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Anti-Black Racism and Historical Trauma: Pushing the Positive Youth Development Paradigm

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Abstract
Positive youth development (PYD), while embraced in many sectors of youth work, has faced criticism for its primary emphasis on positive personal change and adaptation, without a strong emphasis on social justice and culture, especially relevant for African Americans. Additional models of PYD addressing these conceptual gaps have emerged, however few explicitly address anti-Black racism and historical trauma impacting African American youth development. In this paper, expanded models of PYD, specifically Empowerment-Based Positive Youth Development (EBPYD) and Critical Positive Youth Development (CPYD) will be examined for their strengths and limitations in responding to (1) anti-Black racism and (2) historical trauma among African American youth. Key strategies of these models, such as promoting prosocial behavior and civic engagement will be reconceptualized and expanded to account for developmental needs imposed by historical oppression and contemporary racism against African American youth. Implications for PYD programing will be discussed.

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Introduction

The Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework transformed the direction of youth work in the United States 20 years ago (Lerner et al., 2000). Programs designed to deter youth delinquency in the 1980s and 1990s were recast as empowering and supportive contexts that could support youth resiliency in the 2000s (Forrest-Bank et al., 2013). The strengths-based perspective in social work also influenced the emerging PYD field, honed to mobilize internal and external resources to support young people to flourish and thrive, as opposed to focusing on what appeared to be antisocial behavior (Cheon, 2008; Park, 2004; Saleebey,1992; Smith Brice & McLane-Davison, 2020). PYD offered a new lens for service providers to affirm and frame youth's intrinsic assets, while also identifying and enhancing protective factors in their environments (Jenson et al., 2013; Jenson & Bender, 2014).

PYD, while embraced in many sectors of youth work, has faced criticism for its emphasis on positive personal change and adaptation without an emphasis on social justice and culture, which are especially relevant for African Americans (Travis & Leech, 2014). Additional models of PYD have emerged that address these conceptual gaps by supporting youth to develop critical consciousness through critical thinking, reflection, and action to promote social change (Christens et al., 2016; Diemer et al., 2016). However, few PYD models explicitly address anti-Black racism and historical trauma as it relates to African American youth development. In this paper, expanded models of PYD, specifically Empowerment-Based Positive Youth Development (EB) and Critical Positive Youth Development (CPYD) will be examined for their strengths and limitations in supporting youth development organizations to respond to the historical trauma response African American youth may experience as well as the anti-Black racism they persistently encounter. Implications for youth work interventions that include civic engagement and emphasize prosocial behaviors will be explored. The terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably as reflected in the literature.

The Evolution of Positive Youth Development

The original 5Cs model of PYD—that included competence, confidence, connection, caring, and character—has been expanded to include contribution (Forrest-Bank et al., 2013). The opportunity for contribution through

civic engagement was identified as a meaningful and necessary pathway for youth to develop and simultaneously grow as vital community actors (Forrest-Bank et al., 2013; Ginwright, 2015). Travis and Leech (2014) further developed PYD through the introduction of the Empowerment-Based Positive Youth Development (EB) model, designed to support African American youth. The EB model incorporated the community—not just as a source of risk and protective factors, but also as a source of mutual aid and shared values (Travis & Leech, 2014). In the EB model, active engaged citizenship was also conceptualized as both an outcome and influential factor in the process of PYD that could impact other dimensions, such as caring, competence, character, connection, and confidence (Travis & Leech, 2014).

EB was an advancement in the conceptualization of PYD among African American youth because it highlighted the collective dimension of their lived experience. In the original 5Cs model of PYD, the impact of social inequity and oppression upon well-being were not explicitly addressed (Larson, 2000; Lerner et al., 2000). Travis and Leech (2014) advanced the understanding of PYD by incorporating social determinants of health, such as lack of access to needed resources, disparities in mass incarceration, and overall social inequality. Identifying the impact of social and structural realities that African Americans experience at the mass group-level invited a rethinking of the universal application of PYD in favor of one that accounted for social context. EB centered collective social equity as a crucial factor for positive youth development among African Americans, conceptualizing it as active engaged citizenship (Travis & Leech, 2014). Additionally, Travis and Leech (2014) addressed how demoralizing awareness without action could be for a group that has endured historical and ongoing discrimination, and therefore incorporated social action in their model.

Critical Positive Youth Development (CYPD) emerged as a model for PYD among minoritized youth in the same time period as EB and also promoted social action. Like EB (Travis & Leech, 2014), CPYD (Case et al., 2017) acknowledged that structural inequities in society were essential factors that had to be addressed to effectively design PYD programs. In the CYPD framework, it was essential to strengthen youths' capacity to be changemakers to address social inequality (Case et al., 2017). CYPD emphasizes that assets can be mobilized within an individual and a community (Case et al., 2017). In the CPYD framework, engagement in social action is reinforced as an essential part of the development process (Case et al., 2017). The emphasis upon political self-efficacy for development has been substantiated in community psychology, education, and social work (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Ginwright, 2015; Grills et al., 2016; Jemal, 2018; Tyler et al., 2020; Watts et al., 2003).

The work on CPYD and EB expanded PYD frameworks by including a community dimension, which reinforced aspects of collective-identity and collective self-efficacy (Case et al., 2017; Travis & Leech, 2014). However, neither model explicitly addressed anti-Black racism's ongoing impact on African American youth development. Moreover, CPYD and EB did not provide explicit strategies to address White supremacy as it manifests in community-based organizations promoting PYD programs or structurally in related institutions.

Gaps in Empowerment-Based and Critical Positive Youth Development

Empowerment-Based and Critical Positive Youth Development expanded the PYD framework to more strongly incorporate cultural assets, a sense of community belonging, and social change efforts; however, gaps remain in making the PYD model responsive to the needs and strengths of African American youth. In particular, there is a stark absence in EB and CYPD of explicitly addressing (1) anti-Black racism and (2) historical trauma among African American youth.

Anti-Black Racism, Culture, and Positive Youth Development

In the dominant literature on positive youth development, racism has not been explicitly presented as an environmental risk factor (Lerner et al., 2000). Although environmental factors such as social injustice, poverty, lack of services, missing opportunities, and abuse are referenced, racism is not mentioned (Cheon, 2008; Park, 2004). In fact, the word *racism* did not appear once in any of the seminal conceptual articles used to define and articulate PYD, EB, or CPYD (Case et al., 2017; Larson, 2000; Lerner et al., 2000; Travis & Leech, 2014). It is essential that EB and CPYD explicitly incorporate an understanding of racism because of its pervasive nature, interpersonally, institutionally, and culturally, which influences the well-being of Black youth (Jones, 1972).

Racism "results from transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism, through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (Jones, 1972, p. 117). For youth, this can happen on multiple levels. At the interpersonal level, racism can be expressed as violent, bigoted, overt actions; "polite" aversion; and racial micro-aggressions (Jones, 1972; Pierce et al., 1977). Institutionally, racism is embedded in policies, practices, and priorities that reinforce unearned benefits for Whites at the

detriment of minoritized groups, correlated with a reduction of access to necessary resources and opportunities (Jones, 1972). For example, in schools, Black youth can be impacted by interpersonal and institutional racism in interactions with peers and through microaggressions by staff and teachers. Additionally, racism at both the interpersonal and institutional levels can be seen in the biased use of punitive disciplinary approaches such as zero tolerance behavior policies and school pushout, which disproportionately exclude students of color from class or from school entirely (Shedd, 2015). Institutional racism is also concretely visible in the predominantly White leadership of institutions, social systems, branches of government, and corporations responsible for the privatization and exploitation of resources (Alexander, 2012; Jones, 1972).

Lastly, at the cultural level, racism maintains white supremacy through socialization in distorted perceptions (Jones, 1972). For example, cultural racism can occur as diminishing the historical contributions of minoritized groups; dismissing, belittling, or co-opting cultural expressions; and unfavorably comparing ethnic and racial groups to reduce the worth and value of minoritized groups (Jones, 1972). Cultural racism is the combination of ethnocentrism and institutional power that serves to limit the life chances of Black youth (Jones, 1972). According to Laybourn and Pine (2020), The Council for Democratizing Education defines anti-Black racism as being a two-part formation that attempts to reduce Blackness of value, while systematically obstructing the progress of Black people. In the lens of anti-Black racism, Black cultural expressions are exploited, misinterpreted, or labeled as base, primitive, or pathological (Asante, 1998; Jones, 1972). This dimension of anti-Black racism aims to render cultural assets, strengths, and wisdom as illegitimate and inaccessible (Richards, 1994). The sociopolitical and economic structure of anti-Black racism is differentiated by other targeted, intersecting identities such as gender, citizenship status, and sexual orientation (Crenshaw, 1991).

Racism increases psychological distress and impacts physiological functioning (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Burke Harris et al., 2017). Racial microaggressions, defined as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges which are 'put downs' of Blacks, often innocuous" have a negative impact on the psychology and daily functioning of Black people (Pierce et al., 1977, p. 65; Sue, 2009). New models measuring adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) now also incorporate exposure to racism as a factor impacting adult onset of disease (Bassett & Galea, 2020; Burke Harris et al., 2017). According to Bernard et al. (2020), assessments of ACEs among Black youth need to identify both cultural assets and potentially traumatic experiences such as racism to be comprehensive.

Racism has been linked to severe health and well-being disparities among youth, including higher morbidity and mortality rates experienced by Black people (Alexander, 2012; Brown, 2003; Krieger et al., 2017). Youth experience racism in many forms, such as service deserts, subpar individual services, misdiagnosis and over-diagnosis, exploitation, and limited evidence-based practices (Brown, 2003; Carr Copeland, 2005). Examples of racism in education include (a) under-resourced schools, (b) teacher bias, (c) limited curricular offerings with lack of representation, (d) discriminatory disciplinary practices, and (e) disproportionate school closings (Boutte & Bryan, 2019; Shedd, 2015; Wun, 2016). Racism manifests in the justice system, including (a) racial profiling; (b) disproportionate use of force; (c) under-representation of legal counsel; (d) disproportionate sentencing, including plea deals, juvenile offenders charged as adults; (e) abuse of people who are incarcerated; (f) bias in parole and probation; and (g) inadequate after-incarceration supports (Alexander, 2012; Cohen & Luttig, 2020; Wacquant, 2002).

Anti-Black racism in America is a persistent attempt to politically and socially dehumanize an entire population of people as a rationale for exploitation, beginning at enslavement (Richards, 1994). Anti-Black racism was, and continues to be, a historical attempt to annihilate Black personhood (Williams, 1987). The “melting pot” strategy for Blacks at the mass group-level in America began with enslavement—not for the sake of unifying a country into one people, as the term has come to mean—but for the antithesis, permanent exclusion (Richards, 1994; Williams, 1987). One antidote to the attempted dehumanization embedded in anti-Blackness is to emphasize and affirm culture, because by nature culture emphasizes personhood (Richards, 1994).

Culture is antithetical to violent racist epithets and the stereotypical reductionism of anti-Black racism. Culture provides dimension, recognizes belonging, serves as a keeper of traditions and customs, connects one’s worldview and ethos to land and a people, and validates one’s generational existence (Richards, 1994; Williams, 1987). Conversely, incorporating culture into PYD without addressing anti-Blackness decontextualizes why a cultural focus is necessary for survival. It’s akin to a youth program promoting Black History in February without acknowledging the bigger picture of attempted erasure that necessitates this assertion of existence and contribution in the first place.

Culturally-centered programing that seeks to affirm African and African American cultural norms, identity, history, contemporary reality, or provide rites of passage programing shifts the discourse within PYD (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2017; Grills et al., 2016; Loyd & Williams, 2017; Neblett et al., 2012). Grills et al. (2016) completed a study with over 1,000 Black youth participating in a national afterschool program which demonstrated promising results.

Their study found that a strong sense of cultural orientation predicted positive youth development outcomes such as future orientation, a strengthened identity, and increased belief in youth civic engagement (Grills et al., 2016). In the original conceptualization of PYD, culture was not considered one of the 5Cs (Lerner et al., 2000). Grills et al. (2016) critiqued ahistorical models of PYD that did not contextualize the racism that Black youth encountered, rendering it a violently unaccounted for social factor impacting their well-being. They asserted that marginalizing the impact of racism upon Black youth can be detrimental to their development and well-being (Grills et al., 2016; Loyd & Williams, 2017).

Culturally-grounded approaches to PYD advanced this position by centering cultural identity and social action, while addressing typical developmental challenges with cultural remedies (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2017; Grills et al., 2016; Loyd & Williams, 2017; Tyler et al., 2020). The field of PYD is beginning to propose alternative frameworks and interventions that support unique identities based on shared history and community (Loyd & Williams, 2017; Tyler et al., 2020). In one review exploring the literature associated with boys of color (BOC) and PYD, several studies suggested positive implications for PYD interventions with BOCs, but few specifically addressed culture as a mediating factor associated with development (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2017). One promising study noted the salience of ethnic identity associated with African American and Latino adolescent males, offering implications that programing associated with ethnic identity minimized the likelihood of negative mental health symptoms and countered the negative effects of discrimination (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2017).

In summary, while an extensive literature base suggests the negative impact of racism psychologically and physiologically upon health, and notwithstanding the social, economic, and political impact of racial discrimination, it still has not been addressed widescale in PYD practice (Loyd & Williams, 2017). PYD scholars with an Afrocentric or culturally-oriented perspective contend that the PYD field would be remiss to not address anti-Black racism (Grills et al., 2016). Notions of individual accountability and efficacy—without full acknowledgment of the impact of systemic violence and true contextual barriers—reinforce anti-Black racist ideas that blame Black people for the disparities experienced. In other words, African Americans, and other ethnic groups of the Black diaspora, deserve models of PYD that move away from individualized labels such as "vulnerable" and "at-risk." By confronting contemporary and historical patterns of racialized violence and recognizing the context of collective cultural strength, PYD programing can support Black youth to heal from historical trauma and anti-Black racism (Ginwright, 2018).

Historical Trauma and Positive Youth Development

The historical trauma (HT) framework elucidates additional dimensions for PYD to incorporate in order to more fully address the needs of African Americans and other racial and ethnic groups that have experienced racial subjugation and oppression. According to the Historical Trauma framework, the harm from contemporary injustices compounds the pain of an intergenerational trauma response (Brave Heart, 1998; DeGruy-Leary, 2005; Walls & Whitbeck, 2012). Historical traumas have been defined as a soul-wound, cumulative trauma, unresolved grief, and compounded losses that are experienced at the mass group-level, such as a racial and ethnic group, when subjugated (Brave Heart, 1998). Dr. Brave Heart (1998), a Lakota social worker, originated this framework to create a paradigm shift in how disparities of health are assessed and addressed among Indigenous people.

The historical trauma framework, which began with understanding the impact of mass group-level oppression and subjugation among the Lakota, has also been used among multiple racial and ethnic groups, including African Americans (Ortega-Williams et al., 2019; Williams-Washington, 2010). Enslavement, racialized terrorism such as lynching, and legally-sanctioned racial segregation such as Jim Crow laws are historical traumas that Black people have experienced in The United States (Mullane, 1993; Williams, 1987). Historically, Black youth have been the target of White supremacist mob attacks: In 1955, Emmet Till, a 14-year old boy, was lynched and brutally disfigured for allegedly whistling at a White woman in Mississippi and 6-year old Ruby Bridges was harassed as the first Black child to integrate the Louisiana school systems (Mullane, 1993). Black youth at the forefront of the thrust for civil and human rights in The United States have faced persecution, surveillance, and murder (Franklin, 2016). The intergenerational emotional, physical and spiritual effects of historical trauma are compounded by persistent interlocking forms of contemporary racism that Black youth encounter, such as racially-biased policing and mass incarceration at disproportionate rates (Alexander, 2012; DeGruy-Leary, 2005; Richards, 1994; Tolliver et al., 2016; Williams, 1987).

In the historical trauma framework, intentional genocide, exploitation, and cultural disruption are conceptualized to harm the first generation and produce an intergenerational trauma response across generations, negatively affecting psychological, spiritual, physical, behavioral, and social well-being (Brave Heart, 1998; Brave Heart et al., 2011; Sotero, 2006; Walls & Whitbeck, 2012; Walters & Simoni, 2002). In this conceptualization, historical traumas are distal social determinants of health that compound proximal factors, such as current exposure to racism, systemic violence, and discrimination that need to be systematically addressed to support well-being (Sotero, 2006).

It has been postulated that the impact of historical trauma intergenerationally is maintained in several ways. For example, it has been proposed that four primary social pathways initiate and maintain a historical trauma response: segregation, systematic physical and psychological violence, economic destruction, and cultural dispossession (Sotero, 2006). In this public health perspective, systemic violence is linked to one's level of psychological and physical distress (Breland-Noble, 2012; Sotero, 2006).

Colorism—the preferential treatment for those with what is associated with phenotypically Whiter or lighter features—also is considered to have a harmful role in historical trauma. It has been theorized that colorism functions as an influential mechanism both to inflict historical trauma and to maintain an intergenerational historical trauma response (Ortega-Williams et al., 2019). The colorist-historical trauma framework (Ortega-Williams et al., 2019) conceptualizes how colorism mitigates exposure to racism and therefore impacts the historical trauma response. For example, there is evidence that suggests that African Americans with what are considered deeper skin tones have a higher likelihood of psychological distress from racism, school suspension, and harsher prison sentences (Hunter, 2007; Smith-Bynum et al., 2008; Viglione et al., 2010). According to Hunter (2007), colorism as a function of racism can be expressed as intragroup discriminatory behavior, (i.e., among the same racial or ethnic group members) or intergroup (i.e., between Blacks and Whites). Colorism is an oft-ignored stressor that is relevant when healing from anti-Black racism and historical trauma (Jackson et al., 2004; Ortega-Williams et al., 2019). By addressing anti-Black racism and historical trauma, including how it manifests as intragroup colorist-historical trauma responses and intergroup racist violence, positive youth development interventions with African American youth can offer deeper and more nuanced approaches to healing and wellness (Crutchfield et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2004).

The context of historical trauma supports a shift away from the dominant individualized approach to PYD. Expanded models of PYD such as EB and CPYD should prioritize addressing historical trauma and disrupting mass group-level racism in order to promote well-being and development. The unit for intervention would be not only the individual, but also simultaneously the meso- and macro-level—for example, by organizing for systems change or implementing community-based healing efforts (Ginwright, 2018; Ortega-Williams et al., 2018).

Deconstructing and Healing PYD: A Civic Engagement Example

The recognition of healing from historical trauma and anti-Black racism as a key developmental task could transform the EP and CPYD frameworks.

Healing in the context of historical trauma and anti-Black racism involves the restoration of cultural tools, perspectives, and worldviews that affirm and restore wellness for the individual and collective (Asante, 1998; Brave Heart, 1998; Ginwright, 2018; Richards, 1994). Healing restores hope and brings relief from collective harm, pain, and grief caused by persistent generational mass group-level assault (Brave Heart, 1998; Richards, 1994). Ginwright (2018) describes healing-centered engagement as a paradigm shift in how youth development organizations can support Black youth and youth of Color to thrive. Healing-centered engagement is defined as an approach to holistic youth development that emphasizes culture, spirituality, collective healing, and civic action (Ginwright, 2018).

Incorporating healing from anti-Black racism and historical trauma shifts the purpose and focus of typical strategies used within EB and CYPD. For example, civic engagement is often a cornerstone strategy in EB and CYPD for adolescents (Case et al., 2017; Travis & Leech, 2014). Youth voice and advocacy to promote social change in systems that impact their daily lives are outlined as best practices (Case et al., 2017; Ginwright, 2015; Travis & Leech, 2014). However, the focus of this approach in EB and CPYD is primarily individual-level change, when the actual problem is societal (Case et al., 2017; Travis & Leech, 2014). In other words, training youth in macro-level change work is ultimately measured by individual shifts in educational attainment, positive attitudinal shifts, and lower contact with the criminal justice system (Case et al., 2017). In contrast to CYPD, EB also defines active civic engagement in terms of community-level wellness (Travis & Leech, 2014). However, neither EB nor CYPD acknowledges the traumatic impact of contemporary and historical oppression, that is racist and based on colorism, in society. Instead, in these models, African American youth are asked to be "prosocial" in a social context that is actively hostile to their humanity. The assumption of "prosocial" behaviors in PYD, including EB and CYPD, is that youth are preparing to be adult citizens, part of a whole from which they benefit and toward which they have a responsibility. However, this assumption needs to be interrogated to address historical trauma and anti-Black racism to promote responsive youth development among African Americans, which actively interrupts white supremacy.

Prosocial behavior in EB and CYPD can be reconceptualized and expanded in two key ways to support development, healing, and recovery from historical trauma and anti-Black racism among African American youth: (1) transform the definition of "prosocial" by centering the interruption of violent social policies, practices, and priorities and (2) expand the definition of civic engagement in the context of historical trauma to include and promote healing.

Transforming the Definition of "Prosocial"

The initial paradigm shift to PYD moved youth development practices away from a deficit orientation and stigmatizing labels such as "youth delinquency" (Larson, 2000; Lerner et al., 2000). However, if not contextualized, the repositioning of language from deterring "anti-social" or "delinquent" behavior to fostering "active civic engagement" and prosocial behaviors, paradoxically, can still be detrimental to groups that have experienced historical trauma and subsequent racist systemic violence. For example, a body of research about the criminal justice system has uncovered that African American youth are more likely to be targeted for arrest regardless of innocence and to receive longer sentences when controlling for crime (Alexander, 2012; Goldsmith et al., 2007). The "school to prison pipeline" disproportionately impacts the well-being and life chances of African American youth and also has been widely documented (Alexander, 2012; Fine et al., 2003; Shedd, 2015; Wacquant, 2002, 2010).

Adult allies focusing on African American youth being actively engaged civically and "prosocially" must simultaneously leverage their institutional power to decry, combat, and transform systemic racism. The social change process cannot be reduced to a positive experience that spurs individual change and adaptation in society alone, or it is not actually developmental in the context of anti-Black racism. Social injustice and anti-Black racism have severe impacts upon youth well-being, such as disproportionate rates of mortality and incarceration (Alexander, 2012). EB and CYPD must be hinged upon interrupting anti-Black racism and systemic violence, explicitly, if programs adhering to these frameworks intend to support the development of African American youth in their lived realities.

Expanding Civic Engagement in the Context of Historical Trauma

In the EB and CPYD models, socially acceptable mechanisms of civic engagement, such as advocacy and voting, are promoted (Case et al., 2017; Larson, 2000; Lerner et al., 2000; Travis & Leech, 2014). Promoting youth engagement using these platforms is positive in that they validate the collective political power of youth and their ability to contribute, which has value developmentally and socially. Additionally, evidence suggests that civic engagement supports individuals to feel a sense of self-efficacy which is important for behavioral health (Bandura, 1986; Watts et al., 2003). However, EB and CYPD frameworks need to include and recognize a wider range of civic engagement strategies.

Non-sanctioned, youth-led mechanisms of social action inspired by cultural “remix” and resistance to “respectability politics” are important vehicles for change. Respectability politics are defined as the policing of behavior within minoritized groups to achieve acceptance in a hostile dominant culture (Lalljee & Sailappan, 2018; Obasogie & Newman, 2016; Payne & Hamdi, 2009). Cultural remix, or remix culture, is the capacity within people to recycle and repurpose human expression to produce something new; in other words, cultural remix “thrives on the relentless combination of all things possible” from “originating sources” (Navas, 2012, p. 6).

Black youth have historically been involved in many “non-sanctioned” social actions employing cultural remix that have been impactful in shifting national and international discourses. For example, in 1968 Tommie Smith and John Carlos were 23 and 24 years old when they won the Olympics in Mexico City (Smith, 2007). They raised their fists using black gloves during the rendition of the American national anthem (Smith, 2007). In that act, Smith and Carlos used a cultural symbol—the Black power fist—to decry racism and the lack of human rights for Black people (Smith, 2007). They received much backlash for their stand, including death threats (Smith, 2007). Contemporarily, Black youth have organized unpermitted walkouts from schools and implemented neighborhood watches to monitor and interrupt police brutality. Additionally, they have halted highway traffic to protest racist non-indictments of police who murdered Black people, as well as honor Black lives. At times, they have faced harsh criticism in the media and from more long-standing groups that promote conservative approaches to social change (Franklin, 2016).

Healing from anti-Black racism and historical trauma is an example of cultural remixing—taking elements of collective mass group-level harm and building upon historical resistance from one’s cultural legacy to carve a new path forward (Franklin, 2016; Ortega-Williams, 2021). For example, Black Lives Matter organizers, often Black youth, use 21st Century tools like social media platforms to organize, remix narratives, and disrupt the status quo (Franklin, 2016). Organizations that use EB and CPYD frameworks and honor the capacity of Black youth to use cultural remixing to produce new norms and strategies can support youth in their transformation of civic engagement. The organizational response to unsanctioned action in this view would be responsive and supportive rather than restrictive, shaming, or punitive.

The historical trauma framework can be incorporated into programing within organizations using EB and CPYD frameworks to contextualize feelings of distrust, resentment, disinterest, anger, numbness or apathy toward “formal” strategies of making a difference, such as voting. In this view, these reactions would not be considered pathological or irresponsible, but logical

and possibly informed by a historical trauma response stemming from racial subjugation, exploitation, and enslavement (DeGruy-Leary, 2005; Ortega-Williams et al., 2019; Schultz et al., 2016). Organizations centering healing would use a sanctuary approach, acknowledging that collective pain might require a more responsive and nuanced approach to development (Bloom, 1998). According to the historical trauma framework, experiences of a soul wound, cumulative loss and unresolved grief are culturally-specific stress responses that could occur from subjugation (Brave Heart, 1998; Walters & Simoni, 2002). Additionally, activism, commitment to social change and reclaiming one's cultural legacies of strength and survival could also be mass group-level posttraumatic growth passed down intergenerationally (Beltrán et al., 2018; Ortega-Williams, 2021).

In a persistently hostile social context in which anti-Black racism is pervasive and reparations have not been made for historical trauma, what is considered "prosocial" must be redefined. Positive Youth Development frameworks for African American youth could include creating alternative institutions, disrupting unfair practices and policies, and conducting unsanctioned civil disobedience as prosocial best practices (Lalljee & Sailappan, 2018). Additionally, expressing "street love" at the individual, gang, or communal level (Payne & Hamdi, 2009) could be included in the continuum of what "civic engagement" has meant or will mean in the future.

Reimagining EB and CPYD could expand its relevance and utility among young people by honoring activities that they engage in outside of agency doors, which have been ignored or misinterpreted as illegitimate or inconsequential. For example, acts of "street love" could be acknowledged as integral. Acts of "street love" may include gathering informally; playing games of basketball, cards or dominoes in the park or street together; and pouring liquor/beer on the pavement and lighting candles when someone is killed (Payne & Hamdi, 2009, p. 29). Anecdotally, young people who connect in this way have reported that they form strong lifelong bonds; leaders of these informal practices are often the credible messengers community-based organizations rely upon to offer tangible guidance to other youth toward positive change (Wical et al., 2020). Youth who support each other in informal neighborhood networks, sometimes mislabeled gangs, provide community, material aid and protection to those often unreached by formal community-based organizations or those who are labeled difficult or uncooperative and pushed out (Harden, 2014).

The "street" in this way is a resource, a "site of resilience," and a space to potentially inspire healing in moments of traumatic grief and loss (Harden, 2014; Payne & Hamdi, 2009, p. 29). For example, when Black youth were killed by vigilantes, like Trayvon Martin at 17 years old in 2012 in Florida

and Ahmaud Arbery at 25 years old in Georgia in 2020, the streets were able to hold the national collective grief of Black youth in ways no singular program could (Alvarez & Buckley, 2013; Author, 2017; Fausett, 2020). Similarly, the murder of Breonna Taylor by police in Kentucky (Oppel & Taylor, 2020) and police brutality against a 9-year Black girl in Rochester, NY (Ly & Levenson, 2021) have been responded to with collective pain and organizing.

The Truth n' Trauma Project (TNT) is an example of a robust positive youth development program that expanded the definition of "prosocial" and "civic engagement" to acknowledge historical trauma and anti-Black racism. TNT focused on supporting African American youth in an urban context who were exposed to community violence via developing restorative, trauma-informed and youth-led practices that encouraged advocacy (Harden, 2014). The intervention included culturally-informed practices, education concerning historical and structural racism and violence, and socio-political awareness to frame violence and racism as structural—not only interpersonal. Curriculum and advocacy efforts both included critical thinking to better understand the role of police violence, militarism, and education and housing policies in order to support local youth in healing and actively participating in community change (Harden, 2014; Ginwright, 2018). Efforts such as TNT illustrate the promise of expanding the definition of prosocial and grounding PYD efforts in culturally-affirmative and socio-political practices.

Lardier et al. found similar positive effects of culture in a sample of Black and Latinx youth ($n=383$), which showed a significant relationship between cultural identity, sense of empowerment, and well-being. Additionally, Anderson et al. (2018) piloted a 5-week intervention with ten family dyads to support healing from racial discrimination. Preliminary findings demonstrated that parental support with transmitting cultural pride and assessing racial stressors supported a decrease in reported stress. These studies suggest that cultural identity in the context of anti-Black racism can be reparative.

In summary, by expanding EB and CYPD to incorporate anti-Black racism and historical trauma, a paradigm shift is possible in the youth development field. Narrowly envisioned civic engagement and prosocial behavior among Black youth can be re-imagined. A range of youth-led social actions, including spontaneous reactions of outrage about social conditions and systemic violence or apathy, can be valued and sanctioned as legitimate, instead of "antisocial" or deviant. Without this expanded view, the continuum of healing responses of Black youth to contemporary and historical trauma, as well as persistent anti-Black racism, could be misinterpreted. Centering healing in the framework of EB and CYPD shifts the purpose of youth development work beyond fostering successful adaptation of an individual youth

to fostering and amplifying both individual and collective wellness (Jennings et al., (2006). Wellness encompasses collective and individual hope, strength, and capacity to transform the future into one where there is less systemic harm—a future all youth deserve (Ginwright, 2015). For African American youth specifically, EB and CYPD can be re-envisioned as more than models that aim to edify youth, but instead as integral parts of the movement to create a society in which all Black lives matter.

Implications

The introduction of PYD transformed how adults partner and intervene in the lives of young people. EB and CPYD supported the deepening of this approach by including critical theory and community contribution as important factors in the PYD framework (Case et al., 2017; Travis & Leech, 2014). The expanded view of EB and CPYD presented in this article, explicitly indicting anti-Black racism and considering its impact on PYD among Black youth in the context of historical trauma, has several key implications for the youth development field, as well as helping professions such as social work and psychology.

In youth development, programs can be developed that expand the focus beyond opportunity access and individual-level change to interventions that explicitly address healing from anti-Black racism and historical trauma, including an emphasis on collective well-being. After implementing the conceptual shift to include and center healing, the measurement gap within youth development programs can also be addressed. Programs currently focusing on change based on individual progress within the current status quo, even when incorporating macro-level interventions, can consider evaluating structural change as vital indicators for youth development. Youth development programs serving Black youth could actively support the retained and remixed cultural traditions of Black youth as core PYD practice. Additionally, organizations can prioritize opportunities for Black youth to lead participatory action research to develop measures that honor their lived experiences and focus on what is important and meaningful to them. Lastly, incorporating an expanded view of youth-led collective practices for healing and well-being, including resistance to formalized civic engagement, could support the socio-political development of youth. It would validate the continuum of their healing process in surviving and transforming anti-Black racist environments.

Helping professions, which often work in tandem with youth development programs to support the mental health and well-being of program participants, could expand their focus beyond individualized intrapsychic mechanisms for wellness to incorporate social action (Hobfoll et al., 2007). For

example, in counseling psychology, a new practice model was created called the "Critical Consciousness of Anti-Black Racism" to prevent and resist racial trauma (Mosley et al. (2020). The constructivist-grounded study developed the model by building upon the wisdom of twelve adult Black Lives Matter activists (Mosley et al., 2020). The study found that cognitive, intersectional, and behavioral growth could support processing racial trauma from anti-Black racism, including using racial justice approaches to activism to combat it (Mosley et al., 2020). The results are promising; further research with the model using it with Black youth and incorporating a context of historical trauma could offer additional options for EB and CYPD programs that seek to incorporate healing from anti-Black racism and historical trauma, while developing critical consciousness to create social change. Lastly, the role, meaning, and function of collective social action responses to anti-Black racism among Black youth could be explored to support healing from mass group-level harm (Harden, 2014; Ortega-Williams, 2021).

Conclusion

In summary, while the risk and protective factors addressed in EB and CPYD contribute to youth development, there are additional factors that are critical to consider. Anti-Black racism and historical trauma are essential factors to explore in supporting Black youth survival and success. Youth development programs could nurture Black youths' ability to transform the hostile contemporary social conditions they encounter and support their healing from historical trauma, as well. Black youth are challenging the respectability politics of conventional youth development approaches that emphasize a narrow definition of civic engagement. When Black youth applaud NFL stars for kneeling in protest of racism instead of saluting the flag and reciting the national anthem, is there space to acknowledge their reactions as a necessary part of their development? When Black youth critique conceptualizations of citizenship that have historically excluded them, can youth development workers support alternative inclusive ways to cultivate community contribution? Can legacies of resistance to the status quo be considered a "common core" for youth development programs serving Black youth? In the 21st Century, amid rapid social changes, pandemics, uprisings, and climate change, there is a ripe opportunity and responsibility to continue growing the foundation of EB and CPYD as practitioners, researchers, and scholars.

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