

**The Effects of Exposure to Violence on Early Adolescent Development:
A Lifespace Approach**

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The epidemic of youth homicide that occurred from the late 1980's through the early 1990's (Blumstein, 1995; Snyder and Sickmund, 1995; Zimring, 1996) occurred at the same time as researchers began to document high levels of exposure to community violence, particularly among urban youth (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny and Pardo, 1993). These patterns raise the question of the relationship between exposure to violence and adolescent development.

Although the assumption of a relationship between violent environments and the unfolding of individual careers of violent behavior is implicit in much existing theory and research, the nature of this relationship remains unclear. Recent research on child abuse, for example, has demonstrated a clear link to subsequent delinquent and criminal behavior, along with the equally notable finding that most abused children do not themselves develop into delinquents, criminals, or child abusers (Widom, 1989). Similarly, although violent events are highly concentrated in certain neighborhoods, most people growing up in those community environments do not develop into serious and chronic violent offenders (Loeber and Farrington, 1998). While it remains plausible that exposure to violence heightens the risk that a person will behave violently, the reasons that this seems to occur for some people and not for others are not well understood at present.

These gaps in knowledge about the developmental outcomes of exposure to violence derive from a number of theoretical and methodological emphases in prior research. These include preoccupations with distal and static correlates of criminal behavior, both structural and individual; lack of a specific focus on violence as opposed to general criminality; lack of a developmental perspective; and lack of theory and methods appropriate for tracing person-environment interactions over time. While recent progress is evident on all these fronts, much remains to be done in order to frame research questions and devise appropriate research methods.

This paper presents and analyzes data from an ongoing, short-term longitudinal, comparative, ethnographic research project on violence in early adolescence to explore patterns of exposure to violence and their developmental sequelae. The concept of lifespace, drawn from the classic psychological theories of Kurt Lewin (1939, 1951), is employed here as a heuristic device for assessing person-environment interactions over time. The next section of this paper reviews existing literature relevant to the study of the effects of exposure to violence on human development. Theoretical and methodological problems evident in that literature are identified, followed by an explication of the Lewinian construct of lifespace as one way of dealing with those problems and then by lifespace analyses of ethnographic data on adolescent violence.

Exposure to violence and adolescent development

Research on the extent and severity of exposure to violence is fairly recent in comparison to much more extensive research on patterns of offending and victimization. Over the past decade, a number of studies have documented high levels of exposure to

serious violence among children and adolescents in the United States. Studies in inner-city neighborhoods have found that one-quarter or more of young people have directly witnessed serious, life-threatening acts of violence, while even larger proportions have witnessed attacks or confrontations involving weapons (Richters and Martinez, 1993; Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, Buka, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1998; Schubiner, Scott, and Tzelepis, 1993; Bell and Jenkins, 1993; Osofsky, Wewer, Hann, and Fick, 1993; Osofsky, 1995; Pynoos, 1985). In middle-class neighborhoods, exposure to serious violence is less prevalent but may still affect over ten percent of males, while exposure to less serious violence, such as beatings and muggings in school, can affect nearly a third of young males (Singer, Anglin, Song, and Lunghofer, 1995).

Existing studies of exposure to violence have raised a number of questions about the measurement of exposure and involved progressive refinements in methods of assessment. Comparisons of children's and parents' reports indicate that parents are often unaware of the extent and severity of their children's exposure (Richters and Martinez, 1993). Exposure can be assessed along a number of dimensions, including whether it occurred through victimization, offending, or witnessing; whether it occurred in the home, school, or community; the directness of the exposure (through the media, hearing about incidents involving friends and family, or direct witnessing); the severity of the violence involved; and the cumulative frequency of exposure (Cooley-Quille, Turner, and Beidel, 1995; Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, Buka, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1998).

Recent research on exposure to violence has also assessed the developmental impacts exposure to violence in a number of ways. For example, studies of the aftermaths of single violent incidents of multiple killings in schools have found that the degree and duration of psychological trauma varied with the degree of immediate proximity to the slayings (Pynoos, Frederick, Nader, Arpoyo, Steinberg, Eth, Nunez, and Fairbanks, 1987; Schwarz and Kowalski, 1991). Most studies investigating the developmental sequelae of exposure to violence have concentrated on the subsequent psychological states of those exposed. Various depressive symptoms, including Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, have been identified in these studies (Pynoos, Frederick, Nader, Arpoyo, Steinberg, Eth, Nunez, and Fairbanks, 1987; Schwarz and Kowalski, 1991; Jenkins and Bell, 1993; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, and Pardo, 1993; Singer, Anglin, Song, and Lunghofer, 1995). Other studies have identified states of mind conducive to and associated with aggressive behavior, particularly a pattern of social cognition characterized as hostile attribution bias, in which individuals erroneously perceive others' behavior as threatening (Dodge, Bates, and Pettit, 1990).

Fewer studies have directly assessed whether and to what extent various degrees of exposure to violence lead to actual aggressive, anti-social, or violent behavior. Some relationships have been found, but the connections remain unclear and far from universal. Exposure does not lead directly to aggressive outcomes for all or even most young people, and a number of factors, including the availability of social support, appear to mediate such outcomes (Farrell and Bruce, 1997; Osofsky, 1995; Widom, 1989). Studies in this area remain scant, although researchers in the field continue to speculate that chronic exposure may be related to subsequent aggression under certain conditions.

The relative lack of demonstrated connections between exposure to violence and subsequent aggressive or violent behavior, despite persistent speculations about such a relationship, can be attributed to a number of factors, including the relatively recent emergence of this field of research, the focus of much existing research on elementary school children, and the hypothesized existence of protective factors, such as social support that mediates between exposure and subsequent development. In addition, most research to date has been conducted and published within the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry, in which psychic states, as opposed to behavior, are often the types of outcomes studied.

Criminological Perspectives on Exposure to Violence

Exposure to violence has been less investigated from the perspective of criminology, despite its obvious relevance to the emerging field of developmental criminology (Elliott, 1994; Loeber and Farrington, 1998; Thornberry, 1997). The study of exposure to violence highlights important issues and challenges in developmental criminology, particularly those involved in constructing theories and research designs addressing the role of social context in human development. While important advances have occurred in our understanding of the development of delinquent behavior, there exists at present a peculiar disjunction between developmental criminology and the broader field of studies of human development with respect to the importance accorded the role of social context. Despite recent theoretical writings that apply a variety of traditional criminological theories to developmental problems (Thornberry, 1997), research in developmental criminology to date has focused primarily on characteristics of persons as they emerge and develop over time, to the neglect of the characteristics of the environments in which they develop. (Note: This situation may change in the very near future, as results of current and recent projects are published.)

This emphasis on person rather than environment, also characteristic of much developmental psychology, has changed considerably in recent years in that field. Developmentalists have long treated as axiomatic the proposition that development is a function of both person and environment (Lewin, 1939, 1951; Vygotsky, 1978) even when their methods have emphasized measurement of person rather than environmental variables. Recently, attention to the role of social context and the search for better methods for incorporating contextual variables have become widespread in developmental psychology (Lerner, 1996; Jessor, Shweder, and Colby, 1996) and, most recently, within the specific study of developmental psychopathology (Aber and Cicchetti, 1998; Sullivan, 1998).

In criminology, in contrast, the recent emergence of developmental paradigms has only recently led to research designs intended to incorporate more contextual information in studies of the development and course of criminal careers. (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Elliott et al., 1996). As in developmental psychology, the methodological primacy of longitudinal survey methods has been a major source of this theoretical emphasis on person rather than environment. Typically, though not

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necessarily, longitudinal surveys track persons over time in much more detail than their environments.

This style of research has produced some remarkable and robust findings about developmental trajectories of anti-social, delinquent, and criminal behavior. These include the relationship between early onset and subsequent duration and seriousness, the co-occurrence of multiple problem behaviors, and especially the persistence and continuity of aggressive and anti-social behavior over the life course, particularly with regard to the career patterns of serious, chronic, and violent offenders (Elliott, 1994; Jessor, Donovan and Costa, 1991; Loeber and Farrington, 1998; Moffit, 1993). The convergence of studies of anti-social behavior in children with studies with studies of delinquent and criminal careers has produced consistent findings of powerful continuities (Sampson, 1992).

Yet, the interpretation of these findings concerning continuity has remained controversial, precisely because of a lack of information about continuities in environment. Research paradigms that assess continuities of behavior for persons inevitably suggest that innate characteristics underlie these continuities. Influential, albeit controversial theories, in criminology (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Wilson and Herrenstein, 1995) have staked extreme claims as to the irrelevance of the environment to understanding the development of criminal behavior, theories quite beyond the pale of discourse within the broader field of developmental studies.

As Laub and Sampson (1993) have noted, however, ecological continuities offer an alternative framework for explanation of these patterns. In the absence of comparable attention to and data on environmental continuities, it is impossible to exclude them from the analysis. Indeed, virtually all existing theory and research within most branches of developmental studies have moved far beyond simplistic nature-nurture debates to examination of the unfolding interaction of ontogenetic and sociogenic factors in the course of development. Given these current controversies within developmental criminology, the study of the effects of exposure to violence assumes heightened importance. Achieving a better understanding of the effects of exposure to violence on child and youth development would appear to be one promising path for moving beyond the current state of the nature-nurture debate that appears to keep developmental criminology mired behind other branches of developmental studies.

Attention to social context is hardly lacking in recent work in criminology. Social disorganization theory (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Sampson 1992), routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979; M. Felson, 1998), environmental criminology (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991), situational crime prevention studies (Clarke, 1995), and situational analyses of violent crime (Fagan and Wilkinson, 1996; Luckenbill, 1977; Oliver, 1994; Tedeschi and R. Felson 1994) have all focused renewed attention on the relationship of environmental and situational factors to crime. These studies, however, have largely remained divorced from the study of development. Many of these studies have won their advances in knowledge about environmental factors by means of research strategies that systematically attend to environment and situation in ways that

tend to ignore individual psychology and development. The tendency in these studies has been to bracket out questions of development, and even of individual variation, by assuming a constant supply of "motivated offenders" (M. Felson, 1998), against which to assess situational opportunities for criminal activity.

Other studies focusing on environment and situation have acknowledged the implications of situational and environmental factors for processes of human development, while still failing to invest much research energy in pursuing those implications. Recent situational analyses of violent crime, for example, have acknowledged developmental questions without delving very deeply into developmental data (Fagan and Wilkinson, 1996).

Social disorganization and conflict theorists have engaged these questions most directly, emphasizing the effects of distressed neighborhood environments on child and adolescent development (Hagan, 1993; Sampson and Laub, 1997). A number of recent studies, by criminologists and others, have sought to document the neighborhood effects on development posited by Wilson (1987) in his theory of the emergence of an urban underclass. Positive evidence for strong neighborhood effects has yet to emerge, although methodological problems have proved formidable and important ongoing work is still to emerge (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, 1997; Elliott, Wilson, et al., 1996; Furstenburg, forthcoming).

Despite substantial recent work in recent criminology on both developmental and environmental questions, then, there has been relatively little convergence between the two, of the type that would appear to be needed for advancing our understanding of the effects of exposure to violence on adolescent development. The next section of this article summarizes some of the theoretical and methodological barriers to an integration of these perspectives and proposes the Lewinian theory of lifespace as one avenue toward such an integration.

A Lifespace Approach

Whether one approaches the problem of exposure to violence and its effects on adolescent development from the perspective of developmental psychology or from that of criminology, it is evident that the problem requires theory and methods that make possible the simultaneous examination of both developmental processes and the social contexts in which those processes unfold. Some steps towards integration of developmental and contextual perspectives have been taken. Two types of methodological approaches have been employed. The most common has been the incorporation of contextual variables in longitudinal survey designs, typically by adding geo-codes for census data. A second approach has involved the use qualitative methods and efforts to integrate qualitative and quantitative data (Korbin and Coulton, 1997; Furstenburg, forthcoming; Sullivan, 1989a, 1998).

Despite important and convergent findings of major longitudinal studies of anti-social behavior, delinquency, and crime, two shortcomings of this line of work can be

noted. As noted, the role of social context remains understudied. In addition, even though longitudinal surveys provide crucial data for developmental criminology, the theory guiding these studies has often lacked connection to more general theories of development. As Cicchetti (1993) has noted with reference to the field of developmental psychopathology, studies of psychopathology should be informed by and in turn inform studies of normal development. Developmental criminology has focused largely on developmental progressions of anti-social behavior, delinquency, and crime, with relatively little attention to other aspects of development. Normal developmental transitions, such as those from family to school to the labor force or into intimate relationships and parenthood, have come into the analyses mainly as correlates of patterns of deviant behavior. This close focus on dependent variables assessing deviant behavior has kept developmental criminology somewhat isolated from a larger body of theory and research about development (Elliott, 1998).

This trend is particularly notable for the developmental stage of adolescence. Adolescence is a period of focal concern for criminologists because it is the stage at which law-breaking behavior is most prevalent. A wide range of theories and research across a number of disciplines have dealt with special developmental characteristics of adolescence in various cultures (Muuss, 1974). Yet, studies in developmental criminology make but limited reference to this wider body of knowledge about adolescent development.

The field theory of Kurt Lewin addresses both the problem of incorporating knowledge of social context and the problem of how delinquency in adolescence can be studied with reference to a theory of normal adolescent development. The elements of Lewin's theory are described here and then adapted for the analysis and presentation of comparative, ethnographic data on exposure to violence during early adolescence.

As a *gestalt* psychologist, Lewin saw all behavior as embedded in a social field. He described the social world in which a person is embedded as the person's *lifespace*. In a seminal article on adolescent development (1939), he portrayed normal adolescent development as a process in which the lifespace expands. Adolescents find themselves venturing beyond the spaces and activities of childhood, able to enter some but still not all the spaces of adulthood.

In subsequent work on the specific characteristics of early adolescence, for example, Hamburg (1974) described three different types of changes that occur during this period: biological and cognitive maturation that allow a young person to be less dependent on continuous adult supervision and care; the transition from elementary to intermediate school, which often means going to school alone and moving from classroom to classroom in school for the first time; and the emergence of the peer group as a salient reference group. All three types of change are changes in the lifespace, as conceived by Lewin. Lifespace includes literal physical space as well as the social organization of activities within that physical space. Lewin also described a time dimension of lifespace, citing adolescence as a period in which the reach of both memory and anticipation of the future expand during normal development.

Proceeding from this notion of the normality of expanding lifespace during adolescence, Lewin assigned a special meaning to concept of regression. If lifespace does not expand or if it contracts during adolescence, this movement is considered abnormal and regressive. In theoretical terms, the concept of lifespace directly addresses the shortcomings just identified in much of developmental criminology. The lifespace framework provides a unified theory of both normal and abnormal development. At the same time, it directs attention equally to the person and the person's environment.

The application of the Lewinian construct of lifespace is represented in Figures 1-3. Figure 1, adapted from Lewin's original work (1942) on lifespace during adolescence, represents the concept of expanding lifespace during the course of normal adolescent development. Building on Hamburg's later work (1974), adolescence is divided into early and later adolescence in order to emphasize the "specific and stressful" nature of early adolescence and the particular rapidity of changes during this stage.

Figure 2 represents the overlapping social contexts of adolescence. The areas of overlap are of particular interest for the present study because the nature of these overlaps, or the lack of overlap, can be particularly problematic. The extent to which norms of behavior, direct supervision, and provision of social support within family, school, peer, community, and societal contexts overlap and reinforce one another, or not, is a crucial issue for early adolescent development. The normal expansion of lifespace and the development of greater autonomy during this period can leave adolescents, especially those in dangerous urban environments, exposed to danger and confronted with new choices about strategies for ensuring personal safety. These choices include immediate practical concerns such as how to get to and from school safely along with more complex concerns such as the development of social reputation and identity.

Prior research and theory concerning early adolescent development stress the experimental nature of this developmental period, during which adolescents may try on various identities in relatively rapid succession, adopting different attitudes and styles and shifting among peer networks with different orientations (Feldman and Elliott, 1990; Erikson, 1950, 1968). The social contexts in which this experimentation takes place also vary considerably. Ianni's (1989) comparative ethnographic work has demonstrated the existence of significant differences among communities in the extent to which adolescents receive coordinated or conflicting messages in various social contexts.

Figure 3 relates the concepts of lifespace and overlapping social contexts to the problem of exposure to violence. The process by which exposure to violence affects development is represented as a sequence beginning with a violent event, followed by a set of responses to that event, and then by a possible reformulation of personal identity as a result of both the event itself and the way in which the adolescent and other social actors in the adolescent's life have responded to that event. Social context is represented along the right-hand side of the figure as affecting all three stages of this sequence: the event, the response, and the developmental consequences. In other words, the figure posits that social context mediates both the likelihood of various degrees and types of exposure to violence as well as the manner in which exposure affects development.

This theoretical model is offered as a heuristic framework for research, a way of asking questions not just about the extent of exposure to violence and the eventual outcomes of exposure but about the processes mediating the effects of exposure on development. This theoretical approach differs considerably from those prominent in both the psychological and psychiatric literature on exposure to violence and the literature of developmental criminology. The psychological/psychiatric literature tends to focus on inner psychic states rather than adaptation to the environment. Much of the developmental criminological literature is organized around a paradigm of risk and protective factors (Hawkins, 1997) that seeks to account for continuities and discontinuities in anti-social, delinquent, and criminal behavior over the lifecourse, with little reference either to interactions with the environment or to any more general theory of human development.

Methods

The lifespace construct is operationalized here in a straightforward manner for the analysis of comparative, short-term, longitudinal, ethnographic data on early adolescents in three different urban school and neighborhood settings. Lifespace is defined in concrete terms as the physical and social settings in which adolescents participate. The effort here is to relate patterns of exposure to violence to changes in lifespace and then to explore the implications of these patterns of changing lifespace for unfolding developmental trajectories. Because this is a short-term, longitudinal study, tracking samples of early adolescents recruited during seventh grade over a three-year period, the emphasis here is on short-term changes in relationships of persons to environments.

Before examining the data from this perspective, it is useful to situate this methodological approach briefly with respect to previous attempts to integrate the study of context with that of human development. While the term lifespace appears not to have been employed in recent research, the influence of Lewin's theoretical approach can be discerned in subsequent work in ecological and environmental psychology (Barker, 1968; Barker and Gump, 1964; Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Both this tradition and more recent work on adolescent development under conditions of urban poverty have revealed a number of methodological challenges to integrating contextual factors into the study of development. Chief among these is the difficulty of reconciling compositional measures, such as the demographic characteristics of geographical units defined by census tracts or zip codes, with the lived environments of individuals and with the often heterogeneous social networks and interactional patterns within and across such geographical units.

Burton et al.'s (1997) ethnographic work, for example, has shown that adolescents may hang out in quite different places from their immediate area of residence. Another problem is the hierarchical, nested aspect of social environments addressed by Bronfenbrenner's much cited ecological theories, which have been honored more as theory than in the form of specific research designs. As a result of these theoretical and methodological difficulties in operationalizing social contexts of development, existing research confronts some powerful paradoxes, such as the contrast between the sharp discrepancies in crime rates between neighborhoods long noted by

social disorganization theorists, and the fact that neighborhood of residence turns out to be a relatively weak predictor of problem behavior or delinquency in many self-report surveys (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, 1997; Elliott, Wilson, et al., 1996; Furstenburg, forthcoming). Simply attaching census tract geo-codes to longitudinal surveys has not uncovered contextual effects on development to the extent that was expected when this style of research was undertaken a decade ago in response to Wilson's theories of the urban underclass (1987).

While geo-coding studies continue, and much important work is in progress, another general approach to the problem of relating context to development through systematic research has involved efforts to integrate qualitative and quantitative methods (Sullivan, 1998). In contrast to self-report survey studies, ethnographic studies of delinquency typically find strong connections between neighborhood environment and involvement in delinquent groups. Ethnographic methods capture local patterns of social organization and social constructed perceptions of available roles and opportunities more directly than surveys, albeit through labor-intensive research techniques not easily amenable to gathering information on large numbers of persons or environments. Social learning of deviant behavior patterns in high-crime areas appears to many ethnographers to be a salient source of delinquency, on the basis on observations and interviews within such areas. Reconciling single-site observational studies with surveys across many areas, however, remains problematic. Many ethnographies of delinquency, for example, report little or nothing about non-delinquents in these areas.

Some studies have attempted to overcome the gap between the generalizability of large-N surveys focused on discrete variables and the thick description and phenomenological emphasis characteristic of qualitative studies. My previous work (Sullivan 1989a, 1989b, 1993, etc.) has compared small ethnographic samples across sites in order to assess variation between social contexts, relying on small-area data from police, census, and health agencies as a quantitative check on patterns evident in the ethnographic data. Other qualitative studies have managed to accumulate a sufficient number of individual case studies over time to permit quantitative analyses (Burton et al., 1997; Edin and Lein, 1997). Still other investigators have undertaken extensive analyses of quantitative data along with coordinated efforts to collective ethnographic data in order to investigate patterns of child maltreatment (Korbin and Coulton, 1997) and early adolescent developmental trajectories (Furstenburg, forthcoming).

The approach taken here is similar to that in Sullivan's previous work. Data reported here were collected from small samples of early adolescents in three different neighborhood and school environments. The intent here is not to sample or generalize about all environments but rather to assess in detail similarities and differences in social processes across a small number of environments. The inductive, theory-generating aspect of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Hammersly and Atkinson, 1995) is also central to the current study. Given the confusion over such matters as the contours of the adolescent lifespace and the ways in which adolescents construct social meanings about their environments, the intent here is to identify these features in naturalistic settings and to compare them across social contexts. This approach, based on field theory and field methods, is less concerned with measuring distributions of person-

environment interactions than with tracing and comparing such patterns of interaction over time in order to describe similarities and differences in social process across a small number of contexts.

Field methods are well suited to the difficult task of assessing social context. Social context is multi-faceted, consisting of multiple physical settings, the rules and expectations governing social interactions within these settings, and patterns of movement of individuals through these multiple domains of social ecology. Many past efforts to incorporate social context into studies of development have been limited by reliance on overly simplistic indicators of richly textured contexts. Field methods make possible the construction of case studies that capture much more of this texture than gross indicators such as census-tract-level measures of demographic composition. At the same time, field methods reveal social actors' own perceptions and representations of their lives and environments as they express these in naturalistic settings. In this way, field methods lead to the inductive construction of grounded theory about social life in terms isomorphic with the representations of the social actors yet abstracted from the immediate goals of those actors in order to allow for scientific analysis and comparison across settings.

Field methods used in the present study include intensive participant-observation in three schools and their surrounding communities along with life-history interviewing of adolescents and their parents. Participant-observation field notes, based on direct observations and informal interviews with adolescents, teachers, and other school staff and community members, yield data for construction of profiles of the school and community contexts. Life-history interviews, taped and then transcribed, yield another stream of narrative data focusing on individual experiences within these contexts. Analysis of this field data consists of comparing developmental trajectories within and across these contexts. These two forms of narrative data are then coded in an inductive manner appropriate to the research problem at hand, that of assessing the effects of exposure to violence on adolescent development. Inductive coding draws both on theoretical categories suggested by existing research as well as discovery of theoretical categories within the field data themselves. By means of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the analyst progressively criticizes and refines the theoretical categories and then re-codes the data in order to reveal patterns of social life and relate them to the larger theoretical issues of interest.

The field methods employed here are also embedded in a research design that incorporates some aspects of more quantitative studies, including an attempt to sample systematically both contexts and individuals within those contexts. While only three sites were investigated, the sites were chosen to capture diversity in terms of socio-economic levels, race and ethnicity, and school organization. While these three sites are by no means representative of all schools and communities within their city, their dimensions of variation are described below and the analysis is confined to exploring similarities and differences among them. Within these sites, adolescents were recruited so as to be reasonably representative of the student populations of their schools.

These are still small numbers of sites and individuals, inappropriate for multivariate analysis and generalization through inferential statistics. Nonetheless, uniform sampling procedures were used across sites, and some data are presented in quantified form for purposes of description and comparison. The overall method of analysis thus combines assumptions from both quantitative and qualitative research traditions.

In accordance with this methodological approach, field data are presented in three ways below. Overall descriptions of the schools and communities are presented first, followed by quantified analyses of life-history data on patterns of exposure to violence and changes in lifespaces. These two modes of data presentation are then followed by more purely narrative data in the form of life-history profiles of three individuals from each site. Since both other research and the field data here suggest that exposure to violence can lead to at least three types of developmental sequelae (aggression, depression, and resilience), examples of each of these three types of response are presented for each site. These cases of aggression, depression, and resilience are then analyzed and compared in terms of the contextual properties identified in the broader profiles of the schools and communities.

The study recruited three samples of twenty-five individuals in each of three intermediate schools in New York City. The samples consist of approximately equal numbers of males and females and were chosen to be reasonably representative of the populations of their schools in terms of factors such as race and ethnicity, academic performance, and behavior.

This paper is based on data collected primarily during the first two of three years of data collection in three areas of New York City. We refer to the three sites pseudonymously as Fairhaven, El Dorado, and Soulville. Due to initial difficulties in recruiting a third site, however, data collection in one site, Soulville, lagged a year behind that in the other two sites.

Community and School Contexts in Three Sites

The site descriptions below identify the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the populations in each place, the social ecology of the neighborhoods, and the patterns of adolescent physical conflict and responses to adolescent conflict in each area.

Fairhaven is the most heterogeneous of the sites. Both the school and the feeder neighborhoods are characterized by race/ethnic and economic diversity. Union Intermediate School is located in a predominantly white, middle- and working class neighborhood that has been experiencing racial transition and associated conflict over the past few years. The school has traditionally served an immediate local area of middle-class families. Quite near the school, however, are two large public housing projects, once predominantly occupied by lower-income white families but more recently increasingly African-American in composition. The school has also been serving a more distant residential area where the schools are overcrowded. That area is more African-American and Afro-Caribbean in composition, with both poor and middle-class sections.

As a result of these changes in the nearby projects and in the assignment of students from more distant areas, the school's student population has changed from predominantly white and middle-class to more minority and poor children. Currently the school is over sixty percent African-American and Latino and about half the students qualify for free lunch. Some increases in violence and fighting have accompanied these changes and become potent political issues within the school and neighborhood, although neither the school and nor the community have high rates of crime and disorder in comparison to poorer areas of the city.

Union Intermediate School serves over 1300 students and is organized along very traditional lines for the local school system. It offers a number of amenities and resources not available in the city's overcrowded and deteriorated "lower-tier" schools (Devine, 1996). Classes are strictly tracked by ability, about ten to a grade for grades six through eight. The school offers two magnet programs designed to attract talented and motivated students from the wider school district. Students stay together in class units, but have some freedom of individual movement in going to lunch and special activities. The school offers clubs and classes in the performing arts during and after school and an unstructured after-school sports program, though only a small proportion of students participate in after-school activities at the school. School safety officers (SSO's) manage security. No regular city police officer is assigned to the school on a permanent basis.

Two patterns of response to community and school changes are apparent. First, the routing of students from the more distant neighborhood has led to a pattern of fighting on the buses and transportation routes. The children of color travelling in and out of the immediate neighborhood of the school tend to be much more exposed to violence because of conflicts between groups of youths affiliated with different schools and neighborhoods as they travel. Second, Union Intermediate School itself has reacted to threats to its reputation largely by trying to protect that reputation. In practice, this has meant an active policy of institutional impression management, in which many incidents that do occur are never officially recorded and most suspensions are meted out informally, leaving no paper trail. School staff and security disclaim responsibility for any incident beyond the school's immediate borders, to the extent that school staff hearing of impending incidents have been reported to tell the combatants to take it outside after school. This policy of avoiding the problems that do exist is coupled with a lack of preventive measures, including a lack of support for the standard violence prevention programs and refusal to respond to invitations to work with community organizations in the nearby projects.

There has been some formation of fighting-oriented peer groups among the students in the school, in the form of what we refer to as "proto-gangs," to denote the experimental and transitory nature of groupings we have observed.

Both the community and the school remain relatively safe as compared to surrounding areas with much higher levels of crime and violence. There has been some increase in local levels of youth violence, but there also exists an atmosphere of moral panic (Cohen, 1980[1972] ; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) among longer-term residents

of the neighborhood that is quite out of proportion to the small increase. The moral panic is responsible for the school's posture of denial and has also led to an atmosphere of racial tension in the neighborhood in which school officials, local merchants, and some local residents have attempted to bring pressure on the local police to harass non-white youths during the after-school hours in order to move them out of the neighborhood. This pressure is particularly unpleasant for the non-white youths who do live in the neighborhood, primarily in the housing projects.

El Dorado is a predominantly poor community of Latino immigrants, both recent and second-generation, most from the Dominican Republic. The neighborhood is host to some very high-level drug trade and has among the highest murder rates in the city, related directly to the drug trade. Residential mobility is high, both as a result of continuing immigration and as a result of a churning process in which families coping with high rates of community violence move about in search of better, safer housing, often only to find themselves in similar circumstances. Local youth confront an intricately organized set of youth groups, another form of proto-gangs which we refer to as block-gangs. These social units are highly territorial, with youth identity and safety closed tied to identification with sharply delimited block areas denoted by street names. While some blocks are more known for fighting gangs and feuding relationships than others, navigating these territories is a task confronting all neighborhood children as they go to and from school.

The school we have been studying, La Escuelita, is a unique and exemplary institution that proclaims itself a community school, intended to serve and work with the community in addition to carrying out its educational mandate. La Escuelita is the product of a unique partnership between the public school system and a non-profit organization. As a result of this partnership and philosophy, the school has additional resources not available to most public schools. About a third of the students, for example, attend after-school programs at the school staffed by the community organization. These programs provide academic help, sports, arts, and other recreation. The school's extra resources and community-oriented philosophy also allow it to offer a staffed parent outreach program and a program for bringing in local police officers to learn about Dominican culture. Academically, the school is sub-divided into four theme academies, each with a separate director. The academy structure and a strong homeroom system provide close and continuous monitoring of individual students and groups. The school serves the immediate residential area, and most students walk to school.

In addition to its community-oriented philosophy and enriched resources, the school is also very strict. Students have no unsupervised time at any point during the day. The community organization partnership also provides additional security resources at the end of the day, when fights are most common, and during the after-school programs. Security personnel actively monitor and patrol the school's perimeter and even go into the surrounding community to intervene in disputes. Issues of conflict and violence are openly acknowledged, discussed, and dealt with cooperatively among school staff, parents, and the local police. This strictness also means that particularly disruptive

students are sometimes transferred out of the school, although many options are typically tried before this happens.

For all the exemplary aspects and additional resources of this school, El Dorado is still a community with a lot of conflict. "Beefs" come into the school from the community and spill back out of the school into the community.

The Soulville community and school are predominantly poor and African-American. Rates of crime and violence in the community are high, but the community also possesses a number of positive resources related to the fact that it is a quite settled community with a long history of activism, some middle-class areas, and a strong institutional base of churches and youth programs. The African-American population has deeper roots in the city's history than the immigrants of El Dorado, for example. Even the concentration of public housing provides a measure of residential stability.

Despite the fact that Soulville has crime rates similar to those of El Dorado, the social organization of youth violence is quite different. Although youths in both places depend on "backup" from peers, for example, backup in Soulville is much more likely to be based in individualistic, personal networks than in the territorial block-gangs characteristic of El Dorado. Soulville youths report they do not particularly fear specific areas and feel equally safe in different parts of the neighborhood. This is not to say that they feel especially safe, merely that they perceive neighborhood danger as more monotonic in spatial terms. The distinction is not absolute, as one particular outlying project is known for a threatening, territorial youth group. Soulville is also a neighborhood in which youth gang activity has increased recently. Rumors of the arrival of the Bloods have set off a wave of panic in recent months. Some local proto-gangs have emerged in response to fears of the Bloods, but these groups are not territorially organized to nearly the same extent as the block-gangs in El Dorado.

Soulville Intermediate School is extremely disorganized, physically deteriorated, overcrowded, under-resourced, and out-of-control, a prime example of the problems of the city's lower tier schools. Serving only about 400 students on one floor of a building serving children from kindergarten through eighth grade, the school offers only basic academic classes, with no arts programming and negligible extra-curricular or after-school activities. The hallways are chaotic and changing classes can take half the class period. Fights in the hallways and classrooms are common. Discipline is so erratic that suspensions are not even enforced, much less recorded. Most students are assigned from the school's immediate area, but the school has a reputation for serving, informally, as a dumping ground for both students and staff who have not gotten along in other schools in the district. High staff turnover is a primary reason for the high levels of disorder.

Because of the high level of disorder, the school's security team includes, in addition to SSO's, one full-time regular city police officer and an additional part-time police officer on some afternoons.

These descriptions of the schools and communities indicate a number of differences in patterns of exposure to violence and of socially mediated responses to violent incidents. Fairhaven is a more heterogeneous area than the other two sites, containing substantial enclaves of middle- and working-class families that are not to be found in the other two areas, along with poorer areas. El Dorado and Soulville have much higher rates of poverty and crime and are more internally homogeneous in terms of race and ethnicity. The social organization of community violence differs qualitatively across all three sites. El Dorado's La Escuelita Intermediate School is far more in line with current, progressive educational theories about the relation of school to community than the intermediate schools in either Fairhaven or Soulville. Although Soulville's intermediate school has much more severe problems of disorder and violence than the Fairhaven school, neither of these latter schools appears to deal very effectively with problems of violence that they do confront.

The rest of this paper presents individual-level data from the three samples in order to examine more closely patterns of exposure to violence and developmental trajectory. Quantified data derived from inductively coded narrative data are presented first, followed by individual cases of aggressive, depressive, and resilient responses to exposure to violence.

Offenders, Victims, Witnesses, and Lifespace Changes: Cross-Site Comparisons

Tables 1 through 4 present summary comparisons by site of patterns of violent offending, victimization, witnessing, and related lifespace adjustments. These tables were derived from field notes of direct observations and informal interviews and transcripts of semi-structured life-history interviews. The categories for coding were generated on the basis of theoretical issues of concern as well as emergent properties of the data. They do not reflect school or police records on these sites but rather the totality of observed and self-reported data as collected and coded by researchers. The meanings of the categories were discussed extensively at team meetings to insure that all research team members interpreted the categories in similar fashion.

While efforts were made to select representative samples of students from each of the three intermediate schools, the samples are still small and were also recruited partly on the basis of willingness of students to participate. Therefore, appropriate caution is required in interpreting these tables. They are generally consistent with other field data on these sites, although some anomalies are evident, chiefly the unexpectedly high levels of victimization in the Fairhaven sample. These tables also represent mid-course summaries of data collected during two years in Fairhaven and El Dorado and one year in Soulville. The Soulville numbers may be low in comparison to the others because of this, and all of these numbers can be expected to increase by the end of the data collection period and subsequent coding.

The patterns evident in these tables are interpreted here in relation to the larger patterns of social organization of school and community environments presented earlier. In some cases, we interpret cross-site comparisons in terms of specific features of

local social organization, without knowledge of which these patterns would not make much sense.

Tables 1 and 2 present selected categories of self-reported offending and victimization. They include categories of various degrees of seriousness. The categories "hit or worse" (Table 1) and "got hit or worse" (Table 2) are consistent with other data in depicting Fairhaven students as less involved in fighting than students in the other two places. Just under half of the Fairhaven sample appeared to have had no involvement at all in fights, whereas the great majority of those in the other sites had been in a fight. Most of the fights in all three places were relatively brief and minor confrontations, more serious than rough-and-tumble "playfighting" (Humphreys and Smith, 1987) but not involving serious injuries or threats. Most of the Fairhaven sample members involved in no fights were white residents of the immediate area, particularly girls. For many Fairhaven students, violence is not a serious issue in their lives.

Other categories in Tables 1 and 2 tell rather different stories about cross-site comparisons. Although most students in all three places did not possess or carry weapons, Fairhaven and El Dorado students were slightly more likely to have done so than Souville students. The more serious victimization patterns in Table 2 actually suggest higher levels of victimization in Fairhaven, even though other data generally suggest that Fairhaven is, overall, a much safer area than either Souville or El Dorado. A number of more fine-grained interpretations suggest explanations of this apparent anomaly. First, Fairhaven is a much more heterogeneous site than the other two. Even though some segments of the population appear to lead relatively sheltered lives, there are other parts of the community that are poorer and more violent. The students reporting more victimization tend to be minority students from the local housing projects and from the more distant parts of the school district.

We also coded for serious injuries at a relatively low level of seriousness, using the criterion of whether we would judge the injury as deserving medical attention, including psychiatric attention, whether or not medical attention was actually received. The sites look generally similar on these measure considering the small sample sizes. The most serious injuries, however, occurred in Souville, including the only shooting involving a primary sample member (others occurred in the broader environments) and an incident in school in which one student smashed a glass jar into another's face.

Another possible explanation that is suggested throughout the field data is that the very heterogeneity of the Fairhaven site leads to increased exposure to fighting for some but not all the students. Those who ride the buses from the far end of the district, most of them minority members, are particularly exposed to fighting because many fights occur on the unsupervised buses and also between groups of adolescents from different small local areas who encounter one another along the bus routes. Students who walk to school from the immediate, more sheltered residential area around the school are thus less exposed to fighting and attempts to extort money, bus passes, or items of clothing.

Other offending categories in Table 1 appear to show no clear cross-site patterns. Soulville students, for example, appear both less likely to possess or carry weapons but more likely to commit aggravated assault, which usually involves weapons. Relating these tables back to other qualitative data again suggests a resolution of this apparent anomaly. The Soulville students whom we classified as having committed acts that could be treated as aggravated assault if discovered by the police generally did not use weapons that they carried. Rather, they used items seized from the immediate environment, such as garbage can lids, pipes, and baseball bats. The seventh graders in Soulville expressed clear distaste for carrying weapons and said that they would surround and beat up a peer suspected of doing so. Changes in these attitudes and behaviors may possibly occur very rapidly as they age more. One boy has very recently reported hanging around with friends who carry guns, since the cut-off point at which we froze the data for analysis.

While only a handful of sample members have been arrested, school-specific social organizational factors explain some of the pattern evident in Table 1. Field data record many more serious incidents of in-school violence in El Dorado's Escuelita but also indicate that these are rarely referred to the police. La Escuelita's well-developed program for dealing with violence provides school officials with a number of options for dealing with dangerous situations other than referring students for arrest. Two of the three arrests recorded for Fairhaven students, in contrast, were referred directly from the school. Both the arrests recorded for Soulville were for serious violence in the community and did not involve the school.

We coded suspensions whether they were formal and part of school records, or, as also occurs, completely informal, without a paper trail. Soulville's intermediate school students appear less likely to be suspended from fighting, despite the fact that weekly field observations document far higher levels of fighting in Soulville intermediate school than in either of the other two schools. The Soulville school, however, is so badly out of control that very few suspensions are even attempted. In Fairhaven's intermediate school, in contrast, school staff hand out dozens of "informal suspensions" for fighting and other disorderly behavior each week, very few of which are ever officially recorded. This pattern is in keeping with a general institutional posture of disregarding and even concealing the extent of fighting and disorder.

The patterns of victimization and offending reported in Tables 1 and 2 are thus generally consistent with other data in depicting Fairhaven as a safer environment, at least for a portion of its student body. Exceptions to this pattern and apparent anomalies are partly explained by finer-grained interpretations of the tables in relation to the larger body of data. When we turn to patterns of witnessing violence in Table 3, a much starker portrait emerges of the higher levels of community violence in Soulville and El Dorado. The witnessing categories vary according to the seriousness of the violence and whether violence was directly witnessed or learned about indirectly from family and friends. The least serious item, "saw fist fight" does not vary at all across sites. Everyone in all three places had seen fights. Indeed, all three of the project's ethnographers directly witnessed many fights, in and especially around school, in the period just after school when many conflicts came to a head.

For all the other categories of witnessing, involving more serious violence, El Dorado and Soulvile students reported much higher levels of exposure to violence, both direct and indirect. More than half the sample members in both places reported knowing someone who had been killed or seriously injured by violence. This is entirely consistent with police statistics and the local reputations of the three areas. Reports of direct involvement in offending and victimization by early adolescents do not show nearly the degree of difference between communities as do reports by these same individuals of the extent of violence around them. They are still young and relatively inexperienced.

Cross-site patterns of adaptations of lifespace as a result of exposure to violence are presented in Table 4. We generated grounded-theory categories of alterations in lifespace related to exposure to violence and discovered a wide variety of adaptations that occur in response to being victim, offender, witness, or some combination of these. These adaptations range from relatively minor alterations to radical changes. The more minor adaptations include switching from one program within a large school to another; changing patterns of using the schoolyards, hallways, and cafeterias; starting or stopping participation in after-school programs; altering transportation routes to and from school; as well as actively seeking out adolescent "hot spots" associated with various kinds of thrills including fights; and joining what may be referred to as "proto-gangs" in order to maintain a distinction between these and full-fledged, ritualized youth gangs and to avoid the implication that in all cases these are groups in which illegal activities are common, accepted, and a primary basis for association.

The configuration of gangs in the city as a whole has changed rapidly during the data collection period and continues to do so. Ironically, even as violence recorded by the police has declined rapidly to its lowest levels in thirty years, youth gangs are emerging rapidly. Youth gangs are not a unitary phenomenon, and the gang situations in these three neighborhoods vary considerably. El Dorado has had a highly structured set of territorial gangs, identified with and named after the members' blocks of residence. We refer to this configuration as the block-gang. Not every block is equally noted for youth gang presence, but some blocks have well-known gangs engaged in running feuds with other block gangs. Every young person in El Dorado, whether associated with one of these groups or not, comes to learn about them and how to negotiate passage through the intricate map of gang territories.

In Soulvile, in contrast, there was very little gang presence at the beginning of the study, as distinct from groups of youths usually referring to themselves as "crews." Over the last two years, however, the emergence of a named gang, the Bloods, has changed the situation. The Bloods have become quite visible, and some of our sample members have been invited to join. We have also seen the emergence of other named groups, whose members say they have organized the groups in order to be able to resist the Bloods when, as is widely expected, the Bloods begin to take over the neighborhood. Gangs have also been reported in Fairhaven, though they have not been highly visible. In our field material, we have documented transient named groups such as a group of girls who

called themselves the "Lady Mobsters" for a short period, before they gave up on the gang mystique.

More radical changes in lifespace include switching to a different school, going to live with relatives in other parts of the city, another state, or out of the country, having the entire family move its residence to another area, and entering a custodial institution in the juvenile justice system, for two Soulville offenders, or the mental health system, for one traumatized El Dorado victim.

Most sample members in all three sites are recorded have changed their lifespace as a result of exposure to violence in some way, minor or major. Major lifespace changes are less common but are still recorded for between about one quarter, in Soulville, to over half, in El Dorado, of the samples. The turmoil experienced by families in El Dorado is especially evident. In this immigrant neighborhood, with high levels of drug and gang-related violence, encounters with violence by adolescents often play a role in family decisions to shift residences and or send young people to live with other family members. Interviews with parents in this neighborhood elicit especially high levels of concern about community violence and its effects on children and youth. Soulville is also a high-crime area, but it is a much more stable community than El Dorado where many people are recent immigrants. Many Soulville residents live in public housing, which discourages their desire and ability to make a quick residential move in reaction to a crisis of some kind. Those factors probably contribute to the lower proportion of major lifespace changes for Soulville sample members, despite the high levels of exposure to serious violence in Soulville reflected in Table 3.

Other site-specific social organizational factors also affect patterns of lifespace adaptation. Over half of El Dorado sample members report altering transportation routes to and from school as a result of exposure to violence, in comparison to about a quarter in Fairhaven and less than ten percent in Soulville. The high rate in El Dorado reflects the rigidly defined block-gang turfs that structure most students' daily routes. The somewhat lower rate in Fairhaven reflects the problems encountered by many students along the bus routes. The very low rate in Soulville is related to the fact that most students live near the school and walk back and forth, along with the fact that youth violence in Soulville, at least until recently, has not been organized in terms of rigidly defined block turfs. There has been one exception to that pattern in Soulville, however. One housing project there is tightly controlled by a local gang that monopolizes some highly desirable play spaces and basketball courts. The perceived need to avoid those specific spaces accounts for the fact that we classified over half the Soulville respondents as altering use of neighborhood space.

School-specific differences in physical plant characteristics and program differentiation account for lifespace changes between programs within school and in use of hallways, cafeterias, and schoolyards. Fairhaven's school has the most differentiated structure and students there have the most choice in terms of use of non-classroom spaces. As a result, they are more likely to change those use patterns to solve problems, including problems of exposure to violence. El Dorado's school is closely controlled by

the administration in such a way that students have very little choice about where to go during the school day. They are closely and continuously monitored from the moment they arrive. The school does move students around among the four academies within the school, however, as a very conscious strategy for dealing with conflicts. The higher levels of program change within school in El Dorado thus reflect choices made by administrators, not by the students themselves.

The explication and interpretation of the patterns of behavior and experience reflected in Tables 1 through 4 above show some of the ways in which these schools and communities differ in the exposure of early adolescents to violence. Besides providing some rudimentary descriptive quantifications of these patterned differences, the foregoing discussion also analyzes these differences in terms of specific patterns of local social organization.

Lifespace and Development: Case Studies of Aggressive, Depressive, and Resilient Trajectories

The presentations of data thus far have not directly addressed questions of development and individual variation. We now take up that task by presenting individual case studies from each site that trace short-term developmental trajectories, drawing on the lifespace construct as both a heuristic device for assessing person-environment interaction over time and as a theory of normal and abnormal adolescent development.

In Lewin's conception (1942), expansion of lifespace is a characteristic of normal adolescent development. Lack of such expansion is defined as developmental regression. As we have just shown, there are high levels of exposure to violence in these areas and prevalent adjustments of lifespace, minor and major, related to this exposure. The next question to be addressed is the extent to which these adjustments should be regarded as developmentally deleterious, as implied by the term regression. Clearly, some of these adjustments are the result of traumatic experiences and are undertaken under duress, as when a whole family moves or sends an adolescent to live with others in order to keep him or her out of trouble.

Just as clearly, other changes are part of normal development. Most children need to learn to stay away from danger and are taught early on by their parents such things as not to accept candy or invitations to go for a ride in a car from strangers. Learning such things constitutes an experience of the limits of one's lifespace, but this learning is a necessary part of learning to be autonomous. Confronting limits is not the same thing as regression in the Lewinian sense. It is in fact part of the experience of expanding lifespace. For example, the data already presented strongly suggest that the social response to an adolescent crisis involving exposure to violence is to move that person into a different class, a new school, or even a new neighborhood. Such movements may be developmentally positive for some adolescents, providing distance from a damaging experience and a chance for a new start. Alternatively, such movements may merely perpetuate or exacerbate the problem by throwing the person into a new environment in

which there will be tests of toughness in the absence of established sources of social support.

Relating the inductively generated categories of lifespace changes just discussed to issues of normal and abnormal development thus requires some further theoretical work in conjunction with closer examination of the data. There follow three individual-level case studies from each of the three sites that allow us to consider these questions in more depth. These cases all examine developmental trajectories following exposure to violence and present examples for each site of three kinds of trajectory: those in which the adolescent becomes more aggressive, those involving apparent depressive symptoms, and those in which adolescents are resilient, becoming neither aggressive or depressed following exposure to violence. As noted earlier, existing literature has documented all three types of developmental sequelae, with most attention to date focused on depressive outcomes. These developmental processes have paid relatively little systematic attention to person-environment interactions, as assessed by the lifespace framework employed here.

The following case studies use the lifespace construct to trace these different types of developmental progressions within the three school and neighborhood environments. The specific social organizational characteristics of the schools and communities already discussed are employed in order to contextualize these patterns of individual development. Each case includes information on family, school, peer, and community relationships; the extent and type of exposure to violence; and the adolescent's short-term developmental trajectory.

Fairhaven cases

As noted above, a number of Fairhaven sample members, more than in the other two sites, report only minor exposure to violence. The following are cases where there has been exposure.

Aggression. Bobby is a white male who lived with his older sister and parents in the working-class area near Union Intermediate School when he began seventh grade there. His father supported the family with a municipal clerical job. Bobby was rated intelligent by his school and placed in honors classes. During the year, however, Bobby got into many fights and was transferred to remedial classes, primarily because of his aggressive behavior. Bobby's fights with his peers stemmed directly from violence in his home. His father had abused his mother and Bobby for years. Both parents have histories of drug abuse, involving cocaine and prescription drugs, and his mother had been hospitalized for severe depression. The family has at various times drawn the scrutiny of the police and of child protective services.

As Bobby reached adolescence, his physical conflicts with his father became more severe. Though popular with peers in school, both black and white, Bobby continued to get into many fights with them as his conflicts at home worsened. He was well-liked by some of his teachers, but they tended to respond to his aggressiveness by

advising him to take his fights outside of school so that he could avoid further suspensions.

During the year, the family moved to a nearby neighborhood. The move was motivated by a number of factors. They were able to buy their own home. They also disliked the racial transition in the old neighborhood and wanted to get away from the increasing number of black families. Bobby's fights were a related factor, as some of them involved racial confrontations in which Bobby seemed to be emulating his father's overtly racist attitudes. At other times, however, Bobby was quite friendly and comfortable with black peers. Conflicts with his father continued to worsen, and, the following year, Bobby moved in with an aunt who lived in the suburbs. His behavior improved somewhat after he got away from his father, though he continued to get into fights.

Depression. Raket is an African-American female who lived in the housing project near the school with both her parents. Her mother was employed as a school safety officer, though not in Raket's school. Her father collected disability and appeared to be an alcoholic. Her three older brothers had all been in trouble with law and abused illegal drugs. The family has moved several times, most recently after someone was shot to death right outside their apartment door. Raket has often expressed a desire to get away from her environment and go to live with an older sister in Florida.

In school, Raket was placed in a special class for low achievers, not an official special education class or a dumping ground for aggressive students, but a track devised by the school for students who needed extra attention. She appeared much more immature than her peers, with a fixation of Minnie and Mickey Mouse characteristic of younger children. She expressed horror at girls her age who were sexually active and got into fights. She did poorly in school, though she was a talented artist who produced very detailed drawings. She also associated with younger children in school and around the housing project.

Raket has had clear depressive symptoms. She has threatened suicide on a number of occasions. Her mother sent her to a psychiatric hospital for evaluation after Raket said she'd jump out of a window after a fight with her mother which had become physical. Only a few weeks after being institutionalized, Raket and her mother had another physical fight. Her already low grades in seventh grade declined further the following year.

Resilience. Randy lived in the far end of the district with his mother, younger brother and sister, and an older sister. He has an older brother who is in the Navy. Randy did not have much contact with his father, but his mother was a strong West Indian woman who has always been very involved in her children's education. Both Randy and his siblings have been good students, placed in advanced classes. Their small rental apartment in a walk-up building was very crowded, but there was an electronic piano in the living room which Randy played. He had been taking piano lessons for a few years,

and listened to all kinds of music. Randy loved animals and planned to become a veterinarian.

Despite his strong family, Randy has been exposed to lots of violence. He has been robbed three times, once at gunpoint. Two of these incidents took place in his immediate neighborhood, one in the projects near the school as he was coming in late to school with a couple of other boys. In none of these cases was he hurt, and he never attempted any retaliation against the perpetrators. After these incidents, his mother reported that he had trouble sleeping and the migraine headaches he has suffered since childhood got worse. She thought it was because of all he had been through.

Randy walked a fine line with his peers. He hung out with a popular, tough crowd, while being considered a "good kid" by adults. Randy said he wanted to avoid getting in trouble, and had never provoked a fight, though he has often in situations where trouble occurred. In seventh grade, Randy hung out with Kenny, one of the most aggressive boys in the school. In eighth grade, he hung out with a large group of some of the tougher kids in the cafeteria and schoolyard, settings known for the prevalence of fights. After school, Randy rode the city bus designated for students who resided in the far end of the district. The bus was overcrowded and fights were an everyday occurrence. Other trouble-avoiding kids tended to stick to the front of the bus to stay away from the "bad kids" at the back, but Randy sat in the back, among the rowdy boys and girls who make most of the trouble. Sometimes, when he knew there was going to be a big fight on the bus, he found another way home.

Unlike most kids, Randy did not give back-up to his friends when there was a fight. Somehow he had carved out an identity for himself, within a tough group of kids, as someone who would not join in. When asked if he was seen as a "punk" by other kids because of this, he replied that boys know him as someone who doesn't participate in fighting, and girls actually like him more because of it. Despite his depressive symptoms with sleep and migraines, Randy was generally a cheerful, optimistic, social, and engaged person.

El Dorado cases

Aggression. Wendy lived with her mother, brother, and stepfather in a public housing project. Both her parents were originally from Puerto Rico. Her stepfather was African-American. She had spent most of her life in El Dorado. Her mother was employed as a social worker, having grown up very poor and then gotten an education in New York City. At the beginning of seventh grade, Wendy was a cheerful and popular girl who did well in school. Violent encounters over the next year threw her life into turmoil. Early in the year, girls in the eighth grade provoked a fight between Wendy and another seventh grade girl. This pattern of older youths arranging fights for younger ones at the beginning of the year was a ritual we documented on other occasions at this site. Wendy went through with the fight and later told her mother that she decided to fight

back because she was tired of being picked on and did not want to be called "chicken head" any more. After this event, Wendy became progressively tougher. She physically dominated both girls and boys in her class. She appeared to enjoy the reputation she achieved in this way.

In the eighth grade, a chain of events led her mother to send her to live with relatives in Puerto Rico. Wendy told a neighbor that her stepfather had hit her. The neighbor reported this to child protective services, and an investigation began. Around this same time, Wendy was sexually assaulted by an older boy she met at a friend's apartment after school. Her stepfather moved out of the house around this time, and she went to Puerto Rico, mainly in order for her mother to end the child protection investigation. Wendy stayed there for several months but continued to behave aggressively. She was involved in one serious fight there with a group of girls.

Wendy then returned to New York. At this point, she and her mother went to the police to report the sexual assault that had taken place before she had gone away. Back in New York, Wendy continued to hang out with the block-gang on her street. During this period, she expressed great admiration for an aunt who was much closer to the ways of the street than Wendy's mother. This aunt was a user of crack cocaine who was eventually incarcerated.

As she moved into high school the following year, Wendy became less aggressive. At first she continued hanging out and getting into trouble, but, after transferring to a different high school, things began to change. Moving to a school outside of her neighborhood gave her an opportunity to quit hanging out so much on the block. Also, her relationship with her mother improved, and she ceased to rely as much on her aunt. The new high school she attended was a theme school that emphasized political and social responsibility. Wendy took this message to heart and began to talk about political issues with her mother. As her mother also held strong and similar political views, these discussions helped mend their relationship.

Depression. Jorge lived with both parents and a younger sister. His mother was from Puerto Rico, his father from Ecuador. His father worked at a menial job in a restaurant and his mother stayed home. Jorge had lived for several years on a block where there was a very aggressive local gang. Jorge never had anything to do with them. He described them as "people who are looking for trouble. Most of them are selling drugs and you can't stop on the street. They are very destructive people." During elementary school, his mother kept him inside most of the time when he was not in school.

As he began intermediate school, he was shy but good-looking and popular with girls. He did not deal as well with other boys, however, some of whom teased him about his beautiful long hair. His mother felt that Jorge's troubles in school may have been her fault because she had kept him too sheltered. She pushed him to take charge, saying "I can't keep him in a glass cage." Jorge tried different ways of coping with others but always seemed to fail. One day, he was attacked by a group of boys in a stairwell at

school. They confronted him and asked him who he "represented," that is, what peer group he was part of that would provide backup. Instead of calling out the name of the gang on his block, as the others might have expected, he said that he did not know what they meant. They beat him severely.

The attack left in a state of terrible anxiety. He was miserable every time he had to go to school. His grades began to drop. Even before the attack, school administrators had tried to help him by switching him to a different program within the school, but other students still picked on him. He had acquired the unbearable label of "herb," meaning that he had a reputation for not fighting back. Finally, after the attack, the principal assigned him permanently to the main office where he helped the staff and did his schoolwork. That summer, his mother had him committed briefly for psychiatric evaluation. Soon after, the family decided to move to Puerto Rico.

Resilience. Carlos spent his early life moving from place to place, living with various members of his extended family. He lived with his parents in the Dominican Republic until he was eighteen months old, then with his grandmother. He also lived at times with an aunt and at a church-sponsored school. Between ages six and thirteen, he moved with his grandmother between Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and New York. During the study, he lived with his father, stepmother, and a younger half-sister. His father drove a cab while his stepmother stayed home. Carlos described himself as "a guy who hasn't had a place to stay."

Carlos has witnessed many violent incidents in El Dorado. He saw one teenager attempt to shoot another due to a "beef" between block-gangs. The mailboxes in his building are used as drops by drug dealers. He was once threatened with a gun because a cousin was in debt to a drug dealer. Despite these experiences, he was an honor roll student and highly regarded by his teachers. He knew how to navigate the streets and was savvy about ways to avoid trouble. He reported that he did not worry about his safety because he does not look for fights; he knows who his friends are; and he goes directly from school to home.

He relied on social support from his family and school. Despite his often shifting living arrangements, his extended family was warm and supportive. His intermediate school in El Dorado also provided a number of opportunities which he took advantage of. He participated in the school's extensive after-school programs and also found a summer job through the school. Since entering high school the following year, he has held part-time jobs after-school. He has continued to work hard and avoid trouble.

Soulville cases

Aggression. At the beginning of seventh grade, Hassan lived in a three-bedroom apartment in public housing with six other members of his family: his mother and father, one younger and two older brothers, and an older sister with a young child of her own. The family had many problems. Hassan's father described himself as having led a wild life on the streets in his younger days. He himself speculated that he may have passed

violent traits along to his children. He was now an alcoholic who worked at two part-time jobs. Hassan's mother was illiterate and often overwhelmed because her children got into so much trouble. Hassan's younger brother, only twelve, had already been in drug rehabilitation for heavy use of marijuana. None of his older brothers had finished high school. All had been arrested, and two of them were living in group homes.

During seventh grade, Hassan got into many fights at school and in the neighborhood, but he also managed to maintain friendships with boys who were not so aggressive. He spent a lot of time with a boy named Jamal who lived across the street and who was an avid basketball player. Hassan also lived in a building where people watched out for each others' children and expected certain standards of behavior. The neighbors considered Hassan's family problematic but tried to work with them. They told the parents when the children were misbehaving and got enough of a response to keep doing it.

At the end of the summer following seventh grade, an incident involving a neighbor and his father led to Hassan's going completely out of control. An older woman in the building reprimanded him for something he had been doing. He responded by cursing her. She went to speak to his parents. Hassan's father came downstairs and the two of them got into a serious fistfight in the middle of the street. Police passing the scene intervened and arrested Hassan at the insistence of his father. After this, the neighbors no longer even tried to control his behavior and stopped speaking to his parents.

Subsequently, Hassan was transferred among three different schools for violent behavior towards both students and teachers. A couple of months after the first fight with his father, he stabbed his father with a knife. He joined a recently formed gang. Through his extremely violent behavior, he became the leader of a group of about sixty youths. He began drinking alcohol and smoking "blunts" (marijuana wrapped in hollowed-out cigars) and robbing local stores. He was arrested twice more, sent for psychiatric evaluation, and placed in group homes. He ran away from the homes, each time going on a spree of violent crimes, one of which resulted in the hospitalization of a local boy for lacerations to the face. On his way back to the group home that same day, he robbed a deaf woman on the subway and brutally assaulted her.

At his court dates, his father pressed to have him locked up. His mother at first tried to argue that he was a "good boy" and should not be incarcerated, but then she too agreed that he should be in custody, in part because she had heard that people in the neighborhood were planning to kill him. When even his mother abandoned him, Hassan's demeanor changed noticeably. He lost his former talkativeness and became sullen and withdrawn. He was placed in yet another group home, far away from the city, because he was still only thirteen years old. As he approached turning fourteen, it seemed likely that he would soon make the transition to adult court and secure detention.

Depression. Simone lived with her mother and her mother's boyfriend in a private apartment on Soulville's busiest avenue. Her mother worked as a receptionist and took good care of Simone. Simone was good-looking and extremely conscious of her

appearance and the latest styles. Her hair, clothes, sneakers, jewelry and manicure were always impeccable. She was also shy. The combination of her reserved manner and stylish appearance caused resentment among some of her peers, who complained that "she thinks she's so cute" and "she thinks she's all that."

She seemed to be trying to find a comfortable social niche in seventh grade. For much of the year, she hung out with a group of girls known for toughness and fighting. Simone never joined in the fights herself. Both boys and girls called her a "a little punk" who got "props" (respect and status) from hanging with tough girls but refused to fight herself. In addition, the girls she associated with frequently took advantage of her by leaving her out of activities, making fun of her, and stealing money from her handbag.

Simone often stayed away from the rowdy play in the schoolyard and on the streets outside of school. She spent lunch periods with her teacher or the ethnographer, and outside of school she stayed mostly inside her apartment. She expressed fear about even being in the lobby of her building because a security guard had been stabbed there the previous year. When she visited her father in another neighborhood, she also stayed inside because "people be shooting out there." When asked why she spent so much time in the house, she said, "I guess I'm just a scary person."

In eighth grade, Simone cut herself off from the rough group she had played with the year before. She found herself largely isolated, without friends in school or at home. Her grades, previously very good, began to fall. She enjoyed a good relationship with her mother, but she seemed depressed and withdrawn. She expressed fear about going to high school the next year, saying that "high school is dangerous because people get beat up there."

Resilience. Jamal lived right across the street from Hassan's public housing project. He was conscious of not living in a project himself but in a better building around less poor immediate neighbors. He lived with his grandmother and an uncle. His mother and two of his brothers lived in a different apartment in the same building. His grandmother received Social Security for herself, and Jamal's mother was employed. His grandmother had offered to take him to keep him out of the trouble that had affected other members of the family. Jamal was aware that he came from a family with a criminal reputation. His father had been incarcerated since he was born. An uncle had died of a drug overdose. His cousin was shot next to the nearby basketball courts where Jamal spent much of his time practicing, in hopes of making it to the NBA. Since Jamal was already over six feet tall at the age of thirteen and highly disciplined, his dreams seemed not entirely unrealistic.

His grandmother set and monitored strict rules about attending school, completing homework, and not hanging out on the streets. He maintained good grades in a chaotic school environment where constant fighting distracted many students from their studies. Jamal was a fanatic basketball player who participated in several local leagues, sometimes competing in more than one game a day. He also participated in the Boy Scouts. His uncle, who served as a surrogate father, attended his games and his scouting

activities. The whole family looked up to him and showed up to see him receive a basketball award for a contest he had won at skill.

Despite his involvement in organized activities, Jamal still encountered lots of fighting and violence. He saw several fights a day at school, for example, and he had received offers to join the emerging youth gangs in the area, along with his friend Hassan. He had developed explicit attitudes about how to deal with such situations. He said "I ain't no punk, I'll fight if I have to," but he also said "gangs are stupid; I don't need their protection." He and Hassan parted ways as Hassan became more deeply involved and finally was removed from the neighborhood by the courts. Jamal explained his own approach as, "I mind my own business," a phrase we found to be quite common in Soulville when people talked about the danger around them. "Minding my own business" is a widely understood social role, in which people neither sanction, condone, or participate in the illegal activities they see around them.

Discussion and Conclusions

The life history profiles portray person-environment interactions over time as early adolescents in different settings confront and cope with the violence around them. In conjunction with the school and community profiles and the quantified comparisons of experiences with violence across the three sites, the life histories reveal some of the ways in which social context structures both exposure to violence and the developmental consequences of that exposure. These data cannot provide complete answers to questions about the mediating roles of social context on the developmental outcomes of exposure to violence during adolescence, for a number of reasons. The samples of individuals and contexts examined here are too small for statistical generalization. The developmental period covered is confined to early adolescence. Even in terms of this ongoing study, data are still being collected, analyzed, and compared. Nonetheless, these data do provide a basis for addressing some of the empirical and theoretical issues raised earlier.

These data support other recent studies documenting widespread exposure to violence among children and youth, particularly those living in high-crime urban environments. We found that many of those we have been studying have been directly or indirectly exposed to serious violence. We have also found apparent connections in a number of individual cases between exposure and subsequent psychological and behavioral adjustment.

On the basis of the patterns evident in these data, let us return to issues raised earlier. The main issues are whether and especially how social context mediates both exposure to violence and the developmental consequences of that exposure. Examination of changes in lifespace apparent in these data provide some ways to address these questions.

At the most general level, we see in these data a number of relationships between lifespace and developmental trajectory. This relationship is stark in the case of Hassan. Hassan's extreme aggression, rooted in complex family problems and triggered by the

fight with his father, is leading him on a path of rapidly changing lifespace. He is moving into a world of custodial institutions and losing connections to family, school, neighborhood, and friends. The more time he spends in institutions, the greater this separation is likely to become. The path down which he appears to be headed narrows as a result of his increasing involvement with the juvenile justice system as well and the related contraction of other possible domains of lifespace.

We also see contractions of lifespace related to symptoms of depression. Raket, Jorge, and Simone all to various degrees experience isolation from peers and restriction of their activities outside school to their apartments. In contrast, Randy experiences psychological symptoms of depression – nightmares and headaches – without concomitant restriction of his lifespace. He pays a price for exposure to violence, but his resilience takes the form of continuing to be active and associate freely with others.

In seeking operational meanings for Lewin's concept of regressive development as contraction of lifespace, we thus find that this contraction appears to be characteristic of both aggressive and depressive developmental trajectories. Both aggression and depression are characterized, at least sometimes, by increases in social isolation and contraction of the social space in which a person can move freely. This contraction can clearly have consequences not just for the immediate situation but for future development. Possibilities for the expansion of lifespace that would normally occur during this period are foreclosed, and this process may be cumulative over time.

Minor and even major adaptations of lifespace, however, do not have inevitable consequences during this developmental period. A considerable body of research documents the turbulence, experimentation, and psychic stress characteristic of early adolescence (Feldman and Elliott, 1990). Average grades typically dip during this period, and episodes of depression are not uncommon, particularly for girls (Lewinsohn et al., 1993). Lifespace changes rapidly, contracting, expanding, and adjusting in the short-term, in ways that may or may not have longer-term implications.

Many of the lifespace changes documented here are probably of this indeterminate nature. Both Wendy and Bobby, for example, display increasing levels of aggression during intermediate school that led to major adjustments of lifespace. Neither Wendy's trip to Puerto Rico nor Bobby's move to live with his aunt in the suburbs completely interrupted their aggressive behavior. On the other hand, both did seem to be doing better. Wendy especially, after she returned to New York and reconciled with her mother, seemed to be doing much better.

As the quantifications across the samples in Table 4 indicate, adjustments in lifespace in response to exposure to violence are more common than not. Some of these adjustments, such as learning to take a safe route to school, are completely normal. Other adjustments are more troublesome. A common response to an adolescent's involvement in violence, particularly to direct involvement as offender or victim (or both), is for the adolescent to move into a new environment, in hopes of gaining a fresh start. We found this attitude common among school officials, parents, and adolescents themselves. Sometimes this works as intended, though rarely without some stress related to starting

over in a new situation. New friends must be found, a new or refashioned presentation of self accomplished, new sources of social support located and cultivated. If these tasks of making a place in a new social space can be accomplished, the lifespace adaptation can be a successful strategy for dealing with the trauma of exposure to violence.

In other cases, however, the adjustment of lifespace becomes merely a continuation of old patterns in new places, particularly if the new environment is just as threatening as the old. Under these circumstances, the stresses of transition may merely exacerbate an ongoing and undesirable developmental trajectory. Recent theoretical work in developmental criminology has posited processes of "cumulative disadvantage" (Sampson and Laub, 1997) and "cascading disadvantage" (Patterson and Yoerger, 1993) in which progressive interactions between person and environment lead to a hardening of negative developmental trajectories over time.

Without sufficient attention to social context, the resulting continuities in anti-social behavior can easily be interpreted as the ontogenetic unfolding of inner traits. The lifespace approach demonstrated here allows one to study the external contexts which continuously shape behavior. There are undoubtedly individual, personal factors of genes, constitution, intelligence, and personality that influence whether a person responds to exposure to violence by becoming aggressive, depressed, or resilient. Social context, however, clearly affects the likelihood and degree of exposure. Social context also appears to have a powerful effect on mediating the developmental consequences of exposure. Recent developmental research strongly emphasizes the plasticity of behavior and identity during adolescence and the understudied contribution of social context to these developmental processes (Lerner, 1996). The data reported here show substantial and complex micro-level differences among school and community contexts in the degree and type of exposure and in the resulting adjustments of lifespace.

The manner in which different social contexts overlap within the adolescent lifespace has important implications for the ability to adapt successfully to exposure to violence. Existing research on resilience acknowledges the importance of individual personality characteristics but also emphasizes the important role of social support (Werner and Smith, 1982; Losel and Bliesener, 1990). Cullen (1994) has recently proposed that more attention to social support has the potential to recast many of traditional criminological perspectives on the development of delinquency and crime.

Attempts to assess the relative importance of support in different contexts and how they related to one another, however, have proven to be quite challenging (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, 1997; Elliott et al., 1996, Furstenburg, forthcoming). The comparative, ethnographic lifespace approach provides one way to study these interrelationships: from the perspective of individuals embedded in multiple contexts, with thick descriptions of those contexts included in the analysis.

From this perspective, the data reported here are consistent with other recent research. The family context is powerful but also not, in of itself, one that provides either insuperable risk or complete protection and support. As shown by earlier research (Farrington, 1979) boys like Bobby and Hassan whose fathers are violent or have

histories of criminal activity, are highly at risk for violent and aggressive behavior. Jamal, however, seems to be escaping a similar heritage of male criminality in his own family thanks to the social support provided by other family members and by local youth-serving organizations. In contrast, even adolescents like Wendy, who enjoys the support of a caring and educated mother, are at risk of violent careers if they live in violent areas like El Dorado.

Resilient development in the face of exposure to violent appears to be greatly enhanced when an adolescent enjoys social support in multiple contexts. For Jamal, that means his family and the local sports leagues and Boy Scout troop that they rely on to keep him involved in healthy activities. For Jorge, a progressive intermediate school that reaches out to local families, works with the police to keep the immediate school premises safe, and provides after-school recreation and summer jobs in partnership with a community organization is key. Randy relies mainly on his family and his own personality but also profits from music lessons and his family's church.

Social support undergirds resilience more effectively when it is available in multiple contexts and, further, when it can be mobilized across contexts. The lack of communication between families and schools is a real problem for minority students in Fairhaven and for all the students in the chaotic Souville school. The coordinated efforts in El Dorado's La Escuelita are especially instructive in this regard. The field data from this site demonstrate directly the effectiveness of such coordination both in preventing violent incidents and in mediating the developmental consequences of those incidents. The trust between school staff, students, and their parents makes it possible for adults to know of fights before they happen and take steps to prevent them. Concerted problem-solving such as the gang control efforts undertaken there by the school in cooperation with the police and the community organization make a difference. When incidents do occur, steps are taken to sanction offenders appropriately, without necessarily invoking the arrest powers of the police, and to protect victims from further harm.

El Dorado is still a very violent place. One progressive intermediate school cannot turn around an entire community, but the data from that site indicate that building social support across social contexts for preventing violence and its consequences is a feasible approach to intervention.

The lifespace approach explicated and demonstrated here is closely tied to the comparative, ethnographic methods employed. The concepts involved and even the measures already generated, however, are in principle adaptable to larger-N, longitudinal surveys. Further work using this approach is likely to address the existing gaps in knowledge about the relationships between social context and development generally and about the developmental consequences of exposure to violence in particular.

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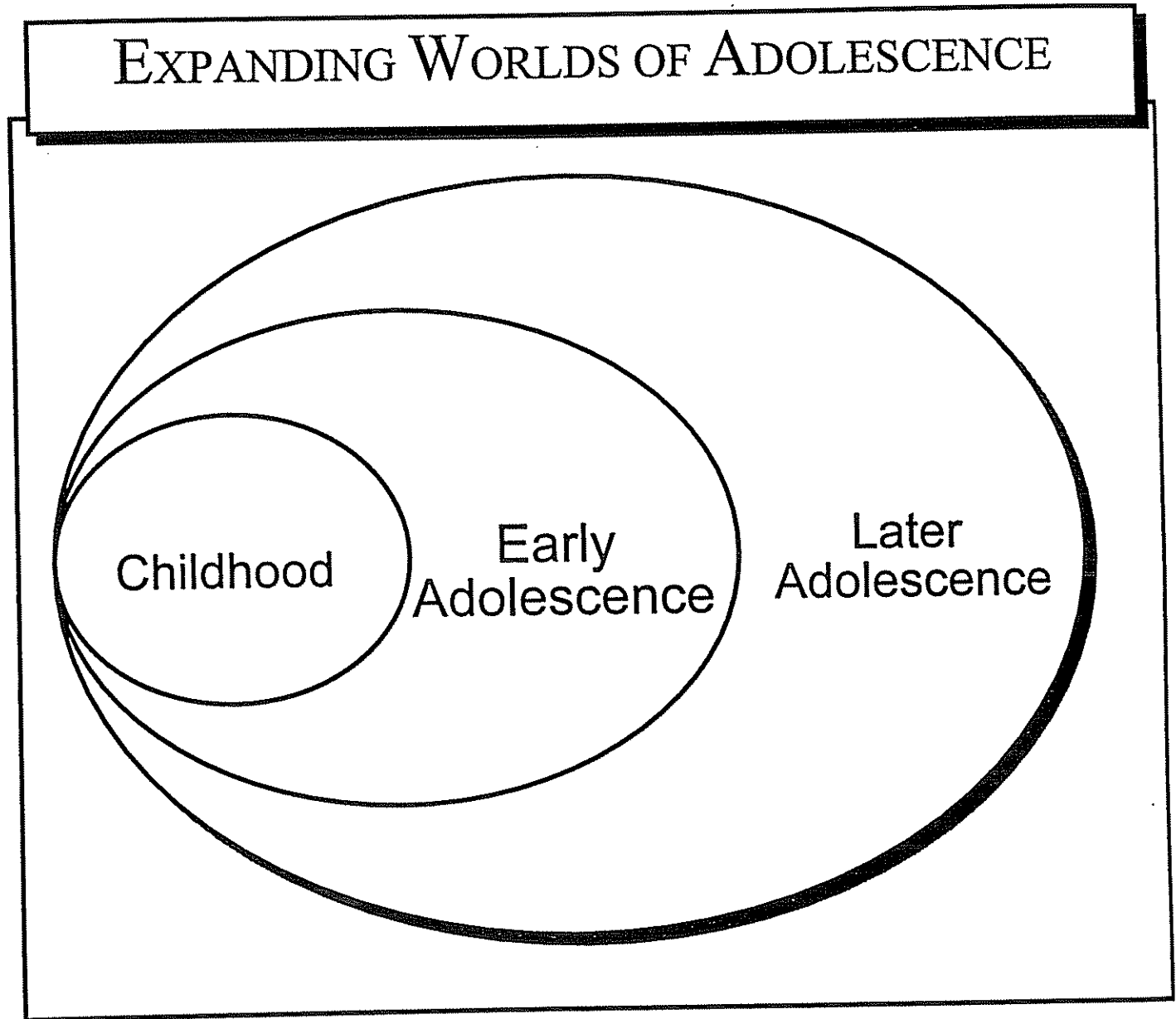
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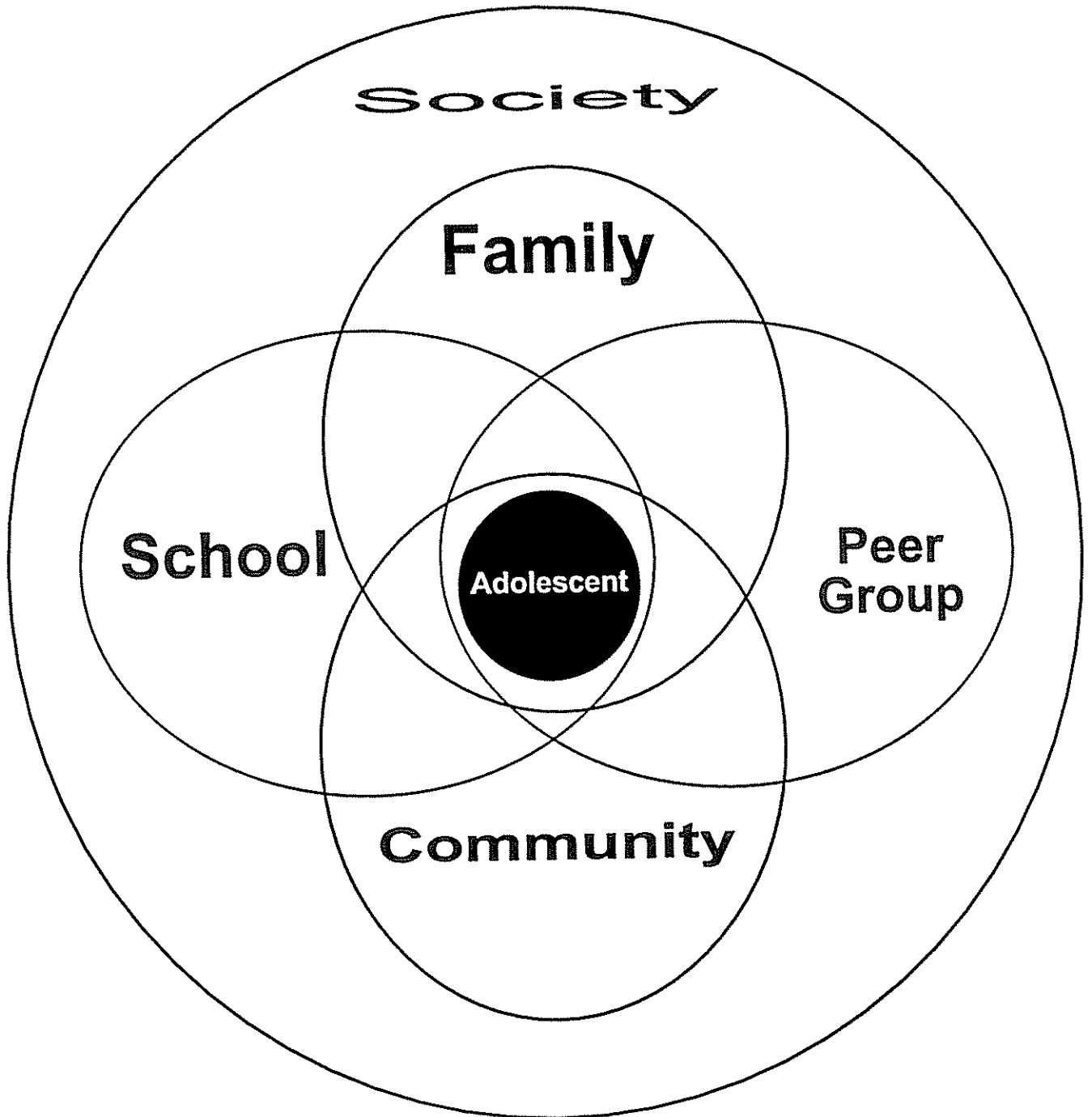
Figure 1



Source: Mercer L. Sullivan, Adolescent Violence Project, Vera Institute of Justice, August 5, 1998

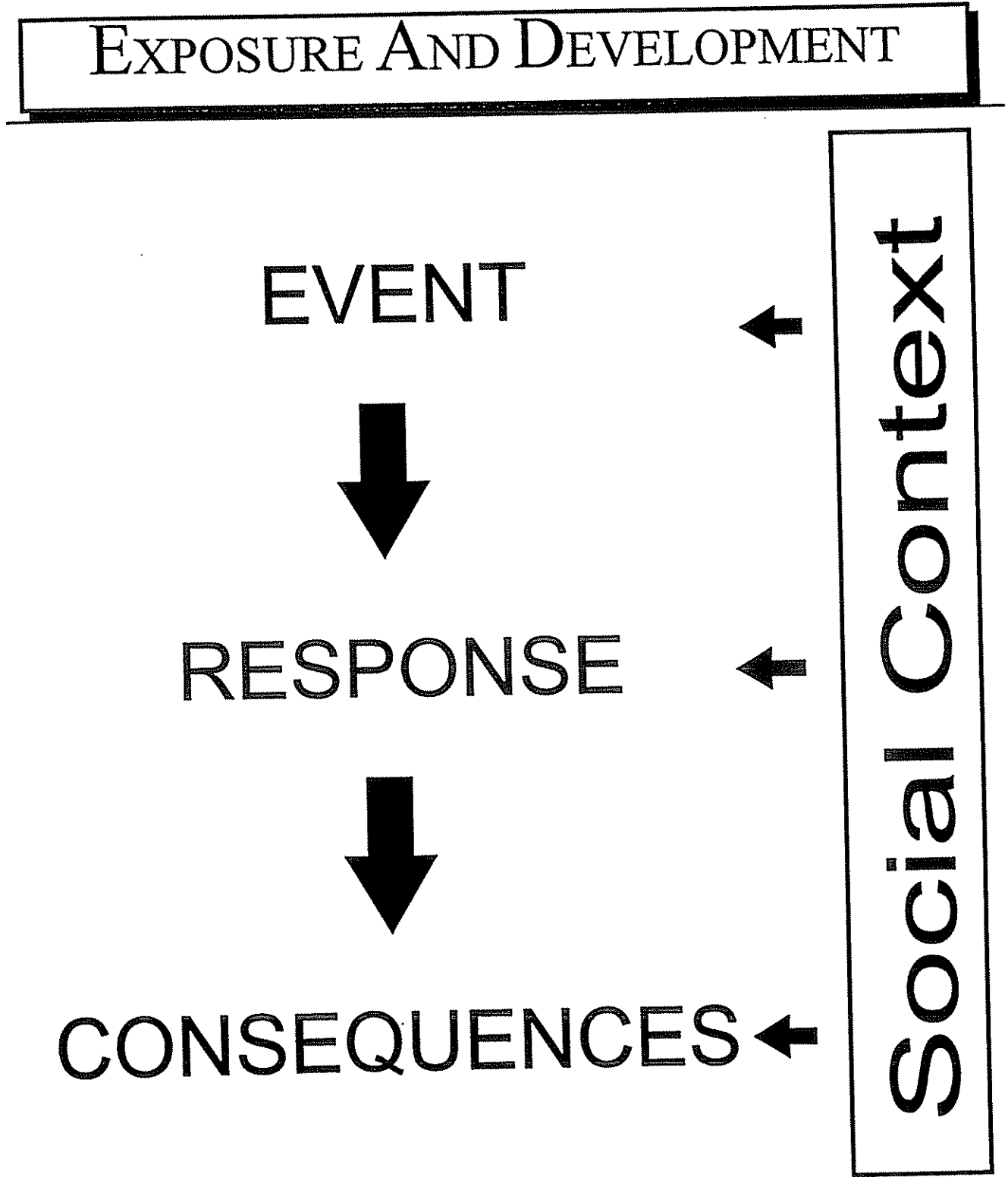
Figure 2

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ADOLESCENCE



Source: Mercer L. Sullivan, Adolescent Violence Project, Vera Institute of Justice, August 5, 1998

Figure 3



Source: Mercer L. Sullivan, Adolescent Violence Project, Vera Institute of Justice, August 5, 1998

Table 1**Offending**

	Fairhaven (N=25)		El Dorado (N=25)		Soulville (N=29)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hit or worse	15	60%	25	100%	26	90%
Possessed or carried weapon	5	20%	7	28%	2	7%
Aggravated assault	2	8%	0	0%	7	24%
Suspended for fighting	10	40%	11	44%	8	28%
Arrested	3	12%	0	0%	2	7%

Table 2**Victimization**

	Fairhaven (N=25)		El Dorado (N=25)		Soulville (N=29)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Got hit or worse	14	56%	25	100%	25	86%
Assaulted or threatened with weapon	8	32%	3	12%	5	17%
Seriously injured	4	16%	4	16%	3	10%
Sexually assaulted	1	4%	1	4%	1	3%

Table 3

Witnessing

	Fairhaven (N=25)		El Dorado (N=25)		Soulville (N=29)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Saw fist fight	25	100%	25	100%	25	86%
Saw someone assaulted or threatened with weapon other than gun	8	32%	2	8%	18	62%
Witnessed serious injury	4	16%	11	44%	23	79%
Witnessed killing or murdered body	2	8%	4	16%	8	28%
Know victim of serious violent injury	6	24%	15	60%	26	90%
Knew someone who was murdered	3	12%	16	64%	11	38%

Table 4**Life space changes as result
of exposure to violence**

	Fairhaven (N=25)		El Dorado (N=25)		Soulville (N=29)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
(Minor)						
Change program within school	3	12%	7	28%	4	14%
Change use of hallways, cafeteria, schoolyard	11	44%	0	0%	3	10%
Alter transportation route	6	24%	13	52%	2	7%
Alter use of neighborhood space	9	36%	25	100%	16	55%
Actively sought trouble	5	20%	14	56%	10	34%
Join proto-gang	2	8%	15	60%	4	14%
(Major)						
Changed schools	4	16%	7	28%	3	10%
Whole family moves	4	16%	13	52%	1	3%
Move in with different family member	3	12%	5	20%	3	10%
Juvenile justice institution	0	0%	0	0%	2	7%
Other residential institution	0	0%	1	4%	1	3%
Any major change above	8	32%	15	60%	7	24%