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CHRONIC COMMUNITY VIOLENCE AND ADOLESCENT PEER GROUP ACTIVITY SETTINGS IN RIO DE JANEIRO AND BALTIMORE: A CROSS CULTURAL COMPARISON

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By

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This dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends, whose support and encouragement has made the time spent pursuing my education an adventure, and who can always make 6,000 miles feel like six. Special thanks to my parents and Kwesi who generously gave both their time and love anytime I asked. I love you all very much!

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Abstract

Chronic community violence is common in urban areas and areas of conflict around the world. Children and adolescents in these areas experience similar traumatic events, however past research has only addressed the impact on family and individual youth. This dissertation explores the impact chronic community violence has on the adolescent peer group. Youth perceptions in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro were studied to explore differences in peer attachment, peer influence, peer group activities, opportunities for pro-social community involvement, neighborhood resources and perceptions of neighborhood danger. Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro were chosen because they are similar in rates of chronic community violence and dissimilar in the composition of racial and ethnic groups.

The results showed significant differences between geographical locations in perceptions of community danger. The findings also indicated that adolescents spend more time inside their own house than with their friends. Time with friends and consequently peer group influence are related to feelings of community danger. Prevention and intervention efforts need to assess perceptions of danger because crime statistics are not revealing enough. These results provide valuable insight to make the practical application of international prevention and intervention efforts more effective. Implications for service providers and policy are discussed.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Chronic community violence is common in urban areas around the world. Children who live in war zones, areas of conflict, areas with substandard or unsafe housing, refugee children, internally displaced children, and children living in high crime zones are considered by the United Nations to be children "living in difficult circumstances." These children are all exposed to chronic community violence and experience similar traumatic events. Consequently, these children also experience emotional, developmental, cognitive, psychological, and physical disturbances that are often a result of these difficult circumstances (APA, 1993; Bell, 1993; Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Sternberg, 1993; Celia, 1994; Engel, 1984; Errante, 1997; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992; Joop, 2001; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Miller, Wasserman, Neugebauer, Gorman-Smith, & Kamboukos, 1999).

Chronic community violence has a negative impact on adolescent development and adaptive functioning and results in both psychological and behavioral symptoms. Psychologically youth experience depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and cognitive impairment. Behavioral problems differ by gender. Girls are more likely to abuse substances, carry weapons, and get into trouble at school, while boys are more likely to engage in the type of violent behavior to which they are exposed (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, Earls, 2001). Chronic community violence is associated with externalizing behavior and current research suggests that chronic community violence is a predictor of antisocial behavior and aggression in adolescents (Buka, et al., 2001; Cooley-Quille et al., 2001). Acute violence is associated with internalizing

behavior (Buka et al., 2001). However, in communities with chronic violence, acute violence is a common phenomenon. Therefore, adolescents living in these communities display both internal and external maladaptive symptoms.

Children exposed to chronic community violence experience emotional distress because of a loss of home, love, shelter, play, and/or identity. Moral and intellectual growth may also be stunted by chronic community violence. To develop a sense of behavioral "consequence" children are normally socialized about acceptable moral behavior through exploration in play, friendship, and creativity when they are still young. Children also learn the basic community values of empathy, trust, and cause and effect through interaction with community members and in peer group activity settings. Chronic community violence may make this socialization difficult because it disrupts a child's social interactions and limits the range of social and intellectual experiences in which the child is able to participate (Engel, 1984; Garbarino et al., 1992).

These limited social and intellectual experiences are also reflected in the parenting practices (Errante, 1997). Many parents in areas of chronic community violence try to protect their children from danger. For example, mothers in urban housing projects in Chicago, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East attempt to protect their children from the surrounding chronic community violence by implementing behavioral rules such as "Stay away from windows," "Never walk by yourself," or "If you hear shots, hit the floor" (Cairns, 1987). These rules not only limit the child's ability to explore social and intellectual interaction, but convey a parental worldview that may affect a child's emotional development. In response to the danger or perceived danger in their community, parents may adopt methods of harsh punishment to ensure that children

will obey them, indirectly teaching children that aggression and force are the means to exert authority and power (Harkness, 1993).

Furthermore, these parenting styles often result in children that become affiliated with maladaptive adolescent peer groups (Brown et al., 1993). The effects of harsh parental punishment and maladaptive peer groups are magnified by the exposure to chronic community violence. Past research has indicated that an adolescent is more likely to engage in criminal and antisocial behavior if he or she has witnessed or been a victim of a violent act in their community (Bell, 1993). Development can be negatively impacted if an adolescent witnesses a murder or attack. Additionally, fear of harm, displacement, separation from parents or siblings, and negative parental reaction to fear all have a detrimental impact on youth development and have been linked to impaired cognitive abilities and increased delinquent and violent behavior (Martinez & Richters, 1993).

Even if adolescents do not personally experience a violent incident, residing in a community that experiences chronic violence has a serious psychological impact on adolescents (APA, 1993). Children and youth experience PTSD-like symptoms including nervousness, sleep problems, stress, and loneliness. Furthermore, children residing in a community with chronic violence participate in an increased amount of antisocial behavior (Miller et al., 1999). School performance and cognitive abilities are also negatively impacted (Bell & Jenkins, 1993). Youth can experience "pathological adaptations" such as low affective response to violent events and a fatalistic outlook. Youth also develop a maladaptive sense of morals. These adolescents consequently are

more likely to become involved in anti-social and high risk behaviors, such as drug and alcohol abuse, prostitution, and crime (Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Miller et al., 1999).

There are specific gender differences for adolescents living in situations of chronic community violence. Past research has indicated that males are exposed to more chronic community violence than females living in the same area. However, past research is conflicted about the existence of gender-specific emotional response to chronic community violence. Some research found few gender differences (Schwarz & Kowalski, 1991), while other studies showed that females experience greater levels of depression and PTSD than their male counterparts (Fitzpatrick, 1993; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993). If gender differences exist for the internal and external behavior of adolescents, it is likely that they will also exist in peer group relationships. For example, adolescent male relationships are founded on participation in mutual activities, while adolescent female relationships are founded on interpersonal communication (Coleman & Hendry, 1999; Heaven, 1994).

Adolescents are at a particularly high risk because they act in a more self-destructive manner than younger children (Pynoos & Eth, 1985). Children can be resilient to traumatic events, but research has shown that youth who experience a traumatic event after the age of 12 are more likely to show symptoms of PTSD (Joop, 2001). PTSD is the most common result of traumatic events, particularly those events that are not a result of a natural disaster, but come about as a result of human behavior (Joop, 2001). A recent study also revealed that young adults in urban settings are more likely to experience traumatic events and consequently anxiety and affective disorders. It was suggested that the witnessing of or participation in these traumatic events may be

linked to differential exposure to high-risk situations for urban constituents (Breslau, Davis, Andreski, & Peterson, 1991). Furthermore, witnessing the helplessness of adults in the face of poverty, despair, and violence may shake adolescent faith in adults and increase the importance of the peer group (Osofsky, 1997). Other factors prevalent in communities with chronic community violence that can promote violent, aggressive, and antisocial behavior include socioeconomic status, psychological disposition, family difficulties, lack of resources, and prolonged situations of fear and tension (Cairns, 1987; Pynoos, 1993; Pynoos & Nader, 1993; Terr, 1991).

Current research indicates that chronic community violence has an impact on both the individual adolescent and the family (Cairns, 1997; Celia, 1994; Errante, 1997; Joop, 2001). However, this research does not address the role of the adolescent peer group, an important mediator of adolescent behavior. Without looking at the peer group, current research cannot integrate the complex network of factors that affect adolescents in situations of chronic community violence.

It is important to understand the relationship between chronic community violence and the adolescent peer group because peer group associations have a particularly significant influence on adolescent delinquency. Delinquent behavior occurs most often in a group setting and deviant peer associations can perpetuate delinquent behavior through peer pressure, modeling, and social reinforcement (Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999). Research has suggested that one of the foremost predictors of delinquent behavior is engaging in a social context with deviant peers (Arnold & Hughes, 1999).

Specifically, past research has suggested that the contextual influence of the adolescent peer group, rather than parental influence, shapes the psychological

characteristics of adolescents (Harris, 1995; 1998). Harris utilized group socialization theory to suggest that "children would develop into the same sort of adults if we left them in their homes, their schools, their neighborhoods, and their cultural or subcultural groups, but switched all the parents around" (p. 461). The cultural norms and identity of the adolescent peer group filter parental, school, and neighborhood influences on the adolescent (Harris, 1995; 1998). These norms also denote experiences that are important for the adolescent to participate in to be a part of the group identity. These experiences can be adaptive or maladaptive and modify an adolescent's psychological characteristics through the processes of assimilation and differentiation (Harris, 1995; 1998). Adolescents assimilate to become more like their peers, and differentiate to emphasize their individual differences. The contextual situation denotes which of these processes the adolescent utilized. Harris (1995; 1998) also suggests that the absence of a functioning peer group is more detrimental to the psychological development of an adolescent than the absence of a functioning parental structure. The adolescent peer group is also important because past research has indicated that as youth get older, their parents are less aware of their exposure to violence. The only individuals that can truly empathize and support youth in relation to their violent experiences, are their peers. Peers are able to identify because they experience similar exposure to violence (Sweatt, Harding, Knight-Lynn, Rasheed, & Carter, 2002).

As a result of limited research, many current interventions concentrate on parenting skills and individual coping skills rather than looking at this problem as the multidimensional issue it is (Flannery & Williams, 1999). It is important to conduct

research on adolescents because much of the literature on community violence has focused on children and their parents, and not on adolescents (Sweatt et al., 2002).

Cultural-Historical-Activity-Theory (CHAT): Putting the pieces together

Cultural-historical-activity theory (CHAT) allows the researcher to explore multidimensional research phenomena by incorporating the issues of culture, community and context (Tharp, 2003). This conceptual model combines several influential theories in ecological and community psychology to study the complex interdependent relationship between social, cultural, and historical contexts and individuals (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vygotsky, 1981; Wells & Claxton, 2002).

CHAT is based on the social context and the individual within a social context. The social context refers to the ecological environment in which the individual is enmeshed. Instead of looking at the ecological environment as a separate entity affected by the individual, the individual is enmeshed within the ecological environment and participates in a reciprocal relationship with the environmental standards, systems, and distinct procedures that influence an individual's behavior and are in turn influenced by an individual's behavior. Both the ecological environment and the individual's behavior are interdependent existing as a function of each other.

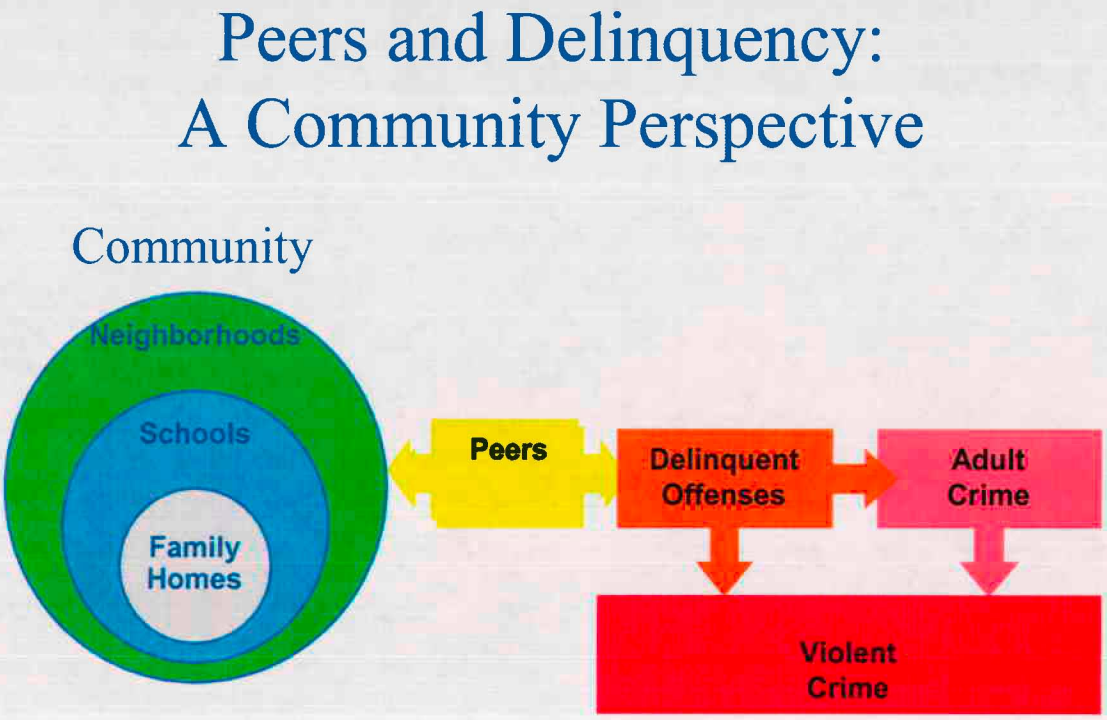
One example of a theory of social context in relation to adolescents is O'Donnell and Tharp's (1990) community-based activity settings theory. According to this theory, activity settings are a basic unit of analysis for community intervention. They consist of six major components: (1) physical resources, (2) funds, (3) time, (4) symbols, (5) people, and (6) positions. They can be thought of as contextualized human interaction (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990; Vygotsky, 1981). The underlying principle of activity

settings is that the six major components and the behavior of an individual are interdependent and as stated by O'Donnell and Tharp (1990) ". . . behavior and relationships form a cycle linked by activities in which who you know leads to who you are to who you know, until who you are is who you know."

Activity setting theory was influenced by similar units of analysis, namely the microsystem (Brofenbrenner, 1979), the behavior setting (Barker, 1978), and the microsetting (O'Donnell, 1980). However, the activity setting offers a unique perspective that "unifies subjective experience, behavior, and external features into a common phenomenon" (O'Donnell, Tharp, & Wilson, 1993). Through this unification both "objective reality" and "subjective experience" can be incorporated into research models (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990; O'Donnell et al., 1993).

Juvenile delinquency is a phenomenon that is affected by a myriad of ever-changing factors (Adler & Laufer, 1995). Utilization of activity settings as a basis for a model on juvenile delinquency is helpful to accurately and thoroughly assess the impact of such a wide variety of influences. O'Donnell (1998; 2000; 2003) has designed a practical peer mediation model linking the peer group activity setting with juvenile delinquency that utilizes activity settings as the basis of analysis (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: A community perspective on the pathways of delinquent behavior



This model assesses the impact of neighborhood, schools, and family homes on adult criminal behavior through the mediating variables of peer groups and delinquency. Family factors such as parental substance abuse problems, school factors such as poor academic performance, and neighborhood factors such as access to firearms have all been extensively shown to significantly affect rates of juvenile delinquency (Griffin, Scheier, Borvin, Diaz, & Miller, 1999). The nature of the relationship between individuals and their neighborhoods, schools and families is very important to establish when studying delinquency because these institutions can have a preventive influence. However, the preventive influences of the neighborhood, schools and family on delinquent behavior are mediated through their effects on adolescent peer influences (Werner, 1990). Therefore,

in order to prevent adolescent delinquent behavior the family, school, and neighborhood must positively influence the adolescent peer group.

Adolescents living in areas of chronic community violence are at increased risk for engaging in delinquent and violent behavior. As demonstrated in the peer mediation model, neighborhood is just one category of risks involved in juvenile delinquency. Characteristics of adolescents living in areas of chronic community violence, including their lowered socioeconomic status, psychological disposition, family difficulties, lack of resources, and prolonged situations of fear and tension, also increase their risk for delinquency. Neighborhood is an important facet to consider because it can exert a powerful influence on adolescent violent and delinquent behavior (Riner & Flynn, 1999).

CHAT goes beyond looking at the relationships targeted by activity settings theory and also incorporates culture and history into the conceptual framework. Culture is important to consider when studying adolescent peer groups because culture can directly affect peer relationships which, in accordance with the activity settings' model, can affect the rate of delinquent behavior. Because physical, psychological and social changes in adolescents vary immensely across cultures, it is important to consider culture as a key contextual variable in adolescent development (Friedman, 1993).

An in-depth inquiry into cultural variations of adolescence indicated that adolescent development is significantly affected by cultural affiliation (Acosta, 2003; Friedman, 1993; Pilgrim, Luo, Urgerg, & Fang, 1999). Specifically, research has indicated that culturally shaped beliefs and attitudes have an effect on adolescent socialization, social competence, relationships, moral and intellectual development, and risk taking behaviors (Friedman, 1993; Pilgrim, Luo, Urgerg, & Fang, 1999). Parental,

peer, and societal interactions vary across cultures due to culturally dependent social and moral development. Therefore, cultural affiliation can have a protective or degenerative effect on adolescent development and needs to be in the forefront of any investigation of adolescent behavior. Cultural beliefs and values are mediated through the family, school, neighborhood and, most importantly, the peer group (Acosta, 2003).

Historical influences also have an impact on adolescent behavior and adolescent peer groups (Vygotsky, 1981). Activity settings inherently have a cultural basis and are the mechanism through which culture transforms and develops. Changes in culture are materialized as changes in the components of activity settings and the interaction of those components. Historical influences are embedded in culture, and since culture is transformed and developed through activity settings, "the community's history exists into present time, a still potent element of current experience" (Tharp, 2003). Culture and community are interdependent because as the community conducts its' activities it accrues culture as well as disseminates it by engaging new members (Tharp, 2003). This interdependent process develops over time integrating history as an important factor in contemporary behavior.

Community Violence in Urban Areas of Brazil and the US

In Brazil rising populations, agricultural modernization, migration, and economic and social problems have resulted in a dramatic increase in violent crime and a chronic violence problem in the urban areas. The vast economic differences between rich and poor make Brazil one of the most imbalanced societies in the world. Approximately 10% of the population earns 47% of the total income (Goldstein, 1994). Poverty and inequity contribute to the chronic violence which is particularly frightening in Brazil because the

perpetrators are frequently adolescents (Celia, 1994). Brazil is a unique country because in urban areas approximately 40% of youth in Brazil are living in difficult circumstances due to high levels of community violence and poverty (Klees, Rizzini, & Dewees, 2000). Once seen as a problem of national security, these youth are now viewed as an unfortunate facet of criminal activity (Celia, 1994).

According to official statistics about half of the 140 million people in Brazil are between zero and 19 years of age. In this age range, 36 million (51%) were underprivileged, 7 million (10%) had been abandoned, and 427,000 (1%) were institutionalized (Celia, 1994). Violent crime and specifically youth participation in violent crime is increasing (Adorno, Biderman, Feiguin, Lima , 1995). Since 1981 the homicide rate has more than doubled and of these deaths 47% were young males between 15 and 24 years of age (Adorno et al., 1995; Zaluar, Albuquerque, & Noronha, 1995). In Brazil the leading cause of death for youth between 15 and 18 years of age is homicide. Most of the perpetrators of these crimes are also adolescents. Many youth in Brazil over 14 years old are killing others their own age or being killed (Zaluar et al., 1995).

The development of youth in Brazil is negatively impacted because their lives are permeated by violence (Hecht, 2002; McCreery, 2001; Mickelson, 2000; Ribeiro & Ciampone, 2001). Brazilian youth are often looking for social support among their peer groups and it is common that youth are required to participate in maladaptive group activities, such as substance abuse and theft (Ribeiro & Ciampone, 2001). Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1994) outlined the relationship between inadequate economic conditions and psychological development in Brazil, concentrating on the violence that is an integral part of Brazilian culture. In reference to herself and her adolescent child, a

Brazilian mother states "Our lives and deaths are very cheap. . what does it matter, one more or one less?" (p. 247). Violence in Brazil is not only an act committed by criminals, but by the militaristic governmental and policing structures. Current Brazilian society no longer views the problem of youth homelessness and violence in Brazil with pity, but now looks upon this issue with fear (Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1994).

Youth in urban centers in America also deal with chronic community violence. Approximately 4 million adolescents in America (10%) have been victims of a serious physical assault, and 9 million (23%) have observed serious violence during their lifetimes. African-American youth are most exposed to violence, followed by Latinos, and Caucasians–regardless of economic status (Crouch, Hanson, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Resnick, 2000). Violent crime is not equally distributed across areas, but occurs primarily in urban, low-income neighborhoods and disproportionately affects males, youths, and minorities in these areas (Buka et al., 2001; Cooley-Quille, Boyd, Frantz, & Walsh, 2001; Sweatt et al., 2002). Children in lower income households witness violence more than children in higher income households (Crouch et al., 2000). In 1998, approximately 17% of all adolescents in America lived in households with income levels below the poverty line and an additional 20% of adolescents lived in households near poverty level (CDC, 2000). Both victims and perpetrators of violence are increasingly adolescents (Sweatt et al., 2002). Furthermore, one in 12 adolescents in high school is threatened or injured with a weapon every year (Whalen, 2002).

In 1999 Baltimore was considered by the FBI to be the most violent city in the United States, and the DEA indicated that it was also the most drug-addicted (Whalen, 2002). According to 2000 FBI Uniform Crime Reports, Baltimore's rate of violent crime

(2,469.8) was almost five times the national average (506.1), with the rate of murder (40.3) and robbery (1,020.6) approximately 7 times higher than the national average rate of murder (5.5) and robbery (144.9) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000). Firearm homicides among adolescent males (up to 19) are five times higher in Baltimore than the rest of Maryland (CDC, 2002), and more than half of all firearm homicides of those under age 20 in Maryland were Baltimore residents (CDC, 2002). Maryland ranked third in firearm homicide victimization among youth in the United States (CDC, 2002) and highest for handgun murders committed by youth under age 18 (The Violence Policy Center, 2001). The inner areas of Baltimore are home to many violent experiences for youth and adults. Simon and Burns (1997) discussed the maladaptive strength of the Baltimore city environment stating that the culture of violence and addiction in those areas are "equal to or greater than all the legal barriers and social programming arrayed against them" (p. 541).

Past research has looked only at the effects of chronic community violence on the family and the individual youth. Therefore, it is important to work toward an ecological model that incorporates the peer group as a facet of the model. This exploratory study focused on the peer group aspect of the ecological model. Past research has indicated that the peer group is an important mediator of delinquent behavior. The primary purpose of this study was to explore how the peer group mediates this behavior in communities with high rates of chronic violence. Specifically, youth perceptions in two cities, similar in rates of chronic community violence and dissimilar in the composition of racial and ethnic groups were explored. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore were studied to examine differences in peer attachment, peer influence, peer group activities,

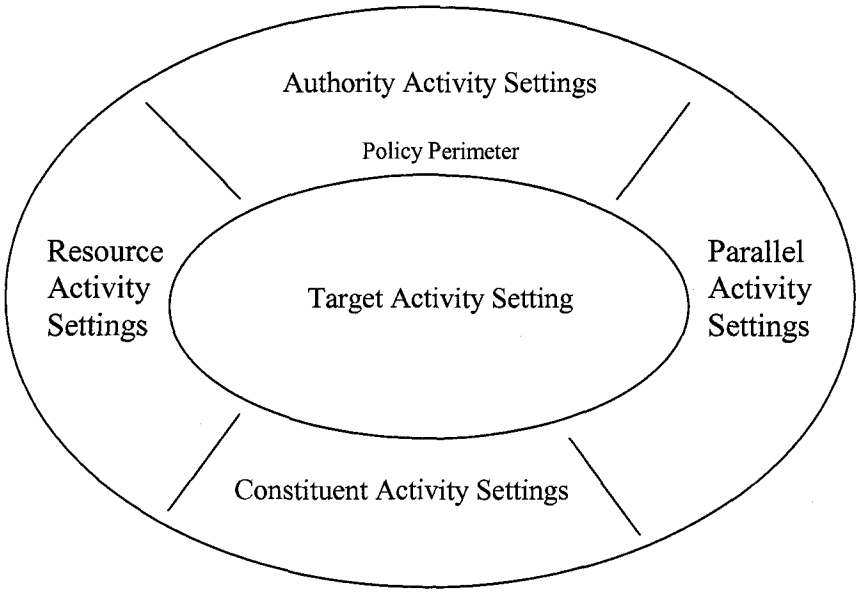
opportunities for pro-social community involvement, neighborhood resources and perceptions of neighborhood safety. Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore were chosen because of their high rates of violent crime and the predominance of adolescents involved in violent crimes in these cities (Adorno et al., 1995; CDC, 2002; Crouch et al., 2000; Whalen, 2002; Zaluar et al., 1995).

As demonstrated by CHAT, the adolescent peer group is not an independent entity but an interdependent part of the various contextual and cultural systems surrounding it. Therefore, this study examined the adolescent peer group, adolescent violence prevention and intervention programs, and the state legislative system. The adolescent peer group was the activity setting of interest. To understand the adolescent peer group in context, the activity settings around the peer group must be considered.

There are four types of surrounding activity settings: authority activity settings, parallel activity settings, resource activity settings, and constituent activity settings (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990). Authority activity settings control or "authorize" the existence of activity settings through the use of policy and authority over resources necessary for the existence of the activity setting. For example, a meeting of state legislators that pass a policy concerning the funding for public schools in an urban area would directly influence the school setting. Parallel activity settings are constructed of behaviors and/or intents similar to those of the target setting. Resource activity settings consist of resources that are related to the participants of the target activity setting. For example, prevention and intervention programs comprise resource activity settings. Constituent activity settings consist of individuals that profit from their interaction with

participants in the target activity setting. Figure 2 contains a conceptual diagram of the target and surrounding activity settings (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990, p. 259).

Figure 2: The target activity setting in context



It is the secondary purpose of this study to explore two surrounding activity settings, one that works directly with the participants in the target activity settings and one that does not. Resource activity settings and authority activity settings were examined to look for differences between these activity settings in areas similar in rates of chronic community violence and dissimilar in the composition of racial ethnic groups. Specifically this study sought to explore the differences in adolescent violence prevention and intervention programs (resource activity settings) and the state legislative approach (authority activity settings) to adolescent offenders in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro.

Violence prevention and intervention programs can be labeled resource activity settings because a beneficial relationship exists between the members of the target

activity settings (adolescents) and the resource activity setting (the intervention and prevention programs). Adolescents that participate in violence prevention and intervention programs are utilizing these programs as an external resource. Current adolescent violence prevention and intervention programs are usually the result of a partnership between two or more settings (Flannery & Williams, 1999), e.g., a school violence initiative that utilizes peer mentors is an interrelationship between the peer group and the school settings.

The state legislative approach to adolescent offenders can be labeled as authority activity settings because adolescent behavior is sanctioned by state law. For example, a policy that decreases the age at which juveniles are transferred from juvenile to criminal court has a direct impact on the sentencing of those offenders. The behavior of juvenile violent offenders is subsequently sanctioned by these decisions. State-level legislative policies that involve violence and adolescents were reviewed as authority activity settings.

Chapter 2. Methods

Interview and survey data were collected to triangulate sources of data. Twelve interviews were conducted and 209 questionnaires were completed. A focus group was conducted before the administration of the questionnaire to assess the questionnaire for clarity and completeness. Each method of data collection is discussed in detail below.

Participants

The interview participants consisted of seven male and five female American adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18. Participants were not matched by socioeconomic status or ethnic background, but taken as a naturalistic sample. The participants were given a parent consent form to have signed before completing the questionnaire (see Appendix A). The parents kept the top sheet of the consent form that explained the procedures for the study and contained the contact information for the principal investigator. Upon return of the parent permission form an interview was scheduled. A written individual assent form was also given directly before the interview was conducted (see Appendix C), as well as a short demographic questionnaire. The interviews ranged in time from 30-50 minutes depending on communication and willingness of the participants.

Of the 209 students that were recruited to complete the questionnaire, 120 were from the Baltimore public school system and 89 were from two communities in Brazil. The participants were between 14-18 years old and were not matched by gender, socioeconomic status, or ethnic background, but taken as a naturalistic sample.

The 89 participants who completed the questionnaire in Brazil were recruited through the Brazilian agency Promundo, a Latin American organization that sponsors an array of violence prevention initiatives and through the assistance of the Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UFFE). The 120 participants who completed the questionnaire in Baltimore were recruited from Patterson High School, a high school in inner-city Baltimore. The group consisted of 105 males and 90 females. Two participants from Rio de Janeiro and 12 participants from Baltimore did not indicate their sex. After completing eight years of fundamental or junior school, students in Brazil attend secondary or high school which consists of three levels. Then students are required to pass a vestibular, or an exam that allows them to progress on to a federal university in Brazil. Fifty-five of the participants were completing their first year of secondary school, 17 had completed their first year of secondary school, 14 were completing their second level of secondary school, and three participants had completed the second level of secondary school. Participants in Baltimore all attended Patterson high school and were in 9^{th} (n=27), 10^{th} (n=35), 11^{th} (n=30), and 12^{th} (n=12) grades. Sixteen individuals from Baltimore did not indicate their grade level.

The cultural background of the participants from Baltimore is as follows: 89 Black, 18 White, 3 American Indian, 2 Hispanic, 2 Mixed, 1 Chinese, 1 Filipino, 1 Portuguese, and 1 Asian. The cultural background of the participants from Rio de Janeiro is as follows: 43 "Parda" or dark brown skin color, 18 White, 16 Black , 4 "Morena" or tan skin color, 3 Indigenous Indian (Brazilian), 1 "Amarela" or yellow skin color. In Brazil, surveys frequently ask people to identify their background by indicating their skin color because the traditional demographic categories such as Mulatto and Mestizo are

historically linked to caste systems (Lesser, 1999). However, it may be assumed that those indicating "Parda" are Mulatto, coming from a Spanish and Black African cultural background, those indicating "Morena" are Mestizo, coming from a Spanish and Indian cultural background, and those indicating "Amarela" come from an Asian cultural background (Goldstein, 2003). Two participants from Baltimore and four participants from Rio de Janeiro were unsure of their cultural background and replied "don't know". The participants ranged in age from 14-18, with no significant differences in age between participants in Rio de Janeiro ($M = 16.03$; $SD = 0.93$) and in Baltimore ($M = 15.55$; $SD = 1.01$). Participants were given parental consent forms by community members and members of the research team and required to present them before completing the questionnaire (See Appendix A). The parents kept the top sheet of the consent form that explained the procedures for the study and contained the contact information for the principal investigator.

Of the 150 parent permission forms handed out in Rio de Janeiro, 63 participants did not turn in parental consent forms and therefore did not participate. In Baltimore, of the 2,100 parental consent forms handed out, only 120 individuals returned those forms to complete the survey. Those participants that returned consent forms were also given an individual consent form to complete directly prior to the completion of the questionnaire (See Appendix B).

The participants in Baltimore were recruited from Patterson high school. Inhabitants of Baltimore are primarily Black (64%), but also consist of individuals who are White (32%), Asian (2%), and Native American and mixed descent (2%) (O'Malley, 2001). The Baltimore public school district is attended by students that originate from

the surrounding city districts and attend Ashburton, Barclay, Dickey Hill, Francis Scott Key, Glenmount, Guilford, Hamilton, Hazelwood, Lakeland, Morrell Park, Mt. Royal, New Song Academy, Patterson, Rognel Heights, Roland Park, Violetville, Westport, and Woodhome High Schools. The high schools in Baltimore have approximately 24,000 students and approximately 46% of the total school enrollment at Baltimore public high schools receive free or reduced-cost lunch. The high school assessment scores for Baltimore public school students were among the lowest in the state, the 28 percentile, and the withdrawal rate is among the highest (24%). The average SAT score for Baltimore students is 832 out of 1,600, the second-worst among 22 urban areas in the nation (Yakimowski, McCrary, & Connolly, 2002).

At Patterson high school the enrollment in the 2002-2003 school year was 1,905 students. In the 2002-2003 school year, 61% of students at Patterson high school were eligible for free (30%) or reduced (31%) lunch. Black students comprised 70% of the student population, followed by White (21%), Hispanic (6%), and American Indian (2%) students.

During the 2001-2002 school year at Patterson high school 86% of the student population had passed the Maryland Functional Testing Program by 11th grade. These percentages are below the Maryland average of 95%. The Maryland Functional Testing Program indicates basic proficiency in reading, math, and writing. The test is initially given to sixth and seventh graders, and then given annually to those that don't pass until they achieve success. A student must pass the test to graduate from a Maryland high school. In 2002, Patterson high school students taking the SAT scored a total average of 679, a decrease of an average of 41 points over the last five years. Patterson high school

is located in the northeastern section of Baltimore city and was reconstituted locally in 1995.

This school serves many of Baltimore's at-risk students, influenced by poverty, violence, weakened family units, and substance abuse. On almost every account, this school experiences more acute problems than other schools in its school system. Patterson high school has high rates of absenteeism and drop-out. The average attendance rate at Patterson high school was 80%, and 53% of students at Patterson were absent more than 20 days during the 2001-2002 school year. Furthermore, 25% of Patterson students withdrew during the 2001-2002 school year. Rates of serious infractions, such as assault, robbery, weapon and drug possession, vandalism, and theft, are higher at this school and rates of graduating students attending college is lower than most other Maryland high schools. Patterson high school was chosen as part of a nine school collaborative effort by the chief executive of Baltimore city public schools to undergo a reform effort labeled "The Blueprint". This effort targets schools with severe problems and seeks to make these schools model reform schools. This $10 million effort is still ongoing, but has been scaled down due to many recent budget cuts and the revised budget is currently undecided.

In Brazil, participants originated from two communities: (1) Santa Marta, a favela in the southern part of Rio de Janeiro (45 participants)and (2) Itaoca, a low income area in the western part of Rio de Janeiro (44 participants). These sites are areas where Promundo works with community groups to improve violence prevention and intervention efforts. Rio de Janeiro is the second largest city in Brazil with 10,650,000 inhabitants, approximately 6% of the population of Brazil. The population consists of

three main ethnic groups. Individuals who are considered "White" come from German, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and Polish descent and comprise 55% of the population. Individuals who are mixed "White/African" compromise 38% of the population and individuals of "African" descent compromise 6% of the population. There is also a small percentage of Japanese, Arab and Amerindians (1%). The literacy rate in Brazil is 91% (World Almanac, 2003).

The community of Santa Marta is also commonly referred to as the morro or favela Dona Marta. Only the community members call their community by the religious name "Santa" or Saint. This name confusion originated with the settlement of this community on the hill named after a lady farmer who occupied this region, Dona Marta, or in English Mrs. Marta. The media still refers to this area as Dona Marta, but this refers to the location of the community of Santa Marta. Santa Marta was formed in the 1940's by the families of freed slaves in Brazil. Having no where to go or live, 11 families settled on the hill Dona Marta. These families were devout Catholics and decided to name their community Santa Marta in honor of their religious beliefs.

This community is located in the neighborhood of Botafogo in the South Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro and, unlike other Brazilian favelas, is strategically located near many jobs in the city. According to the Brazilian Institute of Statistics and Geography (IBGE), Santa Marta is occupied by approximately 4,000 residents, while residents of this community report between 9,000-10,000 inhabitants. There are between 1,000-2,500 residences built by community members. These residences often house multiple families and are constructed with several divisions and independent entrances.

Sanitation is partly accessible to the community via the local canal, but interruptions in water supply are quite common in Santa Marta because the water pipes are suspended in the air above the city. The local government assists in maintaining the common areas of the community and Rio Luz, a private electric company, provides power to the favela. There is even an Internet Café in the center of the community where individuals can surf the internet for $R 1 an hour, approximately $0.30 in American currency. However, because of its steep location and high population density, Santa Marta has been excluded from many city-wide urban improvement efforts. The health clinic in the favela is currently not functioning due to lack of funding and regardless of political promises, nothing has changed. Despite its many challenges, Santa Marta keeps faith with two Catholic churches and seven evangelic temples. There are also street markets, supermarkets, and several small shops to keep the community invigorated.

Violence in Santa Marta is very common. The steep location, maze-like street, stair construction and escape ladders make it a strategic site for gang and drug activity. Santa Marta has even gained notoriety in the United States by appearing in a 1995 Michael Jackson video clip for his song "They don't care about us". In order to shoot this video the director, Spike Lee, negotiated with the drug traffickers that "ran" the community for access and security. The situation in Santa Marta was especially delicate during this research project because a week before the survey and interviews were conducted, the community leader, the drug trafficker that "ran" Santa Marta, was murdered. Marcio Amaro de Oliveira, also known as Marcinho VP, was strangled in a Rio de Janeiro prison on August 1, 2003. Therefore the community was "hot" or visited frequently by police, resulting in very suspicious community members. Access to the

community was possible because of Promundo's already existing relationships with community members.

The other community in Rio de Janeiro that was surveyed for this project was on Itaoca island, across Guanabara Bay from Santa Marta. This island holds approximately 6,000 inhabitants and still needs basic services like sanitation, pavement and the regular collection of copious amounts of dirt that is generated from the ongoing expansion of the landfill that comprises a large section of the island. There is only one school on the island, CIEP 430 - Carlos Mariguella, where many of the students study and work for the Programa Juventude de Baia de Guanabara or Youth Program of Guanabara Bay. Participants were recruited from this program that serves juveniles between 15-17 years who are at risk for using and/or trafficking drugs. In both the Santa Marta and Itaoca communities adolescents are at risk for becoming involved in the selling and using of drugs because there is little hope for an improved quality of life with any other professions. In both communities, members are self-sustaining and strongly rooted to their community. Itaoca is renowned for the giant landfill located in this area and most community members work at the landfill or in an environmental position concerning the landfill. There are also a handful of fishermen that inhabit this area. Employment in Santa Marta is similar, with community members working for low wages in non-professional positions such as construction worker and street vendor. Despite the employment opportunities at the landfill and in Santa Marta, juveniles still see drug trafficking as the easiest way to improve their station of life.

Although the communities in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro are similar in rates of chronic community violence, they are dissimilar in many other important facets, poverty

being perhaps the most influential of these factors. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro experience a level of poverty beyond that of the adolescents in Baltimore. This poverty influences their shelter, safety, and other important aspects of their health and well-being (Carr & Sloan, 2004; Marsella, 1998).

Measures

The interviews were formatted to utilize a "prompt" style to elicit information about themselves, their peer group activity setting and their neighborhood. Specifically, participants were asked about the demographics of their peer group, their peer group activities, the influence of their peer group, and their attachment to their peer group (see Appendix E). They were also asked about their perceptions of neighborhood safety, neighborhood resources, and opportunities for pro-social community involvement.

The questionnaire was constructed in English and then translated into Portuguese for use with the Brazilian adolescents with help from a Washington State University Brazilian History professor, a professor from the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UFFE), and an associate of the Promundo organization. Back translation was utilized to ensure that meaning was not lost in the translation process. A bilingual associate from Promundo and a bilingual current student from UFFE and the Pontifica University Catholica assisted with logistical and translational issues. Specifically, these individuals aided in the development of the measures, data collection, and data analysis to ensure cultural sensitivity in measures, proper colloquial translation, and to offer intimate knowledge of historical events pertinent to the analysis of data.

The questionnaire was pilot-tested by focus group participants, and alterations to wording and peer group activity categories were made according to their suggestions.

Two focus groups were organized, one in Rio de Janeiro and one in Baltimore. There were five participants in each focus group and they followed similar consent and assent procedures as the interviewees (see Appendix D). The focus groups were each given a copy of the questionnaire and asked to review it for clarity, readability, and relevance of peer group activities. Participants were asked to suggest changes to the questionnaire to ensure that it was readable for the age group, culturally sensitive for the geographic region, and that the range of peer group activities was complete and reflective of local culture.

For example, focus group participants in Rio de Janeiro thought that going to a rave or funk dance (baile funk) was a peer group activity that was done frequently by many of their peers, and it was added to the list of peer group activities on the questionnaire. Conversely, they felt that cruising/driving around was not an activity that their peer groups engaged in and it was removed from the peer group activity question. Also, if many focus group participants had trouble with the wording of a certain question, suggestions on how to make it clearer were considered and the question was changed to be more understandable. Changes and additions were made to the questionnaire before distribution.

The questionnaire consisted of five measures: (1) a demographic and cultural affiliation section, (2) a scale assessing the participants attachment to their peers, (3) a scale assessing the influence of the peer group on the participants, (4) a scale assessing participants perceptions of their community comprised of subscales to assess the participants perceptions of neighborhood safety, opportunities for pro-social involvement in the community, neighborhood resources, perceived availability of handguns and drugs,

and social disorganization; and (5) a scale assessing the activities of the participants and their peer group. The final draft of the questionnaire is presented in Appendices F (English) and G (Portuguese).

Demographic characteristics and cultural affiliation. The questionnaire consisted of general demographic questions (i.e., age, sex, grade), but also sought to identify the cultural affiliation of the participant. Specifically, the participants were asked to identify both the ethnicity/race of their biological parents and their own ethnic background. The demographic categories for the Portuguese survey were taken from past research on the racial make-up of the Brazilian people and the suggestions of affiliates from the Promundo organization that are currently conducting research in Brazil (Page, 1995; Ribeiro, 2000; Sheriff, 2001). Also, four questions about cultural affiliation were asked to assess the extent that participants identify, are proud of, and are comfortable with their ethnic background. These four questions were from the Ethnic Affiliation subscale of the Attitudinal Index of Ethnic Identity (Yamada, Marsella, & Atuel, 2002).

Peer attachment. To measure attachment to peers the participants were asked to rate on a Likert scale ranging from never (1) to always (6) how often their friends encouraged them to do well in school, how often they confide in their peers and how often they would like to be the kind of person their friends are (Acosta, 2003).

Peer influence. To assess peer influence, the participants were asked to rate on a Likert scale ranging from never (1) to always (6) how often they dress like peers, act like their peers, and how often they consider how their friends will react before acting (Acosta, 2003).

Perceptions of community. This section of the questionnaire assessed the overall community safety by examining perception of neighborhood resources, neighborhood safety, social disorganization (Chin & Kameoka, 2002), opportunities for pro-social involvement, and availability of handguns and drugs in the neighborhood (Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, 2003). The subscales on perceptions of neighborhood resources and safety were from the Self-Efficacy Scale for Future Attainment (Chin & Kameoka, 2002). Neighborhood resources were assessed through questions asking about the availability of community resources such as parks and libraries. Neighborhood safety was assessed through five questions asking about the participants' perception of their neighborhood.

The subscales on social disorganization, perceived availability of handguns and drugs in the neighborhood, and opportunities for pro-social involvement were from the Student Survey of Risk and Protective Factors (Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, 2003). The social disorganization scale looked at graffiti, perceived feeling of safety, crime, drug-selling, fights, and abandoned properties in the area. The scale of opportunities for pro-social involvement measured the availability of clubs and sports activities in the neighborhood. The perceived availability of handguns and drugs in the neighborhood utilized a rating scale that ranges from "very easy to acquire" to "very hard to acquire" for a variety of substances and weapons.

Peer group activities. This section of the questionnaire assessed the after school and weekend activities of the peer group. Questions were also asked to determine the initiator of the activities and the roles of the peers involved, i.e., girlfriend, best friend.

Demographic information about the peer group was also assessed to determine the characteristics of individuals involved in the peer group activities.

Procedure

The interview data were collected utilizing prompting statements and open-ended questions addressing various aspects of peer relationships. The interviewer encouraged self-evaluation by requesting that the participants reflect on their self-perceptions and responses. Prompts were designed to ask the participants questions such as who their friends are, what types of activities they do with their friends, when they do these activities, who they most commonly do these activities with, how important their friends are, and how important their friends opinions are (See Appendix E).

The interviews were conducted in a quiet and private area and ranged in length from 25 to 50 minutes. In Rio de Janeiro the interviews were conducted in a classroom in the Catholic church adjacent to the Praça Santa Marta. A local member of the research team affiliated with Promundo conducted the interviews with supervision from the principal investigator. In Baltimore, the interviews were conducted in a small alcove near the cafeteria. The principal investigator conducted the interviews in Baltimore. In both cities, the interviewers presented the questions in a dialogue manner, to keep the interview relaxed and the participants comfortable and fluent. All participants agreed (N= 23), to have the interviews tape-recorded. The tape recordings of the Baltimore interviews were transcribed using word processing software.

The interview data were collected to provide in-depth insight into adolescent perceptions of community resources and danger, peer group activities and dynamics among peer group members. This data will compliment the survey data which offers

only a general impression of peer group activities, peer group demographics and community strengths and weaknesses. The survey is limited by its' construction and use of subscales that were designed for populations within the United States.

Distribution of survey instruments. The survey instruments were consolidated into three different packets of varying order to control for order effects. They were then distributed, filled out, and returned to the investigator by the participants upon completion. In Baltimore, the questionnaires were distributed, completed, and collected with the assistance of a teacher during the school day. Participants completed the questionnaire before or after school or during their lunch break. In Brazil, the questionnaires were distributed to participants during violence prevention events organized by Promundo and completed individually. Adolescents completed the questionnaire during the event(s) and immediately returned it to the investigator. The participants were directed to fill out the questionnaire on their own and verbal directions were read for each section and explained prior to beginning the questionnaire. The participants were also encouraged to ask questions about any aspect of the questionnaire that they found difficult to understand.

Chapter 3. Interview Results

The following chapter describes the interview findings from Baltimore. Interviews from Rio de Janeiro were not returned by the translator and so could not be analyzed. However, interview participants in Rio de Janeiro were particularly suspicious and hesitant to confide in the interviewer. Marcio Amaro de Oliveira, the resident drug lord was assassinated in prison a week before the interviews were held. At the time of the interviews, there was much instability in the community and several local drug lords were attempting to gain control of the community. Interview data from Baltimore provided a rich community description of neighborhood resources and perceptions of neighborhood danger and offered insight into peer group dynamics for adolescent peer groups in Baltimore that was not possible to discern based on the survey findings. It was not possible to compare findings between the two communities without interview data from Rio de Janeiro.

The Baltimore interview data were analyzed utilizing constant comparative analysis that looks for the constant emergence of similar themes in the interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). After the interviews were completed they were transcribed and then copied and pasted in the data editor of Ethnograph v5.0, a computer-based analytic tool for qualitative data. During the transcription and re-reading of the interviews, the researcher noted several issues that were consistently occurring across interviews.

These ideas were noted using 32 code words to express the general concept of the text. Passages of text that expressed these reoccurring ideas were highlighted and marked with the code words for later review and retrieval with the assistance of Ethnograph. The

coded portions of each interview were reviewed thoroughly and the frequency of each code was determined. Three issues were only raised by one participant so these code words were dropped. Two code words were grouped together because it was determined that they were discussing the same theme. This grouping occurred three times, leaving 23 code words. Those codes that appeared in at least 50% of the interviews were considered themes (18 code words). Categories to organize the themes were explored and seven emerged. The researcher also looked for break-out themes, or themes that offered a realization or reflection that did not appear in other interviews, but that offered insight into the issue at hand. Three break-out themes were identified, totaling 21 themes.

In analyzing the interview transcripts from Baltimore, 21 themes emerged and were grouped into seven categories and breakout themes (See Table 1). These themes explored the adolescent peer group by looking at peer group dynamics, peer group demographics, and peer group activities. The interviews also revealed neighborhood characteristics including adolescent perceptions of neighborhood safety and community resources. Interviewees also discussed methods of problem solving, role models and qualities they admire in role models. Three breakout themes emerged from the interview data.

These themes are grouped by general topic (adolescent peer group, neighborhood characteristics, role models, breakout) and category (peer group activities, peer group problem solving, peer group demographics, peer group dynamics, community resources, neighborhood safety, role model, and break out) and then ordered from highest to lowest frequency within each category. The quotations presented are examples of interview

responses and appear in no particular order. The speakers' age is identified and the quotes are organized using pseudonyms to indicate specific participants. Quotations from different interview participants are separated by a blank line. Percentages in these categories do not always add up to 100% because not all participants were asked the same questions, depending on the direction of the interview.

Table 1

Content analyses of Baltimore interview responses

Category	Theme	Code Word(s)	Description	Frequency of responses	No. of Interviews
Peer Group Activities	1	ACTS	General activities that adolescents enjoy doing with peer group	41	12 (100%)
	2	WKEND	Weekend activities adolescents participate in with peer group	15	8 (67%)
	3	AFTSCHL	After school activities adolescents participate in with peer group	14	10 (83%)
	4	CORNER	Hang out on street corners or walk around streets	6	6 (50%)

Peer Group Problem Solving	5	FAMCONFIDE	Confide in family members	22	11 (92%)
	6	FCONFIDE	Confide in peer group members	20	10 (83%)
Peer Group Demographics	7	PAGE	Peer group age demographic	11	10 (83%)
	8	PETHNIC	Peer group ethnic/racial background	9	8 (67%)
Peer Group Dynamics	9	AGREE	Similarities of peer group members	9	9 (75%)
	10	DECIDE/ OLDEST	Discuss who decides what activity the peer group will participate in	8	6 (50%)
Community Resources	11	NORESOUR	Lack of neighborhood resources	16	11 (92%)
	12	COMM/ QUIET	Positive aspects of neighborhood	9	6 (50%)
	13	BUSINESS	Businesses present in neighborhood	6	6 (50%)

Neighborhood Safety	14	DDRUGS/ GUNVIOL	Drugs/drug dealers in neighborhood and gun violence or selling in neighborhood	10	10 (83%)
	15	FIGHT	Gangs or groups of people in neighborhood that fight	7	6 (50%)
	16	NIGHT	Dangerous at night on the streets of their neighborhood	6	6 (50%)
	17	ABANDON	Abandoned buildings in neighborhood	6	6 (50%)
Role Model	18	RMODEL/ ADMIRE	Role model and qualities they admire	11	10 (83%)
Break Out Themes	19	BADOK	Neighborhood has many dangerous aspects but it is still acceptable	4	4 (33%)
	20	HOUSE	Only feel truly safe inside their house	4	4 (33%)
	21	GROUP	Safest to travel outside in a group	2	2 (17%)

Peer Group Activities (Code word "ACTS", "WKEND", "AFTSCHL", Frequency = 70).

Participants in Baltimore indicated a variety of activities that they enjoy participating in with peer group members. Interviewees discussed general preferences, after school activities, and weekend activities. When reviewing the scope of activities, it

was noteworthy that participants indicated hanging out on the street corners or streets was a primary peer group activity.

Participants were asked what types of peer group activities they enjoyed. Interviewees most frequently responded that they enjoy going to the movies (67%), the mall (67%), and hanging out with their friends in a house of one of the peer group members (67%). Other popular peer group activities included watching TV and playing video games (33%), drawing (25%), and partying or clubbing (25%). Less popular activities included talking on the phone (17%), playing board and card games (17%), and writing (17%).

The majority of participants indicated that they spend their weekend hanging around their house (50%) and watching TV (33%). Other peer group weekend activities included playing sports (25%), working (17%), partying or clubbing (17%), and cleaning their room/house (17%).

After school peer group activities were very similar to weekend activities. The majority of interviewees spent their after school hours hanging out in their house (50%), playing sports (33%), and doing homework (25%). A few participants also went cruising with peer group members (17%), watched TV (17%), and worked at a fast food restaurant (17%).

Hanging out on the street corner or streets (Code work "CORNER", Frequency = 6). One particular peer group activity is worth noting individually. Many participants indicated that they frequently spend time with their peer groups hanging out on the street corners or streets (50%). Interviewees also indicated that they continued to participate in

these peer group activities even though they considered the street corners and streets dangerous places to hang out.

Researcher: So where do the kids hang out the most?

Latoya, 17 years: Like, around the corner and stuff. Like, on 6th Ave. and on Park Ave. they hang out.

Researcher: Do you have anything around [your neighborhood] that you can hang out in?

Denise, 16 years: We sometimes hang around below the tracks, there's a hill and an alley where we hang out sometimes when it's warm weather.

Researcher: Where do you usually hang out?

Keisha, 18 years: Sometimes we'll hang out a block up from my house on the corner or we'll just go out for a long walk and talk about stuff like school or work or whatever comes to mind.

Researcher: So you don't go out to party or anything?

Roland, 17 years: Either I go to the club or just to the corner.

Researcher: What kinds of things do you like to do? Hang out?

Roland: I just like to hang outside and walk around my neighborhood even though it's not safe.

Researcher: So is there a park down there that you walk around in?

Ben, 17 years: I just walk around the street. The closest park is 20 minutes to get to.

Researcher: What kinds of things do you like to do together?

Keshawn, 16 years: We like to hang out. Sometimes we walk around and hang out on the corner.

Peer Group Problem Solving

Interview participants discussed their problem solving strategies. Participants indicated that they would most frequently approach an adult family member to ask for advice about a problem or for an opinion, unless the problem concerned family discord or romantic partners.

Discuss important problems and ask opinions of adult family members (Code word "FAMCONFIDE, Frequency = 22). Interview participants were asked who they would go to first if they had a problem. The majority of participants indicated they would first approach an older family member (75%), specifically their parents (58%). The majority of interviewees also indicated that they would also ask an older family member (92%) for their opinion if they were indecisive about what to wear on a "big date", most frequently their parents (50%).

Latoya, 17 years: I talk to my mom. She has the most influence on me.

Michelle, 16 years: My mother. Always, even if it's about boyfriends or something like that?

Denise, 16 years: I speak to my parents; and if they are not around, I go to my neighbors.

Rhea, 16 years: I go to my godmother. She is like the only person in the world that I can talk to about anything.

Researcher: How come?

Rhea: Because she understands you because she in her early thirties, 33 or 34, and she be listening to everything you got to say.

Researcher: When you have a problem, who do you talk to first?

Michelle, 16 years: My mother. She give good advice.

James, 16 years: I will talk to pretty much anyone in my family. My mom or my aunt or my grandmother.

Keshawn, 16 years: First would be my mother or my father, they usually give me the best advice.

Researcher: If you have a like problem, do you go to your friends or do go to your family?

Ben, 17 years: I usually go to my family.

Researcher: Who do you think you would talk to first?

Ben: Probably, my mother.

Montrell, 18 years: My oldest sister. I ask her what I should wear for a date. I'll be like "Hey sis what should I wear for the date?" and she's like "What clothes do you have?". She helps me out with clothes and stuff, because I really don't know what to wear. Sometimes, or most time I just wear baggy pants and like this shirt. She helps me out.

Michael, 16 years: I would probably for to my mother or my older brother. I talk with them. I would go to my father but he is like gone, like dead. That's the one person I would go to but he's not around so I go to my brother or my mother.

Roland, 17 years: My cousin. The oldest one. Like, for my prom I went with her to pick out something to wear.

Discuss family discord and romantic partners with peer group members (Code word "FCONFIDE", Frequency = 20). Only two participants discussed their problems or asked for the opinion of their peer group members. Participants most frequently

discussed romantic partners, parental problems, and school with their peer group members (58%).

Researcher: So to talk to your friends about anything?

Latoya, 17 years: Yes, I always talk about if my parents are having a fight or something. They're sometimes in the house and you can hear them fighting upstairs.

Researcher: Do you talk to your friends about anything?

Denise, 16 years: Sometimes. Only my closest friend and I tell her about my boyfriend.

Researcher: So do you talk to your friends about anything?

John, 15 years: Yeah. I talk about my family and all that and how we're getting along.

Researcher: Do you talk to your friends about stuff?

Keisha, 18 years: Sometimes. Not all the time.

Researcher: What kind of things do you talk to your friends about?

Keisha: About boys mostly.

Researcher: Just about boys?

Keisha: Sometimes it be about my home work or school stuff.

Michelle, 16 years: I talk to my mother about important stuff. I talk to my friend about, boy stuff. I don't talk to my mother about that because than she goes into the whole safe sex thing. I do not (emphasis) feel like hearing that. I hear it like ten times, over and over. I mean, it's important. Two of my sisters already got a baby. Their kids are about a year apart. And my mother keep on talking about it and talking about it, but I'm not like that.

Researcher: Do you mostly talk to your friends, about your boyfriend, or do you talk to your godmother?

Rhea, 16 years: I talk to my friends about my boyfriend mostly.

Researcher: Do you talk to your friends about anything?

James, 16 years: Some things, like, they will ask about school things like, am I going to a school game or school prom. Stuff like that. We'll talk about who we like in music; what their favorite song by that person is, but not anything like real.

Roland, 17 years: I can't talk to my parents because they'll just try to find a way to come around it instead of talking about it, so I usually talk to my boy, Tim, or my boy, Alex. That's the majority of who I talk to.

Researcher: And if you have a problem, who is the first person you talk?

Michael, 16 years: My friend who is 15, he's the one.

Peer Group Demographics (Code word "PAGE", "PETHNIC", Frequency = 20).

Interviewees were asked to describe their peer group. In response they discussed both the ethnic composition and age range of peer group members. Approximately 66% of the participants hang out with individuals around the same age as them, or slightly younger and older than them (+ or – 2 years). Only two participants indicated that they generally spend time with individuals older then them.

Denise, 16 years: Some are, like, younger and some are older.

Rhea, 16 years: Different ages. Like from around thirteen to seventeen. That about my friend's ages.

Ben, 17 years: They go around the same age as me.

Researcher: Are your friends, you would say they are mostly your age.

Roland, 17 years: Yeah.

James, 16 years: One is the same age as me and one is a year older.

Researcher: Are they about the same age as you?

John, 15 years: Yes, fifteen and sixteen.

Researcher: How old are your friends?

Micheal, 16 years: About the same age, fourteen through sixteen.

Montrell, 18 years: They're a little younger and a little older. Like both.

Keshawn, 16 years: My friends are older than me. They're nineteen, some of them are twenty.

Researcher: Are your friends the same age as you?

Keisha, 18 years: No. My cousin is twenty, 24 and 21.

Researcher: Do you hang out with kids in school here?

Keisha: Sometimes. I hang out with her and my other cousin that's twenty and that's it. They my closest friends.

The majority of participants indicated that their friends were from a wide range of mixed ethnicities (83%). Only two participants indicated that they chose to hang around with friends of the same ethnicity (17%).

Rhea, 16 years: My friends are different races. Some of them white. Some of them black. Some of them Chinese. Some of them Indian. Some of them Spanish.

Denise, 16 years: Different. Everybody different. One of my best friends is white. Two of them are black and some of them is brown skinned.

Michelle, 16 years: My best friend is black. A few of my friends is white. Another one light brown.

Keshawn, 16 years: Some them are white. Some are black. It doesn't bother me.

Researcher: And are [your friends] mostly white or black?

Keshawn: White and black. Everything.

James, 16 years: Some are black and some are white.

Montrell, 18 years: They're all colors. They're black, Spanish, Indian. They're everything.

Ben, 17 years: My friends, they mostly white. I have a couple of black friends, but I usually don't hang around them as much.

Researcher: Are [your friends] mostly black or mostly white?

Michael, 16 years: Mine are mainly black.

Peer Group Dynamics

Interview participants were asked about aspects of their peer group relationships. Participants discussed their peer group decision-making processes, peer group similarities and differences, and the influence of the peer group on members. Positive and negative peer group influences were recorded.

Peer group members have similar likes (Code word "AGREE", Frequency = 9). Interviewees indicated that the majority of peer group members were interested in similar things (75%). Although peer group members may have some differences, interviewees felt they were minimal and that, for the most part, they had more similar tastes than differences.

Researcher: So do your friends like the same kind of music as you do?

Rhea, 16 years: Uh-hum.

Researcher: You guys like the same kind of clothes?

Rhea: Sometimes. Most of the time.

Researcher: Do you think you like the same kind of music as your friends?

Keisha, 18 years: Yeah.

Researcher: Same kind of cloths and stuff like that?

Keisha: Yeah we all wear the same kind of stuff.

Researcher: Do your friends like the same music?

Michelle, 16 years: Yeah, all my friends listen to is club music.

Researcher: Do you guys tend to like the same people in music?

James, 16 years: Yeah, pretty much the same.

Researcher: Do you guys have the same taste in games and movies?

Keshawn, 16 years: Yeah.

Researcher: Do you like the same kind of music?

Keshawn: Yes.

Researcher: Do your friends like the same music that you do?

Montrell, 18 years: Yes.

Researcher: Do you guys kind of dress alike or different?

Montrell: Sometimes we dress alike. Sometimes, we all dress like punk people like black hair, black pants and shirts. Sometimes we wear our hair spiked.

Researcher: You guys like the same music?

Micheal, 16 years: Yeah.

Researcher: You like the same kind of rappers and stuff like that?

Micheal: Most of the time.

Researcher: Do you guys like the same kind of music?

John, 15 years: Yeah, rap.

Roland, 17 years: We disagree about some stuff but most of it we all agree. So it's pretty cool to me.

Peer group members decide peer group activities together as a group (Code word "DECIDE/OLDEST", Frequency = 8). Interviewees discussed the process of deciding on peer group activities. The majority of individuals indicated that they make decisions about peer group activities as a group, with no one individual making decisions for the group (50%). Two participants indicated that the oldest member of the peer group usually makes decisions for the peer group (17%).

Researcher: And who decides what kind of stuff you guys do?

Rhea, 16 years: We all do. We all sit around and be, like, what y'all want to do. If somebody says like lets play hide and go seek and some say yeah. Then we, like, yeah, let's go play.

Researcher: And when you're with your friends? Who decides what you are going to do?

Michelle, 16 years: We decide together.

Researcher: Who decides what you guys are going to do that day?

John, 15 years: Mostly my friends. They usually pick all together, I just drive.

Montrell, 18 years: We ask each other what we are going to do. If somebody says "lets go down to the mall" or whatever we're like "okay let's go", if we don't have anything better to do. We get the same idea and then we can help each other pick out what to wear and do and stuff.

Keisha, 18 years: My cousin. We go to the skating rink.

Researcher: Your one cousin always decides?

Keisha: Uh-hum.

Researcher: How come?

Keisha: Because she's the oldest.

Researcher: Who decides what you're going to do on Saturday night?

Micheal, 16 years: The oldest person.

Community Resources

Participants discussed places to hang out and activities in which they could participate in their neighborhood. Most frequently interviewees indicated that there were few or no community resources available to them in their neighborhood.

Lack of community resources (Code word "NORESOUR", Frequency = 16). Interviewees reported a lack of parks, libraries, community centers, and sports facilities in their neighborhood (92%). Participants indicated that although Patterson Park was in their neighborhood, it was not a safe place to hang out, so they did not consider it a community resource.

Researcher: Is there lots of stuff for people your age to do around [your neighborhood]?

Latoya, 17 years: Like clean up, sweep the alleys and stuff.

Researcher: Is there a community group?

Latoya: No. We just got neighbors and stuff and we just try to keep it clean.

Researcher: Is there a ballpark?

Latoya: There's no (emphasizes) parks there.

Denise, 16 years: We don't have any parks or anything around our neighborhood to hang out in.

Researcher: Are there other places that you like to hang out besides the community centers? Are there libraries or parks?

Ben, 17 years: No. I don't go there except on the weekend when I visit my aunt in a different neighborhood.

Researcher: Is there a lot of places for you to hang out?

Rhea, 16 years: Not a whole lot. Not enough.

Researcher: What kind, a community center?

Rhea: We hang out in houses with my friends and stuff outside. That's about it. We ain't got no community centers. No parks. Nothin'.

Researcher: There's no community center or parks you can go to?

Keisha, 18 years: No.

Researcher: Is there any sports or teams out there?

Keisha: No. Nothing like that.

Researcher: There is not a lot of stuff for you to do?

Roland, 17 years: There's like nothing.

Researcher: What kind of parks are they? Are they like playgrounds?

Keshawn, 16 years: There is a playground that the elementary school uses in that area, but none that are really safe to hang out in.

John, 15 years: There one up here and there's one [park] down by Patterson Park, but that's not a good park.

Montrell, 18 years: We can't go anywhere and hang. If it's like the three of us, we don't go around and hang out anywhere because there are usually people that want to fight.

Michelle, 16 years: There's nothing to do, no parks or anything.

Researcher: Any community centers?

Michelle: If there are, I don't see them.

James, 16 years: The only parks that you can really go to like Patterson Park. But that's not a real park.

Few positive neighborhood characteristics (Code word "COMM", Frequency = 9). Interviewees talked about positive aspects of their neighborhood. Many participants indicated that there were parts of their neighborhood that were "quiet" or not dangerous (50%). In these areas it was the lack of danger, rather than the presence of resources, that made the area more desirable.

John, 15 years: There's lots of restaurants and it's clean and there ain't a lot of people. You know people that just hang out on around the corners.

James, 16 years: I like it there [my neighborhood]. It's mostly quiet up there. No real danger up there.

Latoya, 17 years: My neighborhood is very nice. They don't be that much killing or whatever. It's not good, but it's still nice and quiet.

Researcher: Are there any community centers to go to?
Michael, 16 years: The Rec center over past the park [YMCA] is pretty safe.

Michelle, 16 years: It not a busy street, but it's a slow kind of big street. Ain't no main street though. Not as much stuff going down there.

Ben, 17 years: It's nice about two streets over. It's a little quiet with houses and apartments.

Small community businesses (Code word "BUSINESS", Frequency = 6). Interviewees also discussed businesses in their community. Most of the businesses are small grocery marts, liquor stores, and restaurants (50%). Patterson high school is near a large Greek community, more commonly know as "Little Greece", so there are many Greek restaurants in this area. There is also a large "red-light" district in the Patterson Park neighborhood and some participants also indicated strip clubs as local businesses.

Ben, 17 years: [My neighborhood is] Mainly row homes and a couple of small grocery stores.

Researcher: What kind of businesses are in your neighborhood?
James, 16 years: Not big businesses. Just like little corner stores that sell liquor and stuff.

Keshawn, 16 years: I live over in the Greek part of Patterson Park, there's a lot of abandoned buildings and Greek businesses.

Researcher: What kind of businesses are around there?
John, 15 years: Small businesses. Little restaurants, just mostly Greek because that's the area I live in.

Montrell, 18 years: Mostly we got 7-11 and liquor stores, strip clubs. We got a gas station. On the other side there's like a shop mart and little grocery store.

Micheal, 16 years: My neighborhood is, like, grocery stores, mini-marts, liquor stores, and strip clubs.

Researcher: Are they big ones or little ones? The stores.

Micheal: Small. So I like know the people that own them.

Neighborhood Safety

Participants were asked to describe their neighborhood. Many of the interviewees described a community laden with drugs and guns, dangerous people, unsafe streets, and abandoned buildings. Dangerous aspects, as described by interviewees are discussed below.

Drugs, drug dealers, and gun violence are common on the streets (Code Word "DDRUGS/GUNVIOL", Frequency = 10). Participants frequently discussed the presence of drugs, drug dealers, and guns in their neighborhood (83%). Interviewees associated danger and guns with drugs and drug dealers.

John, 15 years: The place I live in is kind of dangerous, drugs. When you got drug cars driving around, they stop you.

Ben, 17 years: Sometimes there's gunshots around my neighborhood.

Researcher: Tell me a little bit about the area that you live in?

Latoya, 17 years: There are two neighbors that actually sell drugs and we see this everyday. Everyday when I look outside, there's guys coming around the corner and they're looking around for their contacts. They look around and I just turn around and go back to what I was doing.

Researcher: What's your least favorite part of your neighborhood?

Denise, 16 years: Across the street from my house where the drug dealers are. There's a lot of fights across the street. I don't like being on that side. I don't want to get in trouble with the police when they raid the place. [Continue conversation about female bully.]

Denise: If she [bully] wasn't there and the drug dealers weren't there, I would feel safe.

Researcher: Can you tell me a little bit about your neighborhood?

Roland, 17 years: Sometimes there's drugs around. On the block, you can hear gunshots.

Researcher: What do you think is your least favorite part of your neighborhood?

Roland: Monument Street.

Researcher: Monument Street? How come?

Roland: A lot of bad stuff on there.

Researcher: Illegal?

Roland: Yeah. Drugs.

Rhea, 16 years: It's hard to get stuff like guns and drugs and weed. You can't get that stuff. The only place you can get stuff is by the liquor stop. And it's hard to get it from there because they shot somebody and he got shot in the head and the guy is dead. So it's hard to get stuff from there.

Montrell, 18 years: It's a bad neighborhood specifically about drugs and violence, but I don't do no drugs.

Micheal, 16 years: We got people that sell drugs and all that but they only sell it around [Patterson Park] sometimes. My street is right here and they sell it around here where I don't see it all the time.

Michelle, 16 years: It is a pretty safe place to be in, because it's just got like two or three drug dealers.

Groups or gangs of people in neighborhood that fight (Code word "FIGHT", Frequency = 7). Interview participants discussed the presence of bullys in their neighborhood, as well as gangs or groups of people that frequently look for fights (50%).

One of the breakout themes (Code word "GROUP") deals with the preference of two participants to travel in groups to avoid the threat of these groups.

Denise, 16 years: I had my hair pulled back and banged into our sliding board. I didn't do anything to the kid. He just came over and grabbed me by the back of my hair and started beating me in the head with the sliding board. I was like, "Why are you doing this to me?" and he was like, "Because you are at our parks and nobody's allowed here". It was like he owned the park or something.

Ben, 17 years: In my neighborhood most of the children get bullied except for a few of them.

Montrell, 18 years: We can't go anywhere and hang. If its like the three of us, we don't go around and hang out anywhere because there are usually people that want to fight. So we stick around until we get more people in our group. We are not scared or nothing, but sometimes we don't feel like fighting.

John, 15 years: There are always fights across the street, arguments, ambulances always driving around.

Michelle, 16 years: There's a whole bunch of boys that think they're gangsters. There's a lot of them, a whole lot of them. They think they're

50 Cent. They get all dressed up and threaten to beat the world. They always talking like they can beat the world.

Roland, 17 years: There's always people around looking to fight.

Dangerous at night on the streets of neighborhood (Code word "NIGHT", Frequency = 6). Interviewees were asked if their neighborhood looks different at night. Many participants indicated that the streets in their neighborhood were unsafe to travel at night (50%).

Researcher: Do you feel pretty safe in your neighborhood?

Keisha, 18 years: Except for at nighttime. At nighttime I don't like walking. There be a long way and a short way to get home, and I like walking the short way but not at night. It be in an alley where stores be broken into. Our mother don't like for us to be going into there, but it's the shortest way.

Researcher: So you don't go out at night?

James, 16 years: No.

Researcher: How come?

James: Usually I'd rather stay inside the house at nighttime, safer.

Researcher: Just because?

James: Yeah. Because I just feel like staying home around nighttime hours, rather than go out or anything and get into trouble.

Researcher: Does it look different at night than during the day?

John, 15 years: Yeah. There is like a lot more people out at night.

Researcher: Are there different people outside at night?

John: There is.

Researcher: How is it different?

John: People who are more dangerous come out at night. They be on the street drinking and stuff.

Rhea, 16 years: Because parents around there, they bring there kids in at like nine o'clock everyday. Except on the weekend. Kids stay out until like 10:30 but not no later. You don't want to be out on the streets late or nothing. It be dangerous.

Michelle, 16 years: There's not really nobody that be out at night. But in the park there be a lot of people at night. Scary people.

Micheal, 16 years: Usually during the day there's nobody outside. The adults don't come outside until, like, seven. Then around like ten everyone come inside because it be getting a little bad out there.

Many abandoned buildings in neighborhood (Code word "ABANDON", Frequency = 6). Interview participants were asked to describe their neighborhood.

Specifically, the researcher asked several participants what kinds of buildings were in their neighborhood. Six interviewees (50%) mentioned the presence of abandoned buildings.

Montrell, 18 years: We don't have no little kids, no playground and stuff like that. There are some abandoned houses boarded up. Teenagers, drug people they will take something and take the boards off the window and sneak in.

Researcher: Pretty bad? What kind of buildings are around?

Keisha, 18 years: Vacant.

Researcher: Vacant?

Keisha: Empty. Yeah. I live right in the middle of these empty buildings.

Keshawn, 16 years: I live over in the Greek part of Patterson Park, there's a lot of abandoned buildings and Greek businesses.

Researcher: What kind of buildings are there?

John, 15 years: There is old factory, which is abandoned. I think it was a train station or something. It's really old.

Rhea, 16 years: There's a lot of these empty and boarded up houses, old buildings and stuff covered in grafitti.

Researcher: Are there many abandoned buildings where you live?

Roland, 17 years: There's a couple.

Role Models (Code Word "RMODEL/ADMIRE", Frequency = 11).

Participants discussed the person(s) they consider their role model and positive traits in the person(s) they admire. Most of the participants consider an older family member their role model, such as a parent (66%) or older brother (8%). Only one participant indicated that they looked up to their friends, but not all the time. Admirable traits included educational success, personal strength, caring/supportive nature, and a demeanor that makes communication easy.

Researcher: Who is your role model?

Latoya, 17 years: My older brother -- he just graduated -- and my sister - in-law.

Researcher: How come?

Latoya: They smart and know about things. They want me to make it.

Researcher: How do they help you to make it?

Latoya: By telling me good stuff, how to do it, and what ways to follow.

Researcher: What do they tell you?

Latoya: Do things right way. Live the right way.

Researcher: What is the right way?

Latoya: Like doing things right, respecting people, respecting adults, respecting them.

Researcher: Do you have a role model or do you look up to someone?

Rhea, 16 years: I look up to my godmother. She is like the only person in the world that I can talk to about anything.

Researcher: How come?

Rhea: Because she understands you because she in her early thirties, 33 or 34, and she be listening to everything you got to say. I go over to her house all the time like on Christmas and Thanksgiving and I stay with her on the weekend. She is real nice.

Researcher: Who do you think is your number one role model?

Keshawn, 16 years: My godfather.

Researcher: Who do you think your role model is? Who do you look up to?

Michelle, 16 years: My mother. She tries to keep us up when we're down, she take care of us, get food and take care of the babies when they crying and that's it.

Roland, 17 years: My role model is my mother.

Researcher: Why?

Roland: She left my dad with two kids at age 18. She finished high school. She went to college and became as RN, and she had my little brother by herself. He died in a week of SIDS. She's always strong for us.

She brought me up good because most people that we meet say "He's a pretty cool person" so she got respect all the time.

Researcher: Who do you look up to the most?

Denise, 16 years: My mother.

James, 16 years: Well, the main person I look up to I think is my father.

Researcher: Why do you look up to your father?

James: He's a main person that I respect because he's always -- he's never given up on anything, never, and he never puts me down. He's always been there whenever I had a problem.

John, 15 years: I look up to my mom and my friends. My dad is an alcoholic and he is in jail for larceny (he means arson). He's gonna be away for a long time.

Researcher: What about your friends that make you want to look up to them?

John: I look up to my friends when they say something smart, then I'll look up to them. Otherwise I look up to my mom.

Researcher: Who do you think is your role model?

Keisha, 18 years: My mother. Definitely, she always be there for me.

Researcher: Who's you number one role model?

Michael, 16 years: Probably, my friend. We help each other out a lot with like all my problems, but sometimes he can't help me.

Breakout Themes

Breakout themes are themes that offered a realization or reflection that did not appear in a majority of interviews, but that still offer insight into the issue at hand. Three breakout themes emerged from the interview data.

Neighborhood is dangerous but is still "okay" for participants (Code word "BADOK", Frequency = 4). Many participants discussed dangerous aspects of their neighborhood. However, four participants also indicated that although their neighborhood is dangerous, they are resigned to their situation of powerlessness (33%). These participants expressed a sentiment that despite the dangerous situation they would be "okay".

Denise, 16 years: It is a clean neighborhood. It is a clean neighborhood to be in, but it's just got the two drug dealers, but that's alright.

Roland, 17 years: I mean it ain't safe. For some people that come from Westminster and come down here to Baltimore, they'll think they are in Harlem. I am sure you heard about how bad Harlem is. It's not that bad at all because most of the stuff that happens on the other side of Patterson Park is pretty cool. I mean there is still some stuff that scares the fuck out of me, but it's okay.

John, 15 years: The place I live in is kind of dangerous, drugs. When you got cars driving around, they stop you. There are fights across the street, arguments, ambulances always driving around. But it's alright.

Latoya, 17 years: My neighborhood is very nice. They don't be that much killing or whatever. It's not good, but it's still nice and quiet.

Participants feel safest inside their own home (Code word "HOUSE", Frequency = 4). Interviewees indicated that they felt the safest inside their own house. Several participants expressed the sentiment that the inside of their house was the only safe place in their neighborhood.

Researcher: Do you feel better at home or when you're out?

Rhea, 16 years: At home.

Researcher: How come?

Rhea: Because my home is safe to me.

Researcher: What's your favorite place?

Michelle, 16 years: My house. Outside is pretty loud though, there be all these boys making so much noise outside. Inside it's quiet, you know safe.

Researcher: Are their places that you feel safe?

Ben, 17 years: Only in my house.

Researcher: Do you think your neighborhood is pretty safe?

Michael, 17 years: No. I don't want to walk around there.

Researcher: Uh-hum. Is there anywhere you feel safe in your neighborhood?

Michael: My house.

Travel in groups for safety (Code word "GROUP", Frequency = 2). Two participants indicated the importance of traveling in a large group for safety. Many interview participants hang around on the street corners and streets of their neighborhood with their friends. However, these two participants are the only participants to express the purposefulness and necessity of congregating in groups.

Researcher: And where do you feel the most unsafe?

Montrell, 18 years: When I am walking around by myself. We can't go anywhere and hang. If it like the three of us, we don't go around and hang out anywhere because there are usually people that want to fight. So we stick around until we get more people in our group. We are not scared or nothing, but sometimes we don't feel like fighting.

Researcher: You feel safer with more people?

Montrell: Yeah. We had one attempt, not with us but somebody else with us we don't know, that was involved with a shooting. But there was nothing after that, like nothing happened. And that's it.

Researcher: When you go out with your friends, do you feel safe?

Michael, 16 years: Yeah.

Researcher: Even when you go out at night?

Michael: Yeah. Everybody be in a big group. That's why.

Interview results from Baltimore offered insight into the categories of peer group activities, peer group problem solving, peer group demographics, peer group dynamics, community resources, community safety, and role models. Three breakout themes also offered valuable information concerning adolescents' perceptions of danger in their community. Because it was not possible to obtain interview data from Rio de Janeiro, comparisons between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro could not be made.

Chapter 4. Questionnaire Results

The following chapter describes the results of the survey distributed to participants in Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore. Preliminary analyses of the subscales, as well as significant differences between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro for composite variables and peer group activities are discussed. The survey data provided a general impression of the community strengths and weaknesses and peer group activities and demographics. After all questionnaires were completed, they were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and imported into a statistical database for analysis. The data were analyzed utilizing SPSS, a computer-based statistical package for the social sciences.

Preliminary Analysis of Scales: Reliability

As presented in Table 2, reliability analyses were conducted to examine the psychometric adequacy of the measures. Reliability of all subscales was assessed utilizing Cronbach's alpha to examine the scales internal consistency. Scale scores were computed based on the results of these analyses. Items were deleted from the composite scale if the item reduced the reliability estimate for the scale. One item was deleted from each of the following scales: peer attachment, peer influence, time with friends, opportunities for pro-social involvement, and perceived resources scales. Four items were deleted from the scale measuring perceived neighborhood safety. However, interpretation of the data may have been affected because the subscales were designed for use with populations in the United States.

Table 2

Reliability Estimates of Composite Scales

Scale	Number of Items in Revised Scale	Reliability Estimate of Original Scale	Questions deleted	Reliability of Revised Scale
Cultural Affiliation	4	0.74	None	0.74
Peer Attachment	4	0.38	How often do you dislike some of the things your friends do?	0.71 (combined scales)
Peer Influence	5	0.54	How often do you dislike the same things your friends dislike?	
Time with Friends	4	0.55	How often do you spend time with your friends on the weekend?	0.65
Opportunities for Pro-Social Involvement	4	0.40	There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	0.76

Perceived Neighborhood Safety	9	0.45	There are places in my neighborhood that I can go to feel safe. There are places in my neighborhood that I avoid because they are unsafe. How safe do you feel when you are at home? When I grow up, I want to live in the same neighborhood I live in now.	0.83 (combined scales to measure Perceived Neighborhood Danger)
Social Disorganization	6	0.80	None	
Perceived Availability of Drugs and Handguns	5	0.90	None	0.90
Perceived Resources	7	0.40	If there are libraries in your neighborhood, how often do you go there?	0.52

As presented in Table 3, descriptive statistics were computed for demographic variables and rates were calculated for frequency of peer group activities. The questionnaire participants were separated into two groups based on geographic location (Rio de Janeiro, Baltimore) to compare utilizing statistical analyses. ANOVA's and t-tests were used to test differences between peer group relationships, peer group demographics, and peer group activities in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro.

Composite scores for the revised subscales measuring cultural affiliation, peer influence, neighborhood danger, perceived availability of drugs and handguns scale, opportunities for pro-social community involvement, and neighborhood resources were

calculated and a one-way analysis of variance was conducted to see if there were differences between the means of the peer groups in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro. Significant differences were found between groups for peer influence, $F(1, 196) = 13.61$, $p < .01$, time with peers, $F(1, 196) = 6.35$, $p < .05$, opportunities for pro-social involvement, $F(1, 196) = 17.92$, $p < .01$, neighborhood danger, $F(1, 196) = 24.29$, $p < .01$, perceived availability of drugs and hand guns, $F(1, 196) = 85.56$, $p < .01$, and perceived community resources, $F(1, 196) = 37.39$ $p < .01$.

Table 3

Means and standard deviations of composite variables by location

	Baltimore		Rio de Janeiro	
Composite variable	M	SD	M	SD
Peer Influence	24.92	6.04	21.66	6.28
Time With Peers	11.27	4.11	9.85	3.69
Opportunities for Pro-Social Involvement	1.48	1.13	0.86	0.86
Neighborhood Danger	22.53	6.60	26.81	5.12
Perceived Availability of Drugs and Handguns	10.49	4.87	16.08	3.11
Perceived Neighborhood Resources	7.61	1.93	6.04	1.60

As presented in Table 4, Pearson product-moment correlations were computed and a correlation matrix generated. Significant correlations were found for the composite variables of peer influence, time with peers, opportunities for pro-social involvement, neighborhood danger, perceived availability of drugs and guns, and community

resources. Community resources were positively correlated with peer influence, time with peers and opportunities for pro-social involvement, demonstrating that available and pro-social community resources were related to peer group interaction and influence. Time spent with peers was positively correlated with peer influence, suggesting that the more time spent with peers the more influence peers have on peer group members. Neighborhood danger was positively correlated with perceived availability of drugs and guns in the community, indicating that availability of drugs and guns was linked to perceived danger in the community.

Table 4

Intercorrelations between composite variables

Composite variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Peer influence	--	.44**	.14	.23**	-.10	-.02
2. Time with peers		--	.04	.14*	-.05	.06
3. Opportunities for pro-social involvement			--	.29**	-.06	-.09
4. Community resources				--	-.10	-.11
5. Neighborhood danger					--	.41**
6. Perceived availability of drugs and guns						--

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Independent measures t-tests were also conducted to determine if there were differences in the types of activities in which adolescents from Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro participate. Activities that peer groups in each city participate in during the day, night, weekend, and after school were summed and mean rates for each activity were

calculated (Table 5). See Appendix H for a list of all comparable peer group activities. Significant differences were found for the activities of work, $F(1, 202) = 19.34$, $p < .01$, the beach, $F(1, 205) = 29.39$, $p < .01$, church, $F(1, 205) = 33.64$, $p < .01$, the mall, $F(1, 204) = 20.20$, $p < .01$, movies, $F(1, 205) = 38.54$, $p < .01$, and "other" activities, $F(1, 205) = 57.25$, $p < .01$. Activities listed in the "other" category included skating, playing cards, eating, relaxing at home, and girls.

Table 5

Mean rates of participation in significantly different peer group activities by location

City	Work		Beach		Church		Mall		Movies		Other	
	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Baltimore	53	46	21	18	20	17	74	63	78	66	22	19
Rio de Janeiro	24	27	41	46	28	31	28	31	36	39	2	2

Peer group demographics were also examined. A one-way analysis of variance indicated no significant differences in age, number of close friends, and number of male and female friends in peer groups between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro.

The cultural group of peers was also examined and the cultural background of friends calculated (Table 6). A chi-square analysis between peer cultural groups indicated significant differences at the .01 level for White friends and Black friends.

Table 6

Percentage of respondents with White and Black friends

City	Percent of respondents with Black friends		Percent of respondents with White friends	
	N	%	N	%
Baltimore	99	84	47	40
Rio de Janeiro	25	29	22	25

Gender differences were also examined utilizing one-way ANOVAs. There were no gender differences among youth in Baltimore. However, in Rio de Janeiro significant differences were discovered for the composite variable community resources, $F(1, 85) = 4.52$, $p < .01$. Adolescent males in Rio de Janeiro perceived that more community resources (M=6.67) were available than did females (M=6.08). This may have been because recreational sports opportunities for males in Rio were a readily available resource. All males and females were combined across cultural group and gender differences were found for the composite variable perceived availability of drugs and guns $F(1, 193) = 6.83$, $p < .01$. Although youth in Rio de Janeiro found drugs and guns more readily available than youth in Baltimore, overall males (M=13.78) felt that drugs and guns were significantly more available than females (M=11.88).

After preliminary analyses of the reliability of the subscales, ANOVA's indicated significant differences between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro for the composite variables of peer influence, time with peers, opportunities for pro-social involvement, neighborhood danger, perceived availability of drugs and guns, and community resources, as well as the peer group activities of mall, movies, church, beach, work and other. Correlations suggested that there were

relationships between several composite variables. Gender differences were found for the composite variables of community resources and perceived availability of guns and drugs in the community.

Chapter 5. Resource and Authority Activity Settings Results

The following section describes existing intervention and prevention services (resource activity setting), as well as juvenile policy (authority activity setting) in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro. Formal and informal violence prevention and intervention programs for adolescents and policy related to age of transfer and sentencing for adolescent offenders were explored.

Resource Activity Settings: Existing Interventions, Preventions, and Services

Information on current intervention, prevention, and service efforts directed at urban adolescents in Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore was gathered during a site visit to each city. Government, justice systems, nonprofit, and grassroots efforts were explored. These interventions and preventions were then analyzed using comparative analysis. Private, nonprofit, and state prevention and intervention programs and services were researched thoroughly using the internet, phone books, referral and snowballing techniques. Differences between the scope of services, and targeted risk and protective factors were explored to highlight differences and similarities in adolescent violence prevention and intervention programs in Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore.

Existing Violence Interventions, Preventions, and Services in Rio de Janeiro

Since the network of social services in Brazil is still developing for even the most recognized and affluent communities, there is a distinct lack of prevention and intervention services in the two target communities. Both Santa Marta and Itaoca have high rates of poverty and are dependent on unreliable or non-existent sanitation and potable water, electricity, health posts, garbage collection, and public telephones.

Therefore, it is no surprise that formal services for children and adolescents are almost absent from these communities. As indicated in Table 7, there are educational, health related, religious, and recreational opportunities in both these communities.

Table 7

Formal and informal services in Rio de Janeiro

Domain	Number of Available Programs	Age Groups serviced	Services offered
Education	7	0 – 6	Day-care; instruction on dance and music; assistance with development of computer skills
	5	6 – 14	Assistance with school; instruction in arts, dance and theater; computer science classes; carpentry workshops; environmental education
Health	4	All ages	Medical services for both adults and children
Religious	4	All ages	Day care; music lessons; leisure activities; academic support; opportunities for social gatherings
Recreational	12	4 – 20	Dance and capoeira instruction; organized sports teams; boxing and music lessons; horticultural education

Appendix I contains a more detailed description of the existing services in Rio de Janeiro.

Promundo and the Coordenação de Estudos e Pesquisas Sobre a Infância (CESPI) are engaged in a joint effort to encourage healthy development of adolescents and

children in Santa Marta (Promundo, 2001). As a part of their effort they have identified current service providers in these communities. To discover both formal and informal services, interviews, focus groups, and a survey of 225 youth ages 13-18 were implemented. This study identified a total of 20 child and adolescent programs. Many of these programs were seasonal and with such a small number struggle to meet the needs of the youth population. Limited financial and technical assistance contribute to the difficulties these programs face in serving the large youth population. The government provides limited and sporadic funding to the community. Therefore no public institutions dedicated to supporting children and adolescents are located in the community itself (Promundo, 2001).

The findings from the joint Promundo/CEISPI research effort in the favelas surrounding Rio de Janeiro suggested that the existing formal supports only reach approximately one-third of the population. Formal supports include programs and services offered by the government and local and international NGO's. Furthermore, the existing formal supports do not offer any assistance or support to families (Promundo, 2001). The services considered most crucial by community members were the daycare and after-school programs. However, the employees of these programs had no training in child development and little awareness of their actions serving as developmental supports to the children and adolescents in their programs. Many times parents rely on neighbors and other residents to care for their children. Often, parents are consumed with protecting their children from risks such as violent crime and drug trafficking, and finding adequate child care for younger children and consequently give little thought to their children's development (Promundo, 2001).

In the absence of other formal supports and social institutions, churches assume an important role in the provision of support to parents and families. Churches in Santa Marta and Itaoca not only provide spiritual support, but run youth-related service such as daycare, sports and leisure programs, literacy courses, and computer science courses. In both communities there were far more services for younger children than for adolescents. Adolescents in these communities have few options for community involvement and are the most vulnerable age group. Limited opportunities and resources are seen as the major contributing factor to adolescent involvement in drug trafficking activities in these two communities.

Existing Violence Interventions, Preventions, and Services in Baltimore

Inner-city Baltimore is serviced by many formal prevention and intervention programs and community organizations. There are a number of large departments dedicated to dealing with juvenile delinquents that provides support services, information about community resources and neighborhood development, and legal services. The most frequently utilized service provider among the participants of this study was the Y.M.C.A of the Greater Baltimore Area, Inc, used by 19% (N=15) of survey participants.

As indicated in Table 8, many organizations are dedicated to the development and implementation of formal violence prevention and intervention programs.

Table 8

Formal and informal services in Baltimore

Domain	Number of Available Programs	Age Groups serviced	Services offered
Delinquency Prevention	12	5-18	Formal support services and therapy for individuals and families; scholarship opportunities; vocational training; recreational programs; academic support; training in the arts; community service projects; parental education; in-home, after-school, and school programs; violence prevention training for community members; mentoring
Legal	3	5-21	Legal counseling; community-specific resources and information
Victim Assistance	4	All ages	Counseling; legal support
Community-based	2	All ages	Community activities promoting neighborhood safety; parades; block parties; block walkers; organized efforts to keep on porch lights
Health	2	10-14	Hand-gun education; interaction with victims of gun violence; educational resources for sexually active teens; substance abuse education

Religious	2	All ages	No formal programs; sanctuary; safety; religious counseling
Recreational	3	All ages	Police-sponsored athletic leagues; seasonal sports programs; access to picnic and playground areas; swimming pool facilities; recreational centers

These programs offer alternative school, mentoring, and vocational training programs for at-risk adolescents. They also offer adolescents a safe school-based alternative to the streets of Baltimore. Many violence prevention and intervention programs in this area are developed by or in conjunction with Johns Hopkins Medical Institution (JHMI).

Adolescents can find informal support systems at churches in the Southeast Baltimore community that houses Patterson high school. Parks and recreational centers offer organized sports and seasonal programs. However, these areas are often sites of drug-dealing and violence and may not be utilized as frequently as other resources. There is also a branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library system in Patterson Park.

Authority Activity Settings: Current Public Policy

The new legislation passed in a country often reflects the society's contemporary beliefs, values, and areas of greatest concern. For instance, after September 11, approximately 27 states in the U.S. passed 58 pieces of new legislation regarding terrorism. Therefore, this study compared the current public policy concerning violence and adolescents in both America and Brazil. The legal statutes in each country and state were researched and recorded during a site visit. This legislation was organized and analyzed using comparative analysis. Differences in age of transfer and the approach to

sentencing (punishment vs. rehabilitation) were explored to examine differences in the state legislative approaches of Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro to adolescent offenders.

Juvenile Legislation in America

The juvenile justice system was created in America in 1899, with the establishment of juvenile courts in every state by 1945 (KCI, 1998). The system was based on a rehabilitative model and aimed to provide juvenile offenders with guidance and treatment, not assign guilt or punishment. Probation programs were established in the 1900's as an alternative to institutionalization and were part of the juvenile justice system in every state by 1927 (KCI, 1998). Programs emphasizing education and vocational skills began to appear in the 1940's and 1950's, and by the 1970's community-based juvenile programs were an integral part of the juvenile justice system (KCI, 1998). However, in the late 1960's several landmark juvenile cases began to change the face of juvenile policy and by the 1980's the juvenile justice system began to emphasize public safety and punishment along with rehabilitation. Legislation targeted at punishing juveniles, especially those accused of violent crimes and chronic offenders, began to impose mandatory sentences for the first time, and made it easier to transfer juveniles to adult criminal court (KCI, 1998). Penalties for certain weapons and serious offenses increased and more secure juvenile facilities were built. These changes in sentencing and transfer occurred in states throughout the nation and continue to affect state juvenile legislative policy.

Juvenile Sentencing in Maryland

Juvenile sentencing in Maryland occurs after the adjudication phase of juvenile court and is formally termed "disposition". If a juvenile is not adjudicated the sanctions

against them will be either dismissed or informal. If a juvenile is adjudicated, probation staff create a disposition plan that could consist of non-residential and residential programs, probation, or aftercare. The judge considers the disposition plan recommended by the probation staff, prosecutor, and youth and then orders a disposition. For most juveniles adjudicated across the U.S. in 1998 (58%), formal probation was the most severe aspect of their disposition (OJJDP, 2002; 2003b). Many juveniles were also placed in residential facilities (26%) that ranged in degree of security from very secure to very open (OJJDP, 2002; 2003b). Aftercare, similar to the concept of parole in the criminal justice system, was ordered for youth placed in residential facilities.

Youth in Maryland are referred to a variety of residential and non-residential programs, including Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) contracted programs, community supervision, and secure commitment programs. Baltimore City constitutes 12.29% of the population of Maryland (Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, 2002). However, adjudicated juvenile offenders from Baltimore are over-represented in every category of juvenile assignment. See Table 9 (Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, 2002).

Table 9

Baltimore City Juvenile Sentencing, 2002

Juvenile Assignment	Number of Juveniles	Percentage of All Juveniles Assigned in Maryland
Probation	1888	25.2%
Out-of-Home Placements	1686	30.9%
Secure Detention Facilities	1628	37.9%
Aftercare	762	27.4%
Residential Committed Programs	725	25.8%
Shelter Care Programs	374	35.1%
Youth Center Programs	105	20.4%

Youth in Baltimore assigned to secure detention facilities can be admitted to Carter Secure Detention Program, Charles Hickey Secure Detention Program, Cheltenham Secure Detention Program, Noyes Secure Detention Program, Waxter Secure Detention Program, and Washington Holdover. Shelter care programs in Baltimore include the Backbone Leadership Program, Green Ridge Leadership Challenge Program, Meadow Mountain Leadership Challenge Program, and Savage Mountain Leadership Challenge.

Juvenile Transfer in Maryland

The ability to transfer juvenile criminals to criminal court has been part of state legislation since the 1920's, and became more widely adopted in the 1940's (OJJDP, 2003b). Since the 1920's state legislation has changed through case law and statute revision. It has grown to embrace modern ideals and address contemporary delinquency

problems. Trends in state legislation make it easier for juveniles to be tried in criminal court. Since 1992, legislation facilitating the transfer of juveniles to criminal court has been passed in 44 states and the District of Columbia (OJJDP, 2002). Approximately 1% of all formally processed youth are transferred to the adult criminal court (OJJDP, 2002; 2003a). State legislation relating to juvenile transfer is different in each state. In general, juvenile legislation begins with the definition of a juvenile. Juveniles are defined as "youth at or below the upper age of original jurisdiction in a State" (OJJDP, 2003b). The youngest upper age of a juvenile is 15 years old in states such as Connecticut, New York and North Carolina, while the oldest upper age is 17 years old. Maryland defines a juvenile with the upper age of 17 years old and the lowest age as 7 years old and therefore has jurisdiction over offenders between 7 and 17 years of age (OJJDP, 2002).

However, many states have provisions for transfer or the trying of adolescents as adults in criminal rather than juvenile court. Juveniles can be transferred three different ways: (1) judicial waiver; (2) statutory exclusion; and (3) concurrent jurisdiction. Judicial waiver is the most common way to transfer a youth from juvenile to criminal court, and can be issued as a discretionary, presumptive, or mandatory waiver. A discretionary waiver is left entirely up to the judge's discretion, while a mandatory waiver is considered mandatory if certain statutory conditions have been met. A presumptive waiver stipulates that a transfer to criminal court is appropriate unless evidence to the contrary can be supplied by the youth in question. In 1999, judicial waivers existed as a part of state legislation in 46 states and the District of Columbia (OJJDP, 2002). Specifically, Maryland state legislation stipulates that discretionary judicial waiver can be utilized to transfer a youth from juvenile to criminal court. There

is no specific minimum age for a judicial waiver in Maryland (Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, 2002).

Statutory exclusion excludes repeat juvenile offenders and juveniles that have committed specific serious, violent crimes from being tried in juvenile court. A little more than half (29) of U.S. states, including Maryland, have statutory exclusion as a part of their state legislation (OJJDP, 2002). In Maryland, youth who commit capital crimes, murder, certain person offenses, and certain weapon offenses qualify for a statutory exclusion. The minimum age for statutory exclusion in Maryland is 14 for capital crimes, and 16 for murder, certain person offenses, and certain weapon offenses (Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, 2002).

Concurrent jurisdiction indicates that a youth offender is under the jurisdiction of both the criminal and juvenile court systems because of specific age, offense, and historical factors. Prosecutors decide whether to file these cases in juvenile or criminal court. Concurrent jurisdiction results in the fewest transfer to adult criminal court. Maryland has no statute for concurrent jurisdiction (OJJDP, 2002; 2003a).

Maryland, along with 24 other states, offers the option of a reverse waiver (OJJDP, 2003a). Juveniles that would be tried in a criminal court based on a statutory waiver can be transferred back to the juvenile court by the criminal court if it is deemed to be in the "best interests of the child or society" (Brown, 2003; Maryland Department of Legislative Services, 1998).

Throughout Maryland individual cities and counties explore alternatives to the juvenile justice system. In Baltimore city, a teen court was set up to reduce the rate of juvenile offending as an alternative to the state's juvenile justice system (Eveleth, 2003).

Baltimore was an appropriate location to implement the court because approximately one third of juvenile crime in Maryland is committed in Baltimore. The teen court services offenders who are 11 to 14 years of age that have been charged with a non-violent, non-threatening crime. The court does not service juveniles that have been charged more than two times. The participating juveniles are tried and sentenced by a group of their peers, with a District Court judge presiding over the trial. Peer jurors often issue community service, written essays, and service as a peer juror on the teen court as sanctions to youth offenders. Offenders are also required to meet academic and attendance requirements in school (Eveleth, 2003).

Since it's inception in 1999, the court has tried approximately 100 juvenile offenders. Of these, 92% have successfully fulfilled their sanctions and 100% have remained in school and out of the juvenile justice system (Eveleth, 2003). Teen court is never lacking for peer jurors because youth in Maryland are required to fulfill community service requirements prior to graduation at all city public high schools. The program is successful in diverting juvenile offenders from the juvenile justice system and reduces recidivism and eventual transfer to the criminal justice system. Teen court also reduces the case load on the juvenile justice system, time between offending and sentencing, and cost of the juvenile justice system (Eveleth, 2003).

Juvenile Legislation in Brazil

Juvenile legislation in Brazil is an evolving process. The most recent legislation Estatuto de Criança e do Adolescente (ECA / Child and Adolescent Act) was passed on July 13, 1990 (Dalevi, 2000; Hoffman, 1994; Passos, 2002). This replaced the first juvenile legislation, the Código do Menor (Minor Code) which had been in place since

1979. The Código do Menor considered juveniles a criminal justice issue. The ECA reformed this viewpoint to focus on the welfare of children. This progressive legislation, a result of lobbying by Brazilian non-governmental children's rights organizations, defined the legal rights of children and reformed the juvenile justice system (Amnesty International, 1999; Passos, 2002). Juvenile offenders below 12 years of age cannot be prosecuted, and juveniles between the ages of 12 and 17 who have committed any criminal act under the adult penal code are protected under the ECA (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). This legislation also mandated the creation of Guardianship Councils to protect children's rights and ensure that their statutes are being observed. Guardianship Councils, comprised of local residents involved with civic groups, are notified whenever a child is detained and are responsible for the inspection of juvenile facilities in their area (Amnesty International, 1999). The ECA is considered model legislation and was emulated by both Venezuela and Peru (Dalevi, 2000).

Juvenile Sentencing in Rio de Janeiro

The ECA mandates socio-educational diversion programs rather than criminal sentencing for juvenile offenders between the ages of 12 and 17 (Amnesty International, 1999; U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). These programs include warnings, reparation of damage, community service, probation, day release, and detention. Sentencing under the ECA is standardized and cannot exceed three years in detention, even for murder or other serious offenses (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). Even during detention youth offenders are required to be detained in the same locality, or as close as possible to their families (Amnesty International, 2004). This statute is supposed to be applied to all

states within Brazil but, similar to the juvenile justice system in America, it is the responsibility of the state to follow this legislation (Passos, 2002).

In Brazil, homicide was the leading cause of death for adolescents 10-14 years old. However, many of the violent perpetrators were adolescents and only 1.9% of their murderers served prison sentences (Dalevi, 2000). Although the ECA has been praised as progressive legislation promoting children's rights, it has also been criticized because it allows children up to 17 years old to commit murder or other serious crimes and serve a maximum of a three-year sentence. For example, in June 1999 an 18 year old adolescent from Rio Grande do Sul who killed three people was freed even though the judge had wanted to assign him a harsher sentence (Dalevi, 2000).

Although there are laws in place to protect children and provide them with rights similar to those guaranteed by the UN Convention of Rights of the Child, children are often abused within the justice system. Police violence against adolescents that live on the street or are suspected of criminal activity is a wide spread problem in Rio de Janeiro. Police take upon themselves to sentence youth and often execute them for crimes they may or may not have committed (U.S. Department of State, 2002).

Juvenile Transfer in Rio de Janeiro

Sentencing under the ECA is standardized and cannot exceed three years in detention, even for murder or other serious offenses. Offenders below 12 years of age cannot be tried or indicted for crimes (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). The focus of juvenile justice is on prevention and rehabilitation instead of punishment and confinement. Specifically, drug offenses are dealt with through specialized state

programs of prevention, recreation, and health related programs to help juvenile drug abusers detoxify.

However, there are serious consequences for many juvenile offenders. Police violence against juvenile offenders is a common practice that has strong historical roots (Human Rights Watch, 2003). The military regime in Brazil controlled the country for many years and utilized force, violence, and intimidation to keep order among the population. Police execute many suspected juvenile offenders, especially impoverished youth that have no chance of getting out of the favelas (U.S. Department of State, 2002). These youth frequently get involved in drug-trafficking because there is no other way for them to make enough money and start a life outside the favelas. The police round up these juveniles and take them to the sertaó or desert areas for execution (Butler & Rizzini, 2003). Police also execute suspected criminals and blame it on the criminal, indicating that their death was a result of resisting arrest (U.S. Department of State, 2002).

Perhaps the most stunning and noteworthy aspect of the ECA is the rift between legislation and implementation. Over thirteen years have passed since the implementation of the ECA. The country publicized the law with billboards, celebrations, pamphlets, and a commemorative postal stamp (Dalevi, 2000). However, many Brazilian adolescents are not receiving any benefits from ECA. Specifically, those adolescents whose families live in poverty (salaries less than a quarter of minimum wage) are not benefiting from the legislation (Dalevi, 2000).

Many institutions of justice still stress punishment and repression of juvenile offenders and continue their repression because of lack of resources and infrastructure for public defenders to ensure proper implementation of the ECA. The majority of juvenile

offenders are still sentenced to incarceration, even though the ECA deems incarceration an act of last resort (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). Over 30,000 adolescents a year are sentenced to confinement in a Brazilian institution. If the ECA was being properly implemented, 60% of those adolescents or 18,000 youth would not be imprisoned (Dalevi, 2000). Frequently the justice system punishes adolescents more harshly than adults for similar offenses. There is no bail system for adolescents, and juvenile offenders cannot be released early for good behavior (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002).

Because of the overcrowding in prisons, juvenile offenders are often housed in the same facilities as adult offenders and are severely mistreated during incarceration. They are held longer than 24 hours without access to their family or legal representation and interrogated utilizing harsh methods. This practice causes many problems for the juvenile offenders including sexual assault, torture, and interpersonal violence (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Juveniles are confined to solitary confinement cells for extremely long amounts of time. Although the state is mandated to protect juvenile prisoners from harm, many prisoners perish in prison at the hands of other prisoners or as a result of the harsh and dangerous conditions (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Another major problem with the implementation of the ECA is the lack of practical support from the government. Corrupt government officials and practices pose many problems to the full implementation of the ECA (Dalevi, 2000). By not addressing and properly prosecuting the traditional practices of repression and violence, the government is not encouraging the system to change. Therefore, the legislation is still not implemented throughout the country.

There are many positive examples where community leaders have utilized the legislation to improve the conditions of juvenile. For example, the Comunidade de Atendimento Sócio-Educativo (CASE) or Community of Socio-Educational Care offers juvenile offenders the opportunity to receive formal education, practice sports, participate in vocational activities, and learn practical skills such as computer, horticulture, and domestic care-taking. In Rio de Janeiro, the João Luís Alves School shelters only adolescent offenders and teaches them vocation skills, computer skills, and provides them with recreational rehabilitation (Dalevi, 2000).

Chapter 4. Discussion

This exploratory study focused on the peer group aspect of the ecological model in order to work toward an ecological model that incorporates the peer group as an important facet. The primary purpose of this study was to explore how the peer group mediates this behavior in communities with high rates of chronic violence. Specifically, youth perceptions in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro were examined because they are similar in rates of chronic community violence and dissimilar in the composition of racial and ethnic groups. Specifically, adolescents were studied to explore similarities and differences in peer attachment, peer influence, peer group activities, opportunities for pro-social community involvement, neighborhood resources and perceptions of neighborhood danger. In an effort to illuminate cultural historical context, the study also examined two activity settings that have an interdependent relationship with the adolescent peer group: adolescent violence prevention and intervention programs, and adolescent violence-related state policy.

The results of the study indicated that the significant differences found between geographical locations may be due to differences in perceptions of neighborhood danger. This finding suggests that peers spend less time with friends in areas of chronic community violence and therefore peer group influence is not strong. Specifically, adolescents spend less time with friends and more time inside their own house. A breakout theme from the interviews suggested that adolescents spend a lot of time inside their house because it is the only place they truly feel safe. As displayed in Figure 1, neighborhood can positively or negatively impact peer group behavior and consequently

delinquent activity. These results suggest that time with friends and consequently peer group influence is related to feelings of community safety. If an adolescent feels unsafe in his community he is less likely to hang around with friends outside of his house, therefore limiting the total amount of time spent with friends. These findings, in accordance with activity settings theory, indicate that the peer group is not an independent entity, but interdependent, existing in a reciprocal relationship with its surrounding activity settings (O'Donnell et al., 1993). Specifically, peer group relationships and consequently peer group behavior is mediated through perceptions of community safety. Healthy neighborhoods may serve as a protective element and create positive reciprocal relationships with peer groups.

The data from the survey indicated significant differences between peer groups in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro in relation to the composite variables of peer influence and time with friends. This data indicated that youth in Rio de Janeiro spend significantly less time with their peers and that their peer group has significantly less influence on them than peer groups have over youth in Baltimore. These differences can also be linked to activity settings theory because they are related to differences in the perception of community safety, the legal protection of adolescents, and the availability of adolescent services. These activity settings reciprocally affect and are affected by changes in each other. Youth in Baltimore are legally protected and criminally prosecuted under highly developed and time-tested Maryland state and federal statutes. Throughout time these statutes have been normalized into the law enforcement community and are enforced through adequate and timely legal prosecution. However, in Rio de Janeiro many adolescents are not educated about their rights under the ECA; and

law enforcement does not strictly follow the new statutes because they have not yet been normalized into their culture. Law enforcement frequently acts as it did under the military regime of government and utilizes violence, force, and intimidation to enforce laws and carry out justice.

These results also support tenets of the CHAT theory, that go beyond the activity settings theory by suggesting that historical and cultural factors can influence changes in the components of activity settings (Tharp, 2003). The historical military presence in Brazil influences current law enforcement procedures. This influence can be seen in the violent strategies still utilized by police officers. Through time the practice of utilizing violence as a strategy to enforce justice has become integrated in the culture of Brazil.

Interview data also supports these findings. By analyzing the adolescent problem-solving strategies, it is clear that adolescents confide their important problems and issues to their family members. The amount of time spent with peers and low peer influence in communities with high rates of community violence may lead adolescents to be less likely to share their true feelings with friends. Conversations with friends revolve around school, romantic partners, and family problems. Inadequate exposure to peer group members can be detrimental to psychological development of the adolescent and may make them more susceptible to peer pressure (Harris, 1995; 1998). Although adolescent influence increases with time spent with peer group members, the absence of a functioning peer group may also be related to poor peer group choices (Iervolino, Pike, Manke, Reiss, Hetherington, & Plomin, 2002; Jessor, Turbin, Costa, Dong, Zhang, & Wang, 2003). If an adolescent does not feel comfortable discussing problems with his peers, the adolescent may not feel comfortable resisting peer pressure (Kiesner, Cadinu,

Poulin, & Bucci, 2002). These findings also support activity settings theory because adolescent behavior and community resources are interdependent. Community resources influence opportunities for adolescents to socialize, consequently influencing peer group behavior and influence. It is possible that adolescents answering the survey believed that they were not influenced by their peers because they lack self-awareness (Acosta, 2003). Interview results are consistent with this sentiment revealing that the majority of adolescents are interested in similar activities, fashions, music, etc. Peers having similar interests do not always lead to increased peer influence; however, it does suggest the presence of a youth culture governing adolescent trends even in communities with high rates of violence.

Although interview results indicated that most peer groups in Baltimore decide what activities they will engage in as a group, some adolescents indicated that they let the oldest member of the peer group decide activities for the group. This could be problematic if the oldest member of the peer group decides that the group should engage in delinquent activity.

As shown by the survey results, adolescents in Rio de Janeiro are more likely to experience greater feelings of fear than adolescents in Baltimore, even though they reside in areas with similar rates of community violence. In addition to differences in legal protection and available services, community instability due to the assassination of Marcio Amaro de Oliveira, the local drug-lord, may also have contributed to greater perceptions of danger and feelings of fear in Santa Marta (Rio) at the time of the research study.

Another interesting finding is the significant difference between perceived resources in Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore. Youth in Baltimore felt that they had access to significantly more resources than youth in Rio de Janeiro, while adolescents in Rio de Janeiro felt that drugs and guns were significantly more accessible. Perceived resources were related to peer influence and time with peers. If more resources are available in the community, it creates more options for peer group involvement and increased opportunities for pro-social community involvement. The more resources that a community has, the better equipped it is to offer opportunities to its members. With increased options for peer group involvement, time with peers, and consequently peer influence, increases. It is common for areas with high levels of community violence to be low in community resources (Price, 2001). Therefore, these differences may also be linked to perceived levels of community danger and differential rates of poverty among the two communities.

Youth in Rio de Janeiro felt that they had significantly more access to drugs and guns than youth in Baltimore. These resources could be related to perceptions of community safety. If an individual can purchase a firearm or drugs with relative ease, then anyone on the streets can be considered a threat because of the possibility that they could be carrying a weapon or engaging in a drug transaction. Interview data from Baltimore supported this feeling of unease on the streets. Most individuals commented on the availability of guns and drugs in the neighborhood and the lack of positive resources. Interviewees also commented on the danger of their streets at night because of the presence of people involved with these illegal activities and on the use of abandoned buildings in their neighborhoods by drug dealers and addicts. Therefore, increased

availability of drugs and guns in a neighborhood may contribute to individual perceptions of neighborhood danger.

Perceptions of neighborhood danger may also be related to peer group activities. Baltimore interviews suggested that communities with high rates of chronic violence often have gangs or groups of people in the neighborhood that want to fight. One of the breakout themes talked about two adolescents that travel in groups to safely avoid individuals picking fights with them. If there are more adolescents traveling together in a group, it is less likely that another group will pick a fight with them because of their significant "back-up". However, it is possible that the need to travel in groups for safety may contribute to delinquent activity. Adolescents may turn to local gangs for protection or give-in frequently to peer group pressure to keep from being isolated from the support and safety of the group. Therefore, in accordance with activity settings theory neighborhood can have a reciprocal influence on peer group behavior with peers being impacted by dangerous neighborhood conditions and consequently behaving in a delinquent manner and creating dangerous neighborhood conditions.

Role of Peer Group Activities

As demonstrated by the survey results, there were a low number of opportunities for pro-social involvement in both Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro. Dangerous neighborhood conditions were especially limiting on time spent with peers because of the lack of community resources and opportunities for adolescents to participate in pro-social activities in the community. As indicated in the Baltimore interviews, some youth felt isolated to the safety of their own home. This suggests the need for constructive youth activities in this community. Socioeconomic status may have also played a role in peer

group activities. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro were from a community with lower overall socioeconomic status than the community in Baltimore. This is evidenced by the lack of peer group activities that involved financial transactions, mainly shopping and going to the movies. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro were significantly less likely to go shopping or to the movies with peer group members than adolescents in Baltimore, and significantly more likely to do free activities at church and the beach. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro may also have been more likely to go to church than adolescents in Baltimore because of the wide range of informal support services offered at the churches in the Santa Marta and Itaoca communities.

Socioeconomic status may play a role in all communities with chronic community violence. Many communities with a high rate of violent crime are low in socioeconomic status. This limits peer group activities that require financial commitment. These adolescents may engage in traditional peer activities less frequently than adolescents from communities with higher socioeconomic status.

Without activities and opportunities for peer group participation in their community and with limited financial resources to routinely go out with peer group members, adolescents may look for other activities. These activities may involve a quest to increase their financial resources through theft or drug-selling. This is particularly true for adolescents in Rio de Janeiro, who routinely turn to the drug-dealer in their community for financial resources. Interview data suggests that many youth in Baltimore walk around on the streets and hang-out on the street corners, even though they are considered to be dangerous areas. By hanging-out in dangerous areas that are known to be frequented by drug users and dealers, it increases the likelihood that an adolescent will

become involved in drugs abuse or selling (Herrenkohl, Maguin, Hill, Hawkins, Abbott, & Catalano, 2000).

Finding a suitable job in these communities may also be difficult because many of the businesses are small, locally-owned liquor and grocery marts and fast food chains. Many adult jobs and after-school jobs for adolescents start at minimum wage. These minimum wage options for both adolescents and adults may seem unattractive to the more lucrative illegal occupations, such as drug dealing and prostitution.

Overall, there were no significant differences in peer group composition between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro. Groups had a similar number of friends and were similar in age and sex. The demographics of peer groups indicated great diversity from both areas. Interview and survey data supported these findings. Although there were significant differences in many activities between geographical locations, peer groups from both geographical locations also participated in many of the same activities including studying, sports, television, and listening to music.

Theoretical and practical implications

The results indicated that geographical group differences may be linked to significant differences in perceptions of neighborhood danger. Although rates of chronic violence in these communities were similar, adolescent perceptions of community danger were significantly different. Therefore, it is important to consider perceptions of neighborhood danger.

Further research on the prevalence and predominance of perceptions of community danger would be beneficial for researchers and practitioners because these results have practical implications. The findings that perceptions of community danger is

related to peer influence, indicates that peer intervention and prevention programs cannot just be based on statistical rates of violent crime. Instead, community perceptions of danger need to be assessed. It is also important for intervention and prevention programs to identify available community resources and build upon them or establish new resources to create pro-social opportunities for adolescent peer groups to engage in group activities.

Another theoretical issue is the need for functioning peer groups in order for healthy psychological development of adolescents (Harris, 1995; 1998). The findings indicated that both peer influence and time spent with peers is low in areas of chronic community violence. Adolescents may not spend enough time engaged in adaptive peer group behaviors because of the lack of community resources and feelings of danger in their community.

Another important issue is that lack of community resources could be related to maladaptive adolescent peer-group activities. Theoretically, the findings suggest that lack of opportunities to participate in positive social activities may be a risk for adolescent peer groups to become engaged in delinquent activities. The literature in this area indicates that poverty, community drug and alcohol use, crime and violence, gang activity, and availability of guns are community risk correlated with high rates of juvenile delinquency (Goldstein, 1989; Paschall, 1996; Thornberry, Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995). However, it does not specify the detrimental relationship between lack of community resources and peer group activities. Therefore, more research on this relationship is necessary.

It is important for intervention and prevention programs to consider this relationship in their program development at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Primary programs are focused on preventing delinquent behavior in all adolescents. For instance, prevention programs for Baltimore interviewees that indicated that they prefer to stay at home because it is a safe place for them, may look very different than programs designed for adolescents with family problems that prefer to hang out on the streets with their friends. Those that prefer to stay at home may not be as frequently engaged in delinquent behavior and would therefore benefit from a primary prevention or intervention program designed to incorporate family involvement and in-home activities as key ingredients. Youth that prefer to hang out on the street with friends are at increased risk for engaging in delinquent behavior and would benefit from a secondary program providing alternative activities for youth outside the home with minimal parental involvement. For youth with past involvement in criminal or violent activities, a tertiary intervention program may focus on changing existing behaviors of the peer group and positive leadership in the peer group in an alternative setting. Tertiary interventions frequently involve out-of-home placement and detention. It is essential to develop alternatives to traditional tertiary interventions, such as the teen court in Baltimore. Research has shown that alternative interventions can be more successful than traditional tertiary interventions in reducing recidivism and increasing academic performance (Eveleth, 2003).

It is important both theoretically and practically to note that there were no significant differences found between males and females on peer group relationships.

The only difference found was consistent across geographical location and indicated that males perceive that drugs and guns are more readily available to them than females.

These findings outline a strategy that targets multiple levels for intervention including individual, peer, and community factors. By improving opportunities for positive peer group activities in these communities, individual adolescent psychological development will be improved. This unique approach provides agencies, delegating humanitarian response and disaster management assistance, with an example that goes beyond the individual-level approach of most interventions. With the amount of disasters occurring worldwide, the number of people that will be available to assist in the physical and emotional recovery of affected populations is limited. Currently in the world there are at least 162 conflicts occurring (UN, 1999). These conflicts produce refugees and internally displaced people that are victims of these man-made disasters. Furthermore, the number of natural disasters is increasing as well.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1990) designates children living in "war zones or areas of political conflict, homeless children, 'underhoused' children, refugee children, and children living in high-crime areas" as children living in especially difficult circumstances. While on the surface these children would not seem to have a substantial amount in common, they experience many similarities (Errante, 1997). Both psychologists and nongovernmental organizations have noted that many children living in difficult circumstances experience many of the same psychological and maladaptive effects (APA, 1993; UNICEF, 1990). The current research supports this literature, suggesting that perceptions of community danger are more influential among adolescent peer groups than geographical differences. These results have the potential to improve

prevention and intervention efforts for both urban adolescents and youth in complex humanitarian emergencies, natural disasters, and refugee camps, or as UNICEF refers to them youth living in "especially difficult circumstances".

These findings also have implications for practitioners, clinicians, and academics working with and studying individuals living in impoverished conditions. Violent conditions are often linked with poverty, however past research has not been able to establish firm causal paths between urban settings, mental health and deviant behavior (Marsella, 1998). The current study suggests that diminished community resources and opportunities for pro-social involvement, common in many impoverished communities, may be linked to maladaptive peer group activities and unhealthy or malfunctioning peer groups, especially those youth in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, it is important for future research to further explore the relationship between poverty and the adolescent peer group, as well as looking for unconventional solutions, which focus on the resilient spirit of individuals living in impoverished communities with high rates of violent crime. As indicated by current research, resilience-based solutions not only provide valuable support for community members, but may motivate those working to improve these communities around the world (Carr & Sloan, 2004).

Implications for service providers and policy implications are discussed in detail below.

Implications for service providers

In exploring the target populations and services provided by current prevention and intervention efforts in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro, several important issues arose. Many formal prevention and intervention efforts service a small select portion of the

community. Therefore, informal support systems are more widely utilized and reach a larger number of at-risk youth than formal support systems. However, these informal support systems are vastly under-funded. Unconventional mechanisms are needed to fund these alternative violence prevention and intervention efforts. Improvement of the informal support network is especially important in communities with high rates of chronic violence because the informal social control network in these communities is a highly effective method to improve the health of the community and its members. Formal prevention and intervention efforts could benefit from increased collaboration between national and local organizations.

Informal supports reach greater number of youth than formal supports. The current study, supporting previous research in the Santa Marta community, suggested that informal supports are more accessible and reach a greater number of adolescents than formal supports (Promundo, 2001). In the Baltimore community, around Patterson high school, informal supports also reach a greater number of youth than formal supports. Changes need to be made in formal programs if they are going to service more of the population. Formal programs need to involve community members in their planning. By utilizing a more participatory approach these programs can provide more effective structure and consequently services to at-risk populations. It may also be beneficial for formal violence prevention and intervention programs to include informal aspects to the programs, such as informal peer mentoring.

Although formal programs can be adapted to increase their availability in the community, it is also important to consider the role of informal supports by investing in resources that strengthen the informal support systems utilized by communities with high

rates of chronic violence. The focus should be on improving the community rather than responding to the violent activity in the community. By providing support and resources for those involved in informally supporting the community, children and adolescents development could be positively affected and opportunities for healthy peer socialization in the community created.

Alternative funding source for service provision. Funding for formal prevention and intervention efforts is a difficult issue because immediate results are not always evident. Therefore, gaining financial assistance from state or federal sources for informal community resources is especially difficult. In order to procure funding for community improvements and informal community supports it is necessary to search for and develop alternative sources of funding. Alternative sources of funding could come from local businesses invested in the community and community development projects. It is also important to pass legislation supporting improvements in communities with high rates of chronic violence, therefore, service providers should make legislative action a part of their focus.

Improve recreational spaces for adolescents to safely participate. Communities with high rates of chronic violence have few safe spaces for community socialization. This is especially important because community socialization is necessary for the development of an informal social control network, and past research has suggested that informal social control is a vital part of a healthy community (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Many of the interview participants in Baltimore discussed their reluctance to spend time in Patterson Park, the local community park, because it was unsafe. Therefore, the recreational opportunities in their neighborhood were extremely limited.

Improve integration and collaboration among service providers. By increasing collaboration among current service providers of formal prevention and intervention programs, it would be possible to ensure that efforts were not being duplicated, as well as target a larger proportion of the population because national organizations can provide support and resources to reach large numbers of children at high risk for violence and delinquency (Chaiken, 1998). Local efforts can complement national resources because they are often tailored to meet the needs of a specific community. By working together, national efforts could be more effective and local efforts could receive much needed support and resources. Collaboration between national and local agencies could strengthen local efforts to improve communities and prevention violence.

For example, INTER-ACTION or the Integrated System of Attending to the Child and the Adolescent in Brazil seeks to optimize service delivery through coordination and integration of service providers. INTER-ACTION identifies available services and programs and community areas of education, health, safety, sports and leisure, culture, and family activities. Therefore, INTER-ACTION can work on establishing links between organizations with similar target populations and goals, as well as identify areas of community weakness. This model program prioritizes service coordination and integration in a unified effort to develop and implement prevention programs to improve the conditions for adolescents and children in areas with chronic community violence and poverty.

Policy Implications

Several legal obstacles to the successful development of adolescents in communities with high rates of chronic community violence emerged during the

completion of the comparative analysis of state policy related to adolescents and violence in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro. It is suggested that policy should be expanded to address service provision for adolescents ages 14-17 because they are under-represented in service delivery. It is also important to provide education for families and law enforcement officers about the laws applicable to children and adolescents, especially for those in high-risk communities that are more likely to be involved in situations pertaining to the law. Finally, it is important to explore alternatives to traditional incarceration and punishment for adolescents because many of the alternative options currently available result in more successful outcomes for adolescents than traditional legislative approaches.

Increase services for adolescents age 14-17 years old. Many of the formal violence prevention and intervention programs provide services for youth in elementary school and middle school. This leaves few options for pro-social activity for high school teenagers, as indicated by the survey results. Therefore, it is important to pass legislation to support the development of more programs and an increased array of activities for adolescents, particularly in high risk neighborhoods that do not offer many safe areas for adolescent activity. These programs could combine a formal and informal approach. By having programs that are formally established but connect with adolescents in an informal manner, such as mentoring, athletics or music, programs can create a safe haven for adolescents to interact and socialize. This increased socialization may make interaction with peer group members more frequent and increase opportunities for pro-social community involvement of adolescents.

An excellent reciprocal relationship that services the juvenile legislative system, adolescents involved in the system, and adolescents in surrounding communities, is the

teen court in Baltimore. This court originated as a mechanism to reduce the rate of juvenile offending as an alternative to the state's juvenile justice system and has been highly successful in reducing recidivism and eventual transfer of juvenile offenders, time between offending and sentencing, and cost to the juvenile justice system (Eveleth, 2003). It services juvenile offenders that have been charged with a non-violent, non-threatening crime and allows these juveniles to be tried and sentenced by a group of their peers, with a District Court judge presiding over the trial. Youth in the community are provided an opportunity to participate in a pro-social activity by serving as a peer juror.

Therefore, the program eases the case-load of the juvenile justice system, as well as providing an alternative mechanism for youth to be involved in their community (Eveleth, 2003). Teen court not only provides an educational opportunity for youth to see the consequences of delinquent behavior, but provides education about the legislative process and the rights of adolescents, while concomitantly providing a community service.

Provide education and information to increase families' awareness of children's rights. As indicated by the interviews, families play an integral role in the lives of adolescents living in communities with chronic violence. When adolescent have a serious problem and confide in their parents, it is important that the parent be informed about the topic. Because of the serious consequences, education about legal matters is especially important. Efforts in Rio de Janeiro to distribute informational packets to families about the new legislation emphasize the importance of this issue. However, many individuals in Rio de Janeiro are still not aware of the contents of the ECA. Multiple formats and

mechanisms are needed to distribute information about new legislation throughout communities.

By providing information about legislation to families, adolescents and children are also made aware of this legislation. Many adolescents and children will become educated about their own rights through their family. This education makes adolescents and children aware of the consequences of their behavior and may result in a positive change. These educational efforts may also be utilized to educate adolescents and children about the availability of formal supports. The use of these formal supports could increase through improved education about their own rights and the existence of alternative activities to delinquent behavior. Moreover, community members in the informal support systems around the adolescent or child would be knowledgeable about the rights of adolescents and children in their community.

Roda Viva, a model program in Brazil, tackles many of these issues and focuses on transforming the socio-political climate of the country. This program strives to educate adolescents about lobbying for their rights and encourage them to be more pro-active in their political system. Information about the current status of adolescents in favelas, as well as government institutions, is collected through Roda Viva and distributed to the public, parents, professional educators, volunteers, university students, and community workers in educational seminars and community publications. Finally, Roda Viva participates at the municipal, state, and national level lobbying for child and adolescent rights and environmental change (Levenstein, 1994).

Provide training and education for law enforcement personnel. Adolescent legislation could greatly benefit from a reciprocal educational process between law

enforcement personnel and legislative personnel. Providing an educational forum for discussion between these parties would generate knowledge of ways to expand legislation to more effectively meet law enforcement personnel issues of concern. This forum would be a mechanism for policy makers and legislative officials to obtain feedback from law enforcement personnel. Law enforcement personnel work on the front line and know the concerns of their population that may not be evident in the courtroom. Specifically, they recognize patterns of behavior specifically aimed at addressing weaknesses in legislation and would be able to bring them to the attention of policy makers during these educational sessions.

For example, it is widely known that drug dealers frequently utilize adolescents for many of their activities because adolescents are at less of a risk of being charged with a serious crime than an adult would be in the same situation. A 15 year-old youth in Maryland tried in the juvenile court for a drug offense would be held in jail for five years maximum, or until he turned 20 years of age (OJJDP, 2002). Contrastingly, an adult in the same situation faces an average of eight years in prison, with a maximum of life in prison (Maryland State Commission on Criminal Sentencing Policy, 2003). Furthermore, drug dealers may also think that adolescents do not look intimidating and have easy access to the youth population for drug sales.

Law enforcement officers that interact with youth on a daily basis may have insight into situations that is not available to legislative officers and lawyers. Therefore, it is important to form a reciprocal working relationship between law enforcement and legislative agencies to ensure that law enforcement officers are properly educated about legislative policies and procedures, and in turn, can educate those in charge of the

development of policies. This reciprocal relationship would improve both the law enforcement and legislative agencies that interact with adolescents in high risk communities.

Provide alternatives to traditional incarceration facilities and punishment. Incarceration of adolescents is supposed to be a last resort, but many adolescents around the world are frequently incarcerated because it is the only available response for juvenile offenders. However, as shown by the teen court in Baltimore alternatives to incarceration can often be more effective for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders (Eveleth, 2003). Alternatives are especially important for many countries where incarceration facilities are in disrepair and overcrowded, and conditions are inhumane. Current alternative efforts, such as the teen court, should be expanded. More research is needed to further develop these alternatives and promote their use.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one of the interview breakout themes indicated that even though youth were living in a dangerous community and unsure of their safety, they were resigned to the idea and still "okay". This positive attitude of participants could be labeled resilience and is especially important because this group is often considered to engage in maladaptive activities because they are not as resilient as younger children (Pynoos & Eth, 1985). This positive attitude could also be perceived as the nonchalance of individuals that are resigned to their station in life. The process of resilience involves environmental and psychosocial factors and is a result of an interdependent and dynamic relationship between an individual and their environment (Kumpfer, 1999). Not all individuals in areas with high rates of violent crime become criminals. Therefore, further

research is needed to explore the complex interactions between an individuals' environmental context and their cognitive, emotional, spiritual, physical, and behavioral characteristics. However, the positive attitude from interview participants in Baltimore creates hope for the future in Baltimore and perhaps will create increased effort to engage these adolescents living in situations of chronic community violence in pro-social activities to improve their lives and consequently their community.

Limitations

This study's findings were affected by several limitations. First, only interview data from participants in Baltimore was included, limiting the amount of in-depth knowledge about adolescents in Rio de Janeiro. Survey data offered general insights about adolescent peer groups in Rio de Janeiro, but interview data were necessary to explore the peer group dynamics of adolescents groups in Rio de Janeiro. The survey data may also have been affected by the current situation of instability that was occurring in Santa Marta during data collection for this project. Furthermore, the interview sample was small. Different findings may have occurred with a larger qualitative sample size.

Another important limitation of the study was the difference between the two communities that were compared. Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro, although similar in chronic community violence, are dissimilar in many ways. Poverty rates may be the most influential differences. Adolescents in Rio de Janeiro are at additional risk due to the greater levels of poverty in their community. Results may have been affected by the differences in socioeconomic status between Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro.

Non-random recruitment of participants both in Baltimore and Rio de Janeiro may also have affected the results. In order to participate in the survey and interviews

individuals had to get a consent form signed by their parents, therefore those individuals that obtained parental consent first were asked to participate. This effort resulted in a natural sample taken for convenience rather than by demographic suitability. The non-random recruitment of participants may also have affected the representativeness of the sample and consequently the generalizability of the results. Specifically, those youth that participate in the current study may not have been representative of youth with past criminal background or violent histories. Results indicated that there was a lack of community resources for survey and interview participants. Additional resources are needed for participants and youth not involved in the study, particularly those with past involvement in criminal or violent activities that may not have participated in the study due to parent consent procedures.

Another possible limitation of the study is the difficulty involved with the translation of measures utilized. Although the research utilized local assistance to translate the measure to reflect colloquial language and back translation to ensure the concepts of the questionnaire translated correctly, it is still possible that the translation affected the comparability of the results. Many concepts are difficult to translate and may take on slightly different meanings in different contexts. For example, it was difficult for individuals in Brazil to translate the concept of "hanging-out" into Portuguese. This concept is a major part of adolescent life in America and therefore important to address, however it is not as defined of an activity in the life of Brazilian adolescents. The use of a questionnaire with subscales designed in the United States may also have impacted the findings. Additional cross-cultural research on the concept of

"community danger" and cross-cultural compatibility of measures of community danger is necessary.

Furthermore, it is possible that the responses of the interviews and surveys were not reliable. Because of the personal nature of the questions and the researcher's regular personal contact with teachers, community members, and participants, the promise of anonymity may not have been believed. Therefore, adolescents may have toned down their remarks about community danger, and the availability of drugs and hand guns. This is particularly true of the interviews. Because of the tape recording and face-to-face contact adolescents may not have been entirely truthful with the researcher. Adolescents in areas with high rates of chronic violence may also feel very guarded or keep many secrets because of their threatening environment. They may fear retaliation from drug dealers or pimps for discussing community issues relating to illegal activities. Adolescents may also fear retaliation from law enforcement officials for discussing dissatisfaction with or misconduct of police officers in their community. This is particularly true for adolescents from Rio de Janeiro because law enforcement officials regularly utilize force and intimidation to keep order. Reliability of the surveys in Rio de Janeiro may also have been affected by the instability in the community at the time of the research.

Finally, the exploratory design of the study was limiting because of the wealth of information it produced. This information was vast and covered a range of topics, providing valuable insight in many areas. However, the study raised just as many questions as it answered. It is important for future research to continue to address adolescent perceptions of safety in communities with high rates of chronic violence

around the world. Specifically, further research needs to be conducted to explore the relationship between peer influence, community resources, and perceptions of community danger. It is important for future research to compare cities within the United States that have high and low rates of chronic violence to explore their similarities and differences. Findings from a larger study of cities within the United States may produce very different results. Also, further investigation of the role of community resources and socioeconomic status is pertinent to the understanding of peer group activities in areas with chronic community violence.

Appendix A: Parent Consent Form

Dear parent(s),

My name is Joie Acosta and I am a graduate student at the University of Hawaii currently obtaining a degree in the Community and Culture Psychology Program. I am requesting permission for your child to participate in a brief interview, survey or focus group on peer relationships in the fall. It will be conducted at their Baltimore public high school, take only between 20 - 50 minutes, and ask them questions about their friends and their neighborhood. The interview will be a one-on-one conversation that lasts for approximately 30-50 minutes. The survey will be a questionnaire that asks your child, and 75 other children, 54 questions and will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The focus group will be a group of 5 peers that meet for a guided conversation for approximately 30-50 minutes.

By signing this permission slip, you give him/her permission to participate in the interview, survey, or focus group. Conversations in the focus group and interviews will be audio-taped with your child's assent, and the tapes will be destroyed upon conclusion of the study. There will be a translator available for children that need assistance. There may be questions asked of a sensitive nature, but all information will be kept confidential and anonymous to the extent allowed by law. Not signing this permission slip will not penalize your child in any way.

By allowing your child to participate you are helping to us to learn more about how to improve violence prevention efforts worldwide. While there are no direct benefits for your child, their participation will help us to make youth violence prevention and intervention programs better. Please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions or concerns. If the call is long distance, please feel free to call collect. Thank you for your time and consideration. This would not be possible without your help!

Sincerely,

Joie Acosta
University of Hawaii, Manoa
Phone: (808) 947-6489
joiea@hawaii.edu

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in the study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. Phone: (808) 956-5007)

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice.

I herewith consent to the participation of my minor child in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights, nor does it release the principal Investigator or the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

_____

Your Child's Name

_____Date_____

Parent's Signature

C: copy to parents

Appendix B: Individual Consent Form – Questionnaire

FRIENDSHIP PROJECT

☼☼☼☼☼☼

This questionnaire explores differences in peer relationships. Although there are no benefits to you personally, the information on this questionnaire will help to make violence prevention programs better for youth like you. All information will be kept anonymous and confidential. It will take approximately 20 minutes for you to answer the questions. Please read the consent statement below and continue. Your teachers, parents and friends won't see your answers.

By signing this form you agree to fill out this packet willingly and anonymously. There may be some questions of a sensitive nature, but if you don't feel comfortable answering any of the questions you do not have to. You can stop filling out this packet whenever you feel uncomfortable with no penalty. This isn't graded, and there are no wrong answers, so please be honest.

_____**Date**_____

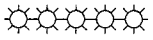
Signature

PLEASE READ QUESTIONS CAREFULLY.

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in the study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. Phone: (808) 956-5007.)

Appendix C: Individual Consent Form – Interview

FRIENDSHIP PROJECT



This conversation will explore differences in peer relationships. Although there are no benefits to you personally, the information you provide to us will help to make violence prevention programs better for youth like you. All information will be kept anonymous and confidential. It will take approximately 30-50 minutes for you to answer the questions. Please read the consent statement below and continue. Your teachers, parents and friends won't know what we talked about.

By signing this form you agree to participate in this conversation willingly and anonymously. There may be some questions of a sensitive nature, but if you don't feel comfortable answering any of the questions you do not have to. You can stop the conversation whenever you feel uncomfortable with no penalty. This isn't graded, and there are no wrong answers, so please be honest.

_____ **Date**_____

Signature

PLEASE READ QUESTIONS CAREFULLY.

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in the study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. Phone: (808) 956-5007.)

Appendix D: Individual Consent Form – Focus Group

FRIENDSHIP PROJECT

This conversation will explore differences in peer relationships. Although there are no benefits to you personally, the information you provide to us will help to make violence prevention programs better for youth like you. All information will be kept anonymous and confidential. It will take approximately 30-50 minutes for you to answer the questions. Please read the consent statement below and continue. Your teachers and parents won't know what we talked about.

By signing this form, you agree to participate in this conversation willingly and anonymously. There may be some questions of a sensitive nature, but if you don't feel comfortable answering any of the questions you do not have to. You can stop the conversation whenever you feel uncomfortable with no penalty. This isn't graded, and there are no wrong answers, so please be honest.

_____ **Date**_____

Signature

PLEASE READ QUESTIONS CAREFULLY.

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in the study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. Phone: (808) 956-5007.)

Appendix E: Interview Prompts

I. Introduce myself and state purpose of study. Consent form explained and signed. Ask for permission to tape record. If denied explain that I will be taking notes. I am coming to you for your knowledge. I need your help to understand what it is like to be a high school student at Baltimore public high school. I am interested in learning about your friendships and if these friendships change your behavior.

II. Tell me a little bit about your friends.
- -Ethnicity
- -Race
- -Cultural beliefs
- -Demographic make-up (i.e., age, gender, grade)
- -Social structure of peer group (Who usually decided what you do?)

Tell me about your close friends.

III. Tell me about what you and your friends do.
- -When you do it and for how long
- -types of activities (after school, on weekends day vs. night)
- -Who initiates these types of activities?
- -Are there certain types of friends you do certain activities with?

III. Tell me about your feelings about your friends
- -Attachment/closeness, do you tell them how you feel?
- -Do you want to be the kind of person your friends are? Why/why not?
- - Do they want to be like you?

If you have a problem do you tell your friends or family first? Why?
Do you think your friends influence your opinions? How? In what ways? Why?
Do you think your friends influence your actions? How? In what ways? Why?
- -Dress, action, material possessions

IV. Tell me about your neighborhood
- -types of activities that go on there
- -different at night than in day
- -opportunities for pro-social involvement (i.e., sports teams, clubs, parks)
- -neighborhood resources

Do you feel safe in your neighborhood? Why?
Do you feel safe with your friends? Why?
Describe your favorite and least favorite parts of your neighborhood. Are there any unsafe areas?

V. Thank and excuse them.

Appendix F: Questionnaire – English

PLEASE READ QUESTIONS CAREFULLY. THANK YOU!!

Age_____ **Sex** M F

1. What **grade** are you in right now? 9 10 11 12

2. What is your **biological mother's** ethnic background ('nationality' or race)? **Check all that apply.**
   ___ White ___ Black ___ Chinese ___ Filipino
   ___ Portuguese ___ Japanese ___ Hispanic ___ American Indian
   ___ Korean ___ Don't know ___ Other _____
3. What is your **biological father's** ethnic background ('nationality' or race)? **Check all that apply.**
   ___ White ___ Black ___ Chinese ___ Filipino
   ___ Portuguese ___ Japanese ___ Hispanic ___ American Indian
   ___ Korean ___ Don't know ___ Other _____
4. Which ethnic background ('nationality' or race) do you feel **best describes you**? Please **check one.**
   ___ White ___ Black ___ Chinese ___ Filipino
   ___ Portuguese ___ Japanese ___ Hispanic ___ American Indian
   ___ Korean ___ Don't know ___ Other _____

5. To what extent do you **identify** with the ethnic background **you selected above** (in Question 4). **Select a number.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   very little very much

6. How much **pride** do you feel when you **identify yourself** with your ethnic background (as selected above in Question 4)?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   very little very much

7. Are you **comfortable** with your ethnic background (as selected in Question 4)?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   very uncomfortable very comfortable

8. When you **think about yourself**, do you think your ethnicity is **important**? Please circle **one.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   not at all important very important

9. In what **type of place** do you live (for example, apartment, house)?
   _____

10. **Who** do you live with?

___ Mother	___ Father	___ Sister	___ Brother
___ Aunt	___ Uncle	___ Friends	___ Grandparent
___ Don't know	Other _____		Other _____

11. What types of **services or programs** are you involved with **now** (for example, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, DARE)?

_____

12. What types of **services or programs** have you been involved with **in the past** (for example, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, DARE)?

_____

THINK ABOUT YOUR **CLOSEST FRIENDS** AND THE **FRIENDS THAT YOU HANG OUT WITH THE MOST**. NOW READ EACH QUESTION **CAREFULLY** AND **ANSWER** THEM WITH THOSE FRIENDS IN MIND!! **CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER**!!

1. How often do you want to be **the kind of person** your friends are?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

2. How often do you **dress similar** to your friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

3. How often do you **think about your friends opinions** before doing something?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

4. How often do your **friends encourage you** to do well **in school**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

5. How often do you **act like** your friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

6. How often do you **dislike the same things** your **friends dislike**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

7. How often do you **dislike the some of the things** your **friends do**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

8. How often do you spend time with your **friends after school**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

9. How often do you spend time with your **friends on the weekend** (including your boyfriend or girlfriend and family members you consider to be friends)?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

10. How often do you and your **friends have similar opinions**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

11. How often do you **like the same things** your **friends like**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

12. How often do you spend time with your **boyfriend or girlfriend after school**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

13. How often do you spend time with your **boyfriend or girlfriend on the weekend**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

14. How often do you spend time with your **family members you consider to be friends after school**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

15. How often do you spend time with your **family members you consider to be friends on the weekend**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			always

16. How **many** close **friends** do you have? _____

17. Please state how many of the **friends** that you indicated in **Question 11** are male or female. For example, **3 male and 2 female**.

_____

18. Please indicate the **ethnic backgrounds** of the **friends** that you indicated in **Question 11**. Please **check all that apply**.

___ White ___ Black ___ Chinese ___ Filipino
___ Portuguese ___ Japanese ___ Hispanic ___ American Indian

___ Korean ___ Don't know ___ Other _____

19. Please indicate the **range of ages** of the **friends** that you indicated in **Question 11**. For example, **ages 15 - 18**.

_____

20. What **activities** do **you and your friends** do together **after school**? Please **check all that apply**.

___ Job
___ Sports/Exercising
___ Organizational activities
___ TV/Video games
___ Mall
___ Movies
___ Other _____
___ Reading
___ Homework
___ E-mail/Phone calls
___ Beach
___ Hiking
___ Partying (supervised)
___ Drinking
___ Partying (unsupervised)
___ Clubbing
___ Fishing
___ Church
___ Concert
___ Cruising/Driving around
___ Drugs

21. What **activities** do **you and your friends** do together during the **day** on the **weekend**? Please **check all that apply**.

___ Job
___ Sports/Exercising
___ Organizational activities
___ TV/Video games
___ Mall
___ Movies
___ Other _____
___ Reading
___ Homework
___ E-mail/Phone calls
___ Beach
___ Hiking
___ Partying (supervised)
___ Drinking
___ Partying (unsupervised)
___ Clubbing
___ Fishing
___ Church
___ Concert
___ Cruising/Driving around
___ Drugs

22. What **activities** do **you and your friends** do together during the **night** on the **weekend**? Please **check all that apply**.

___ Job
___ Sports/Exercising
___ Organizational activities
___ TV/Video games
___ Mall
___ Movies
___ Other _____
___ Reading
___ Homework
___ E-mail/Phone calls
___ Beach
___ Hiking
___ Partying (supervised)
___ Drinking
___ Partying (unsupervised)
___ Clubbing
___ Fishing
___ Church
___ Concert
___ Cruising/Driving around
___ Drugs

THINK ABOUT THE **NEIGHBORHOOD THAT YOU LIVE IN**. NOW READ EACH QUESTION **CAREFULLY** AND **CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER!!**

1. There are lots of **adults** in my neighborhood I could **talk** to about something important.

NO! no yes YES!

2. There are **places** in my neighborhood that I can go to **feel safe.**

   NO! no yes YES!
   Where? _____

3. There are **places** in my neighborhood that I **avoid** because they are **unsafe.**

   NO! no yes YES!
   Where? _____

4. Which of the following activities are available **for people like you**?

Sports Teams	Yes	No
Student Clubs	Yes	No
Service Clubs	Yes	No

5. How much does each of the following statements **describe your neighborhood**:

a.	Crime.	NO!	no	yes	YES!
b.	Drug selling.	NO!	no	yes	YES!
c.	Fights.	NO!	no	yes	YES!
d.	Lots of empty or abandoned buildings.	NO!	no	yes	YES!
e.	Lots of graffiti.	NO!	no	yes	YES!
f.	People feel safe in my neighborhood.	NO!	no	yes	YES!

6. If you wanted to get some **beer, wine, or hard liquor** (for example, vodka, whiskey or gin), how easy would it be for you to get some?

   ___ Very hard ___ Sort of hard ___ Sort of easy ___ Very easy

7. If you wanted to get some **cigarettes**, how easy would it be for you to get some?

   ___ Very hard ___ Sort of hard ___ Sort of easy ___ Very easy

8. If you wanted to get some **marijuana**, how easy would it be for you to get some?

___ Very hard ___ Sort of hard ___ Sort of easy ___ Very easy

9. If you wanted to get a **drug** like, cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines, how easy would it be for you to get some?

___ Very hard ___ Sort of hard ___ Sort of easy ___ Very easy

10. If you wanted to get a **handgun**, how easy would it be for you to get one?

___ Very hard ___ Sort of hard ___ Sort of easy ___ Very easy

11. How safe do you feel when you are at home?

___ Very safe ___ Sort of safe ___ Sort of unsafe ___ Very unsafe

12. In your neighborhood, are there parks and playgrounds to hang out in?

___ Yes ___ No

13. Are there places to hang out near where you live?

___ Yes ___ No

14. Are there libraries in your neighborhood?

___ Yes ___ No

If there are libraries in your neighborhood, how often do you go there?

___ Often ___ Sometimes ___ Never

15. If you want to play sports, can you find a place to go in your neighborhood?

___ Yes ___ No

16. I wish there were more things to do in my neighborhood.

___ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

17. I get scared sometimes when I walk around in my neighborhood.

___ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

18. My neighborhood is safe.

____ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

19. I sometimes hear gunshots near my house.

___ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

20. There are gangs in my neighborhood.

___ Yes, always ___ More or less ___ No, never

21. There are homeless people around near where I live.

___ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

22. When I grow up, I want to live in the same neighborhood I live in now.

___ Yes ___ Sometimes ___ No

23. How easy is it for you to access the internet?

___ Very difficult ___ Difficult ___ Easy ___ Very easy

YOU ARE FINISHED!! THANK YOU!!

Appendix G: Questionnaire – Portuguese

POR FAVOR, LEIA E RESPONDA AS PERGUNTAS SEGUINTES COM CUIDADO. MUITO OBRIGADA!

Quantos **anos** você tem?_____ **Sexo** M F

1. Qual o seu grau de instrução?
   ___ Nunca freqüentou escola
   ___ 1° grau incompleto (inclui o antigo primário completo)
   ___ 1° grau completo (inclui os que concluíram os antigos primário e ginásio)
   ___ 2° grau incompleto
   ___ 2° grau completo (inclui os que concluíram os antigos cursos colegial, técnico, científico, normal e clássico)
   ___ Outra _____

2. Qual é a **cor ou raça** de sua **mãe** natural? Indique todas que aplicam:
   ___ Branca ___ Parda ___ Preta/Negra ___ Amarela
   ___ Indígena ___ Não sei ___ Outra _____

3. Qual é a **cor ou raça** de seu **pai** natural? Indique todas que aplicam:
   ___ Branca ___ Parda ___ Preta/Negra ___ Amarela
   ___ Indígena ___ Não sei ___ Outra _____

4. **Como Vc.** se definiria? Qual é a sua **cor ou raça**?
   ___ Branca ___ Parda ___ Preta/Negra ___ Amarela
   ___ Indígena ___ Não sei ___ Outra _____

5. Até que ponto você se **identifica** com a(s) categorie(s nas) qual (quais) **se define**?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Pouco Muito

6. O quanto você se **orgulha** em pertencer às categorias apontadeas?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Pouco Muito

7. Você se **sente** bem em sua **categoria**?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Absolutamente não Muito importante

8. Quando você **pensa em si mesmo**, sua origem étnica é **importante**?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Não importante Muito importante

9. En que **tipo** de **habitação** você vive? (uma casa, apartamento, condominio, favela, etc.)

_____

10. **Com quem** você está vivendo? Indique todas que aplicam:

___ sua mãe ___ seu pai ___ sua irmã ___ seu irmão
___ sua tia ___ seu tio ___ amigos ___ seu avô
___ sua avó ___ está sozinho Outro _____

11. A quais **associações** e/ou **programas** você pertence? (por exemplo, escola de samba, igreja, torcida organizada, clube esportivo, grêmio escolar, progamas de apoio a dependência quimica, outros:quais)

_____

12. A quais entidades e/ou **programas** você se associou no **passado**?

_____

CONDIDERANDO **SEUS AMIGOS MAIS INTIMOS**. RESPONDA ÁS SEGUINTES PERGUNTAS. ESCOLHA SOMENTE **UM NÚMERO** E O MARQUE COM UM CIRCULO!!

1. Com que frequência você quer se **parecer** com seus amigos?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

2. Com que frequência você se **veste como** seus amigos?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

3. Com que frequência você **pensa qual seria a opinião** dos seus amigos antes de fazer uma coisa?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

4. Com que frequência seus amigos **estimulam** você a ter bom **desempenho nas aulas**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

5. Quantas vezes você **faz uma coisa exactamente** como seus amigos?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

6. Com que frequência você **não gosta** das **mesmas coisas** ou pessoas que seus amigos?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

7. Com que frequência você **não concorda** com o que os **seus amigos fazem**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

8. Quanto **tempo** você fica com seus amigos depois **das aulas**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

9. Quantas vezes você e seus amigos **têm opinões** iguais em vários **assuntos**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

10. Quantas vezes você e seus amigos **gostam** das **mesmas** coisas?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

11. Quanto tempo você fica com **sua namorada ou namorado** depois das **suas aulas**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

12. Quanto tempo você fica com **sua namorada ou namorado** no **fim de semana**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

13. Quanto tempo você fica **com membros de sua familia** como amigos depois das **suas aulas**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

14. Quanto tempo você fica **com membros de sua familia** como amigos no **fim de semana**?

1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca		às vezes			sempre

15. **Quantos** amigos verdadeiros você tem? _____

16. Destes amigos, quantos são **masculinos**? _____ Quantos são **femininos**? _____

17. Por favor, indique **sua origem étnica**:

___ Branca ___ Parda ___ Preta/Negra ___ Amarela
___ Indígena ___ Não sei ___ Outra _____

18. O **mais jovem** dos seus amigos, que idade tem? _____

19. O **mais velho** dos seus amigos, que idade tem? _____

20. Depois das aulas, quais dentre as **atividades seguintes** seus amigos se ocupam juntos **durante a semana**?

___ Trabalhar	___ Ler ou estudar	___ Ir a "raves" e "bailes funk"
___ Practicar esportes	___ Ir à igreja	___ Ir a festas em casa de familia
___ Ver TV/Video	___ Ir praia	___ Passear com cachorro
___ "Azarar" nos shoppings	___ Fazer música	___ Ir ao cinema
___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____

21. Quais são as **atividades** diurnas] de você e de seus amigos nos **fins da semana**?

___ Trabalhar	___ Ler ou estudar	___ Ir a "raves" e "bailes funk"
___ Practicar esportes	___ Ir à igreja	___ Ir a festas em casa de familia
___ Ver TV/Video	___ Ir praia	___ Passear com cachorro
___ "Azarar" nos shoppings	___ Fazer música	___ Ir ao cinema
___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____

22. Quais são as **atividades** [noturnas] de você e de seus amigos nos **fins da semana**?

___ Trabalhar	___ Ler ou estudar	___ Ir a "raves" e "bailes funk"
___ Practicar esportes	___ Ir à igreja	___ Ir a festas em casa de familia
___ Ver TV/Video	___ Ir praia	___ Passear com cachorro
___ "Azarar" nos shoppings	___ Fazer música	___ Ir ao cinema
___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____	___ Outros _____

NAS PERGUNTAS **SEGUINTES** RESPONDA PENSANDO NASUA **VIZINHANÇA!!**

1. Há **muitos adultos** com quem posso converser sobre **assuntos** importantes.

   NÃO! não sim SIM!

2. Há **lugares** onde posso ir e sentir me **seguro.**

   NÃO! não sim SIM!
   Onde? _____

3. Há **lugares** no bairro que evito porque **não são seguros.**

   NÃO! não sim SIM!
   Onde? _____

4. **No** seu bairro existe o **seguinte**?

Clubes de esportes	Sim	Não
Outros clubes para os estudantes	Sim	Não
Outros clubes que V. pode frequentars	Sim	Não

5. No seu **bairro** ocorrem **constantemente**:

a.	Crimes em geral.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!
b.	Venda de drogas.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!
c.	Brigas.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!
d.	Existem muitos prédios abandonados ou terrenos vazios.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!
e.	Existem muitas pichações.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!
f.	As pessoas estão seguras no meu bairro.	NÃO!	não	Sim	SIM!

6. Se você quiser **cerveja, vinho ou cachaça** é facil obter?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Fácil ___ Muito fácil

7. Se você quiser **cigarros** é fácil ou dificil obter?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Fácil ___ Muito fácil

8. Se você quiser **maconha**, é facil ou dificil obter?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Fácil ___ Muito fácil

9. Se você quiser obter **outros tipos de drogas** é facil ou dificil obter?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Fácil ___ Muito fácil

10. Se você quiser obter **uma pistola ou revolver** é facil ou dificil obter?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Facil ___ Muito facil

11. Você fica **seguro** dentro da sua casa?

___ Muito seguro ___ Seguro ___ Inseguro ___ Muito inseguro

12. No seu bairro há **parques** ou **praças** onde se pode brincar?

___ Sim ___ Não

13. Não existem **lugares para sair perto** da minha casa.

___ Sim ___ Não

14. No seu bairro **há bibliotecas públicas**?

___ Sim ___ Não

Se há **bibliotecas públicas** no seu bairro, você as frequenta?

___ Sempre ___ Às vezes ___ Nunca

15. Se Vc. quiser **praticar esportes**, há lugar para isso na sua vizinhança?

___ Sim ___ Não

16. Gostaria que houvesse **mais coisas a fazer** no meu bairro.

___ Sim ___ Às vezes ___ Não

17. Às vezes fico **apavorado(a)** quando ando pelo meu bairro.

___ Sim ___ Às vezes ___ Não

18. Meu bairro é **seguro**.

___ Sim ___ Às vezes ___ Não

19. Às vezes ouço **tiros perto** da minha casa.

___ Sim ___ Às vezes ___ Não

20. Há **gangues** no meu bairro.

___ Sim, há ___ Mais ou menos ___ Não, não há

21. Há **mendigos** no seu bairro.

___ Sim ___ Alguns ___ Não

22. Quando você ficar **adulto** você vai **querer continuar vivendo** no seu bairro?

___ Sim ___ Às vezes ___ Não

23. Como é o acesso à **internet**?

___ Muito dificil ___ Dificil ___ Fácil ___ Muito fácil

TERMINOU!! MUITO OBRIGADA!!

Appendix H: Mean rates of participation in peer group activities by location

City	Work		Beach		Church		Mall		Movies		Other	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Baltimore	53	46	21	18	20	17	74	63	78	66	22	19
Rio de Janeiro	24	27	41	46	28	31	28	31	36	39	2	2

City	Homework		Sports/ Exercising		TV/ Video Games		Listening to Music	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Baltimore	35	30	53	45	60	51	29	25
Rio de Janeiro	29	33	40	45	45	51	27	30

Appendix I: Detailed description of formal and informal services in Rio de Janeiro

For children up to two years old, there are day-care centers at Casa Santa Marta and Dona Antônia. There are also four child-care service providers for children ages 2-6 years old in Santa Marta and Itaoca. The Ponsa-Pequena Obra Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora has programs for children ages 2-6 and children ages 6-14. For children ages 2-6 they offer dance, music, and computer opportunities, and for children ages 6-14 they offer help with school, dance, computer science, carpentry, tapestry, silk-screen, music, arts, and theater.

The Casa Maria e Marta reinforces the importance of school, and teaches English, computer science, and religion to children ages 6-14, while the Projecto Reforço Escolar reinforces the study of Portuguese, math, geography, and history. In Santa Marta and Itaoca, there are also three primary schools for children ages 6-10, and two fundamental schools for children ages 11-14 to attend. There are three community programs for adolescents in their first year of secondary school.

The Programma Vida Nova encourages first year students to be agents of community change through community activities in the areas of health, education, sports, and the environment. The Pré-vestibular Communitário Dona Marta offers programs to help first year students prepare for the vestibular exam that they need to be admitted to a federal university. The Programa Juventude de Baía de Guanabara employs first year students in a program to improve the local environment through community education and clean-up efforts. There are no formal programs for students in years two or three of secondary school.

There are two medical facilities (Ambulatório São Luiz Gonzaga, Posto de Atendimento Municipal Dom Helder Cãmara), a small clinic (Pequena Obra Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora), and a pediatrician (Pastoral da Criança) that service Santa Marta and Itaoca.

Due to the lack of formal social services, many residents turn to the support of their religious institutions. There are four churches in Santa Marta, the Igreja Católica Santa Marta, a Catholic church, the Igreja do Nazareno, a Nazarene church, the Igraja Evangélica Assembléia de Deus Congregação em Dona Marta, an Evangelical church, and the Missão Batista Dona Marta, a Baptist church. These religious institutions offer day care, music lessons, leisure activities, academic support, and opportunities for social gatherings.

In Santa Marta and Itaoca there are recreational opportunities for adolescents including dancing, sports, capoeira, boxing, music, and gardening. The Associação Capoeira Angola Marrom e Alunos and the Capoeira Do Bacurau offer beginning and advanced capoeira lessons for children and adolescents. Bem Dos Pés a Cabeça and Malhação de Verão offer dance lessons for children, adolescents and adults in a variety of dance techniques. Equipe Juliano offers boxing lessons for youth age 5-17 years. The Projecto Jardineiros do Bairro offers gardening for adolescent 16-20 years. There are three sports associations that offer leisure activities such as swimming and soccer. The Projecto Bom de Bola Bom Na Escola is a soccer club for children ages 6-12 years, the Projecto Mel offers sports and leisure activities for those age 4-17 years, and the Associação Esportiva e Social offers a variety of activities for children, adolescents and adults.

Appendix J: Detailed description of formal and informal services in Baltimore

There are a number of large departments dedicated to dealing with juvenile delinquents. The Department of Juvenile Justice, Victim Assistance Program provides support services and information about community resources for victims of juvenile offenders. Human Services provides scholarships for youth and neighborhood development. The Legal Aid Bureau offers free legal services for juvenile cases of low income families. The Northwest Citizens Patrol, Inc. and the Pro Bono Counseling Project both offer services and support to victims of violent crime. The most frequently utilized service provider among the participants of this study was the Y.M.C.A of the Greater Baltimore Area, Inc, used by 19% (N=15) of survey participants.

There are also many organizations dedicated to the development and implementation of formal violence prevention and intervention programs. The Chesapeake Center for Youth Development offers alternative school and vocational training programs for at-risk adolescents. Adolescents can also participate in individual and family therapy and the After School Program sponsored by the Chesapeake Center. The After School Program was developed to offer adolescents a safe school alternative to the streets of Baltimore and provides recreational, academic, community service, and arts opportunities. The Villa Maria Bridges to Success offers in-home services for youth with patterns of delinquent behavior. Through in-home intervention and support youth develop the necessary skills and appropriate behaviors to become an asset their community. The Lion and Lamb Project offers a Parent Action Kit which educates parents throughout Maryland about alternatives to violent games and toys for their

children. Violence prevention training is offered for interested child care providers, parents, and early childhood professionals at the Baltimore City Child Care Resource Center. Baltimore City Public School students are eligible for mentoring and peer support services from the Baltimore Mentoring Partnership. Nu-World Art Ensemble and Visual Voices utilize artistic expression in their prevention programs. Nu-World Art Ensemble uses art to teach violence prevention, while Visual Voices uses painting and writing to assist youth in expressing their desire for the future.

Johns Hopkins Medical Institution (JHMI) funds several violence prevention and intervention programs in Baltimore including the Girl Scouts Drop-In Center, Safe School/Successful Student program, National Night Out, and Operation PULSE. The Girl Scouts Drop-In Center offers an after-school safe haven for girls in East Baltimore. Girls participate in programs about violence, teen pregnancy, and substance abuse, as well as interact with positive role models from their community. The Safe School/Successful Student program provides the Safe Haven Network to students from Baltimore City Public Schools that experience threatening situations on their way to and from school temporary shelters. National Night Out and Operation PULSE (People United to Live in a Safe Environment) are community-based prevention efforts. National Night Out focuses community attention on crime and violence prevention through parades, block parties, and organized efforts to turn on porch lights throughout Baltimore. Operation PULSE distributes crime prevention and intervention resources throughout the community and organizes block walkers and volunteer for neighborhood watch efforts. The Police Athletic League organizes presentations for adolescents in

Baltimore in conjunction with JHMI to depict the risk factors and consequences of gun violence. Youth are also taken to the hospital to interact with victims of gun violence.

There are also a few areas where adolescents can find informal support systems in the Southeast Baltimore community that houses Patterson high school. Elwood, McElderry, and Patterson Park offer baseball/softball, basketball, football/soccer, picnics, playgrounds, pools, recreational centers, and tennis facilities. The recreational centers offer basketball and seasonal programs. However, these areas are frequently sites of drug-dealing and violence and may not be utilized as frequently as other resources. There are two churches in this community, Saint Matthew's Methodist church and Saint Elizabeth's Catholic church. Although the churches offer no formal programs, adolescents visit there to find sanctuary and safety in their community. There is also a branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library system in Patterson Park.

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