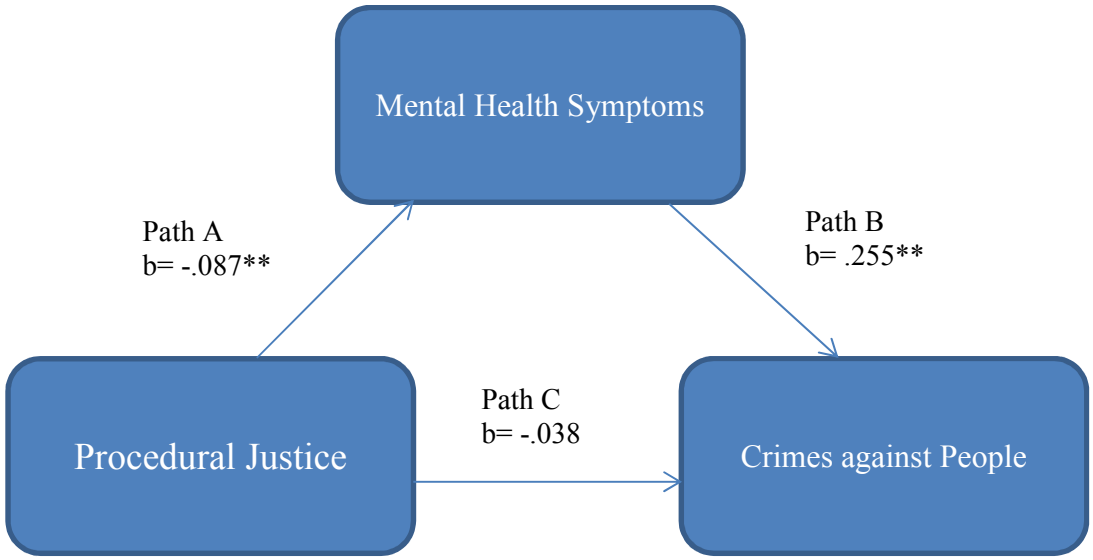
Mediation of Procedural Justice and Crimes against People by Marginalization



Total Effect: b= -.061, SE=.029, p<.05
Direct effect b=-.047, SE=.028, p>.05
Indirect effect: b= -.014, Boot SE=.011, CI= -.042 to -.0005

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 3
Mediation of Procedural Justice and Crimes against People by Mental Health Symptoms

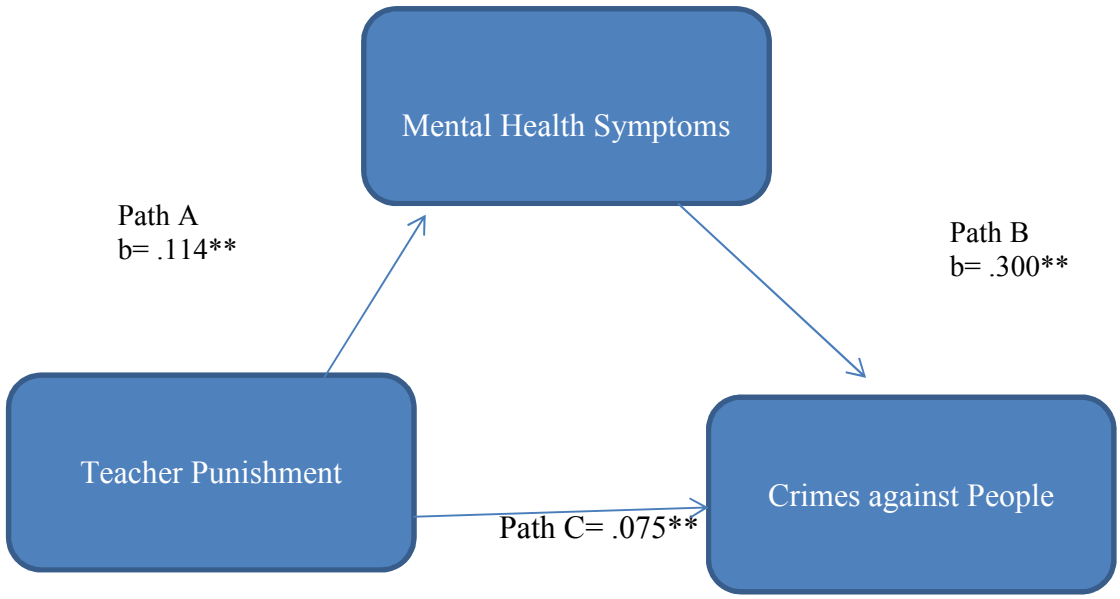


Total effect : b=-.060, SE= .028, p<.05
Direct effect :b= -.038, SE=.028, >.05
Indirect effect : b= -.022, Boot SE= .018, CI=-.07-.-002

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 4

Mediation of Teacher Punishment and Crimes against People by Mental Health Symptoms

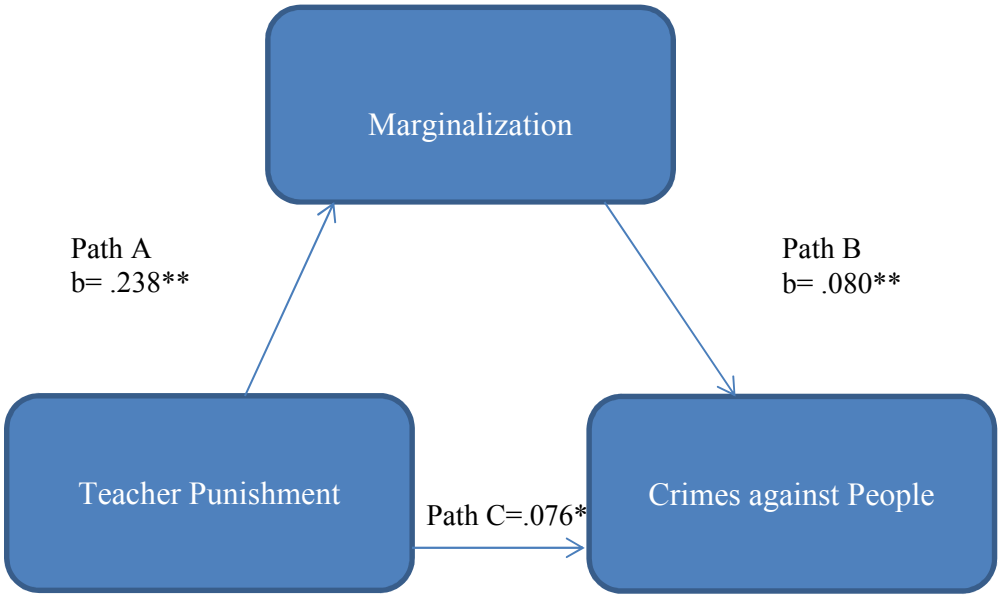


Total effect: b= .109, SE= .026, p=<.01
Direct effect: b=.075, SE=.026, p<.05
Indirect effect: b= .034, Boot SE= .024. CI= .00 to .07

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 5

Mediation of Teacher Punishment and Crimes against People by Marginalization

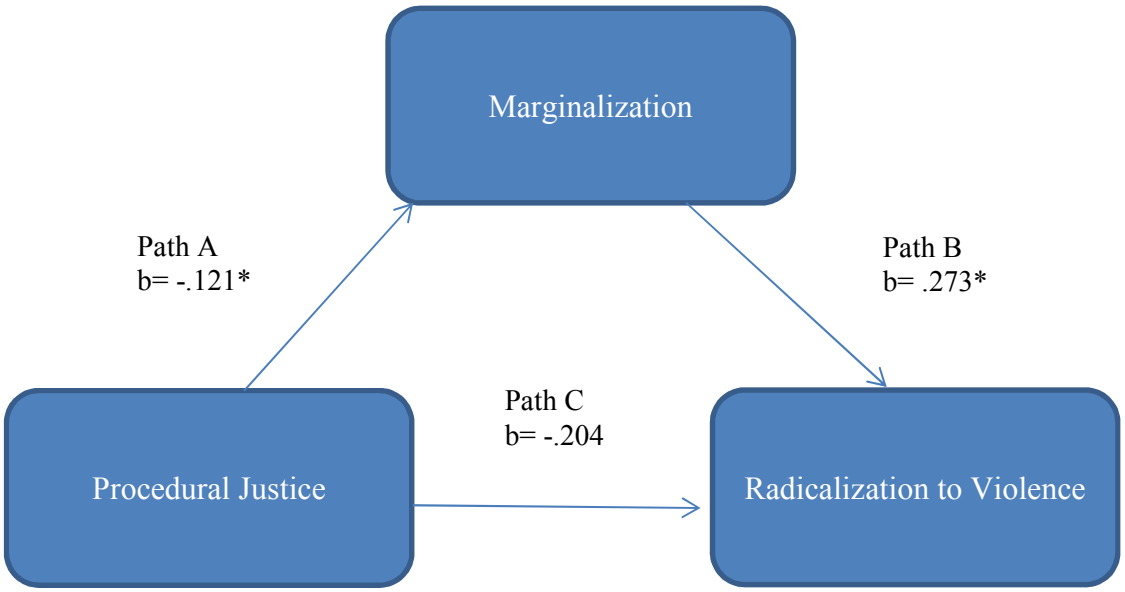


Total effect: b=.095, SE=.0244, p=<.05
Direct effect: b=.076, SE=.025, p<.05
Indirect effect: b= .019, Boot SE=.012 CI= .004 to .047

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 6

Mediation of Procedural Justice and Radicalization to Violence by Marginalization

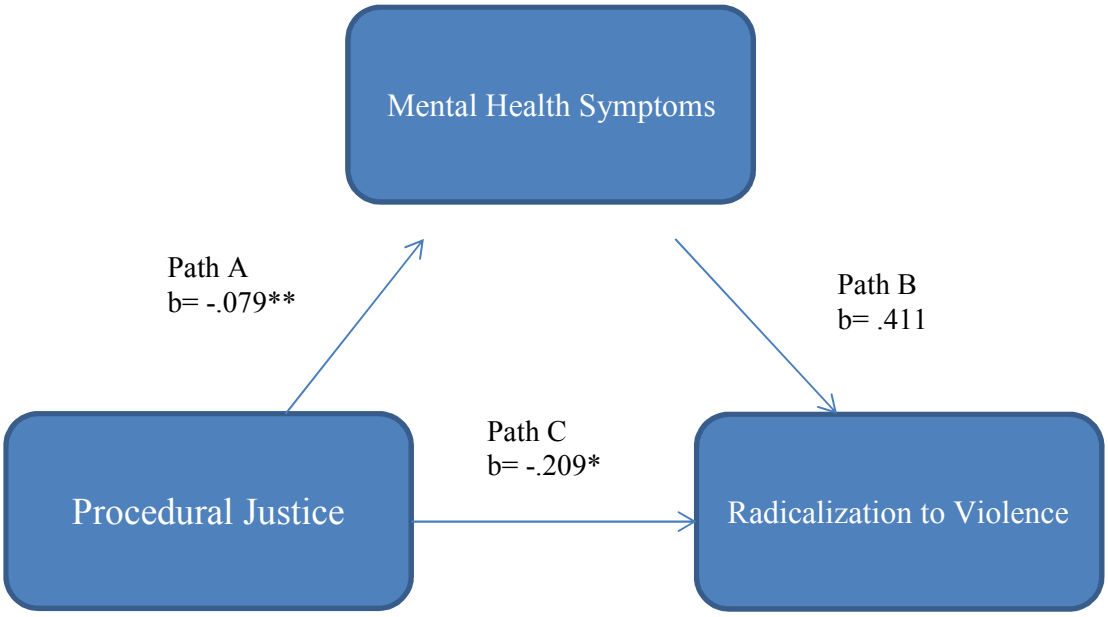


Total Effect (c): b=-.237, SE=.104, p<.05
Direct effect (c') b=-.204, SE=.104, p>.05
Indirect effect (ab): b=-.033, Boot SE= .023, CI= -.085 to .001

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 7

Mediation of Procedural Justice and Radicalization to Violence by Mental Health Symptoms

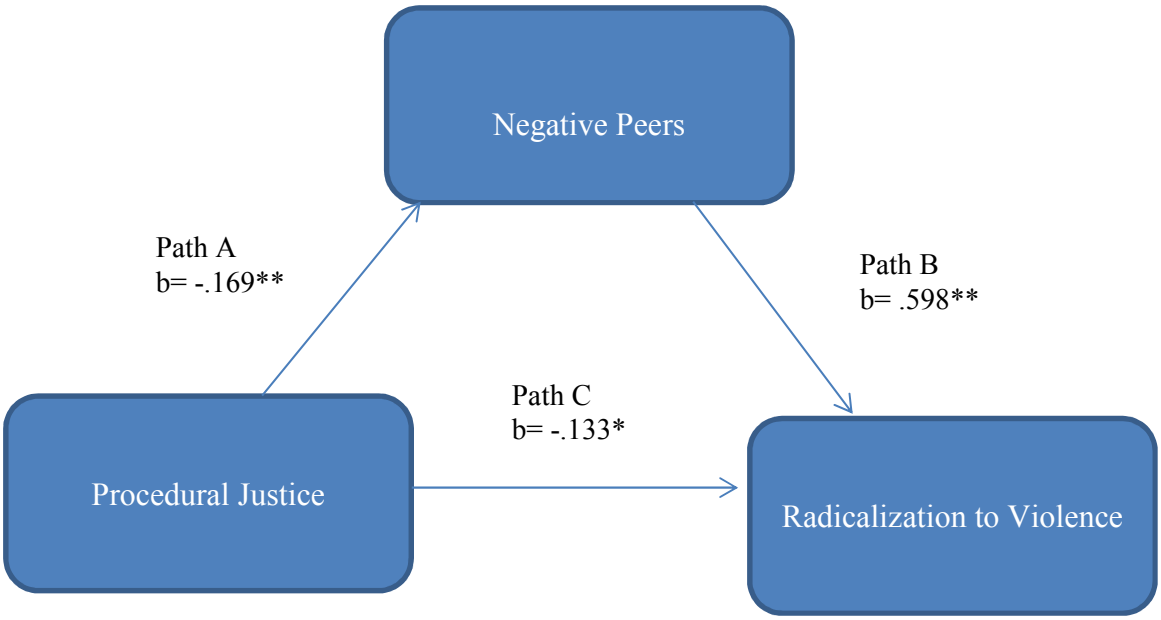


Total effect (C): b=-.241, SE= .104, p<.05
Direct effect (c'): b= -.209, SE= .105, <.05
Indirect effect (ab): b= -.032, Boot SE=.024, CI= -.088 to .004

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 8

Mediation of Procedural Justice and Radicalization to Violence by Negative Peers



Total effect: b=-.234, SE=.104, p=<.05
Direct effect: b=-.133, SE=.104, p>.05
Indirect effect: b= -.101, Boot SE=.039, CI= -.188 to -.034

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

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