2017

Empowering Marginalized Youth: A Self-Transformative Intervention for Promoting Positive Youth Development

Kyle E Eichas

Alan Meca

Marilyn J. Montgomery
George Fox University, mmontgomery@georgefox.edu

William M. Kurtines

Empowering Marginalized Youth: A Self-Transformative Intervention for Promoting Positive Youth Development

Kyle Eichas, Alan Meca, Marilyn J. Montgomery, and William M. Kurtines

Abstract

This article reports the results of a positive youth development (PYD) intervention for adolescents in alternative high schools (209 African American and Hispanic American adolescents, aged 14–18; 118 females and 91 males).The intervention was guided by a self-transformative model of PYD (Eichas, Meca, Montgomery, & Kurtines,2014). This model proposes that the actions youth take to define themselves function as active ingredients in positive development over the life course. Consistent with the self-transformative model, results provided support for direct or mediated intervention effects on the self-transformative processes of self-construction and self-discovery, life goal development, identity synthesis, and internalizing problems. The findings illustrate the utility of using a self-transformative approach to PYD in work with marginalized youth populations.

Positive youth development (PYD) is the development of mutually adaptive and beneficial relations between youth and the contexts in which they grow up (Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Geldhof, 2015). The alignment of youth's strengths and skills with con-textual resources for positive growth is hypothesized to foster thriving (Lerner et al., 2015). One challenge in designing programs to promote PYD is that contextual resources are not equally distributed among youth. Many youth in the United States begin life disconnected from mainstream social institutions and prosocial sources of support, grow up exposed to pervasive violence, and come of age in a context of striking inequality (Carter & Reardon,2014; Lewis & Burd-Sharps, 2015). How can PYDbe promoted in these disempowering community contexts? To address this question, this study investigated a self-transformative model of PYD.

The self-transformative model is rooted in the view that, during adolescence, positive development becomes a largely self-directed process (Eichas, Meca,Montgomery, & Kurtines, 2014). During this period, newly emergent cognitive and communicative competencies enable youth to make choices about goals ,roles, and beliefs that consolidate a sense of identity (Erikson, 1968). Making these choices creates a dynamic and integrated self-system that regulates the actions youth use to adapt to changing developmental contexts (Lerner, Freund, De Stefanis, & Haber-mas, 2001) and functions as a "steering mechanism" for decisions and actions throughout the life course (Elder & Shanahan, 2006; Kurtines, Montgomery, Eichas, et al., 2008). This process, which we call positive identity development (Eichas et al., 2014), results in a sense of direction and purpose.

As shown in Figure 1, the self-transformative model proposes that youth develop a positive sense of identity by discovering who they are through activities that actualize their personal potentials (Path C) and constructing who they are through the solutions they create for their life challenges (Path D; Berzonsky,2004; Eichas et al., 2014; Kurtines, Berman, Ittel, & Williamson, 1995; Waterman, 2014). Previous research has demonstrated associations between

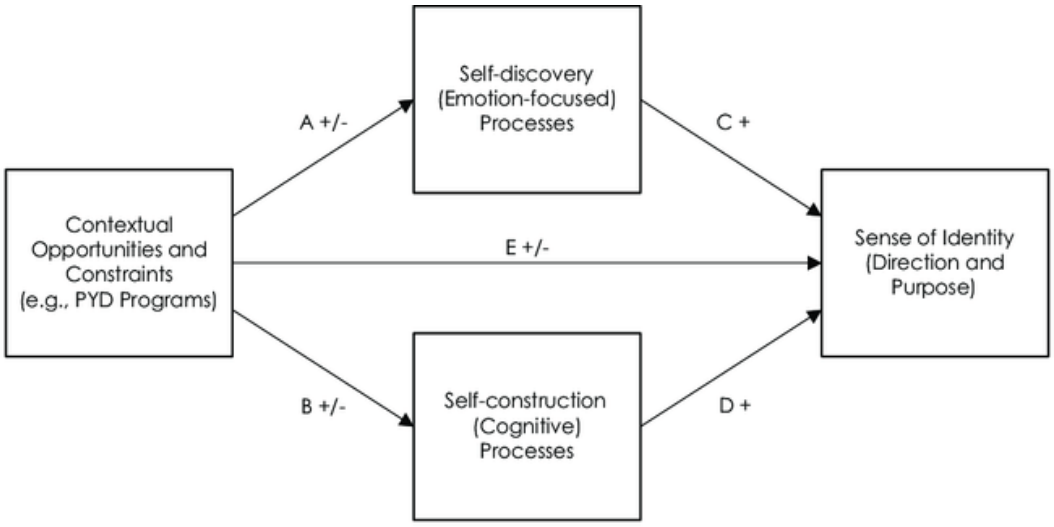

Figure 1. Conceptualized self-transformative model of positive youth development (PYD).

self-discovery and subjective well-being, internal developmental assets, preparation and optimism for the future, and goal clarity (Coatsworth, Palen, Sharp, & Ferrer-Wreder, 2006; Sharp & Coatsworth, 2012), and between self-construction and the five Cs of PYD (competence, confidence, character, connection, and caring; Lerneretal., 2015) and civic engagement (Crocetti, Erentait_e, & Zukauskien_e, 2014). The self-transformative model builds on thesefindings to pro-pose that PYD interventions promote self-discovery and self-construction (Paths A and B) by providing opportunities for youth to enhance critical awareness of emotion-focused and cognitive experiences of identity-relevant information. This intervention approach is consistent with the view that PYD programs provide contextual resources for positive growth (Lerner et al.,2015) instead of seeking to ameliorate or prevent behavioral dysfunction as in treatment or prevention interventions (Eichas et al., 2014).

This study tested the self-transformative model using outcome data from the Changing Lives Pro-gram (CLP), a group-based PYD intervention that employed participatory co-learning and problem-posing dialog (Freire, 1970/1983) to empower marginalized youth to change their lives for the better (Kurtines, Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2008). The CLP was provided to students attending Miami-area alternative high schools. Many of these youth were exposed to daily violence, crime, and substance abuse (see Berman, Kurtines, Silverman, & Serafini,1996). They were referred to the alternative schools by local school administrators because of absen-teeism, academic failure, chronic disruptive behavior, and identification as a potential dropout (Dade County Public Schools, 1986). Youth in CLP groups worked together to explore for insight into their personal strengths, interests, and abilities (i.e., self-discovery) and identify life goals that would actualize these potentials. They also worked together to critically evaluate their current life challenges and what to do about them (i.e., self-construction) to identify life change goals that, if enacted, would transform their sense of control over and responsibility for solving life challenges.

Research Aims of the Present Study

The aim of this study was to test hypotheses derived from the self-transformative model. We hypothesized that (a) participation in the CLP would have a positive effect on life goal development that would (b) be mediated by self-discovery and self-construction processes, (c) be moderated by age and gender, and (d) produce cascade effects across multiple outcome domains. A cascade effect occurs when the effect of a developmental process spreads across domains of functioning (Masten & Cicchetti, 2010), including when intervention effects on developmental processes spread from one outcome to other out-comes (Bonds et al., 2010). We hypothesized that intervention-related life goal development would have cascade effects that increased identity synthesis and reduced problem behaviors.

Method

Participants

The sample comprised 209 African American and Hispanic adolescents aged 14–18 years (M -- 15.94,SD -- 1.10) attending four of Miami-Dade County Public Schools' alternative high schools between 2002 and 2008, including 113 adolescents (62% female) who participated in the CLP intervention (at least four sessions) and 96 adolescents (49% female) who participated in a nonintervention (nonrandom) comparison condition. Students in these schools had below-average school performance, and many came from low-income, inner-city neighborhoods with high rates of crime and violence. All participants had been referred to school administrators for one or more academic or behavioral problems. Placement in the schools was voluntary and required parental approval. Thirty-two percent reported annual family incomes below $21,000; 14% were over $41,000. Seventy-five percent had at least one parent who completed high school, 48% had two parents who completed high school, and 21% had at least one parent who completed a bachelor's degree.

Procedures

We used a quasi-experimental design with non-random assignment to condition and controlled for the effects of age, gender, and pretest scores in our analyses. Students were assigned to the CLP intervention if school counselors/teachers requested services for the students or if students requested services for themselves. Students were assigned to the comparison group if school counselors or administrators reported that they had not previously participated in any individual counseling and guidance programs. Comparison group participants were able to access services available to all students in their school (e.g., brief education interventions provided by school guidance counselors) but did not receive any services beyond their school's standard behavioral care. All participants completed parent consent and student assent forms approved by the university and school district institutional review boards before assignment to condition. Assessments for both conditions were conducted at the same three times during the school year on school grounds and during school hours. Pretest (T1) assessment was conducted the week preceding the commencement of the

semester group sessions ,and posttest (T2) assessment was conducted4 months later during the week after the conclusion of the semester's sessions. Follow-up (T3) assessment took place 4 months after T2 assessment. The CLP groups were organized and implemented through each school's ongoing counseling program. The groups met for approximately 45 min every week for 8–12 weeks in the fall or spring semester. Each group consisted of 4–6 participants and was led by an intervention team consisting of one group facilitator, one cofacilitator, and one or two group assistants. All group facilitators and cofacilitators were enrolled in either a doctoral or a masters psychology program. Group assistants were undergraduate psychology students trained in assessment and participant tracking procedures. Intervention teams received weekly supervision by a qualified supervisor. To ensure adherence to the self-transformative model, intervention teams used four exercises that guided participants in sharing life stories, discovering personal strengths, and co-constructing life change goals and strategies for achieving them (for a detailed description, see Eichas et al., 2014).

Measures

Moderators of Outcome (Age and Gender)

Participants completed a record of demographic information in which they reported age, gender, ethnicity, income, and level of parental education.

Life Goal Development

Brief narratives about participants' life goals were elicited using the Personally Expressive Activities Questionnaire–Qualitative Extension (PEAQ–QE; Rinaldi et al., 2012). Participants identified three life goals, selected their most important goal, and provided an open-ended description of its meaning and significance. Specifically, participants were asked, "What does this life goal mean to you?" and "Why is this significant or important to you? How significant or important is this to you?" The meaning and significance questions were followed by three neutral probes (e.g., "Can you say more about that?"; "Is there anything else?") to request secondary elaboration when necessary. Life goal narratives were coded using the theoretical coding categories developed by relational data analysis (RDA) and reported in Rinaldi et al. (2012).RDA draws on methods associated with grounded theory, a general methodology for generating theory from data that includes strategies such as open coding and constant comparison (Strauss & Corbin,1998). RDA extends these methods to include the use of both theory-neutral and theory-laden panels of coders across multiple phases of analysis (see Kurtines, Montgomery, Arango, et al., 2008; Rinaldiet al., 2012). Reliability analysis revealed very high intercoder agreement (96%) among five coders on whether life goals were personally expressive or nonpersonally expressive (Fleiss's K -- .84). Personally expressive life goals indicate positive identity development because they describe integration of goal elements and the youth's unique interests, talents, and potentials (sample: "Being a Nurse means a lot to me because I always have liked helping others. I have always known I would be good at taking care

of others"). In this study, *life goal* was a dichotomous variable (1 -- *personally expressive*, 0 -- *nonpersonally expressive*).

Self-Discovery and Self-Construction

Self-discovery was measured using the personal expressiveness subscale of the PEAQ (Waterman,1993), adapted to refer to activities essential to participants' life goal pursuit. It consists of six items (a -- .91; sample item: "When I do these activities, I feel like it's what I was meant to do") rated on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree), which are averaged to generate a subscale score (self-discovery). Self-construction was measured using the personal responsibility measure (PRM; Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2002), which assesses participants' sense of control over and responsibility for actions and consequences associated with life challenges. The PRM was adapted to refer specifically to life change goals constructed by the participants. Participants rated four items (a=.69; sample item: "How much control do you have over your decisions and actions?") on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (none) to 5 (total), which were averaged to generate a scale score (self-construction).

Identity Synthesis

Identity synthesis was measured with the identity resolution subscale of the Erikson Psycho-Social Stage Index (Rosenthal, Gurney, & Moore, 1981). Twelve items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (almost never true)to5(almost always true)with half of the items representing resolution of the identity crisis, and half representing identity confusion. Identity confusion items were reverse coded prior to analysis and averaged to generate a sub-scale score (identity synthesis; a -- .77; sample item: "I know what kind of person I am"), with high scores indicating greater synthesis.

Problem Behaviors

The 32-item Behavior Problem Index (BPI; Peter-son & Zill, 1986) was used to assess internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors over the prior 3 months. The BPI items were adapted to yield self-reports of problem behaviors. Items are rated on a 3-point scale from 1 (often true) to 3 (not true). Items were reverse coded prior to analysis and averaged to generate subscale scores for internalizing (a -- .81; sample item: "I cried too much") and externalizing problems (a -- .85; sample item: "I was impulsive, or acted without thinking"), with high scores indicating more problem behavior.

Data Analysis Strategy

Model Specification

We evaluated intervention outcome by examining covariate-adjusted change (Rausch, Maxwell, &Kelly, 2003). As shown in Figure 2, CLP was a dichotomous variable (1 -- intervention,0 -- comparison group) hypothesized to predict T2 scores for self-discovery, self-construction, and life goal, holding constant T1 scores. CLP was also hypothesized to predict T3

scores for identity synthesis, internalizing problems, and externalizing problems, holding constant T1 and T2 scores. Changes in self-discovery and self-construction were hypothesized to predict change in life goal at T2, and life goal change was hypothesized to predict change in identity synthesis, internalizing problems, and externalizing problems at T3. To estimate these relations, we included T1 scores for hypothesized mediators as covariates of T2 and T3 outcomes. To enhance visual clarity, Figure 2 does not depict these lagged paths or age and female (1 -- female, 0 -- male), which were included as covariates of all outcome variables.

Model Evaluation

We evaluated the hypothesized model (Model 1) using structural equation modeling in Mplus 6.0 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998–2010) with a mean- and variance-adjusted weighted least squares estimator to accommodate the dichotomous life goal variable. We used the Huber–White "sandwich" estimator to adjust standard errors and account for nesting of participants within groups. Indices of model fit included the chi-square goodness-of-fit test, the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and weighted root mean square residual (WRMR). Good model fit was defined by a chi-square $p \geq .05$, CFI $\geq .95$, RMSEA $\leq .05$, and WRMR $\leq .90$.

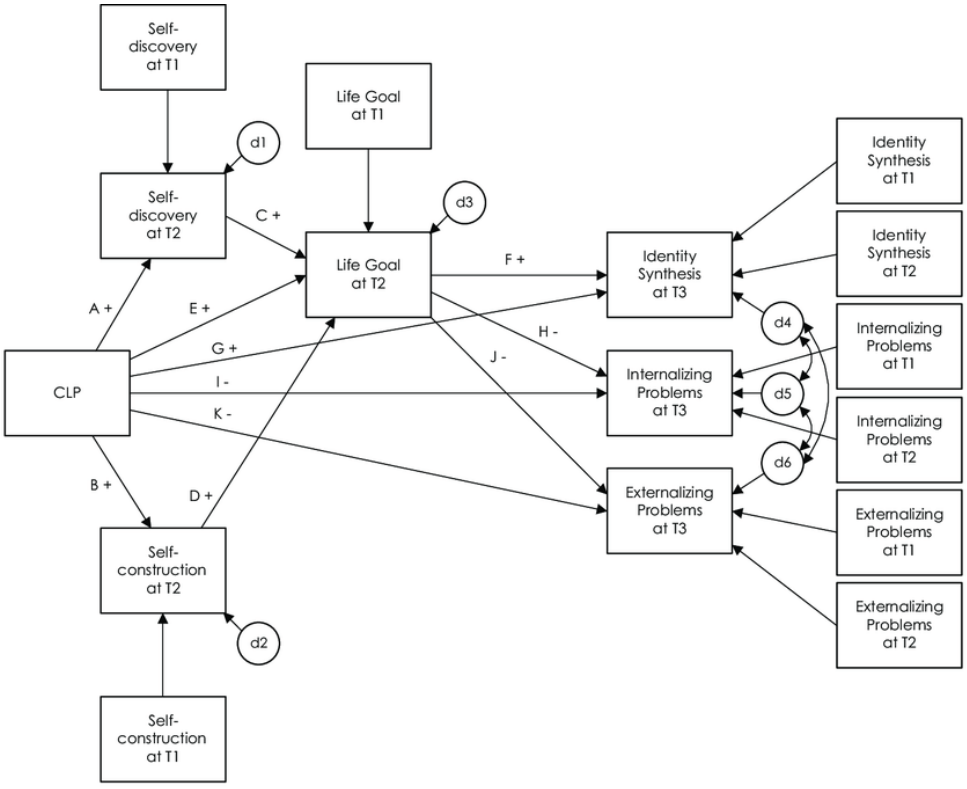

Figure 2. Hypothesized model. Rectangles are observed variables; the small circles are disturbance terms. Straight lines are hypothesized causal paths. Double-headed arrows are covariances.+/ indicates the hypothesized nature of the relationship (positive/negative). To improve visual clarity, age, gender, and the lagged paths from hypothesized mediators at T1 to outcomes are not shown.

Results

Preliminary Analyses and Model Testing

Prior to evaluating Model 1, we analyzed group equivalence at T1. Multivariate analysis of variance revealed no significant group differences, Wilks' k -- .950, F(5, 203) -- 2.14, p -- .062. However, univariate analyses of variance revealed that intervention participants had higher scores on internalizing problems, F(1, 207) -- 6.28, p -- .013, and externalizing problems, F(1, 207) -- 9.40,p -- .002. Next, we analyzed participants' life goal narratives. At both T1 and T2, the majority of participants had non-personally expressive life goals (92% at T1, 93% at T2), a proportion that did not differ significantly by gender, v2(1) -- 0.630, p -- .43, ethnicity, v2(1) -- 0.360, p -- .55, or age, v2(4) -- 2.084,p -- .72; p -- .84, Fisher's exact test.

Missing data analysis indicated that the missing data rate for T3 variables was approximately 42%, whereas it was 6% or less for T2 variables. How-ever, Little's Missing Completely at Random test was found to be nonsignificant, X^2 (92) -- 94.907, p -- .40, suggesting that data were missing completely at random. Tables 1 and 2 provide descriptive statistics and correlations among variables.

Fit indices for Model 1 indicated acceptable fit, v2(47) -- 51.26, p -- .31, CFI -- .96, RMSEA -- .02, WRMR --.74. Model 1fit significantly better than a model without indirect effects (Model 2), X^2 (57) -- 67.75, p -- .16, CFI -- .89, RMSEA -- .03, WRMR -- .95; X^2diff (10) -- 19.31,p -- .037, and a model without cascade paths (Model 3), 2(53) -- 63.10, p -- .16, CFI -- .90, RMSEA -- .03, WRMR -- .91; X^2diff(6) -- 16.76, p -- .01. We evaluated moderation of intervention effects by age and gender by adding interaction terms (e.g., CLP9Female; Jaccard & Turrisi, 2003). Because results indicated no significant interactions, we retained Model 1 for further analyses.

Variable	CLP			Comparison			Overall		
	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Self-discovery	5.59 (1.22)	5.41 (1.44)		5.47 (1.22)	5.12 (1.54)		5.54 (1.22)	5.28 (1.49)	
Self-construction	3.69 (0.73)	4.12 (0.71)		3.79 (0.78)	3.89 (0.72)		3.74 (0.75)	4.02 (0.73)	
Identity synthesis	3.68 (0.55)	3.68 (0.63)	3.75 (0.70)	3.79 (0.58)	3.83 (0.55)	3.79 (0.57)	3.73 (0.57)	3.75 (0.60)	3.77 (0.65)
Internalizing problems	1.74 (0.42)	1.59 (0.35)	1.64 (0.40)	1.59 (0.46)	1.53 (0.44)	1.54 (0.42)	1.67 (0.45)	1.57 (0.45)	1.59 (0.41)
Externalizing problems	1.85 (0.37)	1.76 (0.41)	1.69 (0.39)	1.68 (0.41)	1.65 (0.41)	1.65 (0.36)	1.77 (0.40)	1.71 (0.42)	1.68 (0.38)

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations of Continuous Variables, Changing Lives Program, and Comparison Group

Direct and Indirect Effects

We used Model 1 to evaluate the hypotheses that CLP would have a positive effect on life goal that would be mediated by self-discovery (Paths A and C) and self-construction (Paths B and D) and have cascade effects across multiple outcome domains (Paths F, H, and J). As shown in Table 3, there were significant positive associations between CLP and changes in self-discovery and self-construction. Specifically, the intervention group's self-discovery scores decreased less than scores for the comparison group, whereas the intervention group's self-construction scores increased more than scores for the comparison group (Table 1). CLP was not directly associated with changes in life goal (Path E), identity synthesis (Path G), internalizing problems (Path I), or externalizing problems (Path K). We assessed hypothesized mediated effects using the joint significance test (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). According to this test, mediation is supported if the coefficients for the path linking the predictor and the hypothesized mediator and the path linking the hypothesized mediator and outcome are both statistically significant. The joint significance test provided support for change in self-discovery as a mediator of change in life goal (CLP → Self-Discovery → Life Goal). This was not the case for self-construction (CLP → Self-Construction → Life Goal). We computed the confidence interval for the self-discovery pathway using the web utility provided by Selig and Preacher (2008) for implementing the Monte Carlo method of assessing mediation (CIMC; Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006) and found support for mediation (Path A9Path C), B -- .08, 95% CIMC [.01, .18].

Additionally, change in life goal at T2 was positively associated with change in identity synthesis at T3 (Path F) and negatively associated with change in internalizing problems at T3 (Path I). It was not associated with change in externalizing problems at T3 (Path K). Thus, the joint significance test provided support for the cascade effects of lifegoal development on identity synthesis and internalizing problems but not externalizing problems.

Discussion

This study tested a self-transformative model of PYD that proposes that the actions youth take to define themselves function as active ingredients in positive development over the life course. Hypotheses derived from the self-transformative model were tested using outcome data from a PYD intervention implemented in a system of alternative high schools. Results indicated that the intervention had direct or indirect effects on self-discovery and self-construction, life goal development, identity synthesis, and internalizing problems for an ethnically diverse group of youth identified as having academic and behavioral problems.

Positive Identity Development

Positive identity development was operationalized as the emergence of a life goal narrative that integrated elements of the life goal and youth's self-knowledge. Results provided support for an indirect intervention effect on life goal development through change in

Table 2
Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. S-DIS$_{T1}$	1	.22*	.42*	.21*	−.05	−.03	.42*	.17*	.11	.32*	−.20*	−.16*	.22*	.02	.03	.06	.03	.11*
2. S-CON$_{T1}$		1	−.08	.08	−.21*	−.23*	.23*	.38*	−.21	.09	−.24*	−.23*	.05	−.05	−.05	−.07	−.06	.10
3. LGOAL$_{T1}$			1	.26*	.01	−.07	.22	−.08	.48*	.32*	−.10	−.04	.33	−.11	−.01	−.12	−.13	−.16
4. IDSYN$_{T1}$				1	−.37*	−.31*	.25*	.06	.15	.42*	−.32*	−.12*	.31*	−.08	−.01	−.14*	−.12	.00
5. INT$_{T1}$					1	.74*	−.10	−.02	.10	−.29*	.43*	.32*	−.29*	.33*	.30*	.23*	.15	.03
6. EXT$_{T1}$						1	−.08	−.03	.08	−.25*	.40*	.45*	−.15*	.30*	.35*	.28*	.13*	−.01
7. S-DIS$_{T2}$							1	.19*	.21	.27*	−.12	−.08	.33*	−.03	−.07	.12*	.08	.08
8. S-CON$_{T2}$								1	−.15	.12*	−.12*	−.14*	.05	.01	−.01	.16*	.01	.09
9. LGOAL$_{T2}$									1	−.09	.17	.19	.28*	−.29*	−.05	.04	.06	.25*
10. IDSYN$_{T2}$										1	−.37*	−.28*	.61*	−.25*	−.18*	−.14*	−.05	−.05
11. INT$_{T2}$											1	.72*	−.25*	.36*	.28*	.11	.11	.04
12. EXT$_{T2}$												1	−.20*	.37*	.48*	.16*	−.00	.07
13. IDSYN$_{T3}$													1	−.41*	−.31*	−.08	−.05	.04
14. INT$_{T3}$														1	.77*	.16*	.16	−.03
15. EXT$_{T3}$															1	.07	−.01	−.04
16. CLP																1	.23*	.15*
17. Female																	1	−.10
18. Age																		1

Note. S-DIS = self-discovery; S-CON = self-construction; LGOAL = life goal; IDSYN = identity synthesis; INT = internalizing problems; EXT = externalizing problems; CLP = Changing Lives Program. *$p < .05$.

Table 3. Path Estimates for Specified Model

Outcome	Predictor	Path coefficient	95% CI
Self-discovery at T2	CLP (Path A)	.34 (.25)*	[0.05, 0.63]
Self-construction at T2	CLP (Path B)	.26 (.36)**	[0.11, 0.40]
Life goal at T2	Self-discovery at T2 (Path C)	.24 (.27)**	[0.09, 0.39]
	Self-construction at T2 (Path D)	−.08 (−.05)	[−0.40, 0.24]
	CLP (Path E)	−.02 (−.02)	[−2.45, 2.40]
Identity synthesis at T3	Life goal at T2 (Path F)	.18 (.33)**	[0.07, 0.28]
	CLP (Path G)	.07 (.10)	[−0.40, 0.53]
Internalizing problems at T3	Life goal at T2 (Path H)	−.13 (−.40)*	[−0.25, −0.01]
	CLP (Path I)	.09 (.23)	[−0.26, 0.43]
Externalizing problems at T3	Life goal at T2 (Path J)	−.05 (−.15)	[−0.18, 0.08]
	CLP (Path K)	.04 (.12)	[−0.12, 0.21]

*Note. Standardized coefficients are in parentheses. CLP=Changing Lives Program.*p<.05.**p<.01.*

self-discovery. This finding suggests that enhancing youth's insight into their personal potentials helps them incorporate these potentials into their life goals and that PYD interventions should increase efforts to help youth understand feelings associated with discovering their potentials (e.g., flow; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

The CLP also increased participants' self-construction, but this effect was not linked to life goal development. PYD programs can support youths' development as "central protagonists and agents of change" in their own lives (Larsen & Angus, 2011,p. 291). Our results suggest that the CLP supports this process but may require enhancement in order to foster the strategic thinking required to develop goals that express youth's personal potentials. Youth in disempowering contexts may initially use self-constructive activities to meet immediate needs (e.g., safety, belongingness; Maslow, 1968) before directing them toward the future.

Cascading Intervention Change

An important challenge directly relevant to the advancement of the positive development literature is the question of whether promoting PYD generates cascade effects that reduce problematic functioning. Available evidence indicates complex relations between positive development and problematic functioning, and evidence for PYD intervention effects on specific problematic outcomes is scant or nonexistent (Tolan, 2014). This study's results revealed indirect PYD intervention effects on both positive and problematic functioning. Specifi-

cally, life goal development was associated with a subsequent increase in identity synthesis and a decrease in internalizing problems. Although tentative, these findings support the notion of intervention cascades in PYD programs and suggest that future research should pursue investigation of these effects. Evidence of developmental intervention cascade effects provides an empirical basis for advancing the integration of positive development into the science and practice of treatment and prevention (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008; Tolan, 2014).

Limitations and Conclusion

Conclusions based on the present study are limited by its quasi-experimental design and the specific hypotheses formulated and tested. Using a nonrandomized comparison group was a feasible strategy for studying an intervention embedded in the schools' daily activities. However, the lack of random assignment precludes ruling out preexisting differences as an explanation of outcome. Similarly, the lack of a placebo control condition precludes ruling out placebo effects. In addition, we did not evaluate the plausible competing hypothesis that positive and problematic outcomes are reciprocally related to each other over time. Thus, future PYD intervention research should use more rigorous evaluation designs (e.g., randomized controlled trials, placebo controls) and include multiple waves of follow-up data with larger sample sizes to test competing models of cascading intervention change.

Despite these limitations, the pattern of findings revealed in this study provides support for the self-transformative model of PYD. These findings suggest that PYD interventions can provide opportunities for minority youth growing up in disempowering community contexts to discover their personal potentials and create their own solutions to life challenges. Providing opportunities for marginalized youth to expand and enhance the aspects of their lives that are meaningful to them can empower these youth to define for themselves the direction of their own positive development.

References

Bauer, D. J., Preacher, K. J., & Gil, K. M. (2006). Concep-tualizing and testing random indirect effects and mod-erated mediation in multilevel models: New proceduresand recommendations.Psychological Methods,11, 142–163. https://doi.org/10.1037/1082-989X.11.2.142

Berman, S. L., Kurtines, W., Silverman, W., & Serafini, L.(1996). The impact of exposure to crime and violenceon urban youth.American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,66,329–336. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0080183

Berzonsky, M. D. (2004). Identity processing style, self-construction, and personal epistemic assumptions: Asocial-cognitive perspective.European Journal of Develop-mental Psychology,1, 303–315. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405620444000120

Bonds, D. D., Wolchik, S. A., Winslow, E., Tein, J., San-dler, I. N., & Millsap, R. E. (2010). Developmental cas-cade effects of the New Beginnings Program onadolescent adaptation

outcomes.Developmental Psy-chopathology,22, 771–784. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579410000453

Carter, P. L., & Reardon, S. F. (2014).Inequality matters.New York, NY: William T. Grant Foundation.Retrieved from http://wtgrantfoundation.org/library/uploads/2015/09/Inequality-Matters.pdf

Coatsworth, J. D., Palen, L. A., Sharp, E. H., & Ferrer-Wreder, L. (2006). Self-defining activities, expressiveidentity, and adolescent wellness.Applied DevelopmentalScience,10, 157–170. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads1003_5

Crocetti, E., Erentait_e, R., &Zukauskien_e, R. (2014). Iden-tity styles, positive youth development, and civicengagement in adolescence.Journal of Youth and Adoles-cence,43, 1818–1828. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-014-0100-4

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990).Flow: The psychology of opti-mal experience. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Dade County Public Schools. (1986).District comprehen-sive dropout prevention plan. Miami, FL: Dade CountyPublic Schools. Retrieved from ERIC database.(ED277788)

Eichas, K., Meca, A., Montgomery, M. J., & Kurtines, W.M. (2014). Identity and positive youth development:Advances in developmental intervention science. In K.McLean & M. Syed (Eds.),The Oxford handbook of iden-tity development(pp. 337–354). Oxford, UK: OxfordUniversity Press.

Elder, G. H., Jr., & Shanahan, M. J. (2006). The life courseand human development. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.) & W.Damon (Series Ed.),Theoretical models of human develop-ment: Vol. 1. The handbook of child psychology (Chap. 12,6th ed., pp. 665–715). New York, NY: Wiley.

Erikson, E. H. (1968).Identity: Youth and crisis. New York,NY: Norton.

Ferrer-Wreder, L., Lorente, C. C., Kurtinees, W., Briones,E., Bussell, J., Berman, S., & Arrufat, O. (2002). Promot-ing identity development in marginalized youth.Jour-nal of Adolescent Research,17, 168–187. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558402172004

Freire, P. (1983).Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York, NY:Herder & Herder. (Original work published 1970)

Guerra, N. G., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2008). Linking the pre-vention of problem behaviors and positive youth devel-opment: Core competencies for positive youthdevelopment and risk prevention. In N. G. Guerra & C.P. Bradshaw (Eds.),Core competencies to prevent problembehaviors and promote positive youth development.NewDirections for Child and Adolescent Development,122,1–17. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.225

Jaccard, J., & Turrisi, R. (2003).Interaction effects in multi-ple regression. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kurtines, W. M., Berman, S. L., Ittel, A., & Williamson, S.(1995). Moral development: A co-constructivist perspec-tive. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.),Moraldevelopment: An introduction(pp. 337–376). New York,NY: Wiley.

Kurtines, W. M., Ferrer-Wreder, L., Berman, S. L., Lor-ente, C. C., Silverman, W. K., & Montgomery, M. J.(2008). Promoting positive youth development: Newdirections in developmental theory, methods, andresearch.Journal of Adolescent Research,23, 233–244.https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558408314372

Kurtines, W. M., Montgomery, M. J., Arango, L. L.,Kortsch, G., Albrecht, R., Garcia, A., . . . Eichas, K.(2008). Promoting positive youth development: Rela-tional data analysis (RDA).Journal of AdolescentResearch,23, 291–309. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558408314379

Kurtines, W. M., Montgomery, M. J., Eichas, K., Ritchie,R., Garcia, A., Albrecht, R., . . . Lorente, C. C. (2008).Promoting positive development in troubled youth: ADevelopmental Intervention Science outreach researchapproach.Identity: An International Journal of Theory andResearch,8, 125–138. https://doi.org/10.1080/15283480801938515

Larsen, R. W., & Angus, R. M. (2011). Adolescents'devel-opment of skills for agency in youth programs: Learn-ing to think strategically.Child Development,82, 277–294. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01555.x

Lerner, R. M., Freund, A. M., De Stefanis, I., & Habermas,T. (2001). Understanding developmental regulation inadolescence: The use of the selection, optimization, andcompensation model.Human Development,44,29–50. https://doi.org/10.1159/000057039

Lerner, R. M., Lerner, J. V., Bowers, E. P., & Geldhof, G.J. (2015). Positive youth development and relational-de-velopmental-systems. In W. F. Overton & P. C. M.Molenaar (Eds.), & R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.),Theory andmethod: Vol. 1. Handbook of child psychology and developmental science(Chap. 16, 7th ed., pp. 607–651).New York, NY: Wiley.

Lewis, K., & Burd-Sharps, S. (2015).Zeroing in on placeand race. New York, NY: Social Science Research Coun-cil, Measure of America Project. Retrieved from http://ssrc-static.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/MOA-Zeroing-In-Final.pdf

MacKinnon, D. P., Lockwood, C. M., Hoffman, J. M.,West, S. G., & Sheets, V. (2002). A comparison of meth-ods to test mediation and other intervening variableeffects.Psychological Methods,7,83–104. https://doi.org/10.1037//1082-989X.7.1.83

Maslow, A. (1968).The farther reaches of human nature.New York, NY: Penguin.

Masten, A. S., & Cicchetti, D. (2010). Developmental cas-cades.Developmental Psychopathology,22, 491–495.https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579410000222

Muthen, L. K., & Muthen, B. O. (1998–2010).Mplus user'sguide(6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Author.

Peterson, J. L., & Zill, N. (1986). Marital disruption, par-ent–child relationships, and behavioral problems inchildren.Journal of Marriage and the Family,48, 295–307.https://doi.org/10.2307/352397

Rausch, J. R., Maxwell, S. E., & Kelly, K. (2003). Analyti-cal methods for questions pertaining to randomizedpretest, posttest, follow-up design.Journal of ClinicalChild and Adolescent Psychology,32, 467–486. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP3203_15

Rinaldi, R. L., Meca, A., Eichas, K., Kurtines, W. M.,Albrecht, R. E., & Goodletty, S. (2012). The develop-ment of a qualitative extension for the PersonallyExpressive Activities Questionnaire (PEAQ-QE): A construct validation study.Identity,12, 320–344.https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2012.716378

Rosenthal, D. A., Gurney, R. M., & Moore, S. M. (1981).From trust to intimacy: A new inventory for examiningErikson's stages of psychosocial development.Journal ofYouth and Adolescence,10, 525–537. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02087944

Selig, J. P., & Preacher, K. J. (2008, June).Monte Carlomethod for assessing mediation: An interactive tool for creat-ing confidence intervals for indirect effects[Computer soft-ware]. Retrieved from http://quantpsy.org/

Sharp, E. H., & Coatsworth, J. D. (2012). Adolescentfuture orientation: The role of identity discovery in self-defining activities and context in two rural samples.Identity,12129–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2012.668731

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998).Basics of qualitativeresearch: Techniques and procedures for developinggrounded theory. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tolan, P. (2014). Future directions for positive develop-ment intervention research.Journal of Clinical Child andAdolescent Psychology,43, 686–694. https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2014.936604

Waterman, A. S. (1993). Two conceptions of happiness: Con-trasts of personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedo-nic enjoyment.Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,64, 678. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.4.678

Waterman, A. S. (2014). Identity as internal processes:How the"I"comes to define the"me". In K. McLean& M. Syed (Eds.),The Oxford handbook of identity devel-opment(pp. 195–209). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.