UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF PAROCHIAL CONTROL IN A

DISADVANTAGED BROOKLYN COMMUNITY

by

CHRISTINE SHARON BARROW

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the Role of Parochial Control in a Disadvantaged Brooklyn
Community

By Christine Sharon Barrow
Dissertation Director:
Professor Bonita M. Veysey

Brownsville, Brooklyn continues to experience higher rates of single parent headed households, youth poverty, low educational attainment and high unemployment. The aim of this research is to explore the role and influence of parochial control on youth involved in a community organization in the disadvantaged neighborhood of Brownsville. According to Hunter (1985) parochial control is based on the interpersonal networks that serve the community including churches, schools, YMCAs, and athletic leagues and local institutions. This study extends parochial control research by investigating how it operates in a disadvantaged community. More specifically, how it influences youth to conform and how it operates in comparison to private and public forms of social control. In depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with young men and women at a community organization in Brownsville, Brooklyn. For these individuals, parochial control was experienced through various activities at this institution. The staff members worked with other parochial institutions and political organizations to recruit young men and women who were at risk for anti-social behavior. The study concluded that attachments to this community organization made it possible for respondents to overcome the difficulties they experienced living in a disadvantaged community. Results also showed that compared to private and public controls, more respondents reported that parochial control encouraged them to conform. This dissertation concludes with directions for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

For six decades, the Brownsville, Brooklyn has continuously experienced a number of social structural problems including a high percentage of children and adults living below the poverty line, a high concentration of residents residing in public housing, and a high percentage of single parent households. Recent data published by the New York City Administration for Children Services (2008) show that in Brownsville nearly half (49%) of the youth under the age of 18 were living below the poverty line and almost half (43%) of households were headed by single females. Brownsville also has the highest unemployment rate (23%), the highest concentration of residents renting in public housing and the lowest home values for single-family homes in Brooklyn (New York City Department of City Planning, 2008). Brownsville has one of the highest concentrations of parochial institutions in Brooklyn, however scholarly research has not explored these institutions and their importance.

Much research on youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods has focused on the relationship of delinquent behavior to structural characteristics (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Cloward and Olin, 1966; Wilson, 1987; Herrenkohl, Hawkins, Chung, Hill, and Battin-Pearson, 2001). Moreover, research also suggests that diminished employment opportunities, single parent households and higher levels of disorder and stress are more prevalent in disadvantaged communities (Wilson, 1987; Attar, et al., 1994; Rankin and Quane, 2000; Ross, 2000; Brody et al., 2001; Vazsonyi et al., 2006). These factors may increase the likelihood of delinquent behavior due to increased presence of unsupervised youth and the emergence of illegitimate opportunity structures including delinquent gang activity and drug use. Brownsville typifies a disadvantaged community; however the

focus of this study is to not examine neighborhood effects on delinquent behavior, it is to examine the under explored concept of parochial control and how it influences young men and women to conform.

Albert Hunter (1985) was the first scholar to clearly define parochial control as the interpersonal networks that serve the community including churches, YMCAs, athletic leagues, and other local institutions. The literature on parochial control has generally focused more on how it's measured and not how it operates (Bursik, 1999; Rose, 2000; Capowich, 2003; Pattavina et al., 2006; Hawdon and Ryan, 2009). While most studies on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and youth crime have generally focused on the influence of private and public controls on youth involvement in delinquent acts (Hirschi, 1969; Tapp and Levine, 1974; Waitrowski, et al 1981; Agnew, 1985; Silver and Miller, 2004; Fagan and Tyler 2005), not much is known about the function of parochial control in urban communities and its effects on youth behavior. This study seeks to fill this gap in the literature.

A number of studies have begun applying Hunter's concept of parochial control to understand its role in neighborhoods. For instance, Bursik (1999) examined parochial control as a neighborhood based network through patronage of local businesses including banks and restaurants while Rose (2000) studied how religious institutions function as mechanisms of parochial control. Other studies have examined the rates of citizen participation in neighborhood watch and anticrime organizations as a form of parochial control (Capowich, 2003; Hawdon and Ryan, 2009). Carr (2003) and Pattavina and colleagues (2006) examined the factors that led citizens to become involved in parochial institutions. These studies also looked at the extent to which parochial institutions work

with other social controls. Studies such as Capowich (2003) concluded that parochial control was related to a decrease in burglary and victimization while Rose (2000) concluded that religious institutions increase the presence of other parochial institutions such as neighborhood organizations. Findings from this study indicate that increased neighborhood organizations would result in a decrease in crime.

Most of the research on parochial institutions has not specifically looked at how these institutions function in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods and their effects on youth behavior. Moreover, the few studies that have focused on parochial control have solely focused on the involvement of adults and not youth (Rose, 2000; Carr, 2003; Capowich, 2003; Pattavina et al., 2006; Hawdon and Ryan, 2009). Therefore, this dissertation addresses the following research questions: How do youth residing in disadvantaged communities experience parochial control? How do parochial control mechanisms operate? How does parochial control influence youth behavior?

To obtain an understanding of parochial control and it's meaning, Chapter Two presents the literature on parochial control and its function in neighborhoods. It also provides an overview of the empirical research on parochial control as it relates to other institutions, including youth development programs and how they foster positive relationships between adults and juveniles (Tapp and Levine, 1974; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Coleman, 1988; McLaughlin et al., 1994; Jarrett, 1998; Jarrett, 2005). Reviewing this literature shows what important gaps remain in the understanding of parochial control and how it operates. Chapter Three begins with the history of Brownsville by highlighting its demographic composition and transitions through the years. This chapter also provides an overview of housing development initiatives and recent crime and

delinquency trends. Most importantly, the history of the Brownsville Recreation Center (BRC) and its role in the community is addressed in Chapter Three as well.

Chapter Four explains the qualitative research design used to carry out this investigation. Youth participants at the BRC took part in in-depth semi-structured interviews where they discussed how involvement with the BRC and other community institutions influenced their behavior, attitudes and thinking. Chapter Five provides the demographic information of each respondent as well as the description of the current programs they were involved in. Chapter Six discusses findings from the most informal type of social control, private control. It explores how respondents perceived the different domains of private control: parents, family members, and peers. Chapter Seven addresses the research questions; how do youth residing in disadvantage areas experience parochial control? And how does parochial control operate? Chapter Eight describes youth perceptions of the law and policing in their communities. Chapter Nine addresses the final research question, how does parochial control influence youth behavior? The chapter begins with a discussion of the extent of involvement in delinquent behavior among the sample. Lastly, Chapter Ten explains how the current study extends parochial control research and also provides suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The focus of this research is to examine how a main form of parochial control operates in the lives of youth in a Brooklyn community. This chapter provides a review of the parochial control literature and the leading research that examines this concept at the neighborhood level. Also discussed is the role of parochial institutions on positive youth development. Finally this chapter concludes with the limitations of prior parochial control studies and what this current research study seeks to contribute to the literature on parochial control.

I. The Literature on Social Controls

One of the early theories that address how social control relates to delinquent behavior is Hirschi's (1969) social control theory. This theory proposes that delinquents fail to form or maintain strong social bonds through attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, and this lack of social bonds frees an individual to engage in delinquent or criminal behavior. According to Hirschi, the more closely a person is tied to conventional society, the more likely s/he is to be bonded to society in the other ways. The individual who is attached to conventional people is more likely to be involved in conventional activities and to accept conventional notions of desirable conduct (Hirschi, 1969). Other literature on social controls emphasizes the sanctioning of behavior informally and coercively. According to Kornhauser (1978) social controls are potential rewards or punishments that accrue from conformity to or deviation from norms. An individual may enforce controls on oneself, or they be externally enforced by others. Direct internal controls are manifested by guilt and shame, which are the products of effective socialization (Kornhauser, 1978).

An individual may enforce controls on oneself, or they be externally enforced by others. Direct internal controls are manifested by guilt and shame, which are the products of effective socialization (Kornhauser, 1978). According to Scheff (1988) social control is achieved through a system of informal sanctions that encourages conformity. These informal sanctions exist between and within members of society through informal but pervasive rewards and punishments. The exchange of rewards and punishments is reciprocal. Shared conformity is rewarded by deference and feelings of pride, while nonconformity is punished by lack of deference and feelings of shame (Scheff, 1988). Others may externally enforce coercive controls through agents that physically constrain people's behavior, for example arrest and imprisonment (Liska, 1992). Other oppressive forms of social control are exhibited through harsh, punitive, coercive parenting (Moffit, 1993).

Hunter (1985) later introduces a typology of three types of social control: private, parochial and public. Each focuses attention on the maintenance of effective social control at the neighborhood level. The most basic order of control is at the "private" level, which is grounded in the intimate informal primary groups that exist in the area. Private networks involve the relationships between family, kinship, and intimate friendship groups. As people move outside of their private homes they are immediately entering the physical domain of parochial control. Parochial controls are less intimate because they deal with secondary relationships. Parochial control is based on the interpersonal networks that serve the community including local stores, churches, YMCAs, and athletic leagues and voluntary associations. These local institutions are believed to provide mutual aid and sustenance support to the community (Hunter, 1985).

Public institutions such as criminal justice agencies and governmental officials including politicians, city bureaucrats and representatives of public housing authorities implement public control. Public control also involves the ability of citizens to access public resources (Hunter, 1985).

The social control literature that has focused on youth behavior has traditionally examined youth relationships with private controls including parents and peers groups Hirschi, 1969; Waitrowski, et al 1981; Agnew, 1985). The existing literature has also looked at youth relationships with public controls including school officials and members of law enforcement (Tapp and Levine, 1974; Silver and Miller, 2004; Fagan and Tyler 2005. Most existing research discusses ways to measure the concept of parochial control (Bursik, 1999; Rose, 2000; Capowich, 2003; Hawdon and Ryan, 2009) and little attention has been paid to how the concept of parochial control operates in regards to delinquent behavior.

The focus of this research is to understand how parochial controls operate in a structurally disadvantaged community. A number of studies have highlighted the neighborhood structural factors that make it difficult to exercise social controls in disadvantaged communities. Neighborhood disadvantage has been associated with residential instability, ethnic heterogeneity, low socioeconomic status, single parent households, family disruption and high rates of government subsidized housing (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Anderson, 1999). Studies have also found that residents residing in disadvantaged areas were less likely to see the police as a viable institution and expressed less satisfaction with the police (Sun, et al 2004; Silver and Miller, 2004). Disadvantaged neighborhoods also experience higher

levels of social isolation and lack of social and job networks (Sullivan, 1989; Anderson, 1999; Rankin and Quane, 2000).

In disadvantaged communities, research has suggested that parochial institutions have difficulty self-sustaining. Residential instability undermines the development of parochial networks in a neighborhood (Greenberg et al, 1985; Sampson 2001). Disadvantaged neighborhoods have difficulty attracting and maintaining the types of local institutions that impede violent behavior by providing community stability, social control, and alternative activities to occupy the time of residents (Peterson, et al 2000). Single parents have limited opportunities to participate in voluntary organizations and other parochial networks due to time constraints and energy levels. Neighborhoods with a high proportion of single parent households are less likely to develop and sustain these kinds of networks (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993).

II. Empirical Research of Parochial Control

This section reviews the literature on parochial control at the neighborhood level. There are a limited number of studies that have specifically defined the concept of parochial control in the research. Bursik's (1999) study on informal control of crime through neighborhood networks was one of the earliest studies to measure the concept of parochial control. This study analyzed data from a survey sampling 368 adults about neighborhood linkages. Parochial participation was measured as patronage to local businesses including banks, restaurants and grocery shopping. Respondents were asked if they patronized these businesses in their area. The study concluded that shopping in one's neighborhood increased social capital and created network linkages among residents. Therefore involvement with these parochial networks served as a form of

informal social control (Bursik, 1999).

The next study to explore the concept of parochial control was Rose's (2000) research examining the relationship between social disorganization and parochial control. It also examined the relationship between religious institutions and another type of community association, multi-issue, neighborhood-based organizations. According to Rose (2000), religious institutions function as mechanisms of parochial control by providing education, community centers that offer services such as child care, after-school programs, and food pantries. For this study Rose examined 1990 Census data, a 1991 Chicago telephone directory and local community organization directories to measure the presence of neighborhood organizations in relationship to neighborhood characteristics. This research found that community religious groups presumably increase the prevalence of a variety of other neighborhood organizations, in other words religious organizations are instrumental in developing social capital, a vital resource for communities in their fight against crime.

Capowich (2003) examined neighborhood-level data from eight Chicago neighborhoods to test a hypothesis that burglary victimization would vary across neighborhoods with different levels of social control one of them being parochial control. Conducted in 1979, the survey sample was chosen by the National Opinion Research Center's random-digit dialing program. The survey included eight Chicago neighborhoods with a total sample size of 3,310 residents. The parochial order index was a scale of institutional activity and measured the strength of a household's link to the neighborhood's parochial order. The three variables combined for this index were measures of the respondent's certainty of obtaining help from a neighbor if sick,

borrowing money in an emergency, and getting someone to watch the property while away for an extended time. Linkage to the parochial order was negatively related to burglary victimization, suggesting that households with stronger links to their neighborhood's parochial order had a reduced risk of burglary.

Patrick Carr (2003) took a different approach to studying the influence of parochial control. Carr conducted a five-year ethnographic study of a Chicago community where the concept of new parochialism was observed. In this instance, private and parochial forms of social control are replaced by a combination of parochial and public controls. This study concluded that the parochial and the public controls work together and are inseparable from each other, not independent, as other scholars have argued (Carr, 2003).

Research conducted by Pattavina and colleagues (2006) empirically investigate the concept of new parochialism identified by Carr (2003). The researchers looked for evidence of new parochialism in a Boston neighborhood by surveying a random sample of 2,362 residents. The objective of this study was to examine the factors that explain citizen participation in crime prevention activities in Boston. These crime prevention activities were measured by membership of neighborhood watch groups and attendance at public safety meetings. These measures are consistent with Carr's definition of new parochialism. The findings of this study revealed that citizen involvement in collective crime prevention does indeed vary by the risk level of a particular neighborhood. The level of community involvement is significantly higher in high-risk than low- to moderate-risk neighborhoods in
Boston. In other words, new parochialism is more prevalent in neighborhoods with higher arrest rates and violence.

Lastly, Hawdon and Ryan (2009) explored another approach in regards to parochial control. By analyzing survey data of 1,458 South Carolina residents the goal of this study was to determine if aspects of social capital influence various types of social control equally, including private, parochial and public. Similar to the other studies parochial control was measured by the percentage of residents in each neighborhood who actively participated in an anticrime neighborhood organization. It was found that parochial control was related to decreasing crime rates but unrelated to victimization in this population. Contrary to the author's prediction, social capital dimensions of trust and reciprocity were not related to parochial control.

This section reviewed the leading research studies that have specifically identified parochial control as a concept at the neighborhood level. Each of these studies applied Albert Hunter's (1985) meaning of parochial control, and many of these studies conceptualized parochial control through measures drawn from survey questionnaires (Bursik, 1999; Capowich, 2003; Pattavina et al 2006; Hawdon and Ryan 2009). These studies clearly provided measures of parochial control and discussed how they related to other institutions at the neighborhood level (Rose, 2000 and Carr, 2003). Parochial controls were found to serve as a form of informal control and were often related to levels of crime and victimization.

Additionally, a number of national data sets contain measures of the parochial control concept although Hunter's definition had not been specified in the actual study. The British Crime Survey (1982) and the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods Survey (1995) are both national surveys that contain items that measure citizen participation in voluntary organizations. Each of these surveys contains measures

of neighborhood residents' assessments of their involvement with local institutions by measuring the existence of organizations and the frequency of attending them. The measures of parochial control identified in the datasets include attendance and frequency of attendance at weekly committee or club meeting, churches, neighborhood watch groups, block associations, business or civic groups, and mentoring and counseling (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999; Sampson et al 1997; Sampson et al 1999; Birchfield, 2009). Participation in these voluntary organizations contributed to informal social control at the neighborhood level. Although not specifically defined as parochial control, these items clearly fall in the parochial control framework discussed by Hunter (1985).

Another measure of parochial control identified by Hunter is involvement in religious institutions. According to Hunter (1985) religious institutions including churches generally provide for social control of youth. Similar to the BCS and the PHDCN survey, the National Youth Survey (1977) also contains measures of parochial control. In this case it is measures of involvement in religious institutions. This survey dataset represents responses from youth between the ages of 11 and 17 and their personal assessments of involvement in religious institutions. Survey items measure commitment and belief in religious activities as well as the frequency of attendance in community based religious activities. These measures were used to determine the influence of involvement in religious activities on delinquent behavior. Higher rates of religious involvement are associated with lower levels of delinquency and marijuana and alcohol use (Johnson et al, 2001; Desmond et al, 2009; Wright and Younts, 2009). Thus, parochial control as a concept has been studied at the national level as well as at the

neighborhood level.

Parochial Institutions and Positive Youth Development

Again the focus of this study is to understand how parochial control operates in the lives of urban youth. The existing research that identified the concept of parochial control in the literature did not focus on its effects on youth behavior. The national data sets, BCS, PHDCN, and the National Youth Survey, also did not provide information on what services or supports parochial institutions are providing to youth. There is however considerable information that suggests parochial institutions is responsible for positive youth development. A number of factors have been shown to promote positive youth development and pro-social behavior. Literature on resiliency suggests that relationships with caring adults and conventional peers help youth overcome adversity (Farrell and White, 1998; Amato and Fowler, 2002; Ungar, 2004). Youth require supervision, security, acceptance, and encouragement to succeed in life (Maslow, 1954; Baumrind, 1978; Steingberg et al 1992). This often takes place through forms of social capital, where youth are linked to adults (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman 1988). Adults serve as resources that can help youth achieve their personal interests and advance their life chances (Coleman, 1988). In addition to positive relationships with adults, adolescents desire intimate relationships with peers that contribute to their social development and psychological adjustment. Both young males and females need someone to talk to and share their feelings and problems with (Maslow, 1954; Way, 1996).

Referring back to Hunter (1985), parochial institutions include YMCAs, athletic leagues, voluntary organizations, schools and secondary relationships. The following section will describe how parochial institutions promote positive youth development.

The review of this literature will examine the effects of youth involvement in parochial institutions and how these institutions kept them involved.

The first study that takes a look at how parochial institutions help promote positive youth development is *The Uptown Kids by* Williams and Kornblum (1994). This study investigated the lives of a team of young people residing in New York City's public housing projects who were struggling to find a better life. They were known as the Writer's Crew and the author was responsible for facilitating this group. Although the youth in this study were faced with the challenges of poverty and racism, they managed to succeed. A number of resources were available to kids growing up in housing projects. Being a member of the Writer's Crew provided youth with an opportunity to be exposed to conventional role models. Youth learned how to confront obstacles by listening to survival strategies of other members of the Writers Crew. Relationships developed with caring adults in the Writers Crew also served as a resource to overcome the obstacles (Williams and Kornblum, 2004).

Finally, this study showed that people in these public housing developments who find or create places for children and adolescents in the community come from churches, schools, businesses, and organizations within it. Parents in the projects who keep their kids safe also organize church groups, PTAs, job-training programs, sports activities and educational programs. The study concluded that young people in the projects are the same as youth in the rest of the country because they desire a good life, safe and free of trouble, a decent job, and a nice place to live.

Urban Sanctuaries by McLaughlin and colleagues (1994) presents a look at six organizations that provide supportive environments for inner city youth in three urban

areas. These organizations consisted of YMCAs, Boys and Girls Clubs, as well as church and park and recreation groups. The youth featured in this study were poor and concerned with violence, gang and drug activity and teenage pregnancy. Each of these individuals was seeking a structured safe and caring environment and supportive relationships with adults (McLaughlin et. al. 1994). The "Wizards" of these organizations were the adult leaders who allowed youth to take part in decision-making, provided consistent rules and discipline, and encouraged youth to make responsible decisions. Participation in these organizations successfully motivated and engaged youth to form relationships with adults. It provided them alternatives to the violent lifestyles prevalent in their neighborhood. One individual expressed how if he weren't involved in gymnastics he would be involved in illegal acts including gang activity. The *Wizards* staff exposed these youth to cultural enrichment by enabling them to travel outside their community. The organizations provided a structured learning environment where rules were enforced and a safe haven from violent gang territories, violence on the street and even abuse at home.

The Boys and Girls Club of America (BGCA) is an organization with a history of promoting positive youth development. The BGCA is a community-based nonprofit organization that seeks to improve the psychosocial development of youth while also inspiring them to become productive and responsive citizens (BGCA, 1998). Carruthers and Busser (2000) performed a qualitative evaluation of five Boys and Girls Club in a large city in the Southwest. The purpose of this evaluation was to examine the outcomes of youth involvement in the Boys and Girls Club. The researchers interviewed 25 program staff, 61 club members, and 17 parents. Youth were asked questions regarding

their reasons for attendance in the Boys and Girls Club and what they have gained from membership in the organization. The evaluation concluded that the nurturing environment of the club provides a sense of belonging, a second home, a sense of family, a safe haven from the violent and negative experiences of the streets, and the meeting of basic human needs. The positive behaviors acquired by members included staying out of trouble, getting along with others, acquiring positive values, adopting positive role models, learning discipline, and acquiring leadership skills.

Dworkin and colleagues (2003) studied the developmental processes that occur during adolescents' participation in extracurricular and community based-activities. To carry out this analysis ten focus groups with four to nine adolescents were conducted. A total of 55 students were involved. The goal was to get high school students' descriptions of their growth experiences in these activities. The sample included youth from three community-based organizations; a Future Farmers of America (FFA) group, a community-based arts program, and a service-learning, leadership organization for high school women. Youth were asked to describe experiences that teach them something or expand them in some way, give them new skills or new attitudes.

First, youth reported that they tried new things, gained self-knowledge, learned to set realistic goals and manage their time. Youth also reported that they learned to control their anger by acquiring strategies for managing stress. They learned how to work together as a group and how to take and give feedback. Several participants described the intimate relationships they developed with peers. Participants provided accounts of experiences that reflect the concept of social capital; they received support from leaders and community members and interacted with peers who would normally be outside their

network. Clearly participation in this organization was making a positive contribution to the lives of youth in this sample.

Jarrett and colleagues (2005) examined the process by which youth programs can facilitate relationships between youth and community adults and to identify the types of social capital resources that youth gain from these relationships. In order to study the process of social capital development in young people, Jarrett and colleagues (2005) intensively studied three organized programs for high school–aged youth. The first program was an after school program designed to prepare participants for careers in agricultural, the second was Youth Action, a youth activist program, and the third was an art education organization that provides arts programming. Adults chose 10-13 youth participants from each program. The research revealed that the adults the youth interacted with provided them trusting and engaging relationships. They experienced exchange of information, assistance, and exposure to adult worlds, support, and encouragement.

Pearce and Larson (2006) examined how youth become psychologically engaged, and the change process through which youth service and activism programs become engaging for those who continue to participate. To carry out this research, Pearce and Larson also interviewed adolescents in Youth Action, the civic activism program over a four-month period. Youth Action is a civic activism program aimed at helping youth address injustices in their lives, particularly in their schools. It is part of a larger community-based organization located in the southwestern region of Chicago. Ten individuals between the ages of 15 and 19 were interviewed for the study. Youth were questioned about their experiences in the program and diverse processes of development.

The analysis found that a friendly peer atmosphere was a factor in their decision to continue attending meetings. Peers provided a friendly and welcoming atmosphere and talking and sharing experiences with peers increased youths' commitment to the program's mission. Camaraderie among the youth made work more enjoyable. Leader support was also found to keep youth engaged. Adults provide instrumental support for getting the work done, helped them become familiar with the place, organized sessions with guest speakers who were working on social justice issues. Youth were encouraged to take on demanding tasks by taking on leadership roles. Youth discovered a personal connection to the program's mission and activities, and expressed their investment in a cause (Pearce and Larson, 2006).

Aronowitz (2005) explored the process by which adolescents develop resilience and change their risk behaviors despite multiple stressors in their environment. Although this study was not an analysis of one particular neighborhood organization, it focused on networks that are either public or private, thus falling in the parochial realm of support. It provides examples of the networks and resources that youth in crisis need to get ahead. The purpose of this study was to determine what helped youth turn things around after experiencing a crisis that resulted from negative risk taking. This study recruited 32 youth between the ages of 16 and 21 from a large urban primary care clinic in Central New York. Each individual had been through some form of crisis including unplanned pregnancy, school truancy, and/or legal difficulties. According to health care providers these youth had made a significant behavioral change that decreased their risk status. Through the qualitative interviews, researchers learned that adolescents who felt connected with a caring, competent responsible adult were able to envision futures for

them. On-going support, encouragement, and motivation helped them tackle what seemed impossible. One adolescent discussed how the relationship she had with her track coach maintained her faith in her competence even after she had an unplanned pregnancy. Another youth described how the relationship she had with her high school principal encouraged her to graduate, kept her out of fights and conflicts at school by sharing experiences about turning his life around when times were hard. Finally one other youth expressed that a caseworker helped with her college application process and helped her move to a safer environment for her and her child.

According to Anderson-Butcher and colleagues (2003), youth development programs provide important contexts for promoting the positive, healthy development of young people. Anderson-Butcher and colleagues (2003) also performed an evaluation of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCA). This study was designed to gain a better understanding of BGCA participation and how overall attendance at the Club is related to positive outcomes among youth. A questionnaire on participation, academic achievement and deviant and delinquent behavior was administered to a total of 139 youths aged 10 to 18 years old at an urban Club located in a western community. The study found that participation was related to lower levels of truancy, negative attitudes toward cheating, and cigarette use, as well as increased enjoyment of and effort in school. Involvement in sports and recreation predicted overall monthly attendance at the Club. In other words, Club participation among the youth in this study was primarily characterized by engagement in unstructured, recreational activities.

Anderson and colleagues (2007) evaluated a community police youth development program. The purpose was to determine if youth who participate in the Police Working

With Youth Programs report increased developmental outcomes. Seventeen community programs were funded during the evaluation period and the programs varied in their operation. A total of 367 youth were included for the program group. All participating youth between the ages of 12 and 18 were asked to complete an initial pretest and a posttest survey following completion of the program. The program offered a list of activities for youth including field trips to police facilities, gun safety, cultural diversity, recreational and athletic teams, after-school/mentoring programs, and community and civic involvement. The evaluation concluded that within the last year, more than 90% of youth who participated in the program reported feeling safe, accepted, a sense of belonging, and being part of a community. Most made new friends, were involved in stimulating activities, and felt supported by the staff. The youth participating in the police programs also increased their scores on the measure assessing the presence of caring adults in their lives. Following participation in the program, youth reported more guidance, advice, and support from adults outside of their families.

Lastly, Fleming and colleagues (2008) examined the associations between after-school structured and unstructured activity involvement and antisocial behavior over a period from late elementary school to early high school. This study looked at annual survey data on 776 students from the Raising Healthy Children (RHC) Project. Data were collected from sixth through ninth grade students from ten public schools in a suburban Pacific Northwest school district. RHC provides services for high-risk students who exhibited academic or behavioral problems. The study used longitudinal data to examine the relationships between after-school activities and two forms of antisocial behavior: misbehavior in the school setting and delinquency. Activities were grouped

into two categories: (a) structured, goal-oriented activities, and (b) unstructured activities outside the home likely to involve unsupervised socializing with peers. Respondents were surveyed on frequency of attendance in afterschool activities such as youth groups, clubs, scouts, music and dance lessons, martial arts, involvement in crafts and model building, and finally homework or reading. This study revealed positive correlations between involvement in unstructured activities and antisocial behavior. Participation in fewer structured and more unstructured activities was predictive of more misbehavior in school and delinquency.

III. Contributions to the Parochial Control Literature

The current research project seeks to extend the literature on parochial control. Important gaps remain in our understanding of how parochial controls operate. This research fills a void as most of the literature reviewed on parochial controls has generally focused more on how to measure parochial controls and not how it operates. This investigation also seeks to learn what parochial institutions provide youth as opposed to measuring the frequency of their involvement.

The research studies that identified and applied the concept of parochial control appear to be consistent with Hunter's (1985) definition because they examined participation in local organizations, patronage of businesses, and religious institutions (Bursik, 1999; Rose, 2000, Pattavina, et al (2006) Capowich (2003), Hawdon and Ryan (2009). While recent empirical studies do provide an indication that parochial control does impact neighborhood levels of social control, these current studies do not make it clear about the processes involved. In other words, it is unclear how these measures of parochial control effects individual behavior; crime rates, victimization levels, and

increases the presence of other institutions. Further research must examine the

mechanisms of parochial control and how they influence youth behavior, particularly

delinquency.

National data sets including the BCS, PHCDN and the NYS that contain measures

of parochial control have provided substantial information on the extent of involvement

in parochial control institutions. However little is known about how this involvement

influences neighborhood level social control. The current study extends previous

research through a qualitative analysis of youth experiences with one major source of

parochial control in a disadvantaged community. Examination of these experiences will

provide an indication as to how parochial control influences delinquent behavior.

A number of qualitative studies have provided descriptive qualitative information

as to what parochial institutions provide to youth. The literature shows that it provides

social capital, resiliency strategies, safe environments, and caring relationships with

adults (McLaughlin, 1994; Williams and Kornblum, 1994; Jarrett et al 2005, Pearce and

Larson, 2006; Dworkin et al, 2003). Jarrett and colleagues (2005) also provided detailed

information as to what resources were gained through youth organization involvement;

however it wasn't clear what mechanisms were involved in providing social capital. This

research seeks to take it a step further. This current study will determine specifically

what mechanisms of parochial control are responsible for making youth feel safe and

what makes youth develop new attitudes.

Another key focus of the current research study is to discuss how parochial

institutions influence young men and women to conform. Much of the research on

parochial control focuses on youth who were involved in delinquent behavior or are at

risk of engaging in delinquent behavior (McLaughlin, 1994, Aronowitz, 2005; Fleming, 2008). The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of all types of youth who are involved in parochial institutions; the ones involved in delinquent behavior as well as the youth who conform.

The final section of the literature reviewed quantitative studies that focused on the frequency of participation in relation to adolescent behavior. These studies revealed that participation resulted in higher levels of social capital, closer relationships with caring adults, and lower levels of reported delinquency and misbehavior (Anderson-Butcher et al 2003; Anderson et al, 2007; Fleming 2008). However these studies do not provide information on exactly how attendance in these organizations results in positive youth development and pro-social behavior.

The goal of the current research study is not to perform a program evaluation of parochial institutions by determining if the frequency of attendance has an impact on an individual's behavior. The focus of this study is to learn how youth in a disadvantaged community describe their connections to pro-social activities. The purpose is to understand the experiences of youth participants and how their involvement in one primary form of parochial control shapes their behavior. Youth will be asked to describe their relationships with adult staff members at other parochial institutions as well.

CHAPTER THREE:

BROWNSVILLE BROOKLYN: THEN AND NOW

In order to fully understand the present day neighborhood structure of Brownsville it is important to take a look at the history of housing and migration in this community. This chapter provides a historical overview of housing and business developments that took place through the years. Information on population turnover and how it impacted the present day demographic structure is also reviewed. Most importantly recent data providing information on Brownsville's population and socioeconomic status will be examined, and how this status relates to the literature on neighborhood disadvantage. Because the focus of this research is on parochial controls, an overview of parochial institutions existing in Brownsville will be described. Lastly this chapter provides information on crime and delinquency in Brownsville and how these trends compare to other neighborhoods in the Brooklyn community.

I. Brownsville: The Early Years

The neighborhood, formerly known as New Lots, lies between the villages of East New York and Bushwick. In 1861, Charles S. Brown renamed this community Brownsville after purchasing foreclosed lots and building two hundred and fifty houses in the area (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998; Pritchett, 2002). In 1887, Brownsville also caught the attention of Aaron Kaplan, a member of New York City real estate developers, who began to purchase tracts of land and construct tenement buildings in the area. These developers encouraged garment workers chiefly of European origin to move to Brownsville. The idea was to offer relief to Manhattan's congested Lower east side (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998).

In the late 1800s, the early settlers of Brownsville were Jews. Most of the Jews who came to Brownsville were born in Russia. The remaining Jews migrated from Austria, Poland, Hungary, Romania, England and German (Landsman, 1969). While they had much in common, there were differences in cultural background and perspectives. In time these groups began to join the same organizations and activities (Landsman, 1969).

Between 1870 and 1930, tenements and small multi-family dwellings dominated Brownsville (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985). Brownsville reproduced the high density and low rents more typical of the Lower East Side than other surrounding areas of Brooklyn. Brownsville contrasted with much of the borough's suburban development because it was located between farms and undeveloped swampland. It became a factory town within the city (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985).

Developers at that time built housing for quick profit and not for long term occupancy, which contributed to low quality housing in Brownsville (Landsman, 1969). Buildings were made of brick and stone, but they were cheaply built, they were cramped, multifamily tenements on narrow blocks. Despite tenement legislation in the early 20th century existing buildings originally designed for two families were remodeled into six or eight family dwellings because of increasing populations (Sorin, 1990). By the early 1900s the large buildings were overflowing with immigrant families and the area became a crowded slum of dangerous working conditions, pushcarts, with few sewers or paved streets (Pritchett, 2002).

Although the residents of Brownsville experienced poor housing conditions in the early 20th century opportunities existed for the creation of thriving

businesses. Pitkin Avenue became the leading area home to retail stores for women and children, grocery stores, and banks (Landsman, 1969; Pritchett, 2002; George, 2005). As the population grew, the small wooden houses were removed and in their place arose beautiful shops, which made Pitkin Ave famous. This shopping district attracted people from other neighborhoods in Brooklyn, Staten Island, and Long Island. Belmont Avenue which runs parallel to Pitkin Avenue was also a very lively place for Brownsville residents to shop for fresh fish, eggs, and produce (Landsmen, 1969).

A Time for Change: Public Housing Construction in Brownsville

Jewish residents in Brownsville were not content with the existing housing structure. During the 1930s, the Jewish residents joined by a small number of Italian neighbors, organized to demand that new investment in public housing to eliminate Brownsville's physical decay (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985). The construction of public housing was designed to be a solution to the housing dilemma in Brownsville. High-rise apartment buildings built during the 1950s and 1960s were intended to provide affordable attractive housing but this effort led to more overcrowded and impoverished foundation (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998).

In Oscar Newman's (1972) *Defensible Space,* the concerns of danger in Brownsville Public Housing complexes are reaffirmed. The purpose of *Defensible Space* was to look at the range of mechanisms and opportunities for surveillance that bring an environment under the control of its residents. Residents are able to monitor the hallways, lobbies, grounds, and surrounding areas where crime may likely take place.

The physical structures of Brownsville and Van Dyke public housing complexes were studied in *Defensible Space (*Newman, 1972). Crime and vandalism were major

problems at both Van Dyke and Brownsville Houses. The area surrounding both projects was severely blighted. Storeowners conduct business in plexiglass booths to protect themselves from drug addicts. Hospitals reported teenage deaths due to drug overdoses. Although crime and vandalism were problems in both housing complexes, it was found that the towers of Van Dyke are almost devoid of defensible space qualities, while the buildings at Brownsville are comparatively well endowed with such qualities (Newman, 1972). According NYC Housing Authority Police Records, 1968, Van Dyke had over 1,100 crime incidents while Brownsville had 790, 66% more total crime incidents.

Newman concluded that the difference in crime between these two complexes is because in Brownsville Houses, tenants have been found to maintain auditory surveillance over activity taking place in the halls by keeping their doors slightly ajar. Children in Brownsville are allowed to play on landing and up and down the stairwells monitor their play from their apartment. Children in Van Dyke aren't allowed to play in the corridors outside their apartments. Too many people including strangers and guests of neighbors wander through the Van Dyke halls unchecked and unquestioned. Children would have to use stairwells and elevators to gain access to other floors. The fire stairwells are designed to seal floors in the event of a fire. A by-product of their fireproofing is that noises within these stairwells cannot be heard in the corridors outside due to soundproofing (Newman, 1972). Therefore, the creation of public housing did nothing to improve the existing housing structure in Brownsville.

Residential Instability in Brownsville

Despite the demand for housing construction in Brownsville, the public housing projects that were built between 1948 and 1975 did not retain the Jewish population

(Zukin and Zwerman, 1985). In his *City Kid* memoirs, Nelson George provides a descriptive picture of his life growing up as an African-American boy in Brownsville during the days of public housing construction. In 1961 George moved from homeowner-dominated Crown Heights Brooklyn to the brand new Samuel J. Tilden housing project in Brownsville. According to George (2009), at this time public housing had yet to acquire its rightful tag as "ghetto in the sky" and was seen as a vast improvement over the crumbling firetrap tenements. Nelson points out that the sense of optimism the housing projects first suggested didn't last very long. By 1968 when Nelson was 11 years old, a TV documentary called Brownsville the worst ghetto in the United States.

A number of explanations suggest why Brownsville may have been given this label. George (2009), saw Heroin flooding the streets of New York in the mid sixties. George witnessed a new kind of drug user-the junkie. Junkies would stand on the corner of the subway exits where his mother took the train at night, sometimes asking for money, but too often snatching purses and occasionally taking lives (George, 2009). Heroin had turned rough streets mean. Purse snatching, shoplifting, mugging and armed robberies abounded in and around Pitkin. Problems that existed on the streets of Brownsville were often experienced in the public housing facilities. These "junkies" described by George found their way into housing projects. He writes, in Tilden houses, junkies found haven in stairways and elevators. Building mailboxes drilled into the lobby walls, were regularly either picked or pulled off their hinges. Mailmen became reluctant to come into the project building. The day welfare checks were due for arrival became a time of high anxiety as mailboxes, mail carriers, and welfare recipients because targets

for addicts and muggers. Drug addicts either broke or unscrewed the light bulbs on stairways, which left resident forced to walk up pitch-dark stairways.

Nelson George also witnessed this exodus of Jewish residents from Brownsville first hand. According to George (2009), by the mid sixties the stores run by Jewish residents began to close, as their old clients split for other Brooklyn neighborhoods such as Canarsie, suburbs of Long Island, or Florida. Most cases they were fleeing the blacks that moved into the neighborhood. Almost all the younger residents were black and Puerto Rican, recent immigrants from the Caribbean (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998).

After 1960, the number of white residents diminished rapidly. Brownsville went through changes; African Americans from other neighborhoods began moving to Brownsville. When they arrived they faced discrimination, reduced social services, and lack of employment opportunities (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985; Jackson and Manbeck, 1998, Pritchett, 2002). The neighborhood witnessed the establishment of militant community organizations and saw many synagogues converted into a variety of Baptist, Pentecostal, and Catholic Churches (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985).   Instead of Jewish residents moving into neighborhood housing developments, nonwhite residents who lacked jobs in the local economy increasingly filled the area. The presence of young blacks, both teenagers and school children, quickened the departure of Jewish families. By 1970, the area was predominantly black (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985). Increased drug activity and the influx of non-whites into the community are all likely reasons for the exodus of Jews in Brownsville.

Jewish residents were not the only individuals looking to flee Brownsville after the construction of public housing. The mother of Nelson George also made the effort to

get away from the violence and crime that existed in the neighborhood and especially in

Tilden Houses where they resided (George, 2009). George's mom was different from

most residents of Brownsville, she was considered superior by a lot of neighbors because

she was advancing her education and had hopes of moving out of the projects. During

the years in the Tilden projects, all the more ambitious and able residents of Tilden began

moving out or relocating to either Queens, Long Island or back down south. In 1965

when George was 15 his mother moved them out of the projects and into the Spring

Creek section of Brooklyn. The previous section discussed the trend and outward

migration of Jewish immigrants that once dominated the neighborhood. Early scholarly

work suggests that ethnic heterogeneity increases in criminal and delinquent activity in

the neighborhood (Shaw and McKay, 1942). However it is not possible to conclude if

there was an actual increase in crime due to this period of population turnover because

precinct level data prior to 1970 is not available (Pritchett, 2002).

Outcomes of Population Turnover

After WWII, Brownsville underwent major changes. African Americans from

other neighborhoods began moving to Brownsville, but they faced inadequate education,

housing discrimination, as well as insufficient sanitation services (Jackson and Manbeck;

Pritchett, 2002). During this period of population turnover where the Jews departed,

Brownsville witnessed the establishment of militant community organizations and saw

many synagogues converted into a variety of Baptist, Pentecostal, and Catholic Churches

(Pritchett, 2002).

Racial and ethnic heterogeneity was thought to disrupt local networks because

racial and ethnic groups often embrace different traditions, ways of life, and stereotypes

about individuals who not members of their racial or ethnic group (Kornhauser, 1978).

Heterogeneity is also believed to impede communication and patterns of interaction

because fear and mistrust are often associated with heterogeneity (Sampson and Groves,

1989). These feelings of fear and mistrust were clearly exemplified in Brownsville

during periods of ethnic heterogeneity. Tensions were prevalent between African-

American and Caribbean Americans in Brownville because the two groups were

unfamiliar with each other's words, customs, food and personality (George, 2006).

Tensions also existed between Blacks and Jews. According to Sorin, (1990) the

upwardly mobile chose to leave Brownsville. The Jewish population unable to move out

of the area experienced feelings of intimidation with the blacks moving in. This led to an

increase in racial tension in the area (Sorin, 1990).

One of the most memorable instances of ethnic and racial conflict in Brownsville

took place during the late 1960s, when Brownsville and Ocean-Hill (neighboring

Brownsville), was selected as one of three school districts to evaluate if community

involvement would benefit local schools. This was done in response to complaints from

parents in poor minority neighborhoods that schools were failing their students.

Charging that the Board of Education employees were seeking to sabotage the

decentralization effort, black district leaders displaced 13 teachers and six administrators,

most of them Jewish to other districts. Conflicts ensued among school leaders, members

of the community, and representatives from the teachers union (Zukin and Zwerman,

1985). This conflict became a flash point for the city's black and white tensions. Nelson

George's disclosed his mother's experience working as a schoolteacher in Brownsville

during this strike. He states, "My mother refused to make black and Latino students

recite the Pledge of Allegiance. A white assistant principle tried to get her suspended and as a result a garbage can was tossed through his windshield by a local activist" (George, 2009). This disagreement led to one of the most intense teacher strikes in the history of education in New York City. The conflict finally ended when the Board of Education agreed to set up local school boards throughout the city (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998).

One neighborhood institution sought to alleviate the racial tensions experienced by Brownsville residents. During the 1940s the Brownsville Boys Club (BBC) emerged as the most important organization dealing with race relations among Brownsville youth. The BBC welcomed youth of all races and organized events in the community to bring residents together (Pritchett, 2002). The BBC attracted boys who were street gang members during the 1930s to 1950s (Sorin, 1990).   Initially the Brownsville Boys Club was created so young boys would be able to play basketball and other recreational sports. In 1963 the current owners of the Brownsville Boys Club had claimed 32ankruptcy and the facility was later transferred over to the city of New York (Sorin, 1990). The BBC was later renamed the Brownsville Recreation Center and is discussed further in the section on parochial institutions.

Nehemiah Housing Construction

No private housing was built in the decade following the construction of Brownsville houses. After 1970, the public housing tenancy in Brownsville tilted toward the unemployed although it was originally built for the working poor (Donaldson, 1993). This was mainly due to community activists demanding the admission of more welfare recipients to the public housing projects (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985). The Nehemiah Plan was to put an end to the lull in housing construction in Brownsville. The goal was

to raise the possibility of changing the neighborhood's predominantly lower-class character because the construction of public housing did little to retain middle-income residents (Zukin and Zwerman, 1985).

The Nehemiah Plan was a coalition of local churches working with private construction firms, and a group of professional community organizers from the Industrial Area Foundation (Pritchett, 2002). Eastern Brooklyn Churches (EBC) adopted the idea of using private investment. The most notable feature of the Nehemiah Plan is that these homes are privately owned by offering 1,000 single-family red brick row-houses with small lawns in front and in the rear, to households with an annual income around $20,000 (Pritchett, 2002). Between 1983 and 1987 approximately 1,100 EBC Nehemiah Homes were built in Brownsville. An additional 700 homes were built between 1996 and 1997 (Eastern Brooklyn Congregations, 2003). The Nehemiah Plan made the American dream of individual homeownership accessible for the first time in Brownsville.

II. Brownsville Today

Demographics

The New York City Administration for Children Services provides demographic data on community districts from 2008. As of 2008 Brownsville was home to 88,469 residents. Of these residents, 75% were identified as Black or African American, 21% as Hispanic or Latino, 1% Caucasian, 1 % Asian and 3% identified themselves as other (NYC Administration for Children's Services, 2008).   Data also reveals that 37% of the population in Brownsville is identified as foreign born. In the earlier years when Brownsville went through periods of population turnover, non-whites began emigrating from the Caribbean (Jackson and Manbeck, 1998; Pritchett, 2002; George, 2006). It is

possible that many of these Caribbean immigrants constitute the foreign born population. In regards to the juvenile population, there are approximately 30,041 individuals under the age of 18 residing in Brownsville (NYC Administration for Children's Services, 2008).

Socioeconomic Conditions

According to 2008 data published by NYC Administration for Children's Services almost half of the population (49%) in Brownsville live below the poverty line. Brownville has experienced an increase in median household income over the years. The 2000 census reported the median household income for Brownsville was $15,000. Administration for Children's Services (2008) data reported that the median household income was $25,967 in 2008. These figures still are relatively low in comparison to other community districts in the borough.

The 2000 census also reported that married couples headed only 22% of households while single females headed over 43% of households. The majority of these individuals are single females with children (New York City Department of Planning, 2000). Twenty-two percent of residents were unemployed in 2008 (New York City Administration for Children Services, 2008). These figures exhibited the highest unemployment rate in the entire borough of Brooklyn. In regards to educational attainment, for the population 25 and over, 46% of the population had completed high school. However, only 7% completed college (New York City Department of Planning, 2000).

According to a 2004 Report on Brooklyn Economic Development, out of all of the neighborhoods of Brooklyn, Brownsville had the lowest home values for single-

family homes. The neighborhood also has the second lowest median rent in all of Brooklyn. Only 18.9% of households resided in single-family homes (Office of State Comptroller, 2004). Brownsville has the highest concentration of residents renting in public housing (26%). Table 1 shows a listing of all current public housing developments. Despite the large portion of persons living in rental units, 65% of Brownsville residents have lived in the same home for five years prior to the census (New York City Department of Planning, 2000). Length of residence is an indication of residential mobility in the community. The census data suggests that Brownsville exemplifies traditional qualities of neighborhood disadvantage, single-parent households, high rates of poverty and ethnic heterogeneity. However low population turnover contradicts the literature on neighborhood disadvantage. Residential instability has often been associated with problems caused by neighborhood disadvantage (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Rose, 1996; Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997).

Public Housing in Brownsville

The construction of public housing during the mid twentieth century was originally designed to be a solution to the lack of quality affordable housing in Brownsville. These public housing structures still exist today. Table 3 illustrates the high percentage of government-subsidized dwellings that were built mid-century in Brownsville.

Table 3 Brownsville Public Housing Developments				
	Year Completed	Number of Buildings	Number of Stories	Number of Residents
Brownsville Houses	1948	27	6	3,762
Carter G. Woodson*	1970	2	10 and 25	415
104-14 Tapscott Street	1972	1	4	75
Glenmore Plaza	1968	4	10, 18, and 24	767
Marcus Garvey	1975	3	6 and 14	797
Reverend Randolph Brown	1985	2	6	221
Hughes Apartments	1968	3	22	1,358
Howard Houses	1955	10	7 and 13	1954
Seth Low Houses	1967	4	17 and 18	1,432
Tilden Houses	1961	8	16	2,594
Sutter Avenue-Union Street**	1994	3	4 and 6	260
Tapscott Street Rehab**	1986	8	4	346
Van Dyke I	1955	22	3 and 14	4207
Van Dyke II*	1964	1	14	121
				Total = 20,299

* For Senior citizens only
** Rehabilitated tenement buildings
Source: New York City Housing Authority 2010

Education in Brownsville

Until recently Brownsville was the only Brooklyn school district without a high school. There were earlier attempts at the construction of a local high school however The Community Coalition to Save Brownsville lost its bid to have the city government build an East Kings High School so the teenagers would not have to travel to adjoining East New York for classes. However, a juvenile detention center had been constructed (Donaldson, 1993; Jones-Brown, 1998).

Today, there are now three public high schools in Brownsville's school district. According to the New York City Department of Education, (2010), Teachers Preparatory opened in September 2001 and Frederick Douglas Academy VII opened in September of 2004. Both schools operate in the same facility. Teachers Preparatory School serves 6th through 12th graders and Special Education students. This school has 180 students enrolled. Frederick Douglas Academy serves 9th through 12th graders as well as Special Education students. This school has 399 students enrolled (NYC Department of Education, 2010).

Brownsville Academy, a Diploma Plus High School opened in September of 2004. Diploma Plus high schools differ from traditional schools because the facility is a small transfer high school open to New York City residents 17 years of age and older. The school serves approximately 250 students who have experienced limited academic success at their previous schools (NYC Department of Education, 2010).

Although Brownsville has made efforts to provide educational opportunities for high school aged youth, based on the enrollment figures less than 600 youth are being served by these facilities. There are approximately 10,000 youth in the community who are between the ages of 13 and 17 (New York City Administration for Children's Services, 2008). Therefore the existing educational facilities do not accommodate the large school aged population in the community. ***Businesses in Brownsville Today***

According to Landsman, (1969) in the early 1900s, Belmont Avenue was home to a number of small shops and pushcart stands that ranged along the sidewalks selling fresh fish, eggs, and produce. Slavin and Son's fish market opened for business on Belmont Avenue during these early years and remains on the same Belmont Avenue commercial block today. Slavin and Son's fish market now shares the commercial block with a Laundromat, supermarket, fabric store and several retail stores.

Pitkin Avenue, which runs parallel to Belmont, became a leading shopping mart for the residents of Brownsville in the early 20th century (Landsmen, 1969). Pitkin Avenue remains the leading shopping district for the people of Brownsville. Brownsville residents have a number of options to meet their needs. Pitkin Avenue is home to Laundromats, supermarkets, discount retail stores, optical, furniture, and jewelry stores. Several bakeries and eateries are available in addition to beauty supplies, cellular phone companies, nail salons, florists, and medical offices. These businesses occupy several blocks. In addition to Belmont and Pitkin Avenues, Rockaway Avenue also provides a number of shopping options for Brownsville residents. Rockaway Avenue intersects with Belmont Avenue thus expanding the shopping district.

Although retail businesses are thriving in the major shopping areas of this

community Brownsville ranked No. 4 in the top 10 unbanked New York City neighborhoods. Forty-seven percent of households in Brownville do not have a bank account (NYC Department of Consumer Affairs: Office of Financial Empowerment, 2010). The purpose of the study was to learn about the financial services available to New Yorkers with low and moderate incomes. The Consumer Affairs Commissioner Jonathan Mintz points out that people who don't have checking or savings accounts will rely on fringe services like check cashing facilities to manage their money. However these institutions do not allow residents to save money, grow their assets and guard against unexpected financial emergencies.   These practices are likely to take place in neighborhoods with a concentration of lower income families (NYC Department of Consumer Affairs: Office of Financial Empowerment, 2010).

Only two major banks Banco Popular and Chase exist in the community of Brownsville. Both are located on Pitkin Avenue in the center of the shopping district. Other financial services are available to Brownsville residents particularly Check Cashing facilities. There are a total of 7 check cashing facilities listed in a local online directory for Brownsville. Cash loans better known as pay-day lenders, pawn-brokers, and advanced income tax returns are also available to residents in Brownsville. These businesses are also located on Belmont and Rockaway Avenues.

The presence of banks and other financial institutions in Brownsville have not been studied however the availability of these institutions appears to be consistent with a recent study on the availability of banks and payday lenders in minority neighborhoods. Graves (2003), analyzed the site-location strategies of banks and payday lenders in metropolitan Louisiana, and in Cook County, Illinois. The study found that payday

lenders are locating in neighborhoods that are poorer and have higher concentrations of minorities than their county of location as a whole. They also found pattern of locational bias among banks, one in favor of neighborhoods that are wealthier and whiter than countywide means (Graves, 2003).

Findings from this study may offer one explanation to the high number of unbanked residents. At the same time, other research shows that sometimes residents don't trust that when they open a bank account that at the end of the month all of that money will be there and overdraft fees have driven a lot of people away from the banking system (NYC Department of Consumer Affairs: Office of Financial Empowerment, 2010).

Parochial Institutions in Brownsville

The focus of this study is to look at how parochial controls operate, therefore it is important to identify the existing parochial institutions in Brownsville. The literature suggests that neighborhood disadvantage has an effect on the capacity and quality of formal institutions which are charged with delivering basic services to the neighborhood, on neighborhood schools, recreational facilities, churches, local businesses, police protection and sanitation services (Elliot et al 2006). Other institutions that provide recreational services to youth, such as YMCAs and Big Brothers/Big Sisters, are less likely to be found in disadvantaged neighborhoods. And these institutions that do exist in disadvantaged areas have fewer resources than those in more affluent neighborhoods (Elliot et al 2006).

This does not appear to be the case with Brownsville. Brownsville is home to one of the highest concentrations of parochial institutions in Brooklyn. The community

district of Brownsville consists of over 140 community-based and religious organizations. Approximately 100 of these organizations are religious based working in conjunction with other agencies (New York City, Community Board 16). Many community-based organizations in Brownsville are multipurpose organizations. They provide multi-cultural programs for youth, families, and senior citizens where the aim is to strengthen community mobilization and build a solid foundation for underprivileged community youth through educational, social, and recreational programs. Other organizations provide skill training programs and GED referral for adults and youth, employment assistance, job readiness and job placement (NYC, Community Board 16, 2010). There are also organizations that improve community relationships with the police, for example the 73rd Precinct Explorers Program encourage young men and women to consider law enforcement as a career goal (NYC, Community Board 16, 2010).

As previously discussed, ethnic heterogeneity and population turnover became a problem for Brownsville resident during middle of the 20th century and the Brownsville Boys Club was a parochial institution that worked to ease racial tensions. The literature on neighborhood disadvantage suggests that parochial institutions are difficult to maintain. The BBC was later renamed to the Brownsville Recreation Center. This institution continues to remain the Brownsville community today. After a period of negotiation, this facility was bestowed as an official gift upon the City of New York in 1954, to re-open in January of 1955 (New York City Department of Parks, 2010). In 1988, The Parks Commission initiated a $7.5 million restoration of the facility (New York City Department of Parks, 2009).

The Brownsville Recreation Center still continues to have leaders to serve the youth of Brownsville as it did mid-century. The goal in the earlier years was to help reduce delinquency through recreation and role models. Greg Jackson, a native of the Brownsville community is the center's director today. He believes in helping his community by running an array of programs and services out of the facility. These programs range from meal and food banks, programs for senior citizens, homework helps for adolescents, and computer and sports programs for younger members (Richardson, 2010). The Brownsville Recreation Center (BRC) is a leading example that parochial institutions do have longevity in disadvantaged neighborhoods. This current study will examine how this parochial institution operates in addition to looking at others.

Crime in Brownsville

The New York City Police department provides an overview of index crime trends by police precinct in weekly Compstat reports. These figures include complaints for murder, rape, robbery, felony assault, burglary, grand larceny, and grand larceny auto theft. The Brownsville community is patrolled by the 73rd precinct and Compstat reports indicate that overall Brownsville has experienced a decline in violent and property crimes

in the last two decades; this is shown in Figures 3.2 and 3.3.

Figure 3.1 Violent Crime Complaints

Source: NYPD Compstat Reports 2010

Figure 3.2
Property Crime Complaints
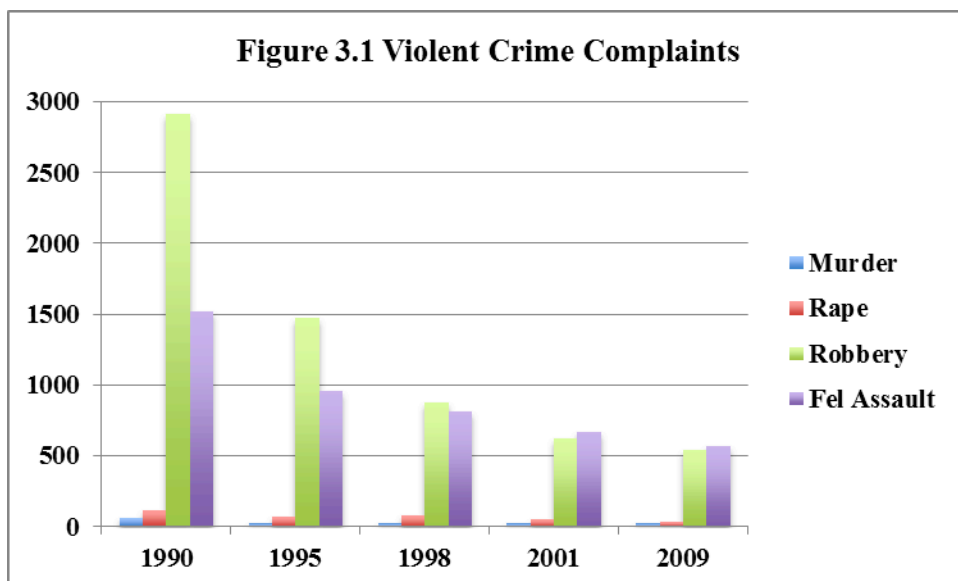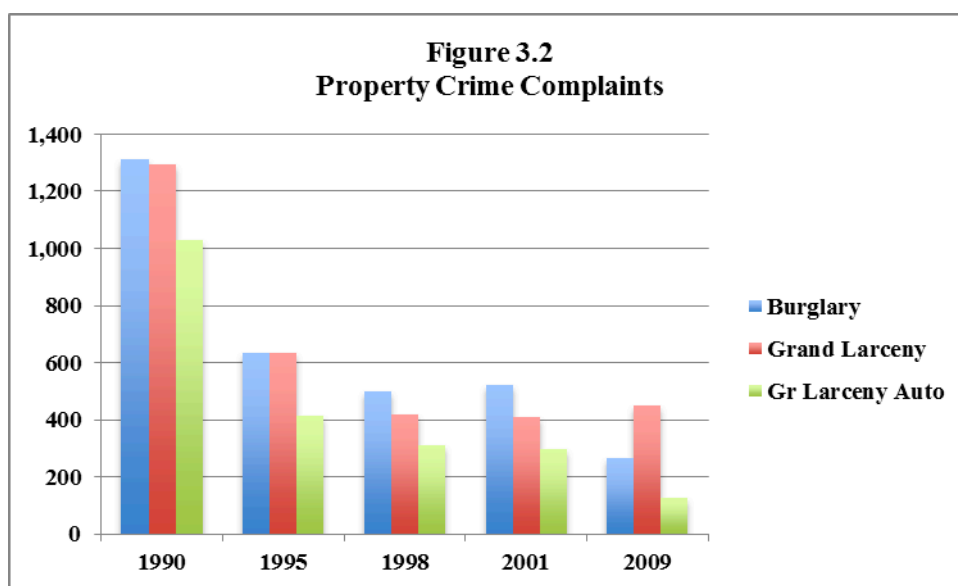
Source: NYPD Compstat Reports 2010

Brownsville experienced periods of rapid population turnover in the early years.

However demographic information indicates that it now experiences higher rates of

residential stability. The community has become home to a number of parochial

institutions although the literature on neighborhood disadvantage suggests the likelihood

of sustainability is minimal. In order to look at the lives and experiences of youth who

reside in this neighborhood, again this current study will focus on a major parochial

institution in the community. Findings from this analysis will examine how involvement

in parochial institutions may help youth overcome adversity associated with

neighborhood disadvantage.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I. Purpose of Research

As noted in the previous chapters a number of socioeconomic factors place adolescents at risk for involvement in problem and delinquent behavior. To reiterate, the goal of this study is to explore how various forms of control operate in youth's lives. More specifically, how parochial control operates in comparison to private and public forms. The following research questions are explored:

General Research Question

How do youth residing in disadvantaged communities experience parochial control?

Specific Research Question

1. How does parochial control operate?

2. How does parochial control influence youth behavior?

The Brownsville Recreation Center (BRC) was the site chosen for this investigation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the BRC has been serving the Brownsville community since 1964. It is an ideal setting for this investigation because of the length of time it has been in operation and the service it has provided to the community over four decades.

II. Data collection

A. Accessing Respondents at the Research Site

Data collection for this investigation began in December of 2010 and concluded in June of 2011. The center is open seven days a week, which made it convenient for the researcher to contact staff members to set up interviews. Prior to setting up interviews

with youth and staff members, a letter was sent to the Chief of the New York City

Department of Parks and Recreation describing the purposes of the study.   Permission

was granted to conduct the investigation in November of 2010.   A meeting was then

scheduled with the assistant director of the BRC.   The BRC granted permission in

December of 2010 and times were scheduled for the researcher to approach the youth

participants.

B. Sample Selection

For entry into the BRC, youth participants are required to scan their membership

cards upon entry. As a result each of these names is compiled into a spreadsheet. This

spreadsheet served as the sampling frame to select the young men and women for the

study.

To determine which name to select from the sampling frame the researcher

applied a systematic sampling technique. The desired sample size was 20 participants;

therefore the total number of names generated from the list was divided by an interval

that resulted in the target number of 20 (Babbie, 2004). Approximately 80 participant

names were generated from the list, and the sampling interval computed was four.

Therefore the researcher selected every fourth name from the sampling frame.

This selection technique was also contingent on the availability of the subjects.

For instance, a number of participant names were drawn from the list, however they were

not available for the interview.   For example, youth who participated in the band were

not accessible as they were practicing their instruments when the sampling took place.

Also, basketball team players were normally involved in a tournament during the visits.

In these instances the researcher replaced the selected youth with the subsequent name on the list.

A total of 20 respondents were selected for this investigation. The involvement of these respondents in the BRC varied.   For some, the BRC was the institution where they attended school daily. For others, the BRC was a place of employment where they gained work experience. Lastly, the BRC was a place of leisure and recreation for some respondents. The demographic characteristics of this sample, as well as a complete description of these activities are discussed in chapter 5.

C. Interview Protocol

Because the goal of the investigation is to examine how respondents perceive the different types of controls in their lives the interview questions were topical in nature. These questions focused specifically on particular events and experiences with three forms of social control; private, parochial and public (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The open-ended questions regarding these three controls were developed from literature on positive youth development and legal socialization (Tapp and Levin, 1974; Cullen, 1994; McLaughlin et al., 1994; Jarrett, 1998; Jarrett et al 2005; Pearce and Larson, 2006; Desmond et al., 2009).   Appendix A contains the complete interview protocol used in the investigation.

The interview began with asking for basic demographic information, including place of residence, family structure, racial and ethnic background, and the school they attended. The next three sets of questions focused on relationships with each type of social control; private, public and parochial. The questions were worded broadly enough to encourage the interviewees to express their thinking and knowledge, but narrowly

enough to provide the researcher with the specific data being sought.

Private control

Although the key focus of this study is on how parochial controls operate and influence youth behavior, youth participants were questioned about their relationships with private controls, specifically parents and peer groups. Questions referring to parental involvement focused on parental influence in preventing deviant behavior and how the respondent perceived that relationship. Here the researcher probed for specific stories about how the relationship with their parents prevented them from engaging in illegal activities.

Secondly, questions regarding peer involvement inquired about the respondents' relationships with their peers. They were asked to provide specific stories about positive and negative influences they have experienced among their peers. Lastly, respondents were asked to report about their engagement in deviant and illegal behavior. To do this, the researcher obtained the list of "personal questions" from the Internationalization of Legal Values Inventory instrument (Finckenauer et al, 1991). This instrument provides an extensive list of questions about delinquent offenses. See Appendix A. The researcher read each of these items to the respondents. If the respondent answered "yes" to the offense, the researcher inquired about the nature of the incident, if the respondent was arrested, and if they served time in a juvenile facility.

Parochial Control

Questions on parochial control were central to the analysis. The focus here was to ask participants questions primarily about how their involvement at the BRC shapes their behavior, as well as how involvement in other parochial institutions shapes their

behavior. The researcher also inquired about how the respondents perceived the area surrounding the BRC, more specifically how the area surrounding the BRC differs from where they live and where they go to school. The respondents discussed whether they felt the BRC was helping the community.

Lastly, questions inquired about the respondent's progress in school, their attendance and involvement in school activities. Relationships with teachers, coaches, and administrators and how the relationships influence their behavior were also covered.

Public Control

The last set of questions focused on the formal controls of policing and the law. The interview ended with respondents discussing their perceptions and experiences with the police in their communities. They were asked whether they respected the police and the laws. Most importantly whether they felt the police were effective in keeping the neighborhood safe.

Interviews were also conducted with staff members during each visit. The staff members interviewed were responsible for facilitating the various activities the youth were involved in. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain an understanding of how the programs operate and most importantly discuss the obstacles the youth participants encounter and how the BRC addresses those issues.

D. The Interview Procedures

All interviews were conducted on site at the BRC. Once the sampling was complete the individual was located. All potential respondents agreed to participate except for those who were completely occupied at the time of the interview. Even some of these participated. Youth who were able to take a break from their activities agreed to

participate.   During this meeting the researcher explained the full purpose of the study and administered full consent procedures (Rutgers University IRB: "Exploring the Impact of Neighborhood Social Controls on Disadvantaged Youth in a Brooklyn Community", 09-516Mc). Specifically, the researcher met with each respondent individually in a quiet room. Each participant was told that his or her information was valuable and the researcher had a lot to learn from him or her (Rubin and Rubin, 2005).   An age appropriate assent form was given to youth to sign. See Appendix B. The respondents were assured confidentiality and were informed about the potential risks of the study.

Most respondents in the sample appeared eager to take part in the interview. Some individuals entered the room before it was their time to begin and they were kindly asked to wait a few more minutes. Handwritten notes were taken during the interview process. Throughout the interview, the investigator reiterated key points respondents made. She also provided her interpretation of the information to ensure clarity of meaning. The topical interview questions allowed for a more active role in directing the questioning and in keeping the conversation on a specific topic of social controls (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This was a useful technique as in many cases respondents would wander off the subject matter. This technique also allowed the researcher to use her time effectively by not keeping the respondents away from their activities for extended periods of time. As a result, each interview lasted between 30 to 45 minutes.

Asking difficult questions

Probing was very important especially when asking difficult questions. Again, respondents were asked about sensitive topics including relationships with parents, delinquent behavior and their experiences with the police.   Rubin and Rubin (2005)

suggest that after discussing sensitive issues, researchers should ask respondents to narrate their victories of the situation. As a result, the researcher would ask the respondent to talk about how they overcame the situation and focused on any valuable lessons they learned from the incident.

Immediately following each visit to the center, interviews were transcribed and reviewed to guard against inaccurate interpretations of the data. The data were reviewed for clarity and continuity in the stories provided by the participants. As a result there were some partial narratives that provided one-sided descriptions of incidents for three of the respondents. To address this issue the researcher contacted the staff member who facilitated activities with these individuals and immediately scheduled follow up interviews to clarify aspects of the narratives. A total of three follow up interviews took place, each lasting approximately 10 to 15 minutes.

III. Data Analysis

A. Grounded Theory

Data analysis for this investigation was based upon grounded theory methods where the researcher systematically generated theory from the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This process was achieved using open coding and axial coding measures. These measures allowed the researcher to arrange the themes that emerged from the data. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. Axial coding works subsequently with open coding by creating subcategories that puts data back together by making connections between these categories and its subcategories. Axial coding also searches for variations in these categories (Bailey, 2007; Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

The topical interview for this analysis focused primarily on respondent's perceptions and experiences with three social controls; private, parochial and public. The initial step to begin the process of examining, comparing, and categorizing data was to review the original written transcripts and begin to perform the coding analysis. Each measure of social control was examined by performing a line-by-line read of the interview transcripts. The following sections illustrate how each control was coded distinctly.

Private controls

One goal of this study is to investigate how each respondent in the sample perceives each type of social control in his or her life. The first stage of open coding was to identify the different domains that appeared for private control. Based on the transcript data, there were three areas of interest that emerged from the data. The domains created were parental, family members, and peer relationships. The next step was to determine the perception of the social bond that existed within each domain of private control. To assess the social bond that existed between parents and family members, the researcher examined the responses to the following question; how would you describe the relationship with your parent or guardian? This question was feasible because respondents in the sample reported having parents as well as aunts, uncles, grandparents and siblings as their guardians. Responses to these questions also provided an indication of bonds with other family members because if a respondent indicated a weak relationship with a parent or guardian; they would identify an additional family member that filled that void. To assess the relationship between respondent and peers,

the researcher examined responses to the question; do you have any close friends?

Followed by, how would you describe your relationship?

During the axial coding stage the researcher determined if the social bond involved was instrumental or expressive support (Lin, 1986). More specifically, was the social bond created based on material or emotional assistance. The final stage of this coding process was to determine what themes emerged from the examples of instrumental and expressive support. The researcher drew from the literature on social bonding and relationships among family and peer groups to aid in developing these themes (Maslow, 1954; Hirschi, 1969; Baumrind, 1978; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Way, 1996; Way 2005).

Table 4.1 illustrates the themes that emerged from the data on the different private controls. Each private control domain provided various forms of instrumental and expressive support to the youth in the sample. These themes revealed the variations in the perception of private control and how it shapes the respondents' behavior. Illustrations of these themes are discussed in the following chapters. The discussion portion compared and contrasted the common themes the emerged between the different types of private control as well as developed new themes. Chapter 6 provides the complete narratives from which the themes emerged.

Table 4.1
Private Controls Themes

Parents, Family Members & Peers

Instrumental Support	Expressive Support
Advocacy	Indirect Social Control
Advice	Rule Abiding Behavior
Material Goods	Consequences for Deviant Behavior
Legal Advice and Assistance	Respect
Conflict Avoidance Strategies	Encouragement to Succeed
Information to Succeed	Express Frustrations
Provide Shelter	

Parochial Controls

Coding mechanisms for parochial control used the approach. Parochial control includes voluntary organizations and schools, and therefore, three domains were created for this control; BRC activities, association with other voluntary organizations, and experiences with school. Each domain was coded independently. Similar to the coding for private control, the next step was to look for evidence of attachment, commitment, involvement and belief among these domains. Evidence of these elements was used to determine if a weak or strong social bond existed with the parochial control domains. To assess this social bond with staff members at the BRC and other local institutions, the researcher examined responses to the following question; are there any staff members here that have impacted your life?

Again, during the axial coding stage the researcher determined if the social bond evolved out of instrumental or expressive support (Lin, 1986). The final stage of this coding process was to determine what themes emerged from the examples of instrumental and expressive support. For parochial control the researcher also relied on the literature on resiliency, social capital and positive youth development to aid in developing these themes (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman 1988; McLaughlin, 1994; Williams and Kornblum, 1994; Amato and Fowler, 2002; Jarrett et al 2005, Pearce and Larson, 2006).

For school involvement four areas of interest emerged from the data on school personnel; teachers, principals, counselors, and coaches. Again, the next step was to determine the perception of the social bond that existed with each domain of school control. To assess this social bond the researcher examined responses to the following question; are there any teachers or school personnel that have impacted your life?

These themes revealed the variations in the perception of school control and how it shapes the respondents' behavior. The discussion portion compared and contrasted the common themes the emerged between the different types of school control. The researcher pieced together all the major positive influences from school personnel believed to promote pro-social behavior. Table 4.2 provides a summary of concepts that emerged for participation in BRC activities, involvement in other local voluntary organizations and relationships with school personnel.

Table 4.2
Parochial Control Themes
BRC, Voluntary Institutions, & Schools

Instrumental Support	Expressive Support
Conflict Avoidance Strategies	Close Caring Adult
Help with Planning and Decision-Making	Motivation to Succeed
Social Capital	Neutralizing Past Negative Experiences
Exposure to New Regions	Personal Growth
Employment Assistance	
Improved Work Ethic	
Structured Activities	
Work Experience	
Civic Engagement	
Conventional Group Activities	
Monitoring School Attendance and Performance	
Expediting Educational Process	
Extra-Curricular Activities	
Academic Assistance	

Public Controls

Lastly, to code the perceptions of public control, a slightly different approach was taken. The researcher drew from Hirschi's (1969) social bond element of *belief* to interpret the perception the respondent had of the police and the law. The questions that

elicited responses to belief in the police and law were, "Do you have respect for the police?" followed by a probe, "Can you talk a little bit about any experiences or encounters you have had." Also, "Do you have respect for the law?" followed by a probe, "can you tell me a little more about that?". Drawing from the literature on compliance with the law, legitimacy of authorities, legal cynicism, and procedural justice, two domains emerged from the data; attitudes towards police and perceived legitimacy of the law (Sampson and Bartusch; 1998; Tyler, 1998; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). In these two domains, personal experiences with the police and legal authorities shaped respondent's perceptions. Table 4.3 shows the themes that emerged from these domains and this is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Table 4.3 Public Control Themes	
Attitudes Towards the Police	**Perceived Legitimacy of Law and Legal Institutions**
Positive Attitude Negative Attitude Mixed Attitude	Compliance With the Law

The results of each respondent's relationship with each form of social control are illustrated in a matrix discussed in Chapter 10. This chapter will also compare and contrast the factors responsible for creating the different social bonds and how it shaped the respondents behavior, particularly delinquent and deviant behavior.

CHAPTER 5: YOUTH OF THE BRC

This chapter provides information on several topics, including background characteristics of the respondents in this sample. Respondent's perceptions of Brownsville and how they believe the area compares to other neighborhoods in Brooklyn and an overview of the current programs available at the BRC.

I. Demographic Characteristics

A total of 20 respondents were systematically selected for this investigation. Table 5.1.a presents key characteristics of the 20 interviewees, and Table 5.1.b displays summaries of the youths' characteristics. Table 5.1.a. displays each youth by pseudonym, including gender, age, neighborhood of residence, type of involvement in the BRC, parental occupation and nationality. This table is included to give the reader an idea of each youth participating in the interviews.

	Gender	Age	Neighborhood	BRC Activity	Parental Occupation	Nationality
**Table 5.1a Demographic Characteristics of BRC Participants**						
Nick	Male	17	Brownsville	Alternative H.S.	Mother: baby sitter	African-American
Trevor	Male	20	Bedford-Stuyvesant	Alternative H.S.	Grandmother: retired	African-American
James	Male	18	East New York	Alternative H.S.	Aunt: Child care provider Uncle: Church Pastor	Puerto-Rican and Jamaican
Maxwell	Male	18	Bushwick	Alternative H.S.	Grandmother: retired	African American
Joe	Male	18	East New York	Alternative H.S.	Grandmother: retired	Jamaican-American
Alby	Male	18	Bushwick/ Bronx	Alternative H.S.	Grandmother: retired	African-American
Amy	Female	18	East Flatbush	Summer Youth	Father: Retired Mother: occupation	Haitian-American

					unknown	
Cindy	Female	14	East New York	Summer Youth	Mother: Social Worker	African-American
Sheldon	Male	18	Canarsie	Summer Youth	Mother/Step Father: Occupation unknown	Trinidadian-American
Sean	Male	18	East New York	Multiple	Father: BRC Supervisor Mother: School Teacher	African-American
Deena	Female	19	Crown Heights	Internship	Mother: Occupation unknown	African American
Jared	Male	18	East New York	Internship	Mother: Home health aide	African-American
Bernard	Male	19	Coney Island	Internship	Mother: unemployed	St. Lucian-American
Rosalie	Female	19	Bronx	Internship	Respondent is head of household	Haitian-Cherokee Indian
Jean	Male	20	Flatbush	Internship	Uncle: Occupation Unknown	Haitian
Ian	Male	19	Bensonhurst	Internship	Mother: Home health aide	Polish
Nia	Female	19	Flatbush	Internship	Mother: Works in Hospital	Haitian
Michele	Female	18	East Flatbush	Internship	Father: Carpenter Mother: admin assistant	Haitian
Gregory	Male	18	East New York	Internship	Sister: Occupation Unknown	Guyanese
Stacey	Female	19	Brownsville	Internship	Mother: nursing home	African American

At the time of the study, the BRC participants ranged in age from 14 to 21 with a mean age of 18 (see Table 5.1b). The majority of the interviewees were young males. A total of thirteen male and seven female respondents were interviewed. Half of the sample identified them self as being of Caribbean origin from countries including Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, Puerto Rico and St. Lucia. Out of this group, two reported that they immigrated from Haiti and one reported that he immigrated from Guyana. The remaining individuals reported that they were born in the United States and their parents were born

in the Caribbean. Nine respondents were identified as African American. Lastly, one respondent identified himself as Polish in origin.

The family structure and living situations of these respondents varied. Only four of the respondents reported residing in a two-parent household, a family unit consisting of both mother and a father, in some cases a mother and a stepfather. A total of eight respondents reported living with their mother, while seven respondents reported residing with another family member; in this case a grandmother, aunt, uncle or older sibling.

Notably, the majority of the respondents in the sample did not reside in Brownsville. Only three respondents from the sample resided in the community. However, five respondents resided in neighboring East New York, which is close to the center. The remaining respondents were dispersed throughout Brooklyn in neighborhoods including Canarsie, Bensonhurst, Flatbush, East Flatbush, Bushwick and Bedford Stuyvesant. One respondent reported that she lived in the Bronx. The housing situation in these communities varied as well. Half of the sample reported living in apartment houses, six respondents reported living in a private house, and four stated that they lived in public housing complexes (and out of this group two of those public housing developments were in Brownsville).

As also shown in table 5.1b, half of the respondents were high school interns who worked part time at the BRC. Six young men attended the BRC on a daily basis for an alternative high school program. Three individuals spent their time at the BRC as summer youth workers and the last individual interviewed took part in multiple activities at the Center. More than half of the sample did not report delinquent involvement in the last 12 months. Eight respondents reported committing delinquent acts.

Table 5.1b Summary Demographic Characteristics (N=20)	
Gender	
Male	13
Female	7
Age	
14	1
17	1
18	10
19	6
20	1
21	1
Race/Ethnicity	
African-American	8
Caribbean Origin	10
Polish Origin	1
Household Structure	
Two-parent household	4
Single mother-headed household	8
Family member-headed household	7
Head of household	1
Neighborhood	
Brownsville	2
Outside of Brownsville	18
Type of Housing	
Private House	6
Apartment Building	10
Public Housing	4
BRC Activity	
Internship Program	10
Alternative High School Student	6
Summer Youth Employment	3
Multiple Activities	1
Reported Delinquent Behavior	
Yes	8
No	12

A. Family Structure

Respondents provided descriptive information about their family structures. In the female-headed households, respondents reported that there was limited contact with their fathers. The extended family was very common among this sample. Many resided with mother, siblings, aunts, grandparents as well as nieces and nephews in one household. There were a number of reported reasons for these different living arrangements. In one case the respondent was temporarily residing with his grandmother in the Bronx because the neighborhood in Brooklyn where he lived with his mother was unsafe. He was repeatedly getting into confrontations with other juveniles in the neighborhood. In another instance, a young male was residing with his uncle because he recently immigrated from another country and his parents remained in his native land. Other explanations for the household structure included the parent losing custody of child and the parent being deceased or estranged from the child. Some respondents reported having parents who were residing in a shelter or nursing home or they were not familiar with their parent's whereabouts. Lastly, two of the respondents reported having small children of their own. At the time of the interview one 20 year old male respondent reported having shared custody 1-year old son. A 21-year old female respondent resided with her 3-month-old infant child and the child's father. This was the only respondent who reported being the head of a household.

B. Education

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are few schools available in Brownsville to accommodate the high school population. With the exception of the students enrolled in alternative education at the BRC, the remaining participants were enrolled in schools

outside of the Brownsville community.   They attended school in Canarsie, Bedford

Stuyvesant, and Prospect Heights. At the time of the interview two respondents had

recently graduated from high school and only one female respondent reported that she

was entering the 10th grade. The rest of the sample was currently in the 11th or 12th grade.

II. Neighborhood Perceptions Of Brownsville

Although the majority of the sample did not live in Brownsville, the consensus

was the immediate vicinity surrounding the BRC was fairly safe and few acts of violence

were witnessed compared to the rest of Brownsville.   Regardless of whether the

respondent resided in Brownsville or not, it was agreed that the public housing projects

were the most dangerous areas of the communities. Several respondents reported

knowing of severe acts of violence, mostly shootings, in the local housing developments.

Bernard, an intern, shared his perceptions of the public housing in Brownsville.

> *Everything around right HERE is pretty cool by the BRC. But once you cross over there in the projects anything is liable to happen. Because if you go in the project, anything can happen. I keep my eyes open in BV. I watch who is getting familiar with my face. I see you, and I want to see you seeing me.*

Amy, a summer youth worker, did not live in Brownsville but reported that she

had friends who lived in the local housing projects. She spent much of her leisure time

there with her peers. Although she was never a victim of crime, she reported witnessing

several physical fights. Even having witnessed fights, she did not feel unsafe. Amy

explained:

> *Its much more people in Brownsville than in East Flatbush. I feel, its equal. I feel safe, because Brownsville ain't really that bad. I just, it don't bother me. I see more people I know live in Brownsville. Most of the people I know live in Brownsville.*
>
> *The same things happen, fights and stuff, both happen, fights near my school and in Brownsville. I've seen fights in the projects. I hang out in projects, not*

everyday, but almost everyday. Van Dyke houses, its two blocks up. I haven't seen no shootings I just see fights. I don't see any fights around the rec center area.

Stacey, an intern, who lives in public housing in Brownsville, had contrary views; she felt that the number of housing projects made the community more prone to violence. Multiple housing projects resulted in the creation of rival gangs at each housing complex. In other words she felt these housing projects created a divide among community. She also states she carries a pocketknife, because she has safety concerns living in Brownsville. Stacy explained:

> *Where they went wrong is too many projects. They have too many people from different projects. Van Dyke will gang up, Tilden will gang up, Brownsville will gang up and they all go against each other. That's where they went wrong build projects on top of projects.*

> *That's why I carry a pocketknife. It makes me feel a little bit safer carrying it in Brownsville.*

Because the majority of the respondents did not reside in Brownsville, many had opinions about how Brownsville compared to their home neighborhoods. Several reported that they avoided spending time in Brownsville. Once their time at the center was complete, they would immediately make their way home. Jean, an intern, shared:

> *Around here I would say I wouldn't take any chances coming with like my brothers or sisters here, because like everyday you come across a fight and they are just out of hand. I've witnessed fights. In Flatbush they have them too, but I see more fights in Brownsville. And the tension over here is more likely to lead to fights.*

Many respondents reported that they preferred not to interact with anyone in the community as they witnessed evidence of gang activity. They also observed that Brownsville had more people loitering during different times of the day compared to their communities.

III. BRC Activities

The type of involvement in the BRC varied across the sample. Six respondents were enrolled in the alternative high school program, three were summer youth workers at the BRC, ten were taking part in a high school internship at the BRC, and one respondent was involved in multiple activities as he was the child of a BRC staff member. This information is shown in tables 5.1 and 5.2.

A. Work-study Program

There is a group of alternative high school students who spend their days at the facility continuing their education and obtaining work experience in a work-study program at the BRC.   Work-study sites typically separate males from females. All the students who participated in the education program at the BRC were males, and many of the young men in this group had a history of delinquent behavior and spent time in various juvenile detention facilities.

Each of these young men transferred from other alternative high schools in Brooklyn. They were either in their third or fourth year of high school.   When they began the program at the BRC, some were functionally illiterate performing far below their grade, while others performed at grade level when they left their other high schools. Because these young men are obtaining an alternative education, their curriculum is somewhat non-traditional. Class sizes are smaller with a maximum of twelve individuals. Bi-weekly, students are taken to the local library where they read books, listen to different genres of music and make use of the computers. Further, these young men also meet with a psychologist on a weekly basis. In part, this aids in the development and monitoring of the individualized education plan developed for each student that reflects

his specific needs and abilities. These students are allowed to attend until they are 21 years of age.

Students develop vocational skills by hands on learning experience guided by a custodial worker who is employed at the center. The first portion of the day is spent performing janitorial services and the remainder of the day is spent taking math and reading classes. Attendance in this program at the center helps these young men transition into a formal state funded job-training program once they complete high school. Students who attend school at the center have chosen a path in janitorial maintenance. When they reach their senior year, their resume (which includes skills obtained at the center) is sent to the state and they can enroll in a formal job-training program where they can qualify for state certification. These young men will later have the option of working in many different venues including hospitals or even the community center where they attended school.

B. Summer Youth Workers

In addition to operating as a work-study site for special needs youth to continue their education and obtain work experience, this center also serves as a site for another group of teens in the community to gain employment. During the summer hours when school is not in session, young men and women worked as BRC summer camp counselors for the younger children. A total of three respondents from this group participated in the interviews. Through a summer employment program administered by the city of New York, individuals between the ages of 14 and 24 work at various institutions throughout the community. The objective of youth employment is to increase awareness of services offered by local community-based organizations. At the center,

youth are provided with opportunities for career instruction and social development. These individuals worked five days a week during the summer months of July and August as summer camp counselors. BRC camp counselors were responsible for chaperoning the smaller children on field trips. Counselors learned how to work with younger children by instructing them on how to perform various activities, including dance and gymnastics.

Youth who participated in this program lived in neighboring communities. Youth workers had a choice of employment locations for the summer, however they chose the center because of previous involvement in recreational activities prior to working there and because of the center's status in the community.

C. BRC Interns

Another group of individuals were involved in the BRC's internship program for high school students. Interns attended school during the afternoon and early evening hours at a high school in a community adjacent to Brownsville. A total of ten students from this program were interviewed. Students enrolled in this curriculum were typically between 17 to 19 years of age who had taken time off from high school and had a desire to return. They were either in their junior or senior year of high school. The goal of the program is to allow these youth to receive a traditional high school diploma as opposed to a GED.

The internship provides financial compensation for working 10-15 hours per week. The program normally takes place on Fridays and Saturdays, and in some cases on Sundays. Funding for the internship is made possible by social service organizations that work with the BRC. The interns spend their Friday nights assisting the younger children

with the center's weekly skate night. The BRC facilitates "skate night" for younger

children between the ages of 4-11. The gym floor serves as a roller skating rink for these

young children. Saturday afternoons are spent providing additional services to the BRC.

In addition to providing leisure activities the BRC serves the community by hosting a

number of cultural events in the neighborhood. The young men and women at the BRC

take advantage of the volunteer opportunities to coordinate and set up for these events.

Chapter 7 provides extensive detail about the work experience obtained through this

internship.

The BRC actively seeks out agencies that are interested in supporting teenagers.

The staff at the center attends community board meetings to be introduced to these

agencies. When the internships are complete, the BRC serves as a valuable resource for

future employment for these interns. Staff write recommendation letters for employment

for these youth and these letters have helped employ youth in various jobs including

United Parcel Services, retail stores and the Police Athletic League. Lastly, involvement

for a one BRC participant consisted of multiple activities ranging from recreation and

fitness to community service. Details of how involvement in all BRC programs and

activities influence respondents' behavior are discussed in Chapter 7 on parochial control.

CHAPTER 6: PRIVATE CONTROLS

This investigation begins with findings from the most informal type of social

control; private control. The spatial structure of private control initially takes place in the

households then extends to more collective areas in the community (Hunter, 1985).

Chapter 5 summarized the family makeup for the respondents in the sample.   This

chapter explores how respondents perceived the different domains of private control:

parents, family members, and peers. As discussed in Chapter 4, in order to determine

how the relationship with each domain was perceived, the researcher drew from the

literature on instrumental and expressive support. A number of themes emerged from

these two categories.

I. Parental Control

The first domain discussed is parental control. In this sample there was very little

evidence of receiving instrumental support from parents. In other words there were very

few examples of parents providing youth with material aid, financial assistance or

information to solve a problem. Two themes emerged from that data illustrating

instrumental support from parents, advocacy and guidance.

A. Instrumental Support

Advocacy

Alby, an alternative high school student was involved in a physical altercation a

few months prior to the interview. He explains how his mother was successful in helping

him avoid a period of incarceration after he was arrested. He explained:

> *I beat someone up in the streets, two months ago this happened. This guy said*
> *something to me and I snapped. I forgot what they said but my mom had a paper.*
> *They wanted to send me to Rikers, so she gave them a paper and I took a test and*
> *they sent me to Kings County.*

The physical altercation resulted in an arrest, however the respondent's mother was able to provide documentation to law enforcement that insisted that her son was in need of psychiatric assistance as opposed to correctional treatment. As a result, the respondent reported that he spent approximately one week in a psychiatric facility at a local hospital. He received treatment and later returned to school. Had his mom been unable to supply these official documents he would have likely spent an extended period of time away from school and his community in a detention facility.

Advice

Trevor, also an alternative high school student expressed the importance of having a legitimate job. He shared:

> *My parents told me, this is what I want you to do. "Work" so you don't have to look behind your back because you are out selling drugs. This is better, having a job.*

Since Trevor was currently enrolled in the work-study program, they made sure he saw the value in remaining in school. They advised him that the path he was on was important to secure stable employment and that he should avoid jobs that involve several risks.

B. Expressive Support

While there was little evidence of instrumental support, parents of the respondents in the sample were responsible for providing a great deal of expressive support. Several themes emerged from the existing social bonds with parents. A very common theme that emerged was the notion of indirect social control. Respondents reported that they refrained from deviant behavior because they did no want to disappoint their parents.

Indirect Social Control

Michele, an intern at the BRC, explains why the relationship she has with her parents *reduces* her desire to become delinquent. Michele stated:

> *My parents have been so good to me, I feel like if I do something I would disappoint them. I never get beaten, they don't scream at me, they sit down and talk to me. I don't really get in trouble. They are very understanding.*

Ian an intern, shared similar sentiments about the bond he has with his mother;

> *My mother, I love her, she is my world. Even though I do live in the projects I'm friends with kids that get into trouble but I keep out of that life. I just want to live my life and go to college. What stops me from getting involved is hurting my mom's heart. I never want to disappoint my mom. Never.*

Michele experiences a nurturing relationship with her parents. As opposed to stringent disciplinary tactics, her parents conduct themselves in a warm and caring way. Jean, an intern, shared a unique experience. Although his mother is not alive, he talked about how the feelings for his mother kept him from getting involved in the gang and drug activity in his community. He shared the same sentiments of not wanting to disappoint her. He explained:

> *I have a lot of friends but some of them they choose a certain lifestyle. Like some of them are in gangs, some do drugs. But I don't get too involved in what they do. I guess any child that has Haitian parents they will tell you that Haitian parents don't play. Growing up if you disrespected your parents you would get slapped in the back of your head. Sometimes they talked to me about joining the gang. I thought about my mother first. Seeing that everybody respected her. I wouldn't want to, she left me behind…I don't want people to say she left this kid behind and I'm getting into trouble. I want to keep her name clean.*

Lastly, Amy a summer youth worker, explained that she refrains from bad behavior because of the emotional support she receives from her parents. When she was faced with hardships, her parents were there for her to confide in. She shared:

> *I think about my parents first before I do anything, I know I can go to my mom when I need her. I went to her when I was pregnant. She said whatever you decide to do I will support you.*

Although confronted with the possibility of becoming a teen mother, Amy's parents offered her support as opposed to passing judgment or threatening some form of punishment such as removing her from the home.

Consequences for Deviant Behavior

Fear of disciplinary action from her mother kept Deena, an intern, from doing bad things. She talked about the consequences she faced when she stopped attending day school. She shared:

> I stopped going to day school two years ago. My mom took everything from me. The cell phone, the computer. Then I tried to go to school, but it wasn't working (the day school), so I tried night school, they give you more classes to help you graduate.

Deena's mother also dealt with her issue of not wanting to attend school. Her mother realized punishing her was not going to completely solve the problem of school absence. As a result her mother had her enroll in a school program that was more suited to her daughter's needs and lifestyle.

Respect

Nick, an alternative high school student shared a very unique outlook about his relationship with his mother. He reported that at one point in his life he sold illegal drugs. The relationship he had with his mother did not necessarily prevent him from getting involved in delinquent behavior. However he did not want to blatantly reveal his behavior to her. He stated:

> Mom knew but couldn't do anything. She had a feeling but she couldn't prove that I was selling drugs. I dropped the money so she won't ask me. I can't look at my mom and tell her what I do, that shit will break my heart. I don't know what child would tell their mom what they do. It will hurt her, she ain't raise me to sell drugs. But I had to sell drugs the way I live.

Nick admits that his mother tried teaching him how to follow a more conventional lifestyle. However, he felt his personal desires for material goods and the influences of life in his surrounding community had a greater impact on his behavior. Even so, he still maintained a sense of compassion for his mother's feelings.

II. Family members

Although the respondents in the sample did not report much instrumental support from parents, they received considerable support from family members. As discussed in Chapter 5, several respondents reported that they did not reside with their parents due to various circumstances. This section talks about the instrument and expressive support received from family members, including aunts, uncles, siblings and grandparents.

A. Instrumental Support

Material goods

Participants reported they obtained material goods from their family members. The responses suggest that they had stronger bonds with other family members than with their parents. Trevor stated that he loves his grandmother more than his mother because she buys him personal items. Bernard, an intern, shared a similar opinion of his aunt.

> *Basically I want to make my aunt proud. She did a lot of things, took me shopping. If I get in trouble, she tried to bail me out. But I know she will give me anything I want.*

The experiences expressed here suggest that respondents are have formed a bond with family members that provide material goods to them. Both of these respondents reported residing with their mothers. However, their opinions of the other relatives appeared to be more favorable.

Legal Advice and Assistance

Respondents in this sample reported having been confronted with law enforcement officers on different occasions. James, an alternative high school student, shared his experience of being detained by the police. He explained how the support from his family members prevented him from spending an extended period of time in jail. He shared:

> *One of my friends had a gun in his book bag, and he just started running. I didn't know he had the gun in his bag. One of the cops chasing him and I was just still walking and they show up with him in the back seat. I didn't know he had that gun in his bag. The cops pull up next to me and ask me if I was a part of it. I couldn't just lie, I was just with him. They didn't want to hear that. They cuffed me up, put me in the car and they took me to the precinct. I called my uncle because he is a lawyer and they called my other uncle that's a sergeant. But my uncle asked him did I have the gun. And they said 'no' and my uncle started spazzing out and he told them to let me go. So I went home and my friend was still locked up.*

Associating with deviant peers can draw attention from the police. In James' case, although he was not carrying the weapon, he was at risk of being targeted by law enforcement.   However, having a law enforcement officer and attorney in his family played a significant role in James' release.   James likely did not know what the conditions were to keep someone detained in a holding cell. Fortunately for him, the conversation the officers had with his uncle who was a sergeant was enough to convince them to release him from custody.

Conflict Avoidance Strategies

A common theme that emerged from instrumental support given by family members was advice on how to avoid trouble and conflict. Bernard talked about his aunt who repeatedly advised him to stay out of trouble with his peers as well with the young women. He shared:

Me and my mom, our relationship is complicated. I see my aunt, like twice a week I stop through. She tells me stuff like "Wear a condom!" Don't be out in the streets with those boys drinking in the hallway, don't hop the train!"

Bernard again implies that he does not have a close relationship with his mother, as they get along on some occasions and not others. He reports a stronger bond with his aunt. In the previous section, he reported that this particular aunt purchases material goods for him and is there for him when he needs support.

Gregory, an intern, spoke of how his cousins warned him of the consequences of joining a gang. He stated:

I saw a kid like this tall, and he in the car throwing up gang signs. One time, one of my friends tried to influence me to join a gang, but my cousins told me gangs will cause you to die, and they won't be there for you.

James' experience was slightly different as the guidance he received to avoid a conflict was physical. He explains how his uncle was there to restrain him from getting into a physical confrontation with another individual. He explained:

My uncle is a minister in the church. I remember one time I was about to punch somebody in the face, because he thought I robbed him. So he took my money and threw it in the air, so all my money was going somewhere. My uncle saw it, he went all the way to me and told me to stop. He saw how mad I was. I remember my uncle slammed me to the floor and held me back and that kid just left.

James also shared a story of how his aunt offers suggestions for him to deal with his internal conflicts. Both of his parents are deceased, so he looks to his aunts and uncles for support. He explains how the death of his friends caused a lot of anger and frustration, at times he felt like running away from home. His aunt was available to suggest strategies for dealing with this stress. He explained:

My parents are deceased. I live with my aunt. She's like my mom. I call her mom. If I was angry about something sometimes like my friends be dying and stuff, sometimes I feel like going crazy. But if I talk to her she'll calm me down. She'll tell me to go read a book or go lay down, go take a walk or go play basketball.

She would ask me why would I want to run away when no one else would take care of me. When I calm down from being mad and realize she is right and I go back home.

Advice to Succeed

Lastly, other respondents reported that family members advised them on how to succeed. At the time of the interview, Sean, a student involved in multiple activities, was bound for college. As a result his brother gave him advice on how to be successful once he arrives.

My older brothers they always influence me and tell me what the college life is going to be about. How I have to focus, don't get caught up in the partying, girls and stuff like that. But I understand because they are there and they are doing great. I'm the only one out of everybody who only had an academic scholarship. Everyone else got sports scholarships.

Being exposed to siblings who have been successful in college was important to DJ. He has been performing well academically while in high school; therefore knowing how to maintain these standards while in college will keep him on the right path. The narratives from this section suggest youth in this sample were faced with a number of concerns however the instrumental support received from family members made it easier to cope.

B. Expressive Support

Indirect Social Control

Certain respondents in the sample reported they refrained from deviant behavior because they did not want to disappoint their parents. However, relationships with younger family members also appeared to serve as a deterrent to delinquent involvement. Trevor is the father of a one-year-old son and he explained why he wants to stay on the right path for his son. He stated:

I want my diploma. Not trying to be a out there and be a bum and do what I have to do to make sure my son can go to college. Stay away from the negative stuff. When you go to jail, who is going to bail you out? That's why I say people should stay with their family… I got one son, 1 year old.

Nick shared a similar experience with a younger family member. He explains

why it is important for him to be a role model for his two-year old niece.

I automatically think about my niece first. At the end of the day, I know she goin' need an uncle in the street. She need me to hold her down. Like show her how a female suppose to be, and show her to how to carry her-self. Like go to school, get a job, don't be on the streets and don't be a regular hood chick. I think of my niece before I think of my mom. It's like this, every time I think of doing something bad I think of her as my daughter. Even with my nephew, I think of him as my son.

Rule Abiding Behavior

Respondents in the sample shared stories of what behavior is expected of them in

their households. There didn't appear to be many restrictions imposed on them from the

adults they resided with. These young men reported being free to leave and return at

their leisure. However it was understood that they would inform their aunt or

grandmother if they were going to be late returning home. Maxwell, an alternative high

school student shared:

I live with my grandmother. She don't give me rules. I choose to do things. I come home. I help her clean up and we go shopping together. I let her know when I'm coming home late.

Joe shared a similar norm in his home living with his grandmother.

My grandmother, now that we older she don't give us rules except we got to be in the house at a certain time like after 12, because she get worried.

These excerpts suggest that these guardians have developed a level of trust for

these young men. The respondents reciprocate by abiding by the rules and also helping

out around the house without having to be told.

III. Peers

The final domain of private control discussed is peer relationships. Peer networks were an important resource when it came to dealing with the daily hardships these respondents faced with family, school, and interpersonal conflict.

A. Instrumental Support

Provided Shelter

As discussed in the previous section, Bernard is a high school intern who has a tumultuous relationship with his mother. He explained they had a history of altercations in the home. As a result, there were occasions where he needed to spend some time away from home, because his mother forbade him to stay. He shared:

> *Like my mom told me, I couldn't come home one night, so my man held me down…me and my mom had our own little altercation. One of my friends let me stay with him until I could go home. My mom just dropped it. I went home the next day. But it happens often. That's why I gotta handle my business.*

Having a place to reside while the tension subsided between Bernard and his mother appeared to be important. Upon his return home the conflict would be resolved.

Information to Succeed

Like many respondents in the sample, Stacey, a high school intern, had a difficult time adjusting to a traditional school schedule. What made Stacey's days more complicated was trying to manage school while having a having a part-time job. As a result she began missing school for extended periods of time. She was fortunate enough to learn about night school through one of her peers. She stated:

> *I was at Boys and Girls high school. Getting up in the morning was hard for me. I used to work at night from like 4 -12 midnight, so it really distracted me. So I heard about night school through a friend, not even my counselor. So I decided to sign myself up.*

Stacey was no longer employed at the job where she worked late hours. However, she was able to return to school and is now in her senior year. Had she remained at her former high school, she would not have been able to make up the time lost. Further details of the night school program and how it benefited Stacy is discussed in Chapter 8.

B. Expressive Support

Encouragement to Succeed

Many youth in the sample expressed a lack of motivation to attend school. What made this experience more bearable was the positive support from their peers. Amy explains how the persistence from a close friend gave her the extra push she needed to return to class so she can complete all requirements for graduation. She explained:

> *Like, school, I use to not go to class. One of my best friends helped me graduate. She stayed on top of me to go to class. I only had three classes. She just kept taking me to class, she took my book bag to class, she told the teacher that I was there, she dragged me to class. She physically took me to class.*

It is appealing that Amy is receiving supervision from one of her peers. Having her friend monitor her behavior ensured that she would not become idle. Adults are often responsible for monitoring student's behavior, however Amy's experience shows that peers can be a very significant form of support for pro-social behavior.

Able to Express Frustrations

In addition to positive relationships with adults, adolescents desire intimate relationships with peers that contribute to their social development and psychological adjustment. Both young males and females need someone to talk to and share their feelings and problems with (Maslow, 1954; Way, 1996).

Positive peer relationships are another theme that emerged from the interviews. Summer youth workers developed relationships with one another, which made their time working at the center more manageable. At times they were confronted with issues working as a camp counselor and were able to voice anger and frustration to their peers. Cindy, a summer youth worker, shared an instance where she needed help from a fellow camp counselor when working with the summer camp kids. She explained:

> *Amy, the other girl that works here, she helps me when I'm angry and frustrated. She helps me with the kids. She tells me what I'm doing right and wrong with the kids. For example, we were teaching the kids to dance and she told me to break it down to them and show them an easier way to do it.*

Cindy's experience is also evident in the literature on youth relationships. In a study exploring the friendships of ethnic-minority adolescents, Way and colleagues (2005) found that individuals developed trust and closeness with their friends when they received help (Way et al 2005). Cindy, who was three years younger than Amy, felt comfortable calling on her for assistance. Lastly, the ability to be outspoken and express anger is important among peer groups, particularly younger women (Way, 1995). Cindy was able to deal with issues at work by expressing her frustrations to Amy. This helped develop a bond between the two.

In sum, the narratives suggest that respondents experience private controls through supportive relationships with parents, family, and peers. Respondents were offered guidance on how to avoid deviant behavior and other personal conflicts. At the same time, when faced with personal conflicts, respondents received assistance on how to cope with these problems. Lastly, private controls served as a valuable resource for young men and women by providing advice to succeed.

CHAPTER 7: PAROCHIAL CONTROLS

The key focus of this study is to explore how parochial control operates. This chapter addresses the following research questions; how do youth residing in disadvantage areas experience parochial control? And how does parochial control operate? There are different realms of parochial control discussed in this investigation. Therefore this chapter will shed light on youth experiences with the BRC, local religious organizations and schools in the community. More specifically this chapter shares youth experiences with the staff members, teachers, and school personnel responsible for providing instrumental and expressive support.

I. Brownsville Recreation Center Involvement

Chapter 5 identified the various programs and activities that take place at the BRC. This section provides examples of how the respondents experience these programs. Essential to this analysis was to understand how these programs promoted pro-social behavior among these youth.

A. Instrumental Support

A number of significant themes that emerged from the data revealed different forms of instrumental support. The youth in sample expressed concerns regarding their personal safety, development, and overall well-being. The stories here explain how involvement in the BRC helps them cope with these problems. This section also focuses on how the BRC has become a resource to assist them with important decisions.

Conflict Avoidance Strategies

The first theme that emerged was conflict avoidance strategies. Respondents in the sample expressed concern for being confronted with hostility by some of their peers.

In the past, these confrontations escalated into physical altercations, which resulted in formal sanctions by the police. This issue was common among the alternative high school youth. It was reported that prior to attending school at the BRC, several of the juvenile participants were in school settings where physical fights were the norm and the students did not know how to stay out of fights. At the BRC, they are shown how to avoid conflict and fights with other students. James shared how advice from his teacher at the BRC prevented an argument from escalating with one of his peers.

> *I talk to Mr. G and he give us an answer when we have questions about things. Like I got into an argument with one of the guys and he told me I should leave it alone and he tells me not to pay attention and leave it alone. He tells me don't pay attention to negativity.*

Alby also expressed how his relationship with his teacher helps him stay out of trouble and avoid fights.

> *Here I learn how to control myself I had a bad temper. Talking to Mr. G, he just talks to me, him and Franklin, tells me how to go about things. Last year at school I had a fight at school, but after we talk and we got cool. To calm down, he tells me to ignore them.*

The relationships the students have with the BRC teachers seem to help them deal with adversity. They are told not to pay attention to individuals when confrontation arises. It is apparent that the BRC teachers advise these youths on various ways to resolve disputes and talk out their anger. Therefore, the center also offers a safer environment. In addition to this, the analysis further revealed that students hold teachers and staff members in high regard; therefore they are willing to take their advice on how to go about stressful situations.

Educational Improvement

The next theme that emerged from the interviews was educational improvement.

The study participants reported increases in academic success when they began attending school at the BRC. While attending other alternative schools, they reported that they were assigned little to no homework and were given assignments far below their reading and math levels. The following examples show that for some juveniles their poor academic performance improved at the center. Alby explained:

Back then in '07 I didn't do well in school, I sucked back then in math and English.
I was focused on the ladies back then. When I came here I started to do better in math and English. Because I respect the man Mr. G, they treat me so well here and he tells me I can be promoted.

Academic improvement appeared to be related to having a close caring adult who has taken an interest in the wellbeing of these young men. Encouragement and motivation from BRC teachers seem to be related to student success. Academic achievement has been shown to serve as a protective factor to help neutralize past negative experiences. This is important for youth who have a history of delinquent behavior; particularly some of the young men in this group. Archwamety and Katsiyannis (2000) reported that successful academic remediation and school success results in reduced rates of recidivism with juvenile delinquents, and regular school attendance is an important element of academic improvement. Young men in this group reported negative experiences in previous alternative high schools including stringent disciplinary rules and a hostile environment. As a result, these young men were reluctant to remain in the building once they arrived at their previous school. They would leave immediately after the first morning class. Because of the supportive environment and academic improvement achieved at the BRC, students are now willing to attend school on a daily basis, and thus they are able to move beyond past school failures.

Planning and Decision-making

Another theme that emerged from the interview data was the ability to plan and make responsible decisions. The ability to make decisions in relation to key life decisions has been shown to be an important protective factor for at risk youth, and is a critical skill in adult social functioning (Quinton and Rutter, 1988; Quinton et al, 1993; Rutter et al, 1990). Most youth in the sample discussed their plans for the future and how attendance at the center shapes their views about life decisions. Alby explained what he was exposed to when he arrived at the BRC.

> *When I got here, I was introduced to Mr. G, Millie and Seth, and I want to follow in their footsteps. I learned that students graduated and got diplomas from here and later get trade license.*

Trevor also shared a similar experience. Involvement in the BRC has given him a solid plan for success after graduation.

> *Everyday I come to school and try to do better than what I was doing. I'm trying to graduate next year so I can work. Then I go to JDC and go get a certificate and probably work. Ms. Millie says she'll hire me here after I get my certificate.*

It was important that these individuals know the important steps needed to move on to the next stage of their lives. In their previous environment, these young men did not see their peers succeeding in school. They were also not familiar with what employment or further schooling options were available to them. Having this type of involvement made it possible to formulate plans and responsible decisions for the future.

Social Capital

Social capital appeared to be the most prevalent theme among the sample. An important feature of adolescent development is the formation of personal relationships between youth and adults in the larger community. Studies on neighborhood

disadvantage suggest that residents of high poverty neighborhoods on average have few close friends or acquaintances who are employed, college educated and thus have minimal access to resources outside their neighborhood, including job and educational opportunities (Wilson, 1987; Tigges, et al. 1998; Rankin and Quane, 2000). Social capital has been shown to increase individuals' access to knowledge and cultural capital, which are believed to be a source for obtaining economic resources (Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Because this theme was so prevalent, a number of subcategories emerged from the social capital domain.

Social Capital: Exposure to New Areas

It was important for the individuals in this sample be exposed to a number of possibilities outside the Brownsville community. Aside from attending school and spending time with their friends, few respondents were aware of what took place outside their immediate surroundings. At the time of the interview, Sean, a recent high school graduate, was headed for college. His godfather, a staff member at the BRC, made sure to inform him about what will be expected of him upon entering college. He shared:

> *My godfather told me, you gotta get in there and get what you need, which is all the knowledge you can, to succeed in life. Don't ever think you can slack, if you think you are doing good one time. Don't be wilding out. When you get there your first semester, it's suppose to be the most impressive, because you are suppose to start off showing that you are here and not here to play no games and what you need in life.*

Another BRC participant shares similar views about this same staff member. He talks about how his relationship with this person shaped his views and behavior. Although an alternative high school student at the center, Joe began spending some leisure time at this facility, because he expressed an interest in becoming a member of the center's basketball team. He explained:

I learn a lot of things here. I met new people. I never knew Mr. J was in the NBA. Mr. J influenced me to play ball more. I never knew he use to play ball. He was just like finish school first and then worry about the ball later. Mr. J showed me pictures of him in the pros and that's what did it for me. I was surprised, because people that you know, it wouldn't come to your mind that they were a superstar before. So one day I saw Fly Williams and asked how I could get on the team. Then he gave me a shirt and I started playing in the tournament.

Joe's experiences provide yet another example of how youth can build social capital through involvement at this facility. It is important that youth who live in disadvantaged communities be exposed to successful individuals who emphasize the importance of education. Exposure to former professional athletes who remain in the community reduces the risk of social isolation common among youth who reside in disadvantaged communities

As a final point, the staff members at this facility saw to it that these young men and women would connect and sustain interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society; another factor that reduces social isolation. Several individuals in the sample reported that they were taken to ethnic restaurants, boxing events, and cultural theaters in communities outside of Brownsville and Brooklyn. Nick reported very enthusiastically about the places his teacher has taken them.

He took us to the Apollo Theater in Harlem and he teaches us how to take the subway. He made us get lost one time on purpose, so we could find our way home.

This instructor shows these individuals how important it is to explore the world outside their communities while showing them how to be comfortable once they leave their local environment. Therefore the staff at the center makes an effort to ensure that these young men and women are able to thrive in unfamiliar settings.

Social Capital: Employment Assistance

Employment assistance was another emerging theme. In some cases, respondents received assistance to obtain actual employment, while in other cases respondents received information on how to sustain employment. Summer youth workers shared stories of how their supervisors provided them with information and encouragement to get ahead in the workforce. The summer youth supervisors served as role models to the study participants. They wanted to emulate these individuals due to their successes in life. For example, Sheldon explained the impact of his relationship with his supervisor while working at the summer camp. He stated:

> *When I met Mr. K., he told me about his situation. He didn't take no for an answer when it came to looking for a job. He did research in order to get hired. He is a hard working black man, he gives people hope, he has had to struggle.*

> *Since I come here I've been on my job. He has nothing but good things to say about me.*
> *Mr. K has a lot on his plate and I use that for energy. That's why I have two jobs this summer. I babysit my little nephews I get paid for it when I leave here every day.*

Employees at the center have been helpful in coaching the young men and women on how to conduct themselves during a job interview and provide references for them as well. They also discuss how to apply for jobs. In Sheldon's case, his supervisor told him about the obstacles that exist in getting ahead and how he can overcome the challenges if he is persistent. Having someone to look up to is critical for African American youths' development (Bryant and Zimmerman, 2003). Sheldon seeks the approval of his supervisor, which motivates him to improve his financial situation. His experience reaffirms that having a successful person to emulate is essential to become a functioning adult. Alby also shared how many resources are available at the BRC. He shared:

Here they help me look for jobs, they never teach how to do that at the other school, like what to do at an interview how to respond to people when they ask questions. Mr. G tells me all of that.

James also shares how working with the teacher at the center helped him secure employment. Assistance with resume preparation and having an adult as an advocate is also important in gaining employment. He stated:

I worked at Home Depot. I got it because of Mr. G. Mr. G helped with my resume. He looked it over with me and corrected what was wrong and he was a reference for me.
I worked there for 12 months.

Jarret and colleagues (2005), states that relationships with adults provide youth with information and assistance needed to meet their goals. Clearly, this is evident among the young men and women involved here. Having staff members available to them provides them with support and information needed that they did not have access to in the past. Furthermore, Nick talks about being able to obtain important documents needed to gain employment. He stated:

Mr. G helps me with things, like I ain't have no NY state ID, he helped me get that. Now he is working with me to get my drivers license.

These young men were unaware of the importance of having official state identification and were not informed about how to obtain one. Having an adult available to explain and show them how to acquire identification is a critical form of social capital for these young men. Developing relationships with adults is important for these young men particularly because they reported their prior interactions with adults have often been negative.

Lastly, youth also pointed out how it important it was that they were able to build their resume and expand their social networks. In other words, youth used their work

experience at the center to help secure future employment once they were no long

involved in activities. Respondents reported meeting new people while being involved at

the center and they now felt confident that the position they had was a stepping-stone to

something more stable. Bernard explained:

> *I decided to take part in the internship, because I wanted it to look good on my resume. And like now I have a reference for a job. And maybe one day I believe I do good here, I feel like maybe I could get officially hired, like working here for the summer. Because I'm getting to know more and more about it as I work here.*

Social Capital: Improved Work Ethic

Another theme that appeared across the sample respondents was the opportunity to

develop a strong work ethic. Respondents learned a great sense of responsibility through

their daily involvement at the center. Youth in the alternative high school program

explained how the demands placed on them were academic as well as non-academic.

Their teacher placed high expectations on their academic and as well as the professional

performance during their work-study program. Nick stated:

> *Mr. G tells us all the time when it comes to holding down a job you gotta be there on   time, not with your pants hanging off your waist and you gotta look presentable, can't look like you from the hood. You can't talk slang that you talk with your friends. Mr. G comes to work without that hood stuff. I respect him.*

As discussed in Chapter 5, alternative high school students are enrolled in a work-

study program that aids in their transition to a conventional job. Therefore once their

academic assignments are complete they are instructed to perform several maintenance

tasks throughout the BRC. Again this is done by working closely with a member of the

maintenance staff at the center. Joe explained:

> *Mr. G. tells us to get our work done. We learn how to sweep, rake the leaves, tie up the garbage, and move things around the center. We help the lady, we clean, we fix things, we set up tables and chairs, make sure it is right for the little kids or the people in the GED program.*

Although students are involved in maintenance and clean-up tasks, the students appear to take pride in the work that they do. The work that they perform contributes to the overall function of the center. Students learn how to multi-task and balance work and academics in the same environment. The manner in which these young men are treated at this facility appear to be consistent with the literature on how special needs students should be dealt with. Damon (1996) noted, that educators dealing with special needs students should focus less on sympathizing with their low self-esteem and more on demanding performance from them, from which self-esteem grows.

A number of respondents in the sample expressed enthusiasm for learning ways to improve their overall work performance. They were taught the most efficient way to get the most out of their work experiences. Bernard shared how he tries to instill his work ethic on the other interns.

> *Yeah, like, one thing I learned from Mr. C, don't slack because you think he's is not there. Just because nobody is watching, you don't have that mentality. The better you do things, the better the outcome. People have a better impression of you, when they don't have to tell you what to do. I be telling the other interns and say "Don't wait for Mr. C to come and tell you to do something." Then they come to me asking me what to do? Then I say "I'm an intern just like you." You suppose to know this stuff. I ain't trying to brag or nothing.*

Stacey shares a similar experience about her job performance and changing her perspective on the way she carried out her duties. Learning to appreciate the opportunity she was given was important to succeed in the workplace at the BRC. She explained:

> *Well we use to just take advantage of it…we use to just be here, just chilling when there is stuff to do. Mr. C talk to us and Mr. J told us that some of y'all kids are taking advantage of this internship. We are here to help yall but yall can't even do this simple job. So I learned a lot. He talked to us, he made me wake up. When we use to get caught…I had no excuse.*

It was apparent that the BRC staff members made sure that there was some accountability of the youth participants for their actions. Staff members see to it that participants acknowledge their behavior and see that it is corrected. The structured environment helps reinforce this. Youth are expected to arrive at a specific time and to carry out certain tasks.

Nia, a high school intern, shared how staff members enforce rules in the work place.

> *Like last week, let's say if somebody comes in late. You suppose to be here at 4 and you come in at 5. Mr. C tells you 'go home' and 'don't bother.' Because he doesn't want people messing up everyone else's day.*

Lastly, respondents talked about how important it was to stay motivated at work. Being excited to come to work made it easier for them to do their jobs well. Staff members were successful in their efforts to keep the students motivated. Many respondents expressed that although their supervisor enforced rules he never yelled or belittled them in the process. For that they placed more effort in making sure tasks were carried out efficiently and well.

Social Capital: Financial Compensation

The last theme of social capital that emerged was financial assistance. As previously discussed in Chapter 5, many of these participants received financial compensation for their involvement. The BRC partnered with other social service and city agencies for this to take place. Rosalie talked about how the internship has made things easier for her as a young mother.

> *I think I'd be really broke, if I didn't have this internship….because when I was pregnant, I was really big and couldn't find a job. Nobody would hire me, because I was so big. So since I was already in the school, I was able to get this job. So I was able to have some type of income. I would save the money from here for by the time the baby comes.*

Teenagers who came from lower income families benefited from additional household income. Many students expressed concern about the difficulties in finding a job during the school year as well as summer hours. Having the BRC work with other agencies made part-time employment possible for these young men and women.

Civic Engagement

Through interactions with BRC staff members, youth participants became involved in civic engagement. Civic participation has been measured as participating in group activities and neighborhood organizations that help solve neighborhood problems (Putnam, 2000; Hawdon and Ryan, 2009). The participants took part in a number of events where they were responsible for getting the people of the community to the BRC. For example Rosalie, an intern, shared an example where they were responsible for publicizing an event that was taking place at the BRC.

> *There was one time, like Halloween, we walked up and down Pitkin Ave…we was promoting the haunted house. So we were in the streets on Pitkin and we was handing out flyers for people to bring their kids to the BRC for Halloween. And the marching band was performing, too. We were out there for a long time like four or five hours on Pitkin Ave.*

On other occasions youth participants provided some form of service or entertainment in the actual community. Bernard, an intern, talked about the afternoon they accompanied the smaller children during a Halloween parade on Pitkin Ave made possible by the BRC.

> *We had a little parade somewhere on a main shopping strip…on Pitkin Ave, we took the kids out there in their costumes. We supervised the smaller kids and the big kids. The parade up Pitkin took like an hour or so. We were escorted by the fire department and the police.*

On other occasions youth participants were responsible for assisting the homeless in the community, primarily by serving them food. This example of civic engagement

took place at the BRC as well as in the community. Both Bernard and Sean talk about the time they helped serve food to the homeless. Bernard shared:

> *For thanksgiving….we put up the table and stuff, and setting up chairs and getting things for people. We were serving food. Homeless people came, too. It was pretty cool.*

Sean explained:

> *Like we go up to Howard houses and throw a little gathering. We are going to feed the homeless today. We help feed, we help set up tables. We likes to go to different communities, you know, Brownsville communities and bring jazz over there, cookouts.*

Both individuals discuss where the BRC helps serve the homeless as well as others in need. Visits are made to the local public housing developments and cultural activities are also brought to them.   It has been argued that neighborhood disadvantage and residential mobility decrease residents' willingness to participate in civic organizations, because disorder fosters social withdrawal (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). However, involvement in the BRC offers a number of opportunities to serve the community of Brownsville.

Structured Activities

The final theme of instrumental support that was evident from youth experiences at the BRC was structured leisure time activities. Many respondents in the sample expressed a need for activities to keep them occupied. Had they not been involved in the BRC, there were not many other options to keep them engaged. Other respondents also pointed out the difficulties of looking for part-time work before they were employed at the BRC. Deena, an intern reported:

> *I won't have nothing to do. I'd be bored at home if I didn't have this internship.*

Spending idle time on the streets with peers and staying home to watch television were the most common options for these youth had they not been involved in BRC activities.

Supervision of children's leisure activities is likely to make a difference to the children's exposure to high-risk environments outside the home (Small, 1995). Osgood and colleagues (1996) found that the lack of structure leaves time available for deviance; and the absence of authority figures reduces the potential for social control responses to deviance. Therefore participation at the center reduces the opportunity for delinquent behavior.

B. Expressive Support

This section focuses on the different forms of expressive support received through involvement in the BRC. Youth reported that their needs for love, affection, identity and belonging were met at the BRC. Venting frustrations and reaching an understanding of issues and problems were also forms of expressive support. Each respondent in the sample shared experiences of receiving emotional support that assisted in their personal growth. One way of achieving this was through the relationship with a close caring adult.

Caring Adults

Sean explains how the adults at the BRC have been extended family members to him. In addition to having supportive parents, Sean has been fortunate to experience the care and supervision of staff members at the BRC. He also seeks advice and guidance from many of these individuals. Again Sean's experience is somewhat unique, because the director of the BRC is his godfather and has also played a role in mentoring his actual father. Therefore he has encountered a lifetime of this support network. He explained:

Mostly everybody around the BRC community I consider a brother or big brother who took care of me, and took me to different places when dad was working or mom was working. They would tell them or allow them to watch and babysit me.

I'd rather talk to Mr. J than with my father. He speaks with such power and respect. He would say, "Who would you rather get in trouble by, me or your father? I'm trying to save you."

Because the adults at the center were responsible for supervising DJ while his parents were working, Sean developed a sense of gratitude and loyalty to the center. Although fortunate to reside in at two-parent household he felt a sense of comfort with other adults in the BRC community. His godfather serves as an authority figure; however, there appears to be a sense of understanding and nurturing while disciplining Sean for violating the rules.

Motivation to Succeed

Alternative high school students discussed the difficulties they faced when it came to in school performance in the past. However, because of staff members at the center, educational success became possible. Two young men, Trevor and James spoke about how their teacher encourages them to succeed by simply offering praise for their performance in school. As a result, respondents developed a sense of confidence in their future. Trevor shared how attending school at the center has created a new experience for him.

> *Mr. G told me that I'm a top student and I'm about to graduate. At the other site, no one told me I was the best student.*

Trevor explains that although he is in special education, he is not deterred from getting ahead in life. This is mostly due to the encouragement he obtains from his teacher at the BRC. Students saw the possibility of fulltime employment at the center or another facility once they obtained their diplomas and certification. James explained:

> *Like, all the things Mr. G be telling me about the program is making me feel proud about myself because I really want to do that stuff, to get the money, get my diploma. I want a state certificate and go to college after. I know we in Special Ed and stuff but they don't understand that they can still go to college.*

The fact that they were special education students did not appear to discourage them from setting goals to obtain more education. These aspirations are due to the relationships developed with individuals at the center who served as role models to them. These findings appear to be consistent with Conley and colleagues' (2007) research regarding special education students. It was determined that students in regular and special education students did not differ in the degree of perceived importance of most academic achievement (Conley et al 2007). Although these students are enrolled in an alternative education program they are provided with encouragement and believe themselves to be conventional students. It has been shown that learning difficulties and low self-esteem as a learner may cause frustration and may be expressed through aggressive behavior. These problems lower the school motivation and may lead to exclusion or even complete disengagement (Kivivuori and Salmi, 2009). The teacher at the center clearly has demonstrated a number of ways to keep youth motivated so they want to attend school.

Neutralizing Past Negative Experiences

The BRC provided an environment that was more conducive to learning by creating structure. Study participants reported previously being in settings where the controls made them feel more like a criminal than a student. Nick shared:

> *In my other school kids were running the halls, talking back. I chose to cut class. I never went to school and they got a medal detector. I don't like when people check me, checking my sneakers and all of that.*

I like this building. I can show any ID and walk around and move around like a man is suppose to. You feel me. You see, the school and the principal was making me feel like a little kid. I'm trying to grow up. Since I came here they don't baby you. You HAVE to be a man.

Nick reports that it was difficult for him to thrive in school because more emphasis was placed on discipline than education. The BRC has given him an opportunity to function more like a traditional student by becoming responsible for himself. Youth are trusted to enter the building and the likelihood of confrontation is minimal. Being able to do this creates a sense of belonging and safety for these young men, a feeling they not able to experience in other settings.

Personal growth

The final theme of expressive support that emerged from the interview data was personal growth. Participants were given opportunities to affirm their worth and dignity. This evolved as they carried out their duties at the center. This theme was prevalent among participants who worked with the younger children. Many shared that they were able to solve personal problems, and many of their interpersonal skills were enhanced. Bernard's worth and purpose was affirmed when the younger children reached out to him to help solve their problems. He explained:

I want to be a respectful person to the kids. It's good when you see somebody younger than you and they come to me with a problem. I can feel like I can help them. That makes me feel good. Like they'll come to me and say and "this kid tried to take my money." They feel like I can help. I tell him they don't have to fight because of that.

Nia and Gregory also shared that being an intern made them more professional and personable. They both experienced issues with being sociable prior to their activities at the BRC. Respondents reported identifying certain personal issues and now being able to deal with them.

Nia stated:

> *I love working with the kids. It's like a great impact on me, because it makes me more responsible. I have to be serious, I have to be friendly, I have to speak to people. I wasn't like that before and I wasn't the type to be all friendly and be in somebody's face all the time. And smile. Now that I'm here, I'm always talking. I'm more out going than before.*

Gregory said:

> *I learned how to communicate and interact with people and be more respectful. How to talk to people, how to approach them. I use to be a little rude.*

Overall working with the smaller children provided respondents with the opportunity to practice patience with others. Interns developed attachments with the younger children they supervised. The patience they developed dealing with the younger children assisted in their interaction with adults as well.

II. Neighborhood Voluntary Institutions

Involvement in other neighborhood voluntary associations outside the BRC was limited in this sample. As discussed in Chapter 5, only two respondents reported involvement in parochial institutions outside of the BRC. Involvement in religious affiliated activities was the only other exposure to parochial institutions. Themes illustrating examples of instrumental and expressive support emerged from the responses.

A. Instrumental Support

Exposure to New Settings

Similar themes emerged from the responses on voluntary institutions in the community.

At the time of the interview, Sheldon, a summer camp counselor, who was a high school senior reported that he remained in contact with a basketball coach from his junior high school. This coach remained a valuable resource for Sheldon, because he informed him

about a basketball team facilitated by a church in Harlem, New York. Being a member of

this basketball team did not only provide recreation for Sheldon, it also exposed him to

communities outside of Brooklyn as well as other parts of the United States. Sheldon

talked about the benefits of being a part of this team.

> *That team traveled to Arkansas, Florida. It kept me busy. I started playing in the 7th grade. I still play with them every summer. I play for Riverside Church.*

This experience is somewhat similar to the respondents in the sample who

reported that BRC involvement helped expose them to areas outside of their immediate

community. Trent also reported befriending youth from different communities and

different ethnic and financial backgrounds by being a member of this team. As a result,

Sheldon reported wanting to be successful in life so he can move out of his community

and afford to live in a more affluent area. Traveling to other states also reduced his risk of

social isolation.

Conventional Group Activities

Cindy, a summer youth worker, talked about her involvement in her church dance

group that she takes part in weekly. In addition to attending church services, along with

other youth in the congregation she performs routines to religious music during weekly

services. The church makes every effort to include as many children from the

congregation as possible in this activity.

Cindy stated:

> *I take part in dance at the church like every Thursday. We do it for Sunday service I perform on Sunday. We have an instructor. It lasts like an hour. Most of the kids in the church are in it. We do praise dance. We dance to gospel music. The routine lasts like a few minutes.*

Performing worship dance gives Cindy a chance to become an active part of the actual church service and it gives her an incentive to attend church. Lastly, she has an opportunity to work with a caring adult and take part in conventional group activities with her peers.

B. Expressive Support

Caring Adults

Sheldon also shared how the basketball coaches in his life have shaped his behavior. Again, although in high school, Sheldon maintains a strong bond to his junior high school basketball coach who has served as a parental figure in his life. His responses imply that the relationship with these men filled an emotional void in his life. Single parent households are common among disadvantaged youth. Having adult male figures is important in helping them affirm their worth and dignity and Sheldon shares how this is possible. He explained:

> *I ain't have no father. My basketball coach in junior high school considered me his son. He took me under his wing. He got me into basketball. He showed me the right things to do because I was a bad kid in school. He always pulled me aside to tell me what was right. I still speak to him all the time. I have his number in my phone. I can call him all the time.*

What appear to be most valuable to Sheldon is that his needs for belonging and emotional support are still being met even while approaching his last year of high school. Because of the relationship he has with his former coach he is more confident about his plans for the future. It is possible had this man not been in his life, Sheldon might have remained the incorrigible youth he was in junior high.

III. School Involvement

This section focuses on the educational experiences of youth who were not

enrolled in school at the BRC.   Respondents attended schools in communities outside of

Brownsville.   Stories about their experiences with teachers, coaches, principals and

counselors and how it shaped their behavior are highlighted in this chapter. One of the

key premises of this chapter is that school involvement reduces the risk of delinquency.

The literature suggests that many of these respondents are at an increased risk for

delinquency as they came from families experiencing transitions and disruptions

(Patterson et al., 1992; Walker and Sprague, 1999). Also many had experienced

transitions and disruption within the education system having taken time off from school

or transferring from other institutions.

A. Instrumental Support

Monitoring School Attendance and Performance

A major theme that evolved from the data was the importance of educational

support in reducing the risk of delinquency. The responses from these participants

suggest that there were many stages in achieving academic success. One of the biggest

barriers to academic achievement for many of these youth was school attendance. Many

reported not being able to arrive on time, while others reported a lack of interest in

school. These obstacles were overcome with the assistance of many teachers and school

personnel in their new school. Nia talked about her hiatus from school and the reasons

for taking time off.

> *The teachers are different in my new school. In Hamilton, the teachers would try and talk to you, but in Jefferson they want to know you, they want you to be here on time. They are just going to make sure you are there on time. If you are not there, they will call your house, they would want to speak to your parents. If you are sick they want to speak to your parents.*
>
> *I didn't like it at Hamilton. I missed like a whole year. My mom never really knew. If I would go I would go like twice a week, I'd swipe my card and just*

leave. They never sent a report card and my mom never asked. The environment, the people and the teachers, most of them are very rude.

Nia's comments suggest there was little concern, if the student did not attend. She reported that her mother knew very little of her status in school, and as a result there were no adults around to make sure she went to school. School success has been attributed to parental involvement in student's performance (Patterson et al., 1992; Jenkins, P. H. 1997). Nia gained the support of parental monitoring once she began attending a school that assisted in the supervision of her attendance. Being enrolled in a high school where teachers and staff reach out to parents decreases the likelihood of cutting school for this student.

In addition to ensuring that youth arrive at school, it is also important that they attend class once they arrive. Deena talks about the difference between attending high school during the day and in the evening. At the time of the interview, Deena was attending night school and she shared how her advocate counselor sees to it that she attends class.

> *In night school, they help you more. People influence you more, the advocate counselor pushes you to go to class. Like in day school, nobody goes to class, so like everybody just chill in the hallway. In night school, no one is hanging out in the hallway.*

Respondents who attended this same institution during the day appeared to have similar concerns about their former day-school experience. Gregory a high school senior had first-hand experience with loitering the hallways while attending school during the day. He also talked about the administration's failure to enforce class attendance. This increased his exposure to deviant peers. As a result, he enrolled in night school to minimize his contact with these individuals. He explained:

At times when I was at day school, I use to miss class. That was another problem for me in day school. I was around a lot of people who influenced me not to go to class.
Like when I first started school, it happened a lot, like three times a week I cut class when I was in day school. That's why I transferred to night school.

School is believed to be an effective agent of social control because it supervises and regulates the activity of adolescents. The absence of enforcement may result in a higher rate of delinquent behavior (Delbert and Voss, 1974; Jenkins, P. H. 1997). For students like Gregory and Deena, enforcement of school rules was important in reducing exposure to deviant peers as well as minimizing their opportunities for delinquency.

Students in the sample also expressed concern about maintaining their grade point average. It appears that some had difficulties achieving this on their own. Amy explains that with the assistance of her basketball coach she was able complete all of her assignments on time. She shared:

I was close with my basketball coach. He was young. He was one of us. He always had our best interest in mind. Like we use to have to be at study hall at least two hours before practice, and we couldn't leave until homework was done, so we didn't have to do it at home. We did our homework on the bus to games. My grades was good during the season and when the season was over my grades went down, because I didn't have anyone to stay on top of me to get my work done.

For Amy, involvement in athletics was a benefit to her academically. Having the supervision of a caring adult during after school hours provided the extra support she needed to keep herself focused. Had she not been involved in this activity, she may have experienced lower school grades through out the entire academic year.

Providing Tools for Success

A number of students in the sample were in their senior year of high school and looking forward to graduation at the end of the academic year. It was important that they

complete all of their required courses. This was made possible with the assistance they

received from many teachers and counselors at their schools who helped prepare these

young men and women for upcoming exams. Bernard reported:

> *My earth science teacher would help me. Even if I missed days, she still tried to help me. I felt like she cared. She made me feel comfortable talking to her. She gives me exactly what to study on the test, so I am prepared. "I guarantee you if you do this, you will do well." As opposed to saying, "there is a test on Tuesday!"*

Stacey expresses similar experiences. In addition to having teachers available for

assistance, a number of students talked about the importance of their relationships with

their counselors. Counselors kept students informed about mandatory state exams needed

for graduation and offered students solutions for bringing their grades up after

unsuccessful periods. Stacey stated:

> *At Jefferson, Mr. Blake, my advocate counselor, he talks to me about my regents, what I need to do to graduate. He makes everything easy for me. If my grades are going down, he tells me what to do to keep them up. He is my role model. They talk about college, they make me want to go.*

Expediting the Educational Process

Students were pleased to finally attend a high school that was concerned with

attendance, academic performance and their futures. Many were not exposed to these

expectations in previous schools. Other students had been out of school for an extended

period of time and as a result, were looking for the most efficient way to expedite the

process to graduate.   Ian spoke about the benefits of attending night school.

> *I was at Douglas high school. Better teachers and better experience in Jefferson. They take a LOT of time with you. I've been there for four years and too many students kept transferring out at Douglas. I just wanted to graduate. That's why I left Dewey. If I stayed in Douglas it would have been a longer process than if I came here.*

Both Bernard and Deena shared similar opinions about the benefits of attending

night school. Following an incident with a female student at his former high school in

the Bronx, Bernard took time off from school. He needed a solution to make up the

missed classes and courses need to graduate. He said:

> *I left the Bronx and ended up at Jefferson night school. My guidance counselor told me I could graduate faster if I went to Jefferson. It was good for me.*

Deena expressed a similar experience.

> *I tried to go to day school, but it wasn't working. In night school they give you more classes to help you graduate. In day school, my grades were bad. In night school, they are good. I should be graduating in June.*

Night school was the alternative to remaining in day school with a curriculum that

would not allow them to graduate in a timely manner. Students reported higher grade

point averages when they began attending night school because of the support network

they received from teachers and counselors. Night school also provided the opportunities

and assistance students needed to make up outstanding assignments. Rosalie, a high

school senior in night school talked about how supportive school personnel were while

she was trying to raise her infant child.

> *I was like 18/19 when I dropped out of school, I was in my senior year. This was back in 2008. My guidance counselor…because she helps me with my teachers, because sometimes I can't go to school, so she has them sends work to my email, so I can get it done.*

> *When I was pregnant, she always tried to make sure I went to school. The principal wants me to come to school everyday…when I come to school she speaks to me all the time. She tells me that I'm always there and that I can do it. Besides the email, because sometimes I can't come to school, like they will give me packets to bring home with work in it.*

Academic failure has been shown to be a strong correlate of delinquency in

adolescence (Maguin & Loeber, 1996). The teachers, coaches, and counselors each made

individual efforts to see that students maintained grades required for graduation. Many of

these students previously had difficulties returning to school and remaining in school. In

many cases, different schools provided the support that decreases the likelihood of dropping out of school and aiding students in academic performance.

Extra-curricular activities

Having extracurricular activities available at school appeared to be important to students. Ian, a high school senior, maintained a long time interest in basketball. However, his previous school did not offer recreational activities. Having a basketball team in his new school provided him with another incentive to transfer schools. He explained the significance of having something constructive to do during his spare time.

> *I play for my night school basketball team. I grew up loving sports. Any sports opportunities, I go for it. Because John Dewey didn't have any sports. It was one of the few schools that didn't have sports. As soon as I heard about it I automatically signed up.*

> *It keeps me out of trouble. You would spend more time in a certain area…if you stay playing for three hours and are frustrated you would take out your frustrations on basketball, and be away for like three to four hours because if you are out of the projects. I always play some kind of sport to blow off steam.*

Academic study was not the only element of high school that these young men and women found important. According to the values of the youth culture, involvement in school organizations and activities is an important criterion of success in the informal system of the school and delinquency prevention (Delbert and Voss, 1974; Cassel et al, 2000).   For Ian, residing in public housing puts him at risk to be a victim or engage in delinquent behavior. Being involved in organized activities reduces his time spent in an unsafe environment.

B. Expressive Support

School personnel also provided expressive support to students. In addition to being a resource for academic assistance, many were able to help the students with

personal issues. Students were faced with individual struggles at school and in the home,

so they benefited from being able to disclose personal information to another adult.

Caring Adult

Cindy spoke of the teacher she confides in when she has problems with her peers.

She was able to voice her issues and her teacher is there is offer a solution. In one

instance, her teacher helped her avoid a confrontation with another student at school. She

shared:

> *Ms. G, I'm close to her, she isn't my teacher though. If I'm having a bad day
> she'll talk to me. She'll ask what's wrong and I'll tell her. She'll tell me that
> people like to act selfish and do wrong thing. She would talk me out of doing
> something wrong before I would do it. Before I'm about to get into a fight, she
> would talk me out of it.*

In addition to providing academic support, Gregory spoke of the personable

relationship he developed with his school counselor.

> *I go to my counselor. She talks to me when I have family issues, any kind of
> issues. One time I came to school upset because I had an argument at home, and
> I went to talk to her about it when I came to school. I felt better afterwards.*

Again it has been suggested that attachment to teachers and other caring

school personnel have been shown to reduce delinquency. In Cindy's case, she has a

relationship with a teacher who shows her how to avoid conflict that may result in

physical altercations. For Gregory, having another adult available to help solve problems

may help increase his attachment to school.

IV. Youth Respondents and the Parochial Control Experience

In sum, the narratives suggest that parochial control is experienced through

various activities. Table 7.1 summarizes the number of respondents who experienced the

key parochial control themes.   Activities at the BRC gave young men and women the

opportunity to be part of the Brownsville community. BRC interns were able to work

with the younger children in the community by engaging in such activities as roller-

skating, playing games, and also recruiting them for events at the center.   Other

interactions with the community also took place when they served food to Brownsville

residents at holiday and weekend events. Through relationships built with teachers and

staff members at the BRC, respondents also acquired work experience, social capital and

were exposed to life outside of Brownsville. These experiences helped build their self-

esteem and learn strategies to avoid personal conflicts.   Students who attended schools

in the community expressed the importance of having a close relationship with an adult

who would monitor their school progress. Many had cut class or school in their prior

institution. Students, particularly the ones enrolled in the night school program, were

given the opportunity to start over by experiencing a structured environment.

     Lastly, involvement in extracurricular activities provided another method to

become attached and committed to school. This in turn reduces school alienation, which

is believed to be predictors of school dropout. Earlier research suggests that school

dropouts have more negative police contact and delinquent behavior than individuals who

graduate (Delbert and Voss, 1974; Cassel et al, 2000). In regards to how parochial control

operates, findings from these responses indicate that BRC staff members worked with

other organizations. Although the BRC is located in Brownsville, youth are recruited

from neighborhoods throughout Brooklyn.

Table 7.1 Parochial Control Experiences	
Key Themes	**Number of Respondents (N=20)**
Conflict Avoidance Strategies	3
Help with Planning and Decision-Making	3
Caring Adult	4
Exposure to New Regions	5
Employment Assistance	5
Improved Work Ethic	5
Structured Activities	2
Work Experience	19
Civic Engagement	8
Financial Compensation	13
Conventional Group Activities	1
Monitoring School Attendance and Performance	5
Motivation to succeed	3
Expediting Educational Process	5
Extra-Curricular Activities	2
Academic Assistance	3
Educational Improvement	7
Neutralize Negative Experiences	1
Personal Growth	3

To achieve this, BRC staff members collaborated with public and social service institutions including the Department of Education and members of the local community board. The BRC staff would seek out youth who are at risk for anti-social behavior; including alternative high school students, those exhibiting low school attendance, and individuals who had withdrawn from school for extended periods of time. The narratives suggest one of the key goals of staff members at the BRC is helping them address these issues.

School personnel shared the common goal of student retention. Student success appeared to be attributed to the combined efforts of teachers, parents, counselors, and principals. Once they were able to retain students, their next goal was to assist in academic achievement and meeting graduation requirements. In the school environment, teachers, play an important role in teaching and supporting conventional norms of society and also serve as role models to students (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992; Crosnoe, Johnson, & Elder, 2004). This is important to youth who have had difficulties in school.

Lastly, responses from youth indicated that BRC staff members and school personnel were able to offer what other controls were not able to provide. In regards to private controls, youth reported that parental figures were not always able to provide discipline, support and understanding for them. However, existing relationships with adults at parochial institutions were able to make up for this. In sum, Chapter 9 addresses what role parochial control plays in getting youth to conform.

CHAPTER 8: PUBLIC CONTROLS

Public control is found in the formal bureaucratic agencies of the state; essentially law enforcement and criminal justice agencies (Hunter, 1985). This chapter describes youth perceptions of the law and policing in their communities. Youth perceptions of the police were formed through direct and indirect contact with these officers. Many respondents had their own personal interactions with police, while others based their opinions on friends' or relatives' experiences. Lastly, many formed their opinions based on what they witnessed in the news media or in public. For many, these experiences shaped their views about trust and belief in legal institutions. The first segment of this chapter highlights the narratives illustrating youth attitudes toward the police. As a result three themes emerged: positive, negative, and mixed attitudes. Mixed categories consisted of both positive and negative opinions expressed in the same passage of conversation.

Research on policing in urban communities documents a wide range of harms to minority residents including slow police response time, police harassment, disrespectful treatment, verbal abuse, and excessive use of force (Anderson 1999; Browning et al, 1994; Jones-Brown 2000; Mastrofski et al, 2002; Weitzer 1999, Brunson and Miller, 2006). This portion shows how these harms are illustrated in narratives from youth respondents. This chapter concludes with youth justifications for complying with the law. The literature suggests that there are three rationales for obeying the law: the fear of being punished, the belief that legal authorities are legitimate, and believing that laws morally appropriate (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). The section on youth attitudes toward compliance with the law is analyzed using these rationales for

compliance.

I. Attitudes Towards Police

A. Positive Attitudes Toward Police

This discussion begins by examining positive attitudes towards the police. Generally, these views are not reflected in much of the literature on youth in urban communities. In this sample, positive attitudes were not commonly formed based on personal interaction with the police, but mainly through observations. The first example illustrating a positive police disposition was the belief that the police served as a form of social control in the community. Respondents did not report having direct contact with the police, but observed the police presence in the community. Respondents who expressed this belief felt the police provided a feeling of safety by enforcing the law. To them, it appeared that they prevented crimes from taking place. For example, Cindy, a 15-year-old summer youth worker, spoke of the regular police presence she has witnessed in Brownsville.

> *The police, they enforce the law, you can't go somewhere without seeing them on every corner. It sometimes makes me feel safe.*

Maxwell, an alternative high school student, concurred and shared a similar view.

> *I feel they do a good job. They catch the people that be shooting. I think they treat people fairly.*

Both Cindy and Maxwell felt police officers deterred criminal behavior and also enforced the law by apprehending criminal suspects. In addition to enforcing the law, one respondent reported actually witnessing the police serve as mediators during a physical altercation that occurred in a public housing complex. Amy shared an experience where the police were fair and treated local residents with respect.

I think they treat people fairly. They listen to both sides of the story. When I was with my friend, and my friends had a fight, they tried to get to the bottom of it. They resolved the issue, no one was arrested. It was a fist fight. I have respect for the police, when something happens, you need them, so you call them.

There was one youth respondent who did not develop his opinion of police officers by observing them enforce the law and solve community conflicts. Sean's experience with the police appeared to be different from others in the sample. As mentioned in previous chapters, Sean's father is a member of the BRC staff with many ties to the community including the police. He spoke of how his father's relationship with local law enforcement shaped his outlook on the role of police.

I have contact with the police through my father. I know a lot of police and a lot of chiefs. One will come in here now they would say, "hey what's up." Even on the street, they would say, "hey, what's up, how's your dad, how you doing?" They are a family too. I have nothing but love for them.

As a result of his personal relationships, Sean has had the opportunity to build a more informal relationship with members of the police community. This outcome appears to be consistent with Rusinko's (1978) research, which suggests that the opportunity to know and encounter police in facilitative or unofficial roles tempers the negative attitudes of young men. Overall respondents who held positive attitudes towards the police felt were an important institution needed in the community.

B. Negative Attitudes Towards Police

The most common circumstances in which respondents developed a negative disposition toward police were through direct interactions with police officers. Narratives in this section illustrate negative views of the police in communities. As a result, a number of subthemes emerged.

Poor Policing Strategies

Many respondents who reported negative perceptions of law enforcement felt they were not providing an effective form of social control in the community. For two respondents in particular, they were concerned that police attention was not being focused on combating criminal behavior. Joe, an alternative high school student, shared an instance where he was a victim of a crime and felt the police did not show much concern for his problem. He appeared to be very disappointed with policing efforts.

> *I got jumped a couple of weeks ago. I ran up to the cop car and told them what happened. They gave me a blank look and they rode off like it was nothing. They rode around the block once with their sirens, but that doesn't help. They didn't ask any questions about the incident.*

Following this incident, Joe reported having little confidence in the police. If he is ever a victim of a crime in the future, he will be reluctant to contact the police. One other alternative high school student expressed the belief that the police were making the neighborhood more dangerous. Nick shared a very compelling statement condemning the police department and the manner in which they deal with the community.

> *The only thing I can say is cops need to stop shooting innocent people. To me, it's the cops. Why is cops killing us? They shoot a person and they don't do time. If a black person from the projects shoot a cop, they doing life. Why is that? If that cop shoot a black man, why he don't get life? They don't even know why these kids on the streets.*

He felt that the police needed to shift their focus more aggressively on the actual criminals as opposed to innocent citizens. He felt this could be accomplished if police officers made an effort to understand the culture of the young men and women that spend time on the streets. This way police will be able to distinguish the law-abiding citizens from the criminals.

Responses from Joe and Nick suggest that they feel the police are apathetic to the needs of the community. From their standpoint aggressive policing tactics are not focused on

the criminals in the community. They are disappointed in how police go about preventing crime in the community.

Repressive Police Enforcement

Experiencing repressive enforcement by the police was the next example that illustrated negative attitudes towards the police. These respondents experienced firsthand contact with the police because they were stopped, searched and questioned. For certain young men, these were the only instances when they were exposed to police. In many cases, these experiences left them feeling belittled and frustrated, because they felt demeaned during the incidents. Alby, an alternative high school student, shared his contempt for the police, because he is repeatedly a target of their stop and search approach.

> *I don't like cops they always harassing me for no reason. Plenty of times they harass me. They see you with anybody and they think you up to something. They ask for ID, I give it to them and then they leave me alone.*

Gregory, an intern, also shared that he experiences repeated stop and searches by the police. In one instance, the police appeared to be monitoring his behavior while waiting for him to react to their presence. He was questioned about possessing illegal items, although his response was "no" the police officers carried out the search. He explained:

> *Every three months I get stopped. They search me. Like one time I'll be close to my house, coming from the store. I had my earphones in my ear and they driving slow next to me, and all of a sudden he told me to stop and just searched me. I don't know if they were waiting for me to look at them. I didn't pay them no attention. When I looked, they asked if I had anything. I said, "no." And then they searched me.*

Lastly, James, an alternative high school student, shared his interaction with a transit police officer. He felt this officer should have approached him in a more respectful manner about listening to his music in the subway. His narrative suggests that the police officer was consistently monitoring his behavior. He explained:

I was in the subway. I had my headphones on and bopping to my music and bouncing the basketball. The cop said, "Stop bouncing the basketball." I saw my friend; she wants to be like a boy, so she takes the ball and starts bouncing it. So now the cops come up the stairs and say, "You want to be a wise guy." My friend walked away. The cops said, "If you bounce that ball again I'm giving y'all all a ticket." Then he said, "You can't listen to music on the platform." He asked me for ID. He just wrote my name down. All he has to do is talk to me man to man to turn the music off. These guys, just because they got that badge, they think they can do whatever they want.

Had the police officer addressed him courteously, he would have been more willing to cooperate, even though he felt what he was doing was not illegal. Both Shawn's and Gregory's experiences suggest that the police were trying to intimidate them while they were in their communities. Neither of these individuals reported engaging in any illegal activity during these incidents. However, in both cases their actions were scrutinized by local law enforcement. Neither of these occurrences resulted in an arrest. These narratives suggest that police pay close attention to young individuals even when they are not involved in criminal behavior. Conclusions drawn from these narratives are consistent with previous literature on policing in urban communities where young males, particularly minority males, feel harassed and disrespected by the police (Jones-Brown 2000; Mastrofski et al. 2002; Brunson and Miller, 2006).

C. Mixed Attitudes Towards Police

Overall youth perceptions of the police were complex. In many instances, the narratives illustrated examples of ambivalence about the police in the community. At

times respondents expressed both positive and negative views in the same passage. This was evident when other respondents discussed their experiences being stopped and searched. In the prior section, both Alby and Gregory expressed animosity and contempt for police due to being repeatedly stopped and searched. However, other young men in the sample reported being stopped and searched, but did not express hostility towards the police. They appeared to accept it as the norm in their community.

Ian shared an experience about how his attire attracted police attention. However, Ian reported that he used these interactions with the police to his advantage. He explained:

> *Police are the ones that protect you, so I have respect for them. Sometimes when you wear a color in a specific neighborhood, like I live in a blood neighborhood…and if I wear red, they would stop and search me because of the color. But that would be the only thing that they would do. I have no problems at all.*

> *My future is going to be a SWAT officer, so I have respect of law enforcement. I've talked to like three of them, because they would stop me and search me. I would ask them about how to become a police officer. They told me things I didn't know about. And they would tell me what paper work to do.*

He did not report feeling any tension or animosity after the incidents took place. However, his comments appear to be ambiguous. In the same passage he expresses his respect for the police and the work they do, however he admits that his attire raises suspicion from them. He is not at liberty to wear clothing of his choice without harassment from the police. Ian resides in an area where gang activity is prevalent and it is possible that he has accepted being stopped and searched as a tactic to fight gang activity. Lastly, Ian shared that once he completes high school he would begin to pursue a career in law enforcement. Perhaps he wants to be placed in the authoritative role that the police exhibit in his community.

Jean, a high school intern, also has experience with being stopped and searched by the police. He stated that he has been stopped and questioned a few times in the New York City subway stations. However he did not appear to classify these events as an infringement of his rights.

> *The police stop me once in a while. Like in the train station. I have the utmost respect for the police. Because if you are going to respect one adult, you have to respect all. I haven't had any bad experiences with them. If they ask me a question, I cooperate.*

Although Jean did not report that he was engaged in any wrongdoing while being stopped and searched, he did not identify his encounters with the police as a negative experience nor did he report demonstrating any hostility towards the police during questioning. He saw the encounter as an illustration of police performing their duties. His narrative suggests that he respects all authority figures regardless of their actions. This perception appears to be consistent with findings from a study conducted by Nihart and colleagues, (2005) where they found that student attitudes toward the police were significantly and positively correlated with their feelings towards their parents and their teachers. Narratives from both Ian and Jean suggest that being stopped and searched by the police is commonplace in their communities. Therefore neither appears to view these experiences as an infringement of their rights, even though no illegal behavior was reported during the incidents.

Proactive Policing Needed

There were other instances where respondents expressed both positive and negative views about the police in the same passage. Crime control strategies by the police were a concern. Contrary to Cindy's and Maxwell's views about a police presence making the neighborhood safe, there were respondents in the sample who felt the police

needed to make more of an effort in preventing crime in the community. They found that

a police presence became more prevalent only after a serious incident took place. Sean

shared an instance when the police presence increased after a shooting occurred three

blocks from the BRC. He explained:

> *Well, an incident happened a couple of weeks ago over by 275 School; a shooting. It's right next to the co-op. It must have been serious, because after that incident cops were lined up over here, down there, but that should be a regular. A cop on every corner, period. Don't wait for something to happen, when you can be there already and prevent something from happening. I feel great about the police; they are here to protect us. I just feel they should be here more. Its not like they are on every corner, which they should be.*

Trevor also shares the same feelings about the police. He didn't report

experiencing any negative interactions with law enforcement, although he felt they

needed to work more diligently in order to reducing crime in the community. He stated:

> *I'm not saying cops can't help, they need to try harder. I feel like they don't care about the neighborhood I feel like they want people to kill up each other.*

When there is increased police presence for a short periods of time there is only a

temporary sense of safety in the neighborhood. These individuals desired more long-

term police presence to overcome any feelings of fear. Respondents in the sample also

expressed dissatisfaction with the timing of police concentration in the community. This

notion is consistent with findings from Carr and colleagues (2007), where youth in urban

Philadelphia areas overwhelmingly chose increased and tougher law enforcement to

reduce crime. The young men and women interviewed in this study perceived police as

individuals who have the potential to play a vital role in crime-reduction efforts.

Fairness in Administering Enforcement

The final theme that illustrated ambivalence towards the police was fairness in

exercising authority towards individuals. There was additional concern about how the

police went about enforcing the laws; primarily the areas and individuals they targeted. Stacey respects the police; however, she feels because she lives in public housing they are more aggressive with their policing tactics than in other parts of the community. She explained:

> *Yes, much respect for the police. They help the community. But just because you live in the projects, they just treat people different. They stopped me in the projects, because I had an Arizona and they smelled it and thought it was beer. I threw it away, because their nose touched it.*

Although dissatisfied with enforcement tactics, respondents believed the police had the ability to serve as a form of social control. There was a need for increased police presence. However, there also is a desire for punishment and enforcement to be administered fairly. Many young men and women in the sample did not find existing laws unfair. However it was the manner in which they were enforced where many had complaints.

In addition to targeting certain areas of the community, respondents reported they targeted certain individuals based on their attire. Stacey also talked about how she avoids associating with certain individuals because their clothing is likely to draw police attention. Her statement suggested that police harassment could be reduced if some individuals were not conspicuous. She shared:

> *I don't hang out with a lot of people that attract the cops. Like the cops start with anybody like the guys. They start with people that have their pants down low, they see them with a blue or red flag and I don't hang around those people.*

Sean also concurred and avoided wearing certain attire because the police targeted certain youth dressed in a certain manner. He explained:

> *All this pants low, all this nonsense, when you bring this upon yourself, the police suspect. I don't bring that "vibe" to me. When I walk down the street, I don't draw attention to myself with the pants sagging.*

Narratives from Sean, Stacy and Ian all indicate that they've witnessed police focusing on certain individuals because of their apparel and where they spend time. Although each of these young men and women express having respect for the police, they are all aware of the circumstances that increase one's chances of being stopped and searched by the police. Therefore, young men and women have developed strategies to reduce police attention. In this case, it is refraining from certain attire the police associate with criminal behavior. They also avoid contact with individuals who wear this attire. This mentality is also evident in other studies on policing. In an investigation on policing in urban communities, Brunson and Miller (2006) learned some young men attempted to reduce their chances of coming under suspicion by avoiding certain areas and certain people altogether.

There is one final example from the narratives illustrating unfair police enforcement in the community. In the section on positive police disposition, Cindy, a summer youth intern, spoke of how the visible police presence in her community made her feel safe. She reported no personal interaction with the police, but she was not immune to witnessing law enforcement administer undeserved punishment to those around her. She spoke briefly about a friend who was stopped and searched by police with no identified explanation.

> *Police enforce the law, but I've seen them stop people for no reason. We were just walking with a friend from school, and just stopped my friend for no reason. We were coming down the steps from the train by my school by the Brooklyn Museum.*

It appears notions of procedural justice can explain the ambivalence toward the police. Procedural justice perspectives argue that the legitimacy of police is linked to

public judgments about the fairness of the processes through which the police make decisions and exercise authority (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). Respondents made it apparent that they would like police presence to remain the community; however, it is the manner in which police enforce the law that concerns them. Police develop and maintain legitimacy through their effectiveness in fighting crime (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). It is evident to the respondents in this sample that increasing police presence after a severe incident takes place and targeting youth not engaged in illegal behavior is not an effective crime fighting strategy.

II. Perceived Legitimacy of the Law and Legal Institutions

A. Compliance with the Law

The prior section focused on how youth perceptions of the police were formed. Many opinions were formed based on personal interaction and observations of the police. This section discusses how the law and other legal institutions shape individual behavior. Respondents were asked if they respected the law. As a result many provided explanations as to why they obeyed the law. The literature suggests that there are three rationales for obeying the law: the fear of being punished, the belief that legal authorities are legitimate, and finding laws morally appropriate (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). There were respondents in the sample who reported that prior experience with legal institutions impacted their decisions to engage in future offending. Nick, an alternative high school student, at the BRC explained how he stopped his delinquent behavior because of his prior contact with law enforcement and the juvenile justice system.

> *I've been arrested a couple of times. I got caught with a bag of weed, and jumping the turnstile. They kept me for two to three days and then let me go and told me to*

do community service. I was also selling straight crack. I ain't touch crack in like a whole year. Right now just laying low. I'm not touching it. Once I started seeing cops a lot I stopped.

I've been locked up. I was going back and forth to Spofford and Crossroads. I don't want to go to the Island. My brother in there right now. That's grown men. That sh*t ain't no joke. You can't bring that Spofford stuff to the Island.

Nick reported spending time at two juvenile detention facilities located in New York City. Spofford is located in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx while Crossroads is located in Brownsville, Brooklyn. His response suggests that his period of incarceration is something he does not wish to experience again. He realizes that being older puts him at risk to being sent to the adult detention facility, Rikers Island, with more serious criminals if he chooses to reoffend. The police presence in his neighborhood served as a deterrent, because he did not wish to return to jail, especially an institution with older, more experienced offenders.

Rosalie, a 21-year-old high school intern, shared a similar experience. She reported that her brief period of being held in custody for shoplifting made her want to not reoffend. She shared:

When I was 18, I got locked up because me and my friend got caught stealing at Macys. My friend had the bag of stolen stuff. So once we left and we were both together, we both got locked up. They kept me for like nine hours. Never got locked up again after that. That was enough for me!

For individuals like Nick and Rosalie, having been in contact with these legal institutions are the key rationales for continuing to obey the law. For other respondents, the mere possibility of being arrested and incarcerated made it not worth committing a criminal offense. This sentiment was also prevalent among individuals who did not report any delinquent behavior. They expressed that there is a stigma and inconvenience

associated with having an arrest and conviction record. Bernard explained how a criminal record would hinder his future goals.

> *Like, I don't want a police record. Everybody got a record, record stop you from a lot of stuff, they don't want to hire you, they think you still that person. I don't want to be like that.*

Nia, a high school intern's, rationale for obeying the law illustrated two perspectives. First, she believes laws are morally appropriate and at the same time the thought of her autonomy being taken away was enough to deter her from breaking the law. Nia expressed her views on why it is unlikely she will commit a criminal act.

> *Uh yeah! If they have laws, they have them for a reason. If everybody did whatever they wanted, the world would be a bad place. Besides, jail is not for me. Nah-ah. Those are things I'm scared of in this world. That's taking away from my freedom.*

Bernard's response suggested that he is exposed to individuals with criminal records. As a result, he sees the negative outcomes and the difficulties associated with this status. He has become aware of the limited opportunities available once a person is in this situation. For both Bernard and Nia, the fear of being institutionalized is a key reason for not engaging in criminal behavior. Nia also believes the rule of the law is important in maintaining order in society.

Overall, young men and women felt they should obey the commands of authority, primarily because of the fear of being caught and sent to prison. Therefore the notion of deterrence appears to be what drives these men and women to obey the law (Tyler, 1998). In regards to law enforcement, many respondents experienced these controls through their own personal interactions with police or what they observed in the community. More respondents who reported face-to-face interaction with the police identified this experience as negative. Respondents who reported more favorable views of the police

had limited face-to-face interaction. While this chapter highlighted how public control is

experienced, the following chapter explains how public controls influenced these

individuals to conform.

CHAPTER 9:

YOUTH PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND CONFORMITY

This chapter addresses the final research question, how does parochial control influence youth behavior? The chapter begins with a discussion of the extent of involvement in delinquent behavior. To address this question of conformity, this chapter examines how attachment to social control agents encourages young men and women to conform. More specifically, how does parochial control influences behavior in comparison to the other forms? The final portion of this chapter summarizes how each respondent differed from one another, in regards to social control and delinquency.

I. Involvement in Delinquent Behavior

More than half of the sample (60%) did not report any involvement in criminal or deviant behavior within the last twelve months. Of the eight respondents that did report delinquent behavior, the acts ranged from minor status to serious offenses. Assaults were the most common offense reported among this group. Joe, an alternative high school student, spoke about the time he was arrested for assaulting another young male.

> *I was arrested for assault three months ago. They had looked up my record, my file or whatever. I'm a boxer, its illegal to use your hands outside on the street. The kid ended up in the hospital, but at the same time he tried to rob me. They kept me for like three days and they took me to see the judge and judge dismissed the case because they ain't have no evidence.*

Other reports of assault that resulted in either confinement or a restraining orders, took place inside the home or on a public street. Lesser offenses that resulted in either a fine or brief period of detention were truancy, public alcohol consumption, public urination, and fare evasion of the local transit system. Stacey, a high school intern, spoke about the times she was given tickets for minor offenses.

They like stopped me for liquor in my hand, riding my bike on the sidewalk. They gave me a ticket. And hopping the train, we went through the gate.

Lastly, self-reported offenses that did not result in any form of sanction were, carrying a pocketknife, and the distribution and consumption of illegal drugs, in this case marijuana. Taken as a whole, none of the respondents reported being detained for an extended period of time for any offense. Respondents reported being released after two weeks or were given probation for twelve months. The following sections explain how the different controls dissuade non-delinquent respondents from taking part in this type behavior.

II. Perceptions of Private Control over Delinquent Behavior

Three forms of private control were reported to encourage young men and women to conform; parents, family members and friends. The relationships with each control varied. Table 9.1 provides a summary of the number of youth influenced by each private control.

Table 9.1 Conform Due to Private Controls	
Private Controls	**Number of youth (N=20)**
Parents	7
Family Members	7
Friends	2

A. Parents

Seven respondents reported that their mother or father was a form of social control over them. The nature of parental influence differed among the respondents. For

some, social control was indirect: youth conformed because they did not want to

disappoint their parents. Because a supportive and nurturing relationship existed between

their parents, certain respondents feared that they would sever these bonds by doing

something bad. Michele shared how the relationship with her parents dissuaded her from

doing bad things. She shared:

> *Because my parents they've been so good to me. I feel like if I do something bad, I would disappoint them. I never get beaten, they don't scream at me, they sit down and talk to me. They are very understanding.*

Amy also shared that her parents were compassionate in times of crisis. As a

result, she did not want to jeopardize the relationship that existed between them. She

stated:

> *I think about my parents first before I do anything bad, especially my mom. I know I can go to my mom when I need her. Like I went to her when I was pregnant. She said whatever you decide to do I will support you.*

Unlike Michele and Amy's experience, for others, behavior was controlled

through fear of punishment from their parents. Sheldon explained why he conformed

after a period of school suspension as a younger child. His mother threatened to send

him to an institution for troubled children. He shared:

> *Growing up, I cut school in the 3rd grade. I had a lot of fights, suspension after suspension after suspension. But then my mom threatened to send me to boot camp in the 3rd grade. My mom is really strict. I won't even curse in the house now.*

Similar to Sheldon's experience, Sean feared punishment from his father. For

Sean, his reasons for conforming began at an early age. His father took a slightly

different approach, he did not specifically threaten to punish, however he insisted Sean

follow the rules.

Of course, I mean my father is very persuasive with words. He's just been putting an image in my head since I was 3. Don't smoke, don't drink, and don't do any drugs. That's the bottom line. Its been pushed into my head so I don't think about doing anything bad. That's why I never cut classes. I never did anything crazy. I know my dad will get me.

Attachment to caring adults has an important role in inhibiting delinquency, because youth do not want to risk the relationship with others by engaging in delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 1969; Jenkins, 1995). This was clearly the case with both Amy and Michele. Sean and Sheldon were aware of the possible repercussions if they chose not to follow the rules.

B. Other Family Members

The relationships respondents had with other family members varied as well. Seven respondents reported that relationships with their relatives encouraged them to conform. Rosalie, a 21-year old high school intern, who was the mother of an infant child, dropped out of school around the age of 17. Unlike the other respondents in the sample, Rosalie lived with her child and her child's father. Therefore she did not experience any parental controls. Rosalie wanted to provide a more promising future for her child; therefore she decided to return to school. She shared:

I had dropped out of high school, and once I got pregnant I decided to come back. I was going to school everyday and was passing my classes and now I just have the intern left…so maybe I can make it.

Nick, a 17 year-old alternative high school student, also felt that the relationship with younger family members prevented him from doing bad things. Setting an example for his niece was more important than getting involved in bad or delinquent behavior. He explained:

I think of my niece before I think of my mom. It's like this, every time I think of

doing some thing bad, I think of her as my daughter. Even with my nephew, I think of him as my son. At the end of the day, I know she gone need an uncle in the street. Like show her how a female suppose to be, and show her to how to carry her self. Like go to school, do this, get a job. Don't be on the streets and don't be a regular hood chick.

Nick had previous involvement in the juvenile justice system and did not want to return. He wanted to be in his niece's life. Similar to Nick, Bernard's relationship with another family member was more of an influence over his behavior than his parent. Bernard, a high school intern, resided with his mother, however he stated his aunt had more of an influence over him. He shared:

My mom don't really know all my business. I don't speak to her much. I don't do anything bad because basically I want to make my aunt proud. She did a lot of things for me, took me shopping, always giving me advice.

James, an alternative high school student, lived with his aunt and uncle because his parents were deceased. As a result, it was the relationship with his aunt and uncle that influenced him to conform. He shared how his aunt was always available to talk to when he was frustrated. In one instance, she talked him out of getting into a physical altercation. He explained:

She's like my mom. I call her mom. If I was angry about something, sometimes like my friends be dying and stuff. Sometimes I feel like going crazy and hurt someone but I can't let that get to me. But then I talk to her she'll calm me down. She'll tell me to go read a book or go lay down and I'll do it.

Unlike the other respondents who were threatened with punishments, James reported experiencing physical punishment in the past. James did not wish to be subjected to that treatment, so he made an effort to stay out of trouble. He shared:

Back in the days when I was 12 or 13 I use to do dumb stuff with my friends. I use to go rob stores, but then I stopped because I got caught and I got my behind whipped too. They put me inside where the store was at and waited for my uncle and when I got home I got my behind whipped.

For these respondents, family members appeared to play a major role in influencing conformity. This was important when relationships with parents do not exist. These responses also suggest how important relationships with younger family members are. Setting an example plays a role in conforming.

C. Friends

Lastly, two individuals reported that peers influenced them to conform. Maintaining the motivation to show up for school and class was a challenge for some. However it appeared that supportive peers made this easier to deal with. For example, Amy a summer youth worker, discussed why cutting class ceased because of the relationship she had with one of her peers. She explained:

> *Like school, I use to not go to class. One of my best friends helped me graduate. She stayed on top of me to go to class. I only had 3 classes. She just kept taking me to class; she took my book bag to class. She told the teacher that I was there. She dragged me to class.*

Cindy, a summer youth worker, also explained that going to school was a challenge for her. There were a number of instances where she lacked the enthusiasm to attend. However, the encouragement she received from her friends helped her make the right decisions. She shared:

> *Like if I call my friend and say I'm not coming to school, they keep telling me that I have to come. It happens very often. But they will convince me to show up. And I do the same thing for them to.*

Lastly, Cindy reported that the positive influence from her friends kept her from getting into physical altercations with others. Cindy would seek advice from her peers about taking action against someone who was a threat to her. She shared:

> *Someone at school was bothering me. I wanted to get into a fight with them. But my friends told me it wasn't the way to go. So I left it alone.*

Responses from Amy and Cindy demonstrate the importance of having conventional peers as friends. Both these young women would have been at risk of not completing a successful academic year because of school attendance. Lastly, getting involved in physical fights at school can also jeopardize school success. However, conventional peers who advise against confrontation help individuals conform.

III. Perceptions of Parochial Control and Conformity

This section presents how agents of parochial control influenced the behavior of young men and women at the BRC. Out of all three social controls, more respondents reported that parochial control encouraged them to conform. Out of the entire sample, 13 respondents reported that the relationships with individuals at the BRC influenced them to conform. Thirteen respondents also reported that relationships with school personnel including teachers, coaches, counselors and principals dissuaded them from doing bad things. Table 9.2 summarizes these findings.

Table 9.2 Conform Due to Parochial Controls	
Parochial Control	**Number of youth (N=20)**
Brownsville Recreation Center	13
School	13

A. Brownsville Recreation Center

For some individuals, the decision to conform was based on what was valued. For example, the previous chapter provided an overview of academic improvement

among those enrolled in the alternative high school program. Part of this development

was attributed to rule abiding behavior and respect for their teachers. Nick explained

why it was important for him to conform at the BRC.

> *I don't want to disappoint Mr. G. I woke up and realized he gonna be the last teacher in my high school. I feel like I belong here. I should have been here from the start. Since I came here the teachers don't baby you. You HAVE to be a man. You can't sit there and do nothing. Get up and clean and do something.*

Nick's statement suggests that he conformed because he was finally attending a

school in which he felt he belonged. Nick was previously in an environment where there

was little encouragement to get students to follow the rules. At the BRC, disobeying the

rules will not only disappoint his teacher, but also jeopardize his chances of obtaining his

janitorial certificate. Earning this certificate was part of his requirements for graduation.

Therefore he wanted to be sure he carried out all duties, because his goal was to complete

high school. In addition to treating individuals like responsible students, the teacher at

the BRC kept them from getting into altercations by helping them control their anger.

Both Alby and James shared stories about the temptation to get into fights with fellow

classmates.

Alby stated:

> *Like I got into an argument with one of the guys and he told me I should leave it alone and Mr. G tells me not to pay attention and leave it alone. He tells me don't pay attention to negativity.*

James explained:

> *My boy right there, Mr. G., without him, and Ms. F and Mr. Edmond, I wouldn't be like this. I'd be locked up I swear to God. They always tell me to control my anger and can't be late for work. I'm not gone front, I use to fight before I came here. If people pick on me, and I don't like when I'm talking calm to someone and they start yelling at me.*

Nick, Alby and James each came from environments with little order; this made it difficult to learn strategies to avoid altercations. To create a sense of belonging at the BRC, each of these young men had to conform to the rules and the norms. Rule-abiding behaviors were the norms that maintained a harmonious environment. The relationships they developed with their teachers made this possible.

When youth enter the BRC the staff members inform them about the expected behavior. These expectations are also posted on the walls in several rooms. Rules included, wearing proper attire, respecting others, prohibiting the use of inappropriate language, and food restrictions. Sean discussed the rules and expected behavior at the BRC.

Sean shared how the norms of the BRC create a sense of order at the facility. He explained:

> *There are like school rules here, like no eating in the gym, like no hats. Don't do anything stupid, don't get in any trouble, just relax, and hang out. Don't be wilding out. When you come here, it's a no nonsense area. You can't come here and go crazy. If something is about to go down, one of the staff members will tell you "Quit, not here, take that around the corner." And then everybody respects that and they go around the corner and do what they have to do.*

Sean's comments suggest that the staff members are responsible for maintaining order at the center. If participants are seen violating the rules they are asked to leave or they may have their membership suspended.

For many individuals, the BRC was their place of employment. Following certain rules was part of their job descriptions. Amy, a summer youth worker, talked about how the BRC rules applied to her job performance. She shared:

> *The rules at the BRC are pretty much the same as the ones at home. Like arguing here, I'm not allowed to argue with the kids, I can't curse around the kids and my mother don't allow me to curse in the house.*

For the high school interns, completing the internship was required for graduation. Many of these interns shared the same level of respect for their supervisor. As a result they would make the effort to conform while working.

Nia shared:

Mr. J is very very strict with working with his stuff. You can't be playing all the time and laughing and stuff. He is how a boss is supposed to be. He's not too serious. That's what I like about him.

Jean said:

Mr. J has been a role model, he is always keeping us motivated. Like for me personally, if I'm not doing something correctly, he would tell me how to fix it. Sometimes when there isn't much to do, I stand around….but when he tells us to do something we have to do it.

Similar to the alternative high school students, having a caring adult to keep them motivated was important to the high school interns. It was important they perform their jobs correctly and remain active in their internship. Stacey explained why she began to conform after a period of being inattentive at her internship.

Well Mr. J, he talk to us. Like up here we use to just take advantage of it. We use to be here just chilling. When there is stuff to do, he talk to us. And Mr. Simpson told us that some of y'all kids are taking advantage of this internship. We are here to help y'all but y'all can't even do this simple job. So I learned a lot, he talked to us. He made me wake up. When we use to get caught…I had no excuse.

Because the interns valued the support given by their supervisor, it became easier for them to follow the rules. Students saw the internship as a valuable opportunity and feared an early termination. The internship also provided financial assistance for these young men and women, thus they had another incentive to conform. Lastly, Jared shared the importance of remaining occupied while interning at the BRC.

The rules here are basically, you can't be doing nothing. Basically you have to be active, everybody is doing something in the building, you would have to do something too. We don't get paid to sit around.

The young men and women in this study appeared to have formed a social bond with the teachers and staff members of the BRC. These bonds made it easier for respondents to conform. Not conforming jeopardized their chances of carrying out job duties correctly, and completing the internship and high school successfully. The young men and women valued these accomplishments.

B. School Personnel

Relationships with school personnel were also important when it came to dissuading respondents from doing wrong things. For instance, relationships with coaches were not only based on athletics. Amy, a summer youth worker, explained how the relationship with her coach helped maintain her grades. She shared:

> *I was close with my basketball coach. My grades was good during the season and when the season was over my grades went down because I didn't have anyone to stay on top of me to get my work done.*

Maintaining satisfactory grades were also a requirement for remaining on the basketball team. For Amy, performing well academically could not be achieved on her own. She was in need of her basketball coach to monitor her study routine. Without the supervision of her coach she would not stay on top of her schoolwork consistently.

Sheldon, a summer youth worker, also explained how his basketball coach took on the role of a father figure to him. Having another adult introduce him to activities was key, because it kept him occupied. Conforming was important to Sheldon because he did not want his behavior to embarrass his coach. He shared:

> *I ain't have no father. My basketball coach in junior high school considered me his son. He took me under his wing. He got me into basketball. He showed me the right things to do because I was a bad kid in school. He always pulled me aside to tell me what was right. We still speak all the time. Being on the basketball team and getting in trouble it reflects on the coach.*

Lastly, Ian was grateful to his basketball coach for giving him the opportunity to be a part of the team. He spoke of how involvement in sports at school kept him occupied. This way, he would not be given the opportunity to engage in delinquent behavior.

> *I would say yeah basketball, keeps me out of trouble. You would spend more time in a certain area. If you stay playing for three hours and are frustrated you would take out your frustrations on basketball, and be away for like three to four hours because if not, you are out of the projects. I always play some kind of sport to blow off steam.*

Respondents also shared stories of how the relationships with teachers kept them from doing wrong. Cindy experienced personal conflicts at school with other students. As a result her solution to the problem was to initiate a physical confrontation with the individuals. She was however able to discuss her feelings with her teacher before she made this decision. Cindy shared:

> *She'll ask what's wrong and I'll tell her. She'll tell me that people like to act selfish and do wrong thing. Before you know you are about to get into a fight, she would talk me out of it.*

Rosalie, a high school intern, explained that the relationship she developed with her principal prevented her from cutting school. Rosalie had taken time off from school and returned recently. As a result it was difficult for her to readjust to school. However the support from her principal made the transition more manageable. She stated:

> *The principal wants me to come to school everyday. When I come to school she speaks to me all the time. She tells me that I'm always there and that I can do it. So I don't want to disappoint her. So I try my best to come to school.*

Nia, a high school intern, explained why she decided to stop cutting school. She reported taking a year off from her previous high school. She is now in an environment where the administration holds individuals accountable for a student's absence. School

counselors and teachers monitor her attendance so she is reluctant to cut school because they will be in touch with her parents.

> *At Jefferson they want to know you, they want you to be here on time. They aren't just going to make sure you are there on time. If you are not there, they will call your house. They would want to speak to your parents. If you are sick they want to speak to your parents.*

Gregory, a high school intern, shared how his school enforces attendance. He also reported cutting class prior to enrolling in the night school program at Jefferson. Gregory and several other interns reported there was little enforcement by school officials to prevent students from loitering the halls during the day. As a result, peers who did not attend class surrounded him. However, enrollment in night school made it difficult to cut class, because the teachers and counselors in night school urge students to attend. He explained:

> *At times when I was at day school, I use to miss class. That was another problem for me in day school, I was around a lot of people who influenced me not to go to class. They only influenced me to cut school. Now in night school I'm around friends who go to class.*

School personnel were responsible for influencing respondents' behavior in a variety of ways. The need for a close caring adult to monitor an individual's behavior appeared to be a recurring theme. Having an authority figure oversee their behavior, schoolwork completion and school attendance was essential for student conformity.

IV. Perceptions of Public Control and Conformity

This section examines respondents' belief in whether they should obey the law. Table 9.3 provides a summary of these perceptions. A total of seven respondents reported that they would feel guilty if they broke the law and did not get caught. They would obey the law because it is the right thing to do; therefore conformity was based on

belief. For others conformity was based on the fear of punishment by legal authorities.

A total of three respondents reported that they conformed because they had prior contact

with the criminal justice system or feared contact with this institution.

Table 9.3 Conform Due to Public Controls	
Public Control	**Number of youth**
Obey Law	7
Fear Law Enforcement	3

It is worth mentioning that certain individuals would obey the law because of

their family upbringing. The values taught by their parents and family influenced them to

obey the law. These responses suggest that these young men and women conform

because of multiple controls interacting together. Cindy shared:

> *I wouldn't steal something if I wouldn't get caught because my mother raised me better than that. I shouldn't have been doing it in the first place.*

Sean shared:
> *[Sigh], I ain't gonna front, I'd feel guilty later that night. Not right then and there. I'd be like "damn I'm wil'ing, I just stole something." You know I was raised different from that, I'm not following the code and values and examples that everybody set.*

Amy, a summer youth worker, shared that is was her belief in the law that made

her conform, not necessarily her upbringing. She explained:

> *Yes I would feel guilty, if I didn't get caught, because I know I shouldn't have done it.*
> *I have respect for the law because it keeps things together.*

Obeying the law out of fear was another theme that emerged. Nick, an alternative high school student, reported prior involvement in the juvenile justice system. Therefore he obeyed the law because of police presence in the community and the fear of confinement. He stated:

> *Years ago, I was selling straight crack. Once I started seeing cops a lot I stopped. I didn't want to get locked up again.*

Lastly, Rosalie, an intern at the BRC, conformed because of a brief period of detention after a shoplifting incident several years ago. She shared:

> *I got locked up because my friend and me got caught stealing at Macys. My friend had the bag of stolen stuff. So once we left and we were both together, we both got locked up. They kept me for like 9 hours. That was enough for me!*

Figure 9.1 summarizes how social controls compared in regards to influencing individuals to conform. Again, more respondents reported parochial control played a role in their decision to conform. Involvement at the BRC as well as relationships with school personnel appeared to be very influential for young men and women. For many, conformity took place at the BRC. For the alternative high school students, conforming was essential to educational improvement and increasing one's chances of legitimate employment opportunities. For interns and summer youth workers, conforming was essential to sustaining employment and professional development. While at school, relationships with school personnel prevented them from being at risk of school suspension and failing to meet all requirements for graduation. These conclusions suggest that conformity takes place when individuals have a chance at succeeding.

Figure 9.1 Perceptions of Social Control and Conformity
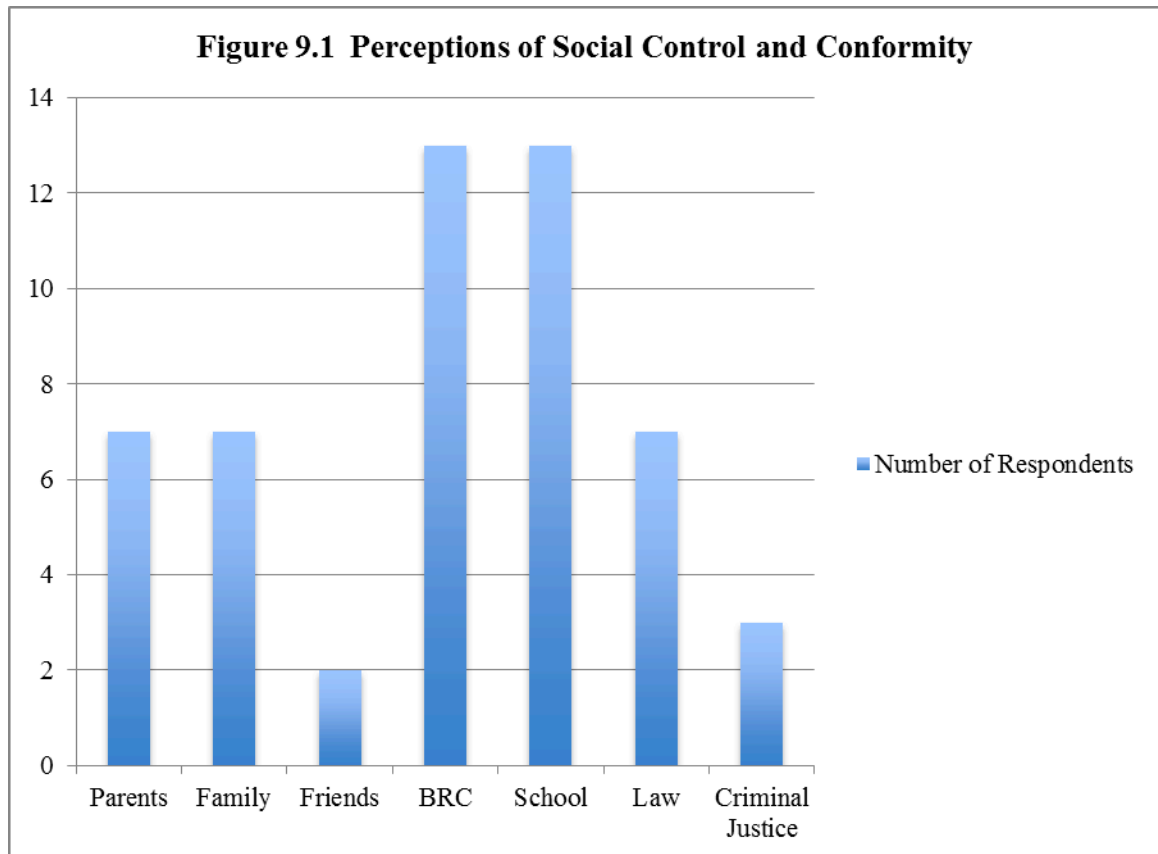
V. Synthesis of Social Bonds with Social Controls

The previous section discussed how social control influences the behavior of individuals. This section looks at respondents as a whole, and summarizes their relationships with each social control. This summary provides an illustration of how each of these relationships differed and they are displayed in Table 9.4. As discussed in the research methods chapter, to assess the social bond that existed between parents and family members, the researcher examined the responses to the following question; how would you describe the relationship with your parent or guardian? To assess the relationship between respondent and peers, the researcher examined responses to the

question; do you have any close friends? Followed by, how would you describe your relationship?

Similar to the coding for private control, to assess this social bond with parochial controls, responses to the following questions; are there any staff members, teachers or other school personnel that impacted your life? Lastly, to code the perceptions of public control, the questions that elicited responses to belief in the police and law were, "Do you have respect for the police?" and "Would you feel guilty if you broke the law and no one found out?"

The asterisk in table 9.4 indicated that no relationship existed with the individual and the social control. For example an asterisk in the place of parental control indicates the parent is not in the child's life. The "+" symbol indicated that the respondent had an attachment or belief in a conventional social control. The "-" symbol indicated that a weak relationship existed with conventional social controls.

Patterns of Social Bonds and Youth Behavior

This section examines patterns of social bonding and youth behavior. Social control bonding patterns of youth who reported delinquent behavior is explained first. A total of eight respondents reported committing delinquent behavior within the last twelve months. Out of these eight respondents, two individuals exhibited weak bonds with two social controls. Four respondents exhibited a weak bond with only one social control. The last two individuals

Table 9.4
Bonds to Social Controls

	Private Controls			Parochial Controls			Public Controls		Delinquent behavior Reported
	Parents	Family	Peers	BRC	Voluntary	School	Police	Law	
Nick	-	+	+	+	*	+	-	+	Sale of illegal drugs Restraining order, Alcohol consumption
James	*	+	+	+	*	+	-	+	Assault, cut school
Joe	*	+	+	+	*	+	-	+	Assault
Alby	+	+	+	+	*	+	-	+	Assault, marijuana
Bernard	-	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	Restraining Order, MTA tickets
Gregory	+	+	-	+	*	+	-	+	Cut school
Stacey	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	Alcohol, carries pocket knife
Trevor	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	Alcohol consumption
Jean	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Cindy	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	No reported
Sean	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Ian	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Maxwell	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Sheldon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	No reported
Deena	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Jared	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Rosalie	*	+	*	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Amy	+	*	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Nia	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported
Michele	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	No reported

*Indicated the respondent had no existing relationship with any of these controls.

exhibited strong bonds with all social controls, even though they reported minor status and delinquent offenses.

All youth exhibiting a weak bond with police reported delinquent behavior. Chapter 8 discussed experiences with police that may have led to these relationships[1]. Two respondents exhibited weak relationships with their mothers and this was discussed earlier on in the chapter. For Nick, an alternative high school student and Bernard, an intern, social bonds with other family members replaced weak relationships with their mothers. Lastly, Gregory, an intern, reported association with deviant peers in his previous school program. Taken as a whole, six out of the eight individuals exhibited a weak relationship with a conventional social control.

There were twelve youth who did not report any delinquent behavior in the last twelve months. These individuals did not exhibit weak bonds with any social controls. All relationships with social controls were positive.

All youth respondents in this investigation exhibited a positive social bond with the BRC and school. Respondents reported positive relationships with these controls due to the relationships developed with teachers, staff, and school personnel discussed in the previous sections. For individuals who did not have a relationship with their parents, positive social bonds existed with other family members including, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and older siblings. The young men and women in this study experience far more positive relationships with social controls than negative ones. There were few reports of serious offenses among this group and it this may be attributed to the existence of positive bonds with multiple social controls.

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[1] Negative interactions with police, possibly during an arrest, commonly lead to weak attachments with the police.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

I. Parochial Control and Brownsville

Hunter (1985) identified parochial control as the interpersonal networks that serve the community, including local schools, churches, and voluntary institutions. This research extends parochial control research by investigating how it operates in a disadvantaged community. The community of Brownsville is faced with poverty, single parent headed households, and a high concentration of public housing developments. Literature on neighborhood disadvantage suggests that such communities have difficulties sustaining parochial institutions that serve the community (Elliot, et al, 2006). However the findings from this study suggest that even small efforts, such as the BRC, can enhance social control and influence youth behavior in a positive way.

The young men and women in the sample appeared to spend a considerable amount of time at the BRC. Involvement in religious and other voluntary institutions was limited. Therefore, schools and BRC involvement appeared to be the most prevalent form of parochial control among the sample. To serve the community more effectively, the BRC sought assistance from other agencies. The BRC staff members worked with other parochial institutions and political organizations to recruit young men and women who are at risk for anti-social behavior. These individuals came from neighborhoods throughout Brooklyn. These young men and women were faced with many struggles. These struggles included educational deficiencies, residing in single parent headed households, living in public housing and lacking social capital.

Attachments to the BRC and school staff made it possible for many of these

respondents to overcome the difficulties they experienced. Despite being faced with such difficulties, the majority of respondents did not report delinquent involvement.

Parochial control was experienced through various activities at the BRC. These activities served many purposes. While youth perceptions of Brownsville varied, and many viewed the area and the residents as undesirable, activities at the BRC gave young men and women the opportunity to be a part of the Brownsville community. BRC interns were able to work with the community at BRC events, including roller skating, and serving food to the community. Alternative high school students began to experience a safe and structured environment. Smaller class sizes, limited school violence and conflict that made learning more conducive. Through relationships developed with teachers and staff members at the BRC, respondents also received educational assistance, work experience, social capital and self-esteem building.

Students who attended schools in other communities expressed the importance of having a close relationship with an adult who monitored their school progress. Monitoring was essential to successful completion of high school. Students were given an opportunity to mend past negative school experiences, including school failure, apathetic teachers, and cutting class and school. School personnel shared the common goal of student retention. Student success appeared to be attributed to the combined efforts of teachers, parents, counselors, and principals.

BRC involvement while attending school helped respondents redeem themselves from these negative experiences. It provided them with another incentive to complete high school. They were exposed to additional caring adult role models; they obtained work experience and earned income.

It was determined that parochial control played a considerable role in youth conformity. Out of all three social controls, more respondents reported that parochial control encouraged them to conform. Out of the entire sample 13 respondents reported that the relationships with individuals at the BRC influenced them to conform. Thirteen respondents also reported that relationships with school personnel including teachers, coaches, counselors and principals dissuaded them from doing the wrong thing. Conforming was essential to educational improvement and increasing one's chances of legitimate employment opportunities and meeting requirements for graduation. Conformity took place when individuals had a chance at succeeding.

In regards to other controls, less than half of the respondents reported that private controls influenced them to conform. They indicated positive relationships with most of these individuals, however it did not always shape their behavior. Youth reported that parental figures were not always able to provide discipline, support and understanding for them. However, relationships with adults at parochial institutions made up for this. Fewer respondents reported that public controls, police and the law played a role in conformity. Those who did conform because of these controls, it was due to fear of punishment by law enforcement. Respondents, who reported face-to-face interaction with the police, identified it as a negative experience. All youth who indicated a weak bond to police reported some form of delinquent behavior.   Overall, the young men and women in this study experienced far more positive relationships with social controls than negative ones. There were few reports of serious offenses among this group and it this may be attributed to the existence of positive bonds with multiple social controls. Although this study concluded that youth were attached to multiple social controls, it was

not possible to determine which control was more important in encouraging youth to conform. As discussed in the narratives, positive attachments to one control may have been related to positive attachments to others. For example, youth developed attachments to parochial controls because of the bonds sustained with private controls.

II. Limitations

Although this study provided an indication of how the BRC operated, youth experiences may not be generalizable to all young men and women of the BRC due to the small sample size. While the BRC is located in Brownsville, the majority of the respondents selected did not reside in the community. Staff members recruited individuals from areas outside of Brownsville for program involvement. Therefore their experiences may not relate to the young men and women of Brownsville. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, Brownsville is home to several parochial institutions, however this study examined the operation of one institution in particular. Therefore this analysis is unable to compare how the BRC operates in comparison to other institutions.

Respondents were asked about their involvement in different forms of parochial institutions. However, involvement in other community parochial institutions was limited among this sample. For example, there was very little religious activity reported, despite the number of religious institutions available in respondent communities.

Young men and women were asked to discuss their involvement in delinquent and status offenses. The truthfulness of responses may be questionable. They may have been reluctant to disclose such information for fear of punishment or judgment from the researcher.

Lastly, most of the individuals selected were involved in formal activities at the BRC. Although the sampling was random in nature, respondents selected spent a considerable amount of time at the BRC for work and education. These findings did not allow for a comparison of individuals who spent their time at the BRC for more leisure activities. Respondents in this study were highly motivated, therefore involved in pro-social activities believed to minimize delinquent and deviant behavior. Although this study experienced limitations, it provides an indication of what measures to take for future research.

III. Future Research

This investigation was exploratory in nature. It laid the groundwork for future research on how parochial control operates. The respondents that took part in this investigation provided an indication of how one parochial institution in Brownsville operates. They did not report much involvement in voluntary institutions outside the BRC. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Brownsville is home to more than 100 neighborhood and religious organizations. To gain further understanding of how parochial control operates in this disadvantaged community, a replication of this study at another organization or in the general community would be beneficial.

A key objective of future research would be to compare the BRC to other community organizations in Brownsville. The BRC recruited youth from neighboring communities. Therefore further researcher will determine if these organizations serve primarily the Brownsville community, or do they attract youth from nearby communities. The BRC served the community thru various activities for children as well as adults by

collaborating with other institutions.   Learning about what agencies work with other parochial institutions in Brownsville will also be informative.

One other objective of this investigation was to determine how parochial control compared to other controls (i.e. private and public).   It will be useful to interview additional Brownsville youth to find out how they perceive all three controls. Through additional studies it can be determined if similar patterns of social control and conformity exist. In other words, would other youth who are involved in other community programs in Brownsville report that parochial control influenced them to conform more than the other controls? Also, in this current study, youth who had face-to-face interaction with the police reported it to be a negative experience. Interviewing other youth in Brownsville will determine if there is any consistencies with policing contact in Brownsville.

The majority of the individuals at the BRC were young males; making up approximately 80% of its membership. As a result, for this investigation, male participants made up 65% of the sample. Future research should attempt to include organizations that have a higher percentage of young women participants. This would make it possible to perform a gender comparison of social control experiences. For example, the alternative high school students were divided by gender and placed in various sites to obtain an education and work experience. Future analysis may include an analysis of young alternative high school women placed at other parochial institutions.

The location of the BRC was also essential to this investigation. Brownsville is a single disadvantaged community. Replicating this investigation in another disadvantaged community may also add to the research on parochial control. A community with

comparable structural characteristics may explore questions such as; do parochial organizations in other disadvantaged communities operate in a similar manner? Further research can determine if youth in these communities are faced with the similar concerns; specifically issues with educational achievement, single parent households, and negative experiences with police.

Lastly, although the focus of this investigation was on disadvantaged communities, a comparison of a neighborhood organization in a wealthier community may also benefit the research on parochial control.   It can be determined if parochial control has the same influence on youth behavior in more well off areas. Again, would more youth report that parochial controls influenced them to conform?

Youth in Brownsville benefited from parochial institutions by being exposed to a caring adult, civic engagement, employment opportunities, and educational assistance. Future research can find out if individuals from higher socioeconomic backgrounds experience similar advantages.   Lastly, this study could also provide an indication of police contact with youth in a higher income community.

Each individual in this investigation was involved in a single parochial institution; the Brownsville Recreation Center. The one aspect this investigation did not include was a comparison group with youth who were not involved in parochial institutions, particularly voluntary organizations such as the BRC. A sample of Brownsville youth, who are not involved in neighborhood organizations, would help determine if youth who do not take part in neighborhood organizations differ from those who do. A key inquiry would be to learn what influences these young men and women to conform if they are not involved in voluntary parochial institutions.

In conclusion, these findings provide support for the continued analysis of how parochial controls operate in disadvantaged communities. The study findings highlight that parochial control has a considerable influence on youth conformity in a disadvantaged community.   Young men and women are willing to conform and are dissuaded from delinquent behavior when they have opportunities to succeed and are exposed to a caring adult serving a role model.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

A. Background Information

1. Gender
2.What is your ethnic or racial identity?
3. How old are you?
4. Do you attend a private, public, alternative or charter school?
5. What grade are you in?
6. What are your plans for the future? Can you tell me more about that?
7. Do you live in Brownsville? If so, for how long? If not where do you live?
8. Do you live in any housing developments, for example Tilden Houses, Marcus Garvey
   Houses, Brownsville Houses or Pink Houses?
9. How long have you been coming to the BRC?
10. How often do you come to the BRC?
11. How did you first learn about the BRC?
12. What brought you to the BRC for the first time?
13. How do you get to the BRC?

B. Parental Involvement

1. Who do you live with?
2. What do they do for a living?
3. Does the relationship you have with your parent or guardian prevent you from doing
bad or illegal things? If yes, how so? Can you tell me a story about this?
4. Do your parents know that you come to the BRC?
5. How do your parent(s) feel about your involvement in the BRC?

C. Peer Involvement

1. Do you have close or best friend(s)? If so, how would you describe your relationship?
2. Do any of your friends attend the BRC? If so, how many?
3. How do your friends who attend the BRC differ from your friends that don't? Can you
give me an example?
4. Why do you think some youth attend the BRC and some youth do not?
5. Do you influence your friends to do anything positive, for example, join a club, get
good grades or stay in school? If so, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when
this happened?
6. Do your friends or peers influence you to do anything positive, for example stay in
school or apply for a job? If so, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when this
happened?
7. Do your friends or peers ever influence you to do anything bad or illegal? If so, can
you tell me a story of a specific instance when this happened?
8. Are there any bad or illegal things that you have done? Can you tell me more about
that?

9. Have you ever been arrested for anything illegal? Can you tell me more? What was the outcome?

D. Brownsville Recreation Center Involvement

1. What activities do you take part in at the BRC?
2. Do you think your life would be different if you were not involved at the BRC? If yes, how so? Can you give me a specific example?

3. Do the rules at the BRC differ from the rules in your home? If not, how are they the same? If so, can you give me an example?

4. Is there anyone at the BRC that has affected your life? If yes, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when your life was affected?

5. What would this individual do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
6. Does the relationship you have with this individual prevent you from doing anything bad or illegal? If yes, how so? Can you tell me a story about this?

7. How does the area surrounding the BRC compare to the area where you live? Can you give me some examples?

8. How does the area surrounding the BRC compare to the area where you go to school? Can you give me some examples?

9. Do you think the BRC is helping the neighborhood? If so, how? Can you give me an example?

E. Religious and Neighborhood Institution Involvement

1. Are you religious?
2. Do you attend religious services regularly? If so, how often?
3. Does your church have afterschool activities or programs?
4. Are you involved in any of these activities? If so, what activities are you involved in? For how long?
5. Is there anyone in your church that has affected your life? If yes, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when your life was affected?
6. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
7. Are you involved to any other organizations in the community? If so which ones?
8. How long have you been with that organization? How often do you go?
9. Is there anyone at this organization that has affected your life? If yes, how so? Can you tell me a story about this?

10. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?

F. School Involvement

1. Do you attend school regularly?
2. Have you ever taken time off from school at any point?

3. What classes do you enjoy the most? Are you doing well in these classes? What grades are you getting in these classes?
4. Have you ever cut class or skipped school? How many times did this occur?
5. Are there any clubs or afterschool activities available at your school?
6. Are you involved in any of these activities? If so which ones? For how long?
7. Are there any teachers, coaches or principals in your school that you feel are a role model to you? If so, how? Can you tell me more about that?
8. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
9. Does the relationship you have with this individual prevent you from doing anything bad or illegal? If yes, how so? Can you give me an example?

G. Police, the Law, and Safety

1. What do you think would help crime go down in the community? Why do you think this would be effective?

2. Have you had any form of contact with the police? If so, can you tell me a story about when this happened?

3. How do you feel about the police in your neighborhood?

4. Do you think the police treat the people of Brownsville fairly? Can you give me an example?
5. Would you feel guilty for breaking the law if you would not get caught? Why or why not?
6. Do you have respect for the law? Why or why not?
7. Do you have respect for the police? Why or why not? Can you tell me more about that?
Possible Probe: Can you tell me a story of a specific instance when you had no respect for the police?

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10. How often do you come to the BRC?
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12. What brought you to the BRC for the first time?
13. How do you get to the BRC?

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C. Peer Involvement

1. Do you have close or best friend(s)? If so, how would you describe your relationship?
2. Do any of your friends attend the BRC? If so, how many?
3. How do your friends who attend the BRC differ from your friends that don't? Can you give me an example?
4. Why do you think some youth attend the BRC and some youth do not?
5. Do you influence your friends to do anything positive, for example, join a club, get good grades or stay in school? If so, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when this happened?
6. Do your friends or peers influence you to do anything positive, for example stay in school or apply for a job? If so, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when this happened?
7. Do your friends or peers ever influence you to do anything bad or illegal? If so, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when this happened?
8. Are there any bad or illegal things that you have done? Can you tell me more about that?

9. Have you ever been arrested for anything illegal? Can you tell me more? What was the outcome?

D. Brownsville Recreation Center Involvement

1. What activities do you take part in at the BRC?
2. Do you think your life would be different if you were not involved at the BRC? If yes, how so? Can you give me a specific example?

3. Do the rules at the BRC differ from the rules in your home? If not, how are they the same? If so, can you give me an example?

4. Is there anyone at the BRC that has affected your life? If yes, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when your life was affected?

5. What would this individual do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
6. Does the relationship you have with this individual prevent you from doing anything bad or illegal? If yes, how so? Can you tell me a story about this?

7. How does the area surrounding the BRC compare to the area where you live? Can you give me some examples?

8. How does the area surrounding the BRC compare to the area where you go to school? Can you give me some examples?

9. Do you think the BRC is helping the neighborhood? If so, how? Can you give me an example?

E. Religious and Neighborhood Institution Involvement

1. Are you religious?
2. Do you attend religious services regularly? If so, how often?
3. Does your church have afterschool activities or programs?
4. Are you involved in any of these activities? If so, what activities are you involved in? For how long?
5. Is there anyone in your church that has affected your life? If yes, can you tell me a story of a specific instance when your life was affected?
6. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
7. Are you involved to any other organizations in the community? If so which ones?
8. How long have you been with that organization? How often do you go?
9. Is there anyone at this organization that has affected your life? If yes, how so? Can you tell me a story about this?

10. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?

F. School Involvement

1. Do you attend school regularly?
2. Have you ever taken time off from school at any point?

3. What classes do you enjoy the most? Are you doing well in these classes? What grades are you getting in these classes?
4. Have you ever cut class or skipped school? How many times did this occur?
5. Are there any clubs or afterschool activities available at your school?
6. Are you involved in any of these activities? If so which ones? For how long?
7. Are there any teachers, coaches or principals in your school that you feel are a role model to you? If so, how? Can you tell me more about that?
8. What would this person do if you did something bad or illegal, for example cut class or stole something?
9. Does the relationship you have with this individual prevent you from doing anything bad or illegal? If yes, how so? Can you give me an example?

G. Police, the Law, and Safety

1. What do you think would help crime go down in the community? Why do you think this would be effective?

2. Have you had any form of contact with the police? If so, can you tell me a story about when this happened?

3. How do you feel about the police in your neighborhood?

4. Do you think the police treat the people of Brownsville fairly? Can you give me an example?
5. Would you feel guilty for breaking the law if you would not get caught? Why or why not?
6. Do you have respect for the law? Why or why not?
7. Do you have respect for the police? Why or why not? Can you tell me more about that?
Possible Probe: Can you tell me a story of a specific instance when you had no respect for the police?

F. Personal Behavior Questions from Internalization of Legal Values Inventory (ILVI)
 In the last twelve months have you?

1. Purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you?
2. Stolen a motor vehicle such as a car?
3. Stolen or tried to steal something worth more than $50?
4. Knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods?
5. Thrown objects at cars or people?
6. Ran away from home?
7. Lied about your age to gain entrance or to purchase something; for example to buy beer or liquor?
8. Carried a hidden weapon other than a small pocket knife?
9. Stolen or tried to steal something worth $5 or less?
10. Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her?
11. Been paid for having sexual relations with someone?
12. Been involved in a gang fight?
13. Sold marijuana or hashish?
14. Cheated on a school test?
15. Been loud, rowdy or unruly in a public place?
16. Sold other drugs like heroin, cocaine, crack, or LSD?
17. Take a vehicle for a ride without the owner's permission?
18. Physically hurt or threatened to hurt someone to get them to have sex with you?
19. Bought or provided liquor for a minor?
20. Used force to get money or things from other people?
21. Avoided paying for things such as movies, bus rides, or food?
22. Been drunk in a public place?
23. Stolen or tried to steal something worth between $5 and $50?
24. Broken into a building or vehicle to steal something?
25. Broken into a building or vehicle to look around?
26. Begged for money from strangers?
27. Skipped classes without an excuse?
28. Been suspended from school?
29. Made obscene phone calls?

Appendix B
Consent Forms

Form #1 Informed Consent for organizational participants 18 years and older.

Hello, my name is Christine Barrow and I am a doctoral student at Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice.   I am interested in studying how neighborhood organizations in Brownsville are impacting the lives of youth for my dissertation research. I'm also interested in learning about the perception youth have of authority figures in the community.

If you agree to let me interview you, I would like to talk to you about your recent experiences at the Brownsville Recreation Center, particularly whether or not it has been helpful to you. This interview is not a "test" with right or wrong answers. It is a way of gathering your thoughts and opinions, which I would like to learn about in depth.

I will be taking notes as you speak. My record of the interview will remain in my possession and stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home where it will become part of the data for my dissertation research.

This research is anonymous. Anonymous means that I will record no information about you that could identify you. This means that I will not record your name, address, phone number, date of birth, etc. If you agree to take part in the study, you will be assigned a random code number that will be used on each test and the questionnaire. Your name will appear <u>only</u> on a list of subjects, and will <u>not</u> be linked to the code number that is assigned to you. There will be no way to link your responses back to you. Therefore, data collection is anonymous.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. When I have finished this analysis, I will report the information in my Doctoral Dissertation where only group results will be available. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for ten years.

If you agree to be interviewed and complete the interview, I will give you some basic school supply items as thanks. The other benefit of participating would be any satisfaction you may get from contributing to a research effort that helps understand what works for young people in the community and their relationships with people authority figures in the community.

I do not anticipate any harm coming to you as a result of participating in this research. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any questions that you are not comfortable with and you may stop the interview at any time.

However, you will only receive the school supply items upon completion of the interview.

The only circumstances under which I would have to disclose to the appropriate authorities certain kinds of information are those in which I learn about ongoing child abuse or potential violence against oneself and others. If I know something specific about the possibility that someone is going to get hurt, I can't keep that confidential. Everything else stays with us in terms of the identities of those involved. The authorities will not know about what you say to me unless you talk about plans to commit crimes in the future which I would have to report.

I expect that the interview will take between one and two hours, but it may vary depending mostly on what you are interested in discussing.

If you would like to contact me at any time about this process, including the possible risks, benefits or discomforts you can reach me at:

Christine S. Barrow, PhD Student
School of Criminal Justice
Rutgers-Newark
123 Washington Street
Newark, New Jersey   07102
Telephone: 917-846-8572   e-mail: chbarrow@pegasus.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Sponsored Programs Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

I agree to participate in the interview procedure as described by

_____
(Name of Researcher)

_____   _____
(Name of research participant)   (Date)

Form #2 Consent form to obtain permission from parents or guardians of youth participants under age 18.

Dear Parents,

Hello, my name is Christine Barrow and I am a doctoral student at Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice.   I am interested in studying how neighborhood organizations in Brownsville are impacting the lives of youth for my dissertation research. I'm also interested in learning about their perception of authority figures in the community. I would like your permission to talk to your child (name of youth participant) about his/her recent experiences at the Brownsville Recreation Center, particularly whether or not he/she finds it helpful, and, if so, how.

If you agree to let me interview your child, I will be asking your child a series of questions regarding their opinions about social controls in their lives. This interview is not a "test" with right or wrong answers. I value your child's thoughts and opinions which is why I would like to learn about their experiences in depth.

I will be taking notes as your child speaks. My record of the interview will remain in my possession and stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home where it will become part of the data for my dissertation research.

This research is anonymous. Anonymous means that I will record no information about your child that could identify them. This means that I will not record your child's name, address, phone number, date of birth, etc. If you agree to let your child take part in the study, he or she will be assigned a random code number that will be used on each test and the questionnaire. Your child's name will appear only on a list of subjects, and will not be linked to the code number that is assigned to them. There will be no way to link your child's responses back to your child. Therefore, data collection is anonymous.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. When I have finished this analysis, I will report the information in my Doctoral Dissertation where only group results will be available. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for ten years.

If you let me interview your child, upon completion of the interview I will compensate them with some basic school supply items. The other benefit of participating would be any satisfaction your child might get from contributing to a research effort that helps understand what works for young people in the community and their relationships with authority figures in the community.

I do not anticipate any harm coming to your child as a result of participating in this research. Your child's participation is completely voluntary and they may refuse to answer any questions they are not comfortable with. They may also withdraw from the study at any time.

I expect that the interview will take between one and two hours, but it may vary depending mostly on what your child is interested in discussing.

If you would like to contact me at any time about this process, including the possible risks, benefits or discomforts you can reach me at:

Christine S. Barrow, PhD Student
School of Criminal Justice
Rutgers-Newark
123 Washington Street
Newark, New Jersey   07102
Telephone: 917-846-8572   e-mail: chbarrow@pegasus.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Sponsored Programs Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

_____ has my permission to participate in the interview
   (Name of Participant)   procedure as described by

_____
   (Name of Researcher)

Signature of Parent or Guardian _____Date_____

Form #3 Assent form for organizational participants under the age of 18.

Hello, my name is Christine Barrow and I am a doctoral student at Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice.   I am interested in studying how neighborhood organizations in Brownsville are impacting the lives of youth for my dissertation research. I'm also interested in learning about the perception youth have of authority figures in the community.

If you agree to let me interview you, I would like to talk to you about your recent experiences at the Brownsville Recreation Center, particularly whether or not it has been helpful to you. This interview is not a "test" with right or wrong answers. It is a way of gathering your thoughts and opinions, which I would like to learn about in depth.

I will be taking notes as you speak. My record of the interview will remain in my possession and stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home where it will become part of the data for my dissertation research.

This research is anonymous. Anonymous means that I will record no information about you that could identify you. This means that I will not record your name, address, phone number, date of birth, etc. If you agree to take part in the study, you will be assigned a random code number that will be used on each test and the questionnaire. Your name will appear only on a list of subjects, and will not be linked to the code number that is assigned to you. There will be no way to link your responses back to you. Therefore, data collection is anonymous.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. When I have finished this analysis, I will report the information in my Doctoral Dissertation where only group results will be available. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for ten years.

If you agree to be interviewed and complete the interview, I will give you some basic school supply items as thanks. The other benefit of participating would be any satisfaction you may get from contributing to a research effort that helps understand what works for young people in the community and their relationships with people authority figures in the community.

I do not anticipate any harm coming to you as a result of participating in this research. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any questions they are not comfortable with and you may stop the interview at any time. However, you will only receive the school supply items upon completion of the interview.

The only circumstances under which I would have to disclose to the appropriate authorities certain kinds of information are those in which I learn about ongoing child abuse or potential violence against oneself and others. If I know something specific about the possibility that someone is going to get hurt, I can't keep that confidential. Everything else stays with us in terms of the identities of those involved. The authorities will not know about what you say to me unless you talk about plans to commit crimes in the future which I would have to report.

I expect that an interview will take between one and two hours, but it may vary depending mostly on what you are interested in discussing.

If you would like to contact me at any time about this process, including the possible risks, benefits or discomforts you can reach me at:

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123 Washington Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102
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Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

I agree to participate in the interview procedure as described by

_____
(Name of Researcher)

_____   _____
(Name of research participant)   (Date)

_____   _____
(Name of parent/guardian if under age 18)   (Date)

CURRICULUM VITAE

CHRISTINE SHARON BARROW

Rutgers University
School of Criminal Justice
Center for Law and Justice
123 Washington Street   Suite 576
Newark, New Jersey 07102
chbarrow@pegasus.rutgers.edu

Education

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey   Newark, NJ
Ph.D.in Criminal Justice   2012
Dissertation: "Understanding the Role of Parochial Control in a Disadvantaged
Brooklyn Community"

John Jay College of Criminal Justice   New York, NY
Master of Arts in Criminal Justice   2004
Thesis: "Community Organizations: Impacting Delinquency in an Urban
Neighborhood"

Hofstra University   Hempstead, NY
Bachelor of Arts in Sociology   1999
Minor: Women's Studies

Teaching Experience

Molloy College   Rockville Centre, NY   Spring 2012
                                                                                          – Present

Assistant Professor in Criminal Justice

"**Corrections: Philosophies, Methods and Programs**"
- Developed syllabus and overall course structure,
  and administered all grades
- This course examines the history, philosophy and
  components of the American corrections system.

"**Theories of Crime**"
- Developed syllabusand overall course structure,
  and administered all grades
- Course examines the nature and extent of crime
  and delinquency and a comprehensive analysis of
  criminological theory, crime typologies

"**Modern American Justice**"
- Developed syllabus and overall course structure, and administered all grades
- This course provides an overview of current American criminal justice theories and practices

Hofstra University   Hempstead NY

Adjunct Instructor/Special Instructor in Sociology

Spring 2006-
Present

"**Crime and Delinquency**"

Summer 2010
Fall 2009
Spring 2009
Fall 2008
Summer2008
Summer 2006

- Developed syllabus and overall course structure, and administered all grades
- Course examines the nature and extent of crime and delinquency and a comprehensive analysis of criminological theory, crime typologies and the criminal justice system

"**Contemporary Society**"

Spring 2011
Fall 2010
Summer 2010
Fall 2009
Spring 2009
Fall 2008

- Developed syllabus and overall course structure, and administered all grades
- Course provides students with an introduction to identifying, explaining, and interpreting patterns and processes of human social relations.

"**Research Methods in Sociology**"

Spring 2008
Summer 2007
Spring 2007
Summer 2006
Spring 2006

- Developed syllabus and overall course structure, and administered all grades
- Course examines in depth the various techniques of social research. In addition, related issues, including research design, operationalization, and the ethical and political dimensions of social research are covered.

Statistics in Society"   Fall 2007

- Developed syllabus, the overall course structure, and administered all grades
- Course introduced the concepts, techniques and applications of descriptive and inferential statistical analysis

Rutgers University Newark, NJ

Pre College Program Lecturer   Summer 2007
"Criminology and Delinquency and Juvenile Justice"

- Courses examined the nature and extent of crime and delinquency and a comprehensive analysis of criminological theory, crime typologies and the criminal and juvenile justice systems

Lecturer
"Juvenile Delinquency and the Juvenile Justice System"   Fall 2006
                                                                Fall 2005
                                                             Summer 2005

Developed syllabus and overall course structure, and administered all grades

Course examines in depth the nature, causes, and control of juvenile delinquency and explores the history and development of the juvenile justice system

Research Experience

John Jay College of Criminal Justice   New York, NY   **2007-2010**
Research Assistant
- Collaborate with New Jersey ACLU to identify problems and incidences involving the use of confidential informants
- Compile and analyze data on confidential informant policies for State of New Jersey

Hofstra University   Hempstead, NY   **2006**
Research Database Consultant
- Analyzed survey research data for Long Island
  Index Project
- Compiled tabulations of demographic population
  trends

New York City Department of Probation   New York,   **2002**
NY Family Court Graduate Intern
- Collected and analyze statistics on the PINS
  youth and families served by Family Court
- Compiled information on specific juvenile issues
  and populations

Manpower Demonstration Research Corp   NY, NY   **1999-2001**
Technical Research Assistant II
- Collected survey data on focus group participants
  and prepared it for analysis
- Prepared technical memos regarding quality of
  research data

PRESENTATIONS

"Parochial Institutions Among Urban Youth." Paper Presentation. American Sociological Association. Las Vegas, NV, 2011

Education and Social Control in a Disadvantaged Brooklyn Community Paper Presentation. Eastern Sociological Society, New York, NY. 2012

Understanding the Role of Parochial Control on Youth in a Disadvantaged Community" Paper Presentation. *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences,* San Diego, CA 2010

"Extremes in Incarceration". *Hofstra University Day of Dialogue. Hempstead, N.Y.* 2009

"Methodological Issues in Analyzing Delinquency Data: The Impact of Local Policy Changes on the Analysis of Juvenile Behavior in Brooklyn". Paper Presentation. *British Society of Criminology*. Cardiff, Wales U.K. 2009.

"Parochial Social Control at Work: Sustainability of Neighborhood Organizations in a Disadvantaged Community". Paper Presentation. *American Society of Criminology,* St. Louis, MO, 2008

"Neighborhood Organizations: Creating Structure and Reducing Crime". Roundtable Presentation. *American Society of Criminology*, Atlanta GA, 2007.

"Is Social Disorganization Theory Still Relevant?" Poster Presentation. *American Society of Criminology,* Atlanta GA, 2007

"Community Organizations: Impacting Delinquency in an Urban Neighborhood". Oral Paper, *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences*, Chicago IL 2005

AFFILIATIONS
>   Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS)
>   American Sociological Association (ASA)
>   American Society of Criminology (ASC)

FELLOWSHIPS

Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice Fellowship