Intersecting Identity Confliction: Victimization of Queer Black Males and Criminality

Alexis M. Reynolds

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of

The Chicago School of Professional Psychology

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Psychology

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research to my parents, who taught me not to let societal racial stereotypes define my worth and hinder me from achieving my wildest aspirations. Dad, thanks for ingraining your resiliency and perpetual thirst for knowledge, which has fueled my interest in the unexplored. Mom, thanks for instilling persistence and tenacity allowing me to become the diligent and hardworking woman I am today. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my brother, Sterling, whose constant strength and vitality keeps me a proud big sister.

Abstract

To examine the influence sexual identity has on the relationship between victimization and aggression in queer Black Men, thirty-eight participants (31 queer Black men, 7 straight Black men) completed a survey designed to assess experiences of victimization and current aggressive attitudes and behavior. This study hypothesized the following: (1) Queer Black men experience higher levels of victimization, (2) sexual orientation affects the strength of the relationship between victimization and aggression, and (3) there is a positive correlation between victimization and aggression. Findings indicated that queer Black men did not report higher rates of victimization and that sexual orientation did not moderate the strength of these two variables. Despite these findings, results indicated a positive relationship between victimization and aggression in both groups, with queer Black men exhibiting a stronger correlation. These significant findings further reinforce theoretical models and set groundwork for future research to address challenges that confront this understudied population.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Nature of the Study 1

History of Sexual Identity Literature 2

Essentialist Perspective 2

Constructivist Perspective 3

Feminist Theoretical Implications 4

Practical Implications 6

Chapter 2: Literature Review 8

Black Men in the Justice System 8

Queer Men in the Justice System 8

Police Interactions 9

Court System Involvement 10

Prison Culture Experience 11

Inmates' rights. 11

Masculinity and identity formation. 13

Prison jargon. 14

Victimization of Queer Men in the Community 15

Literature on Queer Black Men 18

Involvement in the Justice System 18

Involvement in the Queer Community 19

Interactions with the Black Community 20

Chapter 3: Research and Design 22

Participants 22

Procedures 22
Measures 23
Demographic background. 23
Victimization 23
Aggression. 24
Data Analysis 25
Chapter 4: Results 26
Response Rate and Data Preparation 26
Data Imputation for Missing Values 26
Testing of Hypotheses 27
Summary and Interpretation of Findings 30
Limitations 32
Implications and Future Research 32
References 33
Appendix A: Assessment Use Permission 39
Appendix B: Research Proposal to Recruitment Sites 40
Appendix C: Center on Halsted Letter of Support 42
Appendix D: Recruitment Flyers 43
Appendix E: Informed Consent 45
Appendix F: Survey Items 47

Chapter 1: Nature of the Study

The purpose of the following research is to identify and examine external and internal variables associated with queer Black male involvement in the criminal justice system. This research will utilize the term "queer" as an umbrella term to encompass an array of defined gender identities and sexual orientations, including gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender. This term is commonly used in academia to positively embrace non-normativity, being socially impermissible, and challenge this phenomenon that is perceived as simple (Panfil, 2014). Black men will be defined as biological males who identify as African American. Primarily, this study will focus on victimization and identity confliction as potential influential risk factors correlated with offending.

Research on queer male criminality is largely limited due to societal assumptions of queer men being unwilling to engage in crime because of their alleged non-normative gender presentation (Panfil, 2014). Additionally, correctional facilities' data on queer offenders is scarce and has not been well documented. Due to lack of awareness of this specific population's experience, societal norms are established based on assorted homophobic and racist archetypes. These ideals are reflected and perpetuated within the legal system and need to be changed. Though research perspectives have evolved over several years, decades of research have taken a traditional and simplistic approach when studying the relationship between sexual orientation and the legal system. Current literature suggests that the disproportionate rates of system-involved queer Black men is due to unfair policies and practices. While this may be the case, it is reasonable to assume that there are other factors that influence queer Black men to engage in criminal behavior, resulting in legal system involvement.

History of Sexual Identity Literature

Essentialist Perspective

Prior to the 1970s, the subject of sexuality and the legal system was examined under an essentialist lens, arguing that certain attributes are required to establish an identity. This perspective focused on rigid definitions of sexual identity, sexual deprivation, and the ambiguous distinctions between consensual homosexuality and rape (Alarid, 2000; Eigenberg, 1992). Homosexual orientation was divided into two subcategories: the "true homosexual" and the "situational homosexual" (Eigenberg, 2000, p. 418). True homosexuals were defined as men who identified as queer prior to incarceration, while situational homosexuals were defined as men who engaged in queer behaviors only in prison (Eigenberg, 2000). Karpman (1947) argued that sexual deprivation, the effects of involuntary enforced physical abstinence, and exposure to an excessively stimulating environment were leading causes of situational homosexuality. From the essentialist perspective, deprivation of a sexual outlet led to chronic masturbation and "abnormal sex acts," which inmates were unable to rectify once released from confinement (Karpman, 1947, p. 479).

When interviewed about prison sexuality, correctional officers appeared to embody an essentialist approach (Eigenberg, 2000). Surveys administered to correctional officers in Midwestern states found that officers reported sexual orientation as dynamic in nature and supported the idea that situational homosexuality occurs when men are deprived of a sexual outlet (Eigenberg, 2000). However, officers were disinclined to view prostitution as a response to sex deprivation (Eigenberg, 2000). Officers viewed prostitution as a survivalist strategy, reporting that men were willing to engage in these sexual acts in exchange for goods, gifts, and protection (Eigenberg, 1992; 2000). To see how this approach translated into behavior,

Eigenberg (2000) tried to concretely define the obscure definitions of consensual and coercive sexual acts in a prison environment by interviewing correction officers. This study found that officers might choose to ignore rape because they believe that inmates were engaging in consensual intercourse (Eigenberg, 2000). Officers disclosed that they distinguished rape and consensual intercourse by the degree of physical aggression (Eigenberg, 2000). Theorists have found that below the surface of this façade of an objective view of sexuality, festered a blatant disgust toward queer individuals that was widely expressed in the nineteenth century (Lara, 2009).

Constructivist Perspective

As concrete definitions of sexual orientation began to be challenged, research shifted away from essentialism toward a more social constructivist approach centered on the complexity of prison sexuality (Alarid, 2000; Ricciardelli & Sit, 2013). These constructs, shaped by dominant cultural attitudes and regulation of prisoner attitudes, maintain an enduring social order (Ricciardelli & Sit, 2013). The usefulness of the constructs can be extended further by examining the influence of pre-prison sexual behavior on incarceration, investigating prisoners' viewpoints on sexual orientation, and by looking at how offenders define their own sexual identities (Alarid, 2000). As a result, the focal point of constructivist research predominately discussed the victimization of queer offenders in court and prison settings. However, it should be noted that while this research studied sexuality within a legal setting, it did not apply queer criminological theories. Since queer criminology is still an emergent field, a feminist theoretical framework was examined and used in this study to analyze queer Black male offenders.

Feminist Theoretical Implications

Feminist criminological theories target patriarchal power relations, which shape gender differences, and how these differences push women into crime through victimization, economic marginalization, and role entrapment (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Theorists argue that women are driven to "survival strategies" due to extensive histories of victimization, hardships, and vulnerability (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996, p. 470). When investigating factors that influence female offending, theorists emphasized the significant disparity of female offenders to male offenders as victims of physical abuse and assault (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Specifically, literature on female offending has emerged within a criminological framework that investigated a "pathways perspective" (Chesney-Lind, 1989; Salisbury, 2009, p. 542). This model reinforced qualitative research that focuses on social circumstances as well as broad life disadvantages that put women at risk of chronic criminal involvement (Salisbury, 2009). Woman offenders often face "triple jeopardy," referring to their race, class, and gender, which leads to several unique experiences disclosed by women offenders when describing recidivism (Bloom, 1996, p. 17). Among these narratives, the dominant themes were lifelong traumatic events, abuse, lack of social support, poverty, mental illness, and self-medicating behaviors (Johansson & Kempf-Leonard, 2009).

Additionally, researchers offered five distinct interrelated risk factors to explain female-specific pathways to serious offending: child abuse victimization, running away, gang involvement, mental health problems, and juvenile justice involvement (Johansson & Kempf-Leonard, 2009). Feminist theorists targeted females' behavioral manifestations due to childhood sexual assault, family rejection, physical abuse, and lack of school safety. This perspective suggests that the combination of these risk factors increased the likelihood of female offending.

These theorists concluded that engaging in violence serves as a psychological release for women; an attempt to regain power and provide a sense of identity (Johansson & Kempf-Leonard, 2009).

The pathways perspective provides a logical framework when exploring factors correlated with aggression and offending in queer Black men. Research on queer men and Black men who commit crime have pinpointed several influential factors similar to those of women offenders. Queer and Black men are perceived as a threat to society and experience a similar fate as women when engaging in behavior that does not satisfy expected societal norms (Liddell & Martinovic, 2013; Walker et al., 2012). Queer youth are often victimized and experience a lack of safety in schools. Queer youth are 1.4 times more likely to be expelled than straight youth, while Black students are 3.5 times more likely (Majd, Marksamer, Reyes, 2009). According to the 2000-2003 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), victims perceived race as the primary reason for 46% of hate crimes (Harlow, 2005). The NCVS also found that one in six incidents described sexual orientation as the basis for the crime. Police confirmed that these crimes were bias-motivated and that offenders used hate language. This victimization stemmed from gender bias, which was prevalent in 26% of reported hate crimes (Harlow, 2005).

The pathways perspective postulates that victimization serves as a significant risk factor leading to feelings of disempowerment and internalizing or externalizing disorders. Rejected from home and school, queer youth disproportionately represent 20% to 40% of all homeless youth (Majd et al., 2009). Furthermore, studies found that both women and queer individuals become involved in gangs to solve conflictions in terms of gender, race, class, and identity formation (Steffensmeir & Allan, 1996; Panfil, 2014). Status offenses, running away, and serious offenses are often actions that keep youth perpetually subjected to judgments of the justice system. Emerging research indicates that approximately 13% of youth in detention facilities

across the country identify as queer (Majd et al., 2009). Panfil (2014) studied queer male gang involvement and found violence acts to defend ideals of masculinity and disrespect, which is linked to homophobic victimization and delinquent outcomes. In contrast, Totten (2000) discovered that queer Black gang members engaged in violence to conceal their sexual orientation. Like young girls who commit offenses, crimes committed by queer youth appeared to stem from a struggle to survive on the streets (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Although the intentions of gang membership may be to preserve safety, it also initiated these men into deadly violence (Panfil, 2014).

When comparing origins of offending between female and queer offenders, there are several overlapping factors. However, it is important to note that there are also significant differences between these two populations, suggesting that queer Black men endure a unique pathway towards criminality. Concepts such as intersecting identities, internalized homophobia, and perceived masculinity are specifically experienced by queer Black men (Robinson, 2011; Garnets, 1990; Meyer, 2013).

Practical Implications

Several researchers determined that individual differences such as race, sexuality, gender, and childhood experiences influence criminality (Walker et al., 2012; Liddell & Martinovic, 2013; Majd et al., 2009). Regrettably, many these studies investigated the influence of one identifier. After examining the conclusions of various studies depicting how minority identity and negative life experiences exclusively increase criminality, it is reasonable to infer that the pathway to offending for an individual with intersecting minority identities is notably different than non-marginalized individuals. While national queer organizations are visible in society, they do not address the range of issues regarding queer people (Mogul, 2011). When enmeshed in the

justice system or during re-entry, this population often does not receive adequate legal or communal services, which may be one of the leading causes of re-offending (Bernstein, 2002). Therefore, to properly understand the varied life experiences of queer individuals, research must go beyond the representation of queer individuals as victims. By focusing on factors influencing aggression in queer Black men and their experiences within the justice system, community outreach programs and court services will be able to implement effective individualized interventions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of important and influential works on queer and Black individuals involved in the criminal justice system and reviews literature pertaining to victimization and stigmatization. Given that there is minimal research on the queer Black male experience and queer offending, this chapter will target research discussing the obstacles queer persons endure in and out of the criminal justice system.

Black Men in the Justice System

Society's perception of crime is manipulated to a large extent by media representation featured in the news and newspapers, typically depict Black males as criminals and rapists (Walker et al., 2012). Research has found that Black individuals are more likely than White individuals in most circumstances to be victimized (Walker et al., 2012). The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) found that 24.3% of Black Americans and 19.9% of White Americans were victims of violent crimes; the largest difference for the crime of homicide (Walker et al., 2012). In 2008, Black Americans constituted no more than 15% of the population, but composed more than 47.7% of all homicide victims (Walker et al., 2012). Additionally, Black males are disproportionately represented throughout the adjudication process. Data suggests that Black Americans are more likely to be detained in jail prior to trial and represent 44.8% of the pretrial detention rate (Walker et al., 2012). During the screening process, as to whether a case should be dropped, 46% of Black males were likely to be fully prosecuted, while the statistic is 26% for White males (Walker et al., 2012). A similar prevalence of systemic victimization within the justice system is exhibited within the queer population.

Queer Men in the Justice System

Queer people make up 3.5% of the U.S. general population, with 5.5% of men in prison identifying as queer. Using data from the National Inmate survey, 2011-2012, Meyer (2017)

calculated an incarceration rate of 2,368 per 100,000 gay or bisexual men. The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) 2015 report documented 24 hate-violence related homicides of queer individuals, 62% were people of color and 67% were transgender with a 20% increase in the number of reports since the previous year (Waters, 2016).

Police Interactions

Bernstein (2002) analyzed an original data survey to explore the relationships between attitudes and behavior towards queer people among police officers. Factors such as race, gender, marital status, and rank were also examined regarding how they influence a participant's response to sexuality and masculinity. Police officers reported that it was unlikely that queer individuals would be treated fairly by the justice system and that they would not be taken seriously in comparison to heterosexual individuals (Bernstein, 2002). Researchers also explored the intersection between gender diversity, sexuality, embodiment, and heteronormativity by examining how these factors shaped police discretion and interactions (Dwyer, 2011).

In the Dwyer (2011) study, queer youth participants were interviewed and asked to recall memories of their police interactions. This study found visibility and body features to be core factors in how queer young people experienced policing (Dwyer, 2011). It is suggested that men who fail to meet the physical heteronormative expectations of gender influenced police interactions and that clothing preferences drew the gaze of the police in public spaces (Dwyer, 2011). When recalling their police interactions, participants disclosed that specific homophobic derogative remarks like "faggot" and "homo" were frequently verbalized (Dwyer, 2011, p. 212). Queer people attract the attention of police because their demeanor is perceived as antisocial, suggesting that the police are attempting to maintain public space as heterosexual (Dwyer, 2011). In an environment that does not protect gender identity, some transgender individuals are forced

into illegal work to survive, thus, leading to an increase of negative interactions with the police (Buist & Stone, 2014). Overall, this study demonstrated that "queer bodies" play a significant role in policing queer people (Dwyer, 2011, p. 204). The National Transgender Discrimination Survey, which included 6,450 transgender and gender non-conforming participants, found that 20% of respondents were denied equal treatment by police officers, 29% were harassed, and 6% reported physical assault by a police officer (Buist & Stone, 2014).

Court System Involvement

Discriminatory laws such as vagrancy laws in the 1970s criminalized people who violated gender norms (Mogul et al., 2011). For example, a law in Chicago, Illinois forbade people to appear in public dressed in clothes belonging to the opposite sex (Mogul et al., 2011). Additionally, queer individuals were and continue to be repeatedly denied effective competent legal services from attorneys and experience disrespect when pursuing access to legal services (Mogul et al., 2011). Due to their cases usually being dropped, ignored, or rejected, queer people feel unwelcomed and do not return for services (Mogul et al., 2011). With courts perceived as a prejudicial and hostile environment, it is difficult for queer people to defend their rights in court (Mogul et al., 2011). This is especially true in alleged sex-related offenses, an offense queer people are typically overcharged (Mogul et al., 2011). Scrutiny of the nation's courts advocate a judicial system where anti-queer bias is rampant (Mogul et al., 2011). Whether in civil or criminal court, queer individuals experience the court system as a threatening and contentious environment (Mogul et al., 2011).

Peek (2004) explored how courts have dealt with transgender and transsexual persons in terms of how they are defined and how they define themselves. Some courts apply a variety of definitions to the term "transsexual" (Peek, 2004, p.1214). *Re Estate of Gardiner* states that "a

transsexual is one who experiences himself or herself as being of the opposite sex, despite having some biological characteristics of one sex, or one who has changed externally by surgery or hormones" (Peek, 2004, p. 1216). In contrast, some judges see transsexuals as suffering from a psychiatric disorder (Peek, 2004).

Prison Culture Experience

Throughout modern history, prisons have been negatively cast as queer places that fortify queer criminal archetypes (Mogul et al., 2011). Correction officers continue to uphold certain rules of conduct known as the Blue Code, equivalent to the prison culture (Kupers, 2010). The Blue Code is an unwritten code of honor among correction officers and police, like the Code of Silence (Kupers, 2010). Both cultures foster the need to be respected, place a high value on loyalty to peers, and do not condone snitching (Kupers, 2010). Interviews with officers discovered that the Blue Code is applicable in cases of "illegal brutality or breaking of the rules to protect colleagues from criminal proceedings" (Kupers, 2010, p. 119). Unfortunately, this code implicitly mirrors homophobia and misogyny, emphasizing being tough and not disclosing personal emotions (Kupers, 2010). Consequently, both the prison and officer code stigmatize characteristics associated with queer sexuality and femininity.

Inmates' rights. Existing legal standards and prison policies systemically disadvantage transgender inmates (Peek, 2004). Transgender delineates into three categories: pre-operative, post-operative, and non-operative (Peek, 2004). Policies like genitalia-based classification puts transgender prisoners at special risk for physical injury, harassment, sexual assault, rape, and death (Peek, 2004). The Bureau of Justice Statistics study found that nearly one in ten prisoners report having been raped or sexually assaulted in prison (McNamara, 2014). Specifically, researchers sought to examine areas of disparate treatment of queer inmates in prison, such as

limited access to materials and discrimination of visitation (McNamara, 2014). Under *Thornburgh v. Abbott*, prisons have the authority to ban any publications they feel may cause a threat to the daily operations of the facility (McNamara, 2014). Queer-orientated material was explicitly listed as material to be discarded (McNamara, 2014). Prison officials argued that if prisoners observed fellow inmates reading such explicit materials, inferences would be made about that inmate's sexual orientation and he would become a target of abuse (McNamara, 2014). In *Wilson v. Buss*, a prisoner sued and won for the right to receive magazines with queer-orientated content (McNarama, 2014).

The case of *Johnson v. Johnson* gave queer inmates entitlement to reasonable protection from being raped or sexually assaulted (McNamara, 2014). Alarid (2000) addressed protective custody due to alternative sexual preferences and, specifically, how queer men perceive their treatment in jail. Those who are voluntarily in protective custody reported that it was because they were fearful for their safety due to their sexual orientation (Alarid, 2000). When given questionnaires asking how inmates would feel about having a queer cellmate and attitudes, results revealed that age was a significant predictor of queer segregation (Blackburn, Fowler, Mullings, Marquart, 2010). Older inmates had significantly more negative attitudes toward queer inmates and were more likely to respond that they should be segregated (Blackburn, 2010). Per Federal Bureau of Prisons housing policy, "when making housing unit assignments a transgender or intersex inmates' own views, with respect to his/her own safety, must be given serious consideration" (Federal Bureau of Prisons Transgender Offender Manual, 2017, p. 6). Additionally, facilities are prohibited from placing transgender inmates in dedicated units or wings solely based on sexual identification or status, unless such placement is established with a

consent decree for purpose of protecting those inmates (Federal Bureau of Prisons Transgender Offender Manual, 2017).

Masculinity and identity formation. Behavioral observations of queer inmates found that bisexual male participates who altered their conduct according to the situation voiced more satisfaction with their sexual identities and assumed a more masculine role (Alarid, 2000). The context of masculinity and the prison hierarchy is often referred to as the prison code (Perry, 2001). Evans (2008) used a narrative analysis to explore the perspectives on masculinity of male prisoners by conducting individual interviews with queer men, finding that participants accepted and internalized hegemonic masculinity codes learned through childhood. Through several turning points, these codes were transformed and became more flexible. While many participants internalized the normative standards of maleness, some participants reported that they had never internalized the rules of hegemonic masculinity until incarceration. Once incarcerated, participants stated that they were careful about displaying emotions to other men (Evans, 2008).

Evans' (2008) study inspected how alternative versions of masculinity were formed in a group of queer incarcerated men. Surprisingly, group members disclosed a strong desire to express themselves emotionally, even though this form of expression was alienated in the prison environment (Evans, 2008). Conversely, transgender inmates attempt to refute these forced misogynistic ideals to establish a sense of self. Previous studies referred to transgender as "intransigent" or demanding recognition (Jenness, 2014, p. 7). Jenness (2014) advocated a theoretical point of view and applied it to how transgender women in prisons for men orient to and accomplish gender. Transgender inmates are pursuing the "real deal," referring to the complex dynamic where transgender inmates affirm their femininity in prison (Jenness, 2014, p. 13). This commitment to the everyday practice of gender assertion creates a competition among

transgender prisoners (Jenness, 2014). This desire for gender authenticity is not something that is achieved, but is continuously pursued. Transgender inmates frequently use the term "clocked" as a way of indicating an inability to pass as a woman effectively in prisons since only men are in male prisons (Jenness, 2014, p. 14) However, some inmates expressed feelings of liberation and relief of no longer needing to pass as female since their sex had already been revealed (Jenness, 2014). By acculturating to the prison lifestyle, transgender inmates attempt to survive in this environment, but strive to maintain a sense of identity by wearing makeup and adopting female names.

Prison jargon. When a new prisoner accepts the prison lifestyle, values, and behavioral expectations that make up the institution they have been "prisonized" (Hensley, 2003, p. 290). If a prisoner were to violate these values, they would face verbal chastisement, threats of physical violence, and ostracizing (Hensley, 2003; Sit & Ricciardelli, 2013). Prison jargon serves many functions such as hindering deindividuation, facilitating social interaction, and affirming social status (Hensley, 2003). Though terms have changed over time, prison slang still concurrently defines sexual habits and an inmate's status (Hensley, 2003). Inmates who engage in same-sex relations are divided into three categories. The first category consists of inmates who play an active and more masculine role, referred to as wolves, "voluntary aggressors" or "daddies" (Hensley, 2003, p. 292). From an essentialist approach, wolves are considered situational homosexuals (Eigenberg, 1992). Using violence or coercion, wolves assert their dominance as a way of displaying their masculinity sexually (Hensley, 2003). Both the second and third categories include inmates who enact a submissive feminine role and are referred to as "punks" and "fags" (Hensley, 2003, p. 292). Inmates in these categories are also called "pussies," "effeminates," "queens," or "blouses" (Hensley, 2003, p. 292). Raping punks strengthened the

wolves' masculine identity and solidify their high position in the status hierarchy (Hensley, 2003). At the top of the hierarchy are the dominant men who consider themselves heterosexual, while the bottom of the hierarchy is defined in terms femininity (Peek, 2004).

Through face-to-face interviews with inmates, recent research revealed that these three traditional sexual roles still exist in the prison subculture (Hensley, 2003). However, inmates reported subcategories within the first category: the aggressive wolves and the non-aggressive wolves. The aggressive wolves were depicted as primarily Black (Hensley, 2003; Kupers, 2001). Behaviors such as restricting sexual involvement, receiving oral sex from punks, or penetrating during anal sex reinforced masculine identification (Hensley, 2003). For this reason, when asked their sexual orientation, all the self-described aggressors maintained their heterosexual orientation (Hensley, 2003; Kupers, 2001). Non-aggressive wolves were more often White men (Hensley, 2003). The term "fish" was a label to refer to Black men who depicted the stereotypical feminine role. Inmates reported being fearful of "fish" or "queens" because they were known for aggressive behavior (Hensley, 2003, p. 292; Peek, 2004), but were forbidden to hold positions of authority and were usually prostitutes (Peek, 2004). The role of sexual jargon reflects and strengthens the status hierarchy and language of prison subculture, mirroring societal norms and values (Hensley, 2003).

Victimization of Queer Men in the Community

Victimization impedes everyday processes by generating feelings of vulnerability, denial, and distrust (Garnets, 1990). In addition to perpetual victimization, when queer people are victimized the attacks tend to be the most callous acts of hatred (Perry, 2001). Queer individuals are more than twice as likely to have been injured or threatened with a weapon during an assault (Button O'Connell, & Gealt, 2012). These acts often involve torture, castration, mutilations,

severe beatings, and sexual assault (Perry, 2001). Victims may respond to the incident with self-blame and begin to question the uniformity of the world, which can lead to depression and feelings of hopelessness (Garnets, 1990). Overwhelmed with feelings of inadequacy, queer male survivors may interpret the assault as punishment for their sexual orientation (Gartner, 1990). Particularly, ejaculation during a sexual assault creates a state of confusion and leads to interpreting the physiological response as consenting (Gartner, 1990). Since queer people challenge the fundamental boundaries of what it means to be a man, it is undoubtedly designated an inferior status in the gender hierarchy. As a result, male-male sexual assault remains invisible in American society (Perry, 2001; Garnets, 1990).

Dunn (2012) investigated queer men's views on victimization and the consequences of homophobic victimization on identity and within the context of masculinity. Dunn (2012) interviewed queer men who reported experiencing homophobic harassment, violence, and verbal abuse. A few of the interviewed participants had been physically assaulted and some had received death threats (Dunn, 2012). When asked to explore the definition of victim, participants felt that it was a weighted and gendered term (Dunn, 2012). The term was perceived to denote powerlessness and "inability to exercise agency" (Dunn, 2012, p. 3461). These painful experiences were also viewed as a "failure to perform masculinity conventionally," which caused queer victims of assault to feel shameful, often contributing to a struggle to reform a masculine identity (Dunn, 2012, p. 3451). Though the notion of masculinity is dynamic, it is assumed to be natural, fragile, and in need of protection (Perry, 2001). For this reason, assaulting those who identify as queer, "gay-bashing," plays the dual role of reaffirming the perpetrators' masculinity while punishing the victim's inability to enact gender expectations (Perry, 2001, p. 337). For men, the most frightening envisioned consequence is being proven less than a man if ever raped

by another man (Kupers, 2010). Therefore, by demeaning gay men the perpetrator symbolically receives self-assurance of his manhood (Kupers, 2010). Comparatively, research has found that queer offenders resort to violence for similar purposes. Panfil (2014) studied queer perpetrators and addressed the lack of coverage of the contextual factors and reasoning associated with engaging in violence. Though several respondents in this study reported resorting to violence to defend themselves, these individuals also sought to protect their identities and masculinity. The participants formulated identities around their ability to properly protect themselves and others (Panfil, 2014).

Kelley (2008) presented two studies to examine relational aggression and victimization in high school and college queer male peer relationships, which had been linked to several forms of psychosocial maladjustment (Kelley, 2008). Results revealed that relational aggression with other queer males was a relevant experience for this sample of adults (Kelley, 2008). Aggression unique to queer male relations took the form of offensive labels, malicious rumors, and criticism regarding failures to meet the stereotypical queer aesthetic (Kelley, 2008). These narratives causally linked relational aggression to homo-negative beliefs (Kelley, 2008). Queer males who reported more relational victimization reported feeling more uncomfortable with their sexual orientation (Kelley, 2008). Additionally, these men also reported higher levels of victimization (Kelley, 2008). This study suggested that these forms of aggression act as a defense response stemming from internalized homophobia and excess stress because of a minority position, "minority stress" (Kelley, 2008, p. 481). Queer individuals internalize societal messages, which lead to feelings of mistrust and negativity toward one's identity (Garnets, 1990). Research has found that identity formation is dependent on overcoming this internalized homophobia (Rowen

& Malcolm, 2002). The prominence of minority identity in a queer person's sense of self may also be relevant to minority stress, which can lead to emotional instability.

The prevalence of mental disorders in queer individuals can be linked to minority stress, prejudice, stigmas, and discrimination (Meyer, 2013). Three processes are suggested to correlate with minority stress levels: external stressful events, diligence of expectations to events, and internalization of societal attitudes (Meyer, 2013). When conceptualizing stress, there have been distinctions between distal and proximal stressors (Meyer, 2013). Social structures and attitudes are considered distal stressors, while personal social experiences and attitudes are considered proximal stressors (Meyer, 2013). Distal stressors are objective and do not depend on an individual's attributions (Meyer, 2013). Distal social beliefs only gain psychological significance and become proximal through cognitive appraisal (Meyer, 2013). Characteristics of minority identity can weaken or augment the influence of stress; therefore, stress may be more prominent in an individual experiencing the integration of two minority statuses (Meyer, 2013).

Literature on Queer Black Men

Involvement in the Justice System

Given that Black men are disproportionally represented in the judicial system during every stage of the adjudication process and are likely to get harsher sentences (Mogul et al., 2011), it is reasonable to assume that there is a notably different experience for queer Black men. The grim reality is that the combination of the vastly disproportionate representation of Black Americans and sexual violence in prisons creates a toxic cultivation of criminalizing myths. These myths illustrate prisons filled with violent queer Black men who infect and rape other prisoners (Mogul et al., 2011). This imagery is deeply rooted in narratives derived from slavery, depicting Black men as aggressive predators. This myth contributes to the criminalization of

Black men and the construction of queer individuals as vulgarized sexual predators (Mogul et al., 2011). Research has investigated the types of offenses committed by queer Black men found that transgender people of color engage more in sex work and reportedly have higher rates of abuse by police officers (Buist & Stone, 2014). The National Transgender Discrimination Survey found that 44% of transgender people of color engage in sex work (Buist & Stone, 2014). This same study also found that White transgender individuals reported higher incidents of respect from police officers than queer people of color (Buist & Stone, 2014).

Involvement in the Queer Community

Studies have shown that Black men are less likely than White men to come out about their sexuality in a traditional manner because they are more likely to be accepted in the Black community if they are not overly explicit about their lifestyle (Robinson, 2011; Crawford, 2002). For example, queer Black men were more likely to label themselves as "same-gender loving," because they feel pressured to come out as queer and embody the queer culture (Robinson, 2011, p. 1371). It is theorized that queer Black men are more hesitant to embrace a clear-cut queer identity, because it is perceived by society as a group of individuals that embrace promiscuity, adding force to the stereotype that Black men are sexually out of control (Robinson, 2011). They are also less likely to join queer-related organizations and more likely to attend church and endorse religious values compared to queer White men (Robinson, 2011). These central features create internal conflict for many queer Black men (Robinson, 2011). Queer Black men hold multiple identities, but race continues to be the most defining social characteristic in the United States, thus choosing an afrocentric orientation may be viewed as crucial to navigating through the race-conscious social climate of this country (Crawford, 2002).

Interactions with the Black Community

Anti-queer violence crosscuts ethnicity therefore, regardless of race, masculinity assumes heterosexuality (Perry, 2001). Not only have queer Black men internalized societal homophobia and racism, but also white patriarchal norms associated with masculinity (Perry, 2001). Yet, due to their race and class subordination, these men do not have access to the resources to enact this form of masculinity (Perry, 2001). Consequently, the Black community has adapted alternative versions of what it means to be "a man" and find other avenues to assert their masculinity. Black communities have established a narrow definition of masculinity that requires heterosexuality (Perry, 2001). Theologically driven homophobia is reinforced by the anti-homosexual rhetoric of Black Nationalism. Black churches in the United States also constitute a significant source of homophobia that pervades in Black communities (Ward, 2005). To many, queer Black Men are viewed as a rejection of the God who liberated Black Americans from slavery and uplifted them to positions of illusive privilege and power (McCoy, 2009). Hypermasculine ideals within the Black community have a devastating impact on self-esteem, physical health, and social relationships of queer Black men (Ward, 2005). Specifically, queer Black men report painful and problematic distancing from family (Dunn, 2012). As a result, queer Black men are viewed as traitors to their race and gender (Perry, 2001).

Loiacano (1989) studied identity developmental issues amongst queer Black Americans. Participants in this study reported difficulties seeking validation from the queer community and the Black community (Loiacano, 1989). The need to integrate these two central identities was a significant challenge these participants faced due to fear their queer identity would compromise their acceptance into the Black community, leading to living a compartmentalized existence (Loiacano, 1989; Crawford, 2002). Crawford (2002) conceptualized identity development

experiences of queer Black men into four modes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Assimilation mode are queer Black men who do not possess a strong sense of self as a queer man, but strongly identify with the Black community (Crawford, 2002). Integration mode are queer Black men who actively invest in both their sexual and racial identity (Crawford, 2002). Separation mode would be queer Black men who strongly identify with their sexual identity, but are not engaged in the Black community. Lastly, marginalization mode are queer Black men who do not actively invest in either identities. Crawford (2002) found that participants in integration mode reported experiencing higher levels of self-efficacy, stronger social networks, and greater levels of life satisfaction.

Chapter 3: Research and Design

The proposed research is a quantitative study examining the relationship between sexual orientation, victimization, and aggression. Specifically, this research provides an in-depth analysis on the influence sexual orientation has on the relationship between victimization and aggression.

Participants

The participants were recruited through Facebook, Reddit, and a community outreach agency geared towards the queer community in Chicago, Illinois. There were 38 total participants, consisting of 31 queer Black men (82%) and seven straight Black men (18%). All participants were over 18 years of age. The agency was made aware of the purpose and objectives of this experimental design. They were also given a written research proposal discussing the survey and a consent to recruit document (Appendix B & C). The online survey was created and distributed via surveymonkey.com (Appendix F). Before completing the survey, applicants were shown a digital informed consent document debriefing the participant on confidentiality and anonymity (Appendix E). By clicking "I agree," participants gave consent to participate in the study. Before the survey items, participants were asked a series of demographic questions (i.e., ethnicity, sexual orientation, age). At the end of the survey, participants were presented with an opportunity to enter in a raffle for $100 by providing their email address, which was approved by the Institutional Review Board.

Procedures

This study used data collected through surveys, obtaining consent prior to survey distribution. During the consent process, participants were informed that questions on the survey discussed sensitive topics. Though encouraged to complete the survey in its entirety, participants were told that they could answer questions selectively. The 55-item survey covered questions

pertinent to personal incidents of victimization and aggression. Past research on "fatigue bias," lack of or poor participation due to fatigue, reviewed responses with the National Crime Victimization Survey and found that fatigue was more likely to manifest during incident-based questions (Hart, Rennison, & Gibson, 2005, p. 346). This possibility of bias is important to acknowledge during data interpretation, since many items on this study's survey query about specific incidences of victimization.

Measures

Demographic background. Before investigating this study's hypotheses, demographic and preliminary analyses were completed. Participants were asked to complete a demographic portion of the questionnaire. Questions in this portion included: "Age?"; "Sexual Orientation" and "Ethnicity."

Victimization. The Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ) was chosen to represent the victimization scale and operational definition. The JVQ was created to assess various forms of victimization experienced during childhood. The JVQ consists of 34-items that cover five general areas of concern: (1) Conventional Crime, (2) Child Maltreatment, (3) Peer Sibling Victimization, (4) Sexual Victimization, (5) Witnessing and Indirect Victimization (Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod, & Turner, 2005). This study utilized the 21-item short form, which was modified to assess peer victimization, assault, exposure to family violence, parent-child dysfunction, and witnessed violence. While other assessments are limited to a specific age group, this questionnaire elicits information about episodes surrounding these domains across a wide spectrum of developmental stages. Examples of these items include: "During your childhood, did any kids ever tell lies or spread rumors about you, or make others dislike you" and "At any time in your life, did someone make you do sexual things when you didn't want to." A "Yes" to an

item is scored as a 1 and "No" a 0. Therefore, a maximum score of 21 can be achieved on this measure.

Though this instrument was normed on 2,030 children between the ages of 2 and 17, this tool can be adapted for a lifetime perspective and retrospective report of childhood experiences by an adult respondent (Finkelhor et al., 2005). Researchers found the JVQ to have moderate construct validity, similarly measuring victimization in comparison to other victimization instruments, and adequate test-retest reliability. Additionally, the overall internal consistency ranges from moderate to weak.

Aggression. The Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire (1992), a 29-item survey normed on 1,200 college students, was used to measure aggression. This questionnaire was selected because it was designed to assess various sub-traits of aggression: physical, verbal, anger, and hostility. Physical and verbal aggression is defined as instrumental or the motor component of aggression (Buss & Perry, 1992). Anger is defined as physiological arousal and preparation for aggression, which represents the affective component of aggressive behavior (Buss & Perry, 1992). Hostility is defined as feelings of ill will and injustice, which represents the cognitive component of aggression (Buss & Perry, 1992). The items have adequate internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and established gender norms. Moreover, correlations between personality traits such as impulsiveness, sociability, and assertiveness with the Aggression Questionnaire have also been identified (Buss & Perry, 1992). This survey allowed further exploration of aggression subcomponents, as well as overt aggressive behaviors and personality characteristics. Examples of items include: "I've become so mad that I have broken things?" and "I've had to resort to violence to protect my rights." The response to each item is scored on a 7-point Likert scale, 1= "extremely uncharacteristic of me" and 7= "extremely characteristic of me". Therefore,

a minimum score of 29 and a maximum score of 203 can be achieved on this measure. The average score for males in the normative sample on this assessment is 77.8 (Buss & Perry, 1992).

Data Analysis

Data was collected and then processed in response to the following hypotheses: H_1) Queer Black men will report higher victimization scores than straight Black men, H_2) sexual orientation will serve as a moderator in the relationship between victimization and aggression, and H_3) there is a statistically significant positive correlation between victimization and aggression. To address H_1, a t-test was utilized to establish whether differences exist between queer Black men and straight Black men victimization scores by obtaining a *t*-statistic. To test H_2, a two-factor independent measure design was utilized with sexual orientation and total victimization scores. This factorial design investigated main effects in the levels of each factor, allowing each factor to be evaluated independently of the other. In addition to evaluating the main effect of each factor individually, the regression also assessed whether there is an interaction between the two factors. Lastly, in order analyze the relationship between victimization and aggression for H_3, a Pearson product moment correlation was calculated and a correlation coefficient obtained.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter will review the hypothesis testing process implemented to analyze the relationship between victimization and aggression and whether it is influenced by sexual orientation. Additionally, this chapter will discuss data analysis outcomes and study findings.

Response Rate and Data Preparation

A total of 123 participants responded to the survey, unfortunately several participants were removed from the study because they did not fulfill demographic criteria or did not navigate through the entire survey. After removing these participants, 44 respondents remained. To ensure the accuracy of the total scores were not significantly impacted by skipped items, participants who skipped more than two items on each scale were removed from the analysis. After conducting a missing values analysis, a total of 38 participants, seven straight Black men (SBM) and 31 queer Black men (QBM), were included in the data analysis.

Data Imputation for Missing Values

Since the victimization scores were dichotomous, a binomial logistic regression model was fit to predict the probability that an observation falls into the "Yes" category for any missing items. This was analysis was done for one missing victimization item that was skipped, using sexual orientation and ethnicity as predictors. This allowed for the single missing victimization value to be imputed using information from observed data. A test of the full model against a constant only model was statistically significant, indicating that the predictors, as a set, reliably distinguished between "Yes" and "No" responses (*chi-square=11.36, p<.001 with df=4*). Though Nagelkerke's R^2 of .32 indicated a weak relationship between prediction and group, the addition of ethnicity and sexual orientation variables increased predictive power. Prediction success overall for this item was 76% (100% for "No" and 10% for "Yes"). Thus, a zero was imputed for this missing item. For the skipped aggression items, a missing variable imputation

was conducted by mean substitution. A total of 19 imputations were completed due to 17 individuals, 55% of the sample size, skipping the reverse-coded question, "I am an even-tempered person."

Testing of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 stated that QBM report higher levels of victimizations compared to SBM. To test this hypothesis, an independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare victimization mean scores in QBM and SBM. There was not a significant difference in the scores for QBM (M=9.00, SD=5.77) and SBM (M=8.29, SD=2.56; t (36)=-0.318, p=0.752), indicating that sexual orientation did not influence victimization scores (see Table 1).

Table 1

Results of t-test and Descriptive Statistics for Total Victimization Score by Sexual Orientation

	Sexual Orientation						95% CI for Mean Difference	t	df
	Heterosexual			Queer					
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n			
Total Victimization Score	8.29	2.56	7	9.00	5.77	31	-5.27, 3.84	-.318	36

Hypothesis 2 stated that sexual orientation is a moderating variable, affecting the strength of the relationship between victimization and aggression. A moderator multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if the relationship between victimization and aggression is strengthened by sexual orientation, which entails the addition of an interaction term. Prior to conducting the analysis, a series of assumptions were assessed to attain a valid result (i.e., independence of residuals, linearity between independent and dependent variables, homoscedasticity, no multicollinearity, and normal distribution of residual errors). Once these assumptions were met, the first model included sexual orientation and total victimization score as independent variables. These variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in total

aggression scores (R^2 =0.509, F(2,35), p<.005). Next, an interaction term was added to the regression model, which did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in aggression scores (ΔR^2 = .0125, $\Delta F(1, 34) = 0.886$, p >.05), indicating that there is no potential significant moderation (See Table 2).

Table 2

Moderation effect of Sexual orientation (SO) on the Relationship between Total Victimization Score (VS) and Total Aggression Score, n=38

Predictors	**Unstandardized *b***	**S.E.**	**Standardized *b***	***t***	***p-value***
Model 1					
VS	5.606	.960	.693	5.849***	.000
SO	12.217	12.955	.139	1.175	.248
Model 2					
VS	10.159	4.931	1.255	2.060*	.047
SO	54.567	43.764	.499	1.247	.221
VS*SO	-4.734	5.028	−.693	−.941	.353

Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Hypothesis 3 stated there is a statistically significant positive correlation between victimization and aggression. To test this hypothesis, a Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between aggression and victimization which found a positive correlation between the two variables (r=0.70, n=38, p=0.000). Increased victimizing experiences were correlated with an increase in aggressive behaviors and attitudes.

Post-hoc Analysis

To understand the data and subscales of the variables, a secondary analysis and post-hoc power analysis was conducted. To investigate H_3, a bivariate correlation was conducted within each group, finding a stronger positive correlation between victimization in QBM (r=0.718, n=31, p<.05) than SBM (r=0.671, n=7, p<.05). Additionally, in QBM a subscale analysis

between type of victimization and type of aggression revealed a correlation between Exposure to Family Violence and Physical Aggression (r=.63, n=31, p<.05), Verbal Aggression (r=.53, n=31, p<.05), Anger (r=.75, n=31, p<.05) and Hostility (r=.61, n=31, p<.05). Parent-Child Victimization was also correlated with all aggression subscales in QBM: Physical Aggression (r=.68, n=31, p<.05), Verbal Aggression (r=.63, n=31, p<.05), Anger (r=.79, n=31, p<.05), and Hostility (r=.68, n=31, p<.05). In SBM, there was a significant correlation between Exposure to Family Violence and Hostility (r=.94, n=7, p<.05) and between Parent-Child Victimization and Hostility (r=.91, n=7, p<.05).

A post-hoc power analysis using G*Power 3.1 computer program (Faul & Erdfeider, 2007) was conducted to check whether non-significant results were due to lack of statistical power. An analysis assessing the difference between two independent means produced an effect size of d=.16, which is considered small (Cohen, 1992), and indicated a statistical power (1-) of .02. A more stringent alpha level (p<.01) was used for this analysis to minimize the risk of Type 1 errors with multiple analyses (Cohen, 1992). Based on these results, it is evident that this study's small sample size significantly impacted the ability to effectively test hypotheses and detect effects.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

The intent of this study was threefold. The first objective was to determine if QBM experience more victimization due to being a sexual and racial minority. The second objective was to investigate if sexual orientation moderated the relationship between victimization and aggression in this sample. The third objective was to examine the correlation between victimization and aggression.

Results of the first objective indicated that sexual orientation was not a correlate to victimization in this racial group, as QBM did not report more victimizing experiences compared to SBM in this study. This finding is inconsistent with the minority stress theory which postulates that QBM experience proportionally more negative life events due to "dual minority status" and previous research on anti-queer victimization (Crawford, 2002, p.180). Research from Button et al. (2012) found that queer youth are more likely to report forms of victimization compared to heterosexual youth. However, generalizability and applicability of these previous studies is difficult due to the underrepresentation of Black participants in these studies' samples. Also, this current study did not have survey items that indicated victimization because of one's sexual identity. The minimal research that specifically targets this population posits that QBM are less likely to outwardly express their queer identity in the community (Robinson, 2011). Thus, it is reasonable to speculate that QBM participants in this study may have not experienced significant victimization because they do not publicly embrace their sexual orientation to avoid further rejection and ostracizing.

Investigation of the second objective found that sexual orientation did not moderate the relationship between victimization and aggression. This assumption remains unexplored by

research and was derived from compiled theories on identity development and victimization research on QBM. Previous research suggested that QBM experience various forms of internal conflicts due to identity disintegration and masculinity values, leading to emotion instability (Rowen & Malcom, 2002; Crawford, 2002). Respectively, this non-significant finding may be attributed to those extraneous variables associated with sexual orientation that were not directly assessed in this study. Crawford (2002) found several factors associated with identity development, such as self-esteem, social support, and ethnic identity to greatly influence psychosocial functioning and life satisfaction in QBM. Therefore, the relationship between victimization and aggression might not simply be moderated by one dichotomous variable, but by several.

Concerning this study's third objective, a positive correlation between victimization and aggression was a significant finding that overlaps with decades of research on violence risk factors (Douglas et al., 2005; Douglas et al., 2014). This finding also provides additional empirical support for the "pathways perspective" argument that aggressive behavior and attitudes are increased by exposure to victimizing experiences (Salisbury, 2009, p. 542; Johansson & Kempf-Leonard, 2009). When comparing results across groups, a stronger relationship between these variables was observed in QBM, compared to SBM. Specifically, this study found that exposure to family violence and parent-child victimization were strongly correlated with aggression in QBM. This supports past findings of queer men who reported high levels of aggression also reporting high levels of victimization (Kelley, 2008). Furthermore, this finding coincides with literature that pinpoints family rejection and abuse as the greatest predictors of involvement in the juvenile justice system for queer youth (Majd et al., 2009).

Limitations

Per the post-hoc power analysis, sample size significantly impacted statistical power, hindering the ability to effectively investigate this study's hypotheses. This small sample size may be attributed to the length of the survey and test fatigue, as many participants were removed from the study due to incomplete surveys. Lastly, given that the JVQ was not normed on an adult sample, generalizability and transferability of findings is another limitation to be considered during data interpretation.

Implications and Future Research

Initially, the intended structure of this study included a qualitative interview to address other potential factors associated with aggression that were not included in the survey items. Unfortunately, this collection method was unsuccessful due to time constraints and a multistep consent process that deterred participants. Though this study's findings echoed previous research and reasserted that victimization increases the likelihood of aggression in this understudied population, other extraneous factors should not go unacknowledged. This study sheds light on family victimization as a significant predisposing factor that serves as a potential origin of victimization when conceptualizing the experiences of QBM offenders. For this reason, it is hoped that this study sets a foundation for in-depth qualitative research to investigate how experiences of identity confliction, compounded with family victimization, manifest into behavior. Only though establishing culturally competent treatments for this marginalized group can clinicians aid in the deconstruction of institutionalized racism and heterosexism that perpetuate the cycle of victimization.

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Appendix A: Assessment Use Permission

Arnold Buss <arnold.h.buss@gmail.com>

Fri 1/22/2016 9:02 PM

Deleted Items

To: Alexis Reynolds - Student <amr9583@ego.thechicagoschool.edu>;

It is public domain. If you need permission to use it, it is hereby granted.

On Jan 22, 2016, at 7:17 PM, Alexis Reynolds - Student wrote:

> Good evening Mr. Buss,
>
> My name is Alexis Reynolds and I am currently pursing my doctorate in Clinical Forensic Psychology and am in the process of conducting research for my dissertation. Primarily, my dissertation focuses on the relationship between victimization and aggression among the Queer Black male population. While researching assessment tools, I stumbled across the Buss-Perry Aggression scale and was hoping to utilize this tool during my study, if given permission by you and your colleagues of course. I've seen several links to the assessment, so was unsure as to whether this tool was public domain. Hope to hear from you soon. Thank you for your time.
>
> Best,
> Alexis Reynolds

Re: JVQ Assessment

Finkelhor, David <David.Finkelhor@unh.edu>

Sat 1/23/2016 12:33 PM

To: Alexis Reynolds - Student <amr9583@ego.thechicagoschool.edu>;

You are welcome to use it. We have more information here:

http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/jvq/index_new.html

David Finkelhor
Crimes against Children Research Center
Family Research Laboratory
Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH 03824
Tel 603 862-2761* Fax 603 862-1122
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University of New Hampshire

Appendix B: Research Proposal to Recruitment Sites

Objectives: When exploring the interactions between sexual orientation and/or gender identity and the criminal justice system, studies focus primarily on the Queer victims of hate crimes. The National Transgender Discrimination Survey found that 20% of transgender or gender non-conforming participants reported being denied equal treatment by police officers and 29% reported being harassed by the police (Buist & Stone, 2014). However, research targeting Queer offenders has yet to be extensively explored. Therefore, in order to properly understand the varied life experiences of Queer people, research must go beyond the representation of Queer individuals as victims.

To date, there is very little research on Black Queer men who are involved in violent crimes. However, there is a wealth of research about Black male involvement in crime. There are several factors that influence Black individuals to engage in violence. According to studies, Black Americans represent 44.8% of the pre-trial detention rate and 46% are likely to be fully prosecuted, while the statistic is 26% for White males (Walker, Spohn, & Delone, 2012). Additionally, Black males are overly represented in victimization statistics. In 2008, Black Americans constituted no more than 15% of the population, but composed more than 47.7% of all homicide victims (Walker, Spohn, & Delone, 2012). Studies have found that this victimization is an influential factor that leads Black males to engage in violence (Walker, Spohn, & Delone, 2012).

Both Queer and Black populations have high prevalence rates of victimization and are also disproportionally represented in the legal system. Given these known rates, it is crucial to research how Black Queer men experience this intersecting identities and overlapping risk factor of victimization. The proposed research will examine the relationship between victimization and engaging in violent crimes among Black queer men. This research would augment knowledge on Queer offenders and allow community outreach services to consider these discovered factors in intervention planning.

Plan of Work: Prior to the start of the study, I hope to discuss the aforementioned purpose and objectives of my dissertation project with your organization. If able, it is my intention to work with your agency as a potential recruitment opportunity. If your organization agrees to promote the study, we can discuss various distribution and advertising options, such as surveymonkey.com and Facebook. The sample will consist of at least 50 Queer Black male volunteers over the age of 18. Before taking the survey, participants will be shown a digital consent form. By clicking "I agree" participants are giving their consent to participate in the study. The survey will consist of some demographic questions (e.g., race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age), questions regarding experiences of victimization (e.g., "Has someone broken in or attempted to break into your home by force?" and "Has someone forced or coerced you to engaged in unwanted sexual activity?") as well as questions about aggression (e.g., "Have you attacked someone with a weapon with the idea of seriously hurting him or her?" and "Have you had to resort to violence to protect your rights?").

Upon completing the survey, individuals will have the opportunity to provide contact information if they are open to being interviewed. I will contact those who agree to an interview, and I will review an informed consent form to discuss confidentiality, anonymity, and that the interview will be audio recorded. I will then conduct audiotaped interviews with these individuals at a mutually agreed upon time and location.

Appendix C: Center on Halsted Letter of Support

December 1, 2015

Institutional Review Board
The Chicago School of Professional Psychology
325 North Wells St, Floor 4
Chicago, IL 60654

Dear TCS Institutional Review Board,

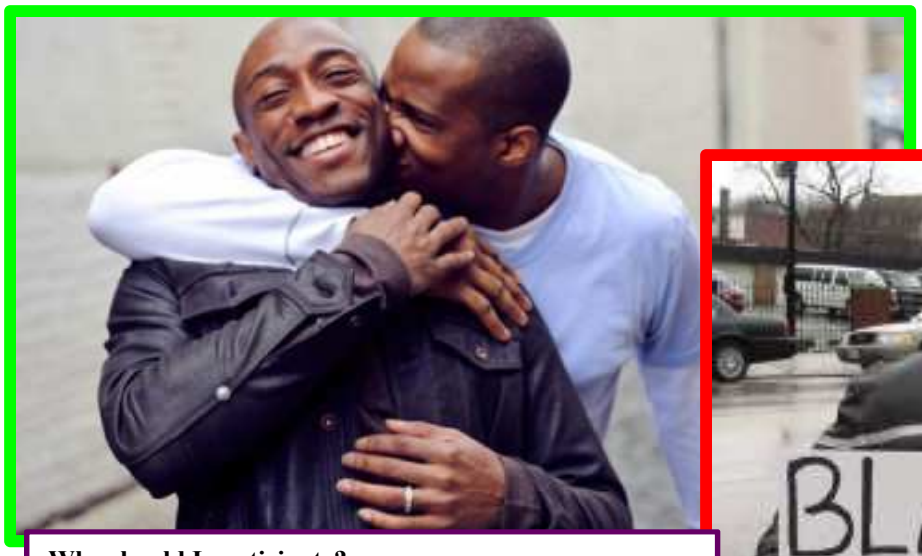
I am pleased to write this letter of collaboration in support of Alexis Reynolds' dissertation research on the experiences of Queer Black men. I have reviewed the Research Proposal and am aware of the purpose and objectives of Ms. Reynolds' research. The Center on Halsted will aid in the recruitment process by permitting Ms. Reynolds to hang fliers in our building. The center recognizes that participation is voluntary and individual participants may choose to discontinue participation at any time. We are also aware that all data collected will remain confidential. We look forward to collaborating with Ms. Reynolds on her dissertation project.

Sincerely,
Hector Torres

Appendix D: Recruitment Flyers

Intersecting Identities of Black Queer Men

Let your voice be heard!



Why should I participate?
Queer Black men not only experience significant victimization in their community, but are also disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system due to societal prejudice and bigotry. Sadly, there is no research on how experiencing prejudice and victimization may factor into aggression. In general, there is little awareness on the experiences of Black Queer men. The purpose of this research is to shed light on these pertinent experiences. Primarily, this study will examine victimization and its association with aggression. Your participation would enhance knowledge on this important issue and allow your viewpoints to be heard. Additionally, this research can be used to establish appropriate community outreach and services for Black Queer men. We'd like to show our appreciation for your help by entering you into a raffle for $100, so feel free to write in your email address to be entered in the drawing (Interview is not required for raffle).

How can I help?
Please complete this 25-minute survey via this link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/V9KQ5W9.. Your survey submission will be **anonymous** and **confidential**. If you are open to an interview, you will be asked to provide your email to address in order to be contacted by the lead researcher.

$100 Raffle

Victimization of Black Men

Let your voice be heard!

Why should I participate?
Black men not only experience significant victimization in their community, but are also disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system due to societal prejudice and bigotry. The purpose of this research is to shed light on these pertinent experiences. Primarily, this study will examine victimization and its association with aggression. Your participation would enhance knowledge on this important issue and allow your viewpoints to be heard. Additionally, this research can be used to establish appropriate community outreach and services for Black men.

How can I help?
Please complete this 25-minute survey via this link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/V9KQ5W9. Your survey submission will be **anonymous** and **confidential**. If you are open to an interview, you will be asked to provide your email to address in order to be contacted by the lead researcher. We'd like to show our appreciation for your help by entering you into a raffle for $100, so feel free to write in your email address to be entered in the drawing (Interview is not required for raffle).

I have questions…
This study will be conducted by a student at The Chicago School of Professional Psychology. Questions are welcomed! Please email Alexis Reynolds at amr9583@ego.thechicagoschool.edu with any comments, questions, or concerns.

$100 Raffle

Appendix E: Informed Consent

Investigators: Alexis M. Reynolds

Study Title: Intersecting Identity Confliction: Victimization of Queer Black Males and Criminality

I am a student at The Chicago School of Professional Psychology. This study is being conducted as a part of my dissertation requirement for *The Chicago School of Professional Psychology Clinical Forensic Psychology Doctoral Program.*

I am asking you to participate in a research study. Please take your time to read the information below and feel free to ask any questions before clicking "I Agree." Feel free to email Alexis Reynolds, amr9583@ego.thechicagoschool.edu with any questions.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of Queer Black men and how these experiences influence behavior. Specifically, both the queer and Black populations have high prevalence rates of victimization and are also disproportionally represented in the legal system. In order to explore this shared experience further, this study will examine the relationship between victimization and aggression within the Queer Black male population.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete a short survey. The survey should take approximately 25 minutes to complete. After completing the survey, if you are open to being interviewed by the lead researcher, you will have the opportunity to provide your e-mail address. Once you provide your e-mail address, you will be contacted with more information about the interview procedure.

Risks to Participation: Though no risks are anticipated, you will be asked a series of questions, which may elicit an emotion response. In order to minimize risks, you may answer questions selectively if needed.

Benefits to Participants: Once you complete the survey, you will be asked if you are interested in being entered into a raffle for $100. If you are interested, please provide you're email address in order to be entered into the drawing. The drawing will occur at the end of this study, February 2017. If you are selected, the lead researcher will reach out to you via email to arrange the delivery of the payment.

This study will also benefit society in understanding and promoting awareness of various factors that influence aggressive behavior within the Queer Black male population. Research on these

factors would augment knowledge and allow community outreach services to implement these factors in intervention planning.

Alternatives to Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from study participation at any time without any penalty.

Confidentiality: During this study, information will be collected about you for the purpose of this research. This includes race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender. If interested in participating in the raffle, you will be asked to provide your email address. If open to an interview, which would be audio recorded, you will be asked to provide your email address and asked to sign another consent form. In order to ensure anonymity, you will not be asked to provide any other personal identifying information. Per American Psychological Association guidelines, research materials will be kept for a minimum of 5 years.

Your research records may be reviewed by federal agencies whose responsibility is to protect human subjects participating in research, including the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) and by representatives from The Chicago School of Professional Psychology Institutional Review Board, a committee that oversees research.

Questions/Concerns: If you have questions related to the procedures described in this document please contact Alexis Reynolds at amr9583@ego.thechicagoschool.edu or Dr. Jamie Wernsman at jwernsman@thechicagoschool.edu.

If you have questions concerning your rights in this research study you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB), which is concerned with the protection of subjects in research project. You may reach the IRB office Monday-Friday by calling 312.467.2343 or writing: Institutional Review Board, The Chicago School of Professional Psychology, 325 N. Wells, Chicago, Illinois, 60654.
Consent to Participate in Research

Participant:

> **By selecting "I agree" you are agreeing to the following: I have read this study's informed consent. I understand the research project and the procedures involved have been explained to me. I agree to participate in this study. My participation is voluntary and I do not have to select "I agree" if I do not want to be part of this research project. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my records.**

Appendix F: Survey Items

2. What is your ethnicity? (Please select all that apply.)
    - American Indian or Alaskan Native
    - Asian or Pacific Islander
    - Black or African American
    - Hispanic or Latino
    - White / Caucasian
    - Prefer not to answer
    - Other (please specify)

3. What is your gender?
    - Female
    - Male

4. Please select your sexual orientation.
    - Heterosexual
    - Queer (LGBTQ)

5. At any time in your life, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked or hit on purpose WITH a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt? Somewhere like at home, school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?
    - Yes
    - No

6. At any time in your life, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked or hit on purpose WITHOUT using a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt?
    - Yes
    - No

7. During your childhood, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing you, grabbing you, or making you do something you didn't want to do?
    - Yes
    - No

8. During your childhood, did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying they didn't want you around?
    - Yes
    - No

9. During your childhood, did any kids ever tell lies or spread rumors about you, or try to make others dislike you?
    - Yes
    - No

10. During your childhood, did any kids ever keep you out of things on purpose, exclude you from their group of friends, or completely ignore you?
    - Yes
    - No

11. Sometimes kids are hit by brothers, sisters, or cousins. During your childhood, did another child in your family ever hit or attack you on purpose? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?

Yes
No

12. During your childhood, did any other kid ever hit you on purpose?

Yes
No

13. At any time in your life, did any grown-up ever hit or attack you on purpose? This person could be a teacher, coach, someone else you know, or a stranger.

Yes
No

14. At any time in your life, did someone make you do sexual things when you didn't want to?

Yes
No

15. During your childhood, did one of your parents threaten to hurt another parent and it seemed they might really get hurt?

Yes
No

16. During your childhood, did one of your parents, because of an argument, break or ruin anything belonging to another parent, punch the wall, or throw something?

Yes
No

17. During your childhood, did one of your parents get hit or pushed by another parent?

Yes
No

18. During your childhood, did one of your parents get kicked, choked, or beat up by another parent?

Yes
No

19. Now we want to ask you about fights between any grown-ups and teens, not just between your parents. During your childhood, did any grown-up or teen who lived with you push, hit, or beat up someone else who lived with you, like a parent, brother, grandparent, or other relative?

Yes
No

20. Not including spanking on your bottom, during your childhood did a grown-up (adult who lived with you or watched you) in your life hit you?

Yes
No

21. When you were a child, did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups (adults who have lived with you or watched you) called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?

Yes
No

22. When someone is neglected, it means that grown-ups didn't take care of them the way they should have. They might not get them enough food, take them to the doctor when they are sick, or make sure they have a safe place to stay. During your childhood, were you neglected?

Yes
No

23. Was there a time in your life that you often had to look after yourself because a parent drank too much alcohol, took drugs, or wouldn't get out of bed?

Yes
No

24. Was there a time in your life when you often had to go looking for a parent because the parent left you alone, or with brothers and sisters, and you didn't know where the parent was?

Yes
No

25. Was there a time in your life when your parents often had people over at the house who you were afraid to be around?

Yes
No

26. Once in a while I can't control the urge to strike another person.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

27. Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

28. If somebody hits me, I hit back.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

29. I get into fights a little more than the average person.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

30. If I have to resort to violence to protect my rights, I will.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

31. There are people who pushed me so far that we came to blows.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me

32. I can think of no good reason for ever hitting a person.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

33. I have threatened people I know.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

34. I have become so mad that I have broken things.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

35. I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

36. I often find myself disagreeing with people.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

37. When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

38. I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

39. My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

40. I flare up quickly but get over it quickly.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

41. When frustrated, I let my irritation show.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

42. I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

43. I am an even-tempered person.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me						Extremely Characteristic of Me

44. Some of my friends think I'm a hothead.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

45. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

46. I have trouble controlling my temper.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

47. I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

48. At times I feel have gotten a raw deal out of life.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

49. Other people always seem to get the breaks.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

50. I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

51. I know that "friends" talk about me behind my back.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

52. I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

53. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

54. When people are especially nice, I wonder what they want.

Extremely Uncharacteristic of Me	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Characteristic of Me

55. Thanks so much for sharing your experiences. If you wish to participate in an audio-recorded interview or the raffle for $100, please state so below:

Yes, I am interested in the raffle and being interviewed and provided my email address below.

I am not interested in the interview, but provided my email address for the raffle.

No, I am not interested in either.

Email Address: _____