One-Generation Removed Relationships and Low Rates of Adolescent Violence in Areas of
Concentrated Disadvantage*

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Concentrated disadvantage—the combination of poverty, racialized/ethnic minorities, single-parent families, and unemployment—places neighborhoods at risk of dealing with high rates of adolescent violence (Parker and Reckdenwald 2008; Lane 2018). However, not all areas of concentrated disadvantage succumb to that risk. Although collective resilience to these risks can be elusive, some urban neighborhoods experience both concentrated disadvantage AND low rates of juvenile violence. These neighborhoods are dealing with the reality of racism, fragile families, economic insecurity, underfunded infrastructure, ineffective school systems, etc., but still, manage to limit adolescent violence within their borders. For this reason, in this paper, we refer to them as pockets of peace, even if they might only be "peaceful" in terms of juvenile violence.

We apply this definition to compare pockets of peace in Indianapolis, IN to other, similarly structured disadvantaged urban spaces. This paper focuses on our efforts to systematically explore one of the comparative themes that inductively arose early in the data analysis process. Specifically, although we expected adult/adolescent relationships to be important, during the comparative process, elder/adolescent relationships seemed to be specifically salient. In other words, people one generation older than adolescents' parents (e.g. biological and fictive great aunties, grandparents, granduncles) seemed to play an important role in the pockets of peace. Take this example from a young man we call Gerry.

Gerry lost his phone after the first weekend of the study. Two weeks later—after we provided a replacement phone—he wrote in his journal that he hadn't been in a fight in the past few weeks, but he "thought about it once." We met with him to learn more about it.

The fight-that-never-was involved Gerry and his older cousin. Gerry was "already in a bad mood" when he met up with some friends after school in an open corner lot. Eight or nine young men gathered together under a small tree, talking, and joking. Then, Gerry's cousin made a few

comments, teasing Gerry in front of everyone. The cousins began arguing, tensions rose, and things were about to get physical when Gerry "snapped back to [his] senses."

> *I was like, nah, this my family; I can't fight him. And it be disrespectful to fight right there cuz of grandma. [The young men's grandmother lives on the block.] It be older people outside and even if they not, they come when they hear it. I don't like worrying [grandma].*

Gerry mentioned that "if people woulda been instigatin" the fight might have happened. But most of his motivation for deescalating the situation focused on older people who inhabit that particular space.

In this paper, we report on our investigation into relationships between adolescents and people one generation older than their parents (one-generation removed relationships) within Indianapolis' areas of concentrated disadvantage. Our goal is to identify informal processes and characteristics of these relationships that may help to distinguish pockets of peace from other urban areas dealing with high rates of adolescent violence. To do so, we first turned to existing literature to identify specific types of elder neighbors' roles that might be informative. Hence, we draw upon four primary narratives in scholarship and popular culture about positive elder figures within marginalized and under resourced urban neighborhoods: grandparent caregivers, old heads, othermothers, and "Big Mamas."

Grandparents as Primary Caregivers

For Black youth, kinship care has historically replaced foster care due to distrust of institutions, unfair and discriminatory treatment, and cultural tradition (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler 2000)**.** Throughout the country, over half a million Black grandparents serve as primary caregivers for their grandchildren (Livingston 2013). Black people are 9.2% of the total U.S. population over age 60, yet they are 21.4% of the U.S. population that serves as custodial grandparents (Sneed and Schulz 2017). These grandparents are predominately grandmothers who

are continuing a tradition of simultaneously mothering and grandmothering children (Gibson 2002; Peterson 2018). Often, custodial grandmothers are raising their grandchildren without a spouse or significant other to assist them (Washington, Wrenn, and Kaye 2018). As such, the basic needs of Black young people are falling more and more on the shoulders of these grandmothers, who are younger, have lower income, and are less likely to have completed high school than their peers (Peterson 2018).

A child residing with a grandparent as a caregiver benefits from stability more than one would in the foster system, however, grandparents may experience fatigue and burnout, and without societal support are more likely to face economic vulnerability (Tompkins and Vander Linden 2020). These economic constraints lead custodial grandparents, the majority of whom are grandmothers, to have difficulty keeping up with medical, financial, academic, and social demands of raising a child. Evidence shows that they also experience high levels of psychological distress often stemming from grief, disappointment, anger, shame, and social isolation. This distress can adversely affect the child because of impaired parenting practices and an unstable emotional climate in their home environment (Smith, Hayslip Jr., and Webster 2019). While custodial grandchildren typically experience more stability with their grandparents versus foster care, they often experience significant adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), which results in socio-emotional, mental, and behavioral issues (Dolbin-MacNab 2020).

Old Heads as Moral Leaders and Mentors

In addition to grandparent primary caregivers, literature shows that old heads are salient within Black urban neighborhoods. "The old head was a kind of guidance counselor and a moral cheerleader who preached anti-crime and anti-trouble messages...The old head could be a minister, a deacon in the church, a local policeman, a favorite teacher, an athletic coach or a street corner man...the old head acted as surrogate father for those he considered in need of his

attention" (Anderson 1990). These old heads served as an example of what life could be like for young men who successfully secured a career and committed themselves to hard work and honesty.

Elijah Anderson first introduced these old heads to the academic literature in the 1990s in *Streetwise* and *Code of the Streets (1999).* Anderson explains that, even then, low-income Black urban neighborhoods were suffering from the decline of old heads. In those 1990s neighborhoods, the numerically small criminal element was dominating behavior in public spaces, partially because there were fewer "decent folk"—like old heads— to balance out their influence. The explosion of the prison population and declining work opportunities, especially in the Rust Belt, had already begun the trend of more and more young Black men coming into contact with the criminal justice system, thus derailing their ability to serve as the prototypical "old head" of the past.

More recent work has begun to emphasize a slightly different type of old head. This alternative—the "redeemed old head"—is a man who had issues with crime in his youth, but now that he is older and has aged out of crime, he wants to help younger men to avoid going down the same path (Young 2007; Jones 2018). Rather than investing energy in moral critique, redeemed old heads serve as mentors to younger Black males by rooting their messages in uplifting teachings and opportunities that exist to secure a better life (Young Jr. 2021). With generations of Black men cycling in and out of the criminal justice system, the emergence of the "prisonized old head" in literature became significant, as it allowed for intergenerational socialization and the reconnection of old heads to young Black men with similar experiences (Stuart and Miller 2017).

Othermothers as Guardians of Cultural Identity and Activism

Literature has also touched upon othermothers, or elder women who live in hostile political and economic surroundings and serve as a social resource to their young neighbors.

When possible, they provide essential items like food and clothing, but mostly they offer community guidance and instill values of social justice, cultural pride, and activism (Gilkes 1983; McCandless 2016). Othermothering overlaps with custodial grandparenting in some ways, but it occurs at a community level instead of at an individual level, with women fighting for culturally responsive environments for children who are not their biological kin (Lindsay-Dennis, Cummings, and McClendon 2011; Kakli 2011). In fact, othermothering thrived during historical times when Black custodial grandmothering had been at its lowest levels (e.g., slavery and the Great Migration) due to structural, political, and economic constraints on biological families (Gibson 2002).

This "motherwork" continues today in environments that are hostile to racialized young people. For example, women faculty members actively othermother students at both HBCUs and PWIs around issues of marginalization on campus and community uplift in addition to providing instrumental information (Griffin 2013). Othermothering is also prolific within the environmental justice movement, with social activists framing urban environmental justice issues, in particular, as threats to Black and Brown children, and doing that work for free (Thomas 2018).

Big Mamas as Agents of Social Control

Another narrative, which is more prolific in popular culture than in scholarly literature, is the idea of "Big Mama." The depiction portrays a larger than life, loud and proud matriarch of the Black family. Big Mama is a pillar of the church and shows a fierce love for her family, with a particular penchant for tough love (Carilli and Campbell 2012). In popular discourse, Big Mama emerges as an agent of social control, enforcing norms and preventing deviant behavior.

As represented in popular culture movies and books, Big Mama is often an overblown caricature of an older black woman with negative connotations. In various cultural productions— from *A Raisin in the Sun* to *Soul Food*, *The Nutty Professor*, and any number of Tyler Perry's

productions—the Big Mama character is a nurturer and protector of young Black men. However, due to her over exaggerated characterization, she also emasculates the young men in her family and neighborhood by taking social control to extreme lengths (Bell and Jackson II 2013). When hearing the term "Big Mama," many Americans may immediately create a mental image based on these caricatures. Nonetheless, the term continues to be used as a term of endearment in Black communities, showing affection and respect for elder women who, as E. Franklin Frazier wrote, are seen as "guardians of generations" (Coker 2006).

The current study utilizes all of these categories to investigate relationships between adolescents and elder adults in areas of concentrated disadvantage in Indianapolis, IN. More specifically, we use these categories to identify similarities and differences in one-generation-removed relationships in areas experiencing high rates of adolescent violence versus those experiencing low rates of urban violence. The intention is to describe some social processes that may contribute to these neighborhoods' resilience despite facing structural risk factors.

Methods

<u>Setting</u>

This study uses data organized by block groups in Indianapolis, IN. Between 2012 and 2017, when we collected the data, Indianapolis was the 17th largest city in the nation with a larger population than Seattle, Denver, or Washington D.C. In 2017, more than one out of every four Indianapolis residents (28%) were Black, and one in ten (10%) were Latinx. While only 13% of people lived in poverty in the United States, 17.5% of Indianapolis residents reported incomes below the poverty line. Six percent of the Indianapolis population was unemployed (Bureau 2019).

Indianapolis, Indiana is an example of the mid-sized Rust Belt cities that have come to dominate the list of U.S. cities grappling with high rates of violence. After six consecutive years

of rising murder rates, Indianapolis was number 12 on the list of cities with the highest violent crime rate in 2016. In that year, Indianapolis neighborhoods experienced 1,374 violent crimes per 100,000 residents, including 148 homicides. For comparison, there were 386.3 violent crimes per 100,000 inhabitants throughout the United States (United States Department of Justice 2017).

Sample

The Polis Center in Indianapolis has created one of the largest community information systems in the nation. We used this data information system, called SAVI, to find violence-resilient neighborhoods in Indianapolis. First, we identified census block groups experiencing concentrated disadvantage. The concentrated disadvantage measure is a composite score of 2010 block group level poverty-related variables that are often difficult to examine independently because of multicollinearity (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Chamberlain and Hipp 2015). Our measure of concentrated disadvantage represents averaged z-scores of the percent of residents in poverty, percent unemployed, percent single parent, percent non-white, and percent receiving public assistance. Based on this information, 127 block groups out of the 632 total block groups (the top 20%) were identified as areas of concentrated disadvantage.

Next, we examined adolescent violence statistics over five years (between 2008 and 2012) within areas of concentrated disadvantage. Adolescent violence included juvenile offense charges for battery, gun crimes, intimidation, murder, rape, sexual battery, and manslaughter. We define resilient neighborhoods as areas of concentrated disadvantage that, according to juvenile charge data on offense address, experienced no more than one act of adolescent violence within its borders each year. Based on these criteria, there were 19 adolescent violence-resilient neighborhoods—or pockets of peace—within Indianapolis' 127 areas of concentrated disadvantage. Hence, our sample consists of 19 pockets of peace and 108 comparison areas.

Data

The data for this study come from two sources. First, the research team collected qualitative data using a method that we call "roving." "Roving listeners" and "roving interpreters" are a mainstay within the practice of Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) (Calgaro 2020; Lindau 2011; Yowonske and Downey 2017). Rovers discover citizens' gifts, passions, and talents in communities, and they attempt to find ways to utilize these gifts in community development efforts. This work is characterized, in general, as the practice of "deep listening" and "positive deviance" from the typical models of neighborhood organizing. A group of residents who self-identify as roving listeners became paid members of the research team and gathered data about neighborhood assets and social processes in Indianapolis neighborhoods with concentrated disadvantage.

Although the technique varied slightly from our approach, Moore and Woodcraft (Moore 2019) integrated citizen scientists on their team in a very similar fashion to our rovers: ten local residents gathered data by conducting "walking ethnographies," systematic social observations, interviews, and group discussions. Our rovers could similarly be thought of as citizen scientists (K.C. Elliott, & Rosenberg, Jon. 2019; Strasser et al. 2019) who spent time in public spaces, gathered stories, and documented their observations. These team members were blinded, meaning that other team members told them that every area they were visiting was a pocket of peace. They were assigned to spend time in both a pocket and its closest comparison area (identified using closest-neighbor propensity score matching). After completing one day of roving in the assigned geographic region, the rovers met with another research team member and participated in a semi-structured interview. Transcriptions of these interviews provided nearly six hundred pages worth of qualitative data.

Second, we recruited twenty-eight young men aged 16 to 19 to participate in a cell phone diary study.[1] Twelve of the young men were from pockets of peace, and sixteen were from other areas of concentrated disadvantage. These young men completed semi-structured interviews, enrollment and exit surveys, and biweekly "diaries" via Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA). Health researchers have used EMA to study various health issues among adolescents (Hensel et al. 2017; Shiffman 2016; Flores et al. 2018). In EMA, participants respond to a pre-programmed survey on a cellular phone at specific times or intervals.

In our case, participants were prompted to fill out a survey every Thursday and Sunday evening over three months. The survey asked whether participants had engaged in violence or almost engaged in violence but decided not to. If they answered "yes," participants were asked to answer a series of questions about that situation. If they answered "no," participants were directed to another module of questions about urban hassles, which required a similar amount of time to complete. The alternative module guarded against underreporting violence to shorten the time spent on the survey.

Analysis

We used what Gonzalez Castro and his colleagues refer to as a concurrent, integrative, and unified approach to combine findings from both collection methods (Castro et al., 2010). In other words, although the data were gathered sequentially (in the order described here), they were analyzed simultaneously. Any finding that emerged from one data source was then evaluated using data from the other source.

Our analyses began with open coding (not confined by established constructs and concepts (Glaser 2016)). In the first round, three team members read through overlapping

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[1] For a more detailed description of this data collection effort, refer to [this note will direct readers to a peer-reviewed article published by the authors].

sections of the qualitative data such that two people read every item. The team compiled a list of emergent themes based on these initial readings and trends and developed a codebook with coding trees. The trees consisted of selective themes and axial categories (Williams and Moser 2019).

As discussed in the introduction, our open coding identified the selective theme "one-generation-removed relations." Based on revisiting the literature, we created four axial categories: grandparent caregiving, elder women exerting social control, old heads, and othermothers. Subsequently, we performed focused coding using these categories in Dedoose (Dedoose 2012). After beginning coding during this stage, we checked for intercoder reliability in Dedoose, which had a Cohen's Kappa value of .89. We use pseudonyms when reporting results from these analyses.

Findings

Primary Caregiver Relationships are Not Unique in Pockets of Peace

Grandparents were serving as primary caregivers of children in nearly every area we studied. On average, 41 grandparents were raising their grandkids in each of the census tracts containing a pocket of peace, and 49 grandparents were raising grandkids in other census tracts. The largest number of grandparent caregivers in pockets of peace was 102, while one of the comparison areas contained 211 grandparent caregivers. When these outliers are removed, the mean number of grandparent caregivers in the two types of areas are 36 and 39, respectively.

There may be a slightly smaller number of grandparent caregivers in pockets of peace, but neither the quantitative nor the qualitative evidence reveal clear patterns. The data show that many children in pockets of peace reside with their grandparents, but that the relationships these kids have with their grandparents are varied in terms of parenting style, attachment, family structure, etc. Consider the differing experiences of two young men that are documented below.

--I went back to Brookville and met a young man. He was dining away on his Mac and listening to music on his iPhone. I asked, "How long have you lived in this area?" and he said, "All of my life. I live with my grandma." I asked, "So do you have a story to tell?" He smiles, "Well my story didn't start so good, but its better now. . . Well, when I was younger it was really rough, I had a horrible time in schools. The teachers didn't understand me, and I didn't understand them. And when I was 14, the school called my grandma and told her that they were done with me and that there was nothing else they could do for me and that they were going to give me a certificate of completion so that I could start my life. They said that I did not have the mental capacity to ever use a computer or even a smartphone. This made my grandma and my mom so mad; they tried fighting the school but eventually took me to another school, a charter school. That's when things turned around for me. I wasn't even at the school for two hours, and I already had my first friend. Everyone there was so nice to me, and I started getting good grades. They always told me how proud they were of my constant improvement. I had a hard life, but its way better now."

--Jay stays with his grandparents. He wants to move out, especially during college. He argues with his grandparents a lot. He says, "I hate being in a household where I'm treated like I am younger than I am. They treat me like I'm 12." His grandfather doesn't talk to him; he only talks when the pastor is around. His mom knows he smokes because she gave him a drug test. The grandparents don't know – they just think his room smells like "boy." He sleeps all the time. They just think that his room stinks. His grandparents tell him to let his window up because of the smell.

These examples reveal two ends of the spectrum of relationships between adolescents and their grandparent caregivers. The first provides an example of a grandson who holds his

grandparent primary caregiver in high regard. He respects his grandmother and sees her as having a positive influence as both a caregiver and as a person who is "grandmothering." The second provides an example of a grandparent primary caregiver who the grandchild perceives as being simultaneously overbearing and out of touch. This young man reported several arguments and disagreements with his grandparent caregivers and was even thrown out of the house at one point. The stories we gathered ranged along this spectrum, with no pattern emerging that distinguishes grandparent primary caregivers in pockets of peace from those in other under-resourced areas.

If "Big Mama" Exists, She is Outside Pockets of Peace

Our team looked for any evidence of Big Mamas in pockets of peace, but most of the evidence came from data outside of the pockets. For example, in their cell phone diary entries, three young men mentioned elder women who had some of the characteristics of Big Mama. These young men all lived in the comparison areas and spoke about grandmas who commanded respect and limited negative behaviors, even if not immediately present. These women had some of the characteristics of a nurturer who at the same time plays a significant role in the social control of the men and neighborhood in general.

> --James told us, "I can't lie - like what I noticed growing up was if people had good events to go to, they would be like, 'let me get proper in front of people.' When people come to Jefferson Park, I can't stunt, everybody be proper. Later they turn up, but in the day it be like 'grandmama's there, we can't show out.'"
>
> --Gerry explained why he decided *not* to get into a fight. He said, "after I snapped back to my senses, I was like 'nah this my family, I can't fight him.'" He says it would have been disrespectful to fight there in his grandmother's neighborhood...There were several reasons he didn't fight, including ... that his grandmother might have found out.

-- Jamil's grandpa said he was going to put him out on Sunday. Then his
grandma found out. On Wednesday, the grandma pulled them both aside and
cussed them out. [The young man was not, ultimately, thrown out.]

In general, these "grandmamas" seem to be well respected and even play a matriarchal role for the young men and the neighborhood. However, their presence was rare in pockets of peace. The closest evidence of a Big Mama in a pocket of peace came from a testimonial from an elder woman:

--She says, "I am friendly with my children, but I am their parent," and she
says, "rules apply." She said she was strict, but she was fair. She has raised her
children that way, and her grandchildren are now being raised that way: that
you respect people, respect others, respect property."

We interpret this statement as more representative of a particular parenting style than showing evidence of the Big Mama phenomenon. In the examples provided from outside of pockets of peace, the elder women are exerting some social control over behaviors in public spaces and collective behaviors. We didn't find evidence of that kind of influence in pockets of peace. Instead, we saw more examples of othermothers, otherfathers, and reformed old heads.

Old heads Have Both a Historical and Contemporary Presence in Pockets of Peace

Findings show evidence of men with characteristics similar to traditional old heads or reformed old heads in over one-half of the pockets of peace. In comparison, this type of senior man was only mentioned in two of the areas outside of pockets of peace. Some of the evidence of old heads was only provided through stories of the past; meaning, young people in pockets were aware that old heads used to exist. Young men told us about how these elders used to be a part of the neighborhood, usually because Miss Callie, Miss Martha, or Miss Gwen integrated them into

their stories. For example, Miss Gwen is happy to tell young men tales about the neighborhood as it was when she was growing up, "before the highway came." Every chance she gets, Miss Gwen, who is now in her 70s, shares stories about times when "some of the men in the neighborhood would get together and have cookouts and meals and make sure that everybody on this block was taken care of." One of the young men familiar with her narratives explains that the men of old would give out gifts to kids who were getting good grades and would "push people to do better."

We also observed or met contemporary versions of these historical old heads during the roving process, as in the following instances.

--He's a retired teacher. Was a vice principal. Was forced into retirement because he had a stroke, which explained the limp and why everybody was pounding him [instead of giving a handshake]. I say, "so, you know these kids?" He responds, "I've known them from my other career, but," he says, "many of them I've known since I've been here." I ask, "and all on a personal level?" And he says, "yeah, when they come here I feel it is my responsibility as a community leader to look out for them to let them know that I care and I'm watching."

--I noticed that it was two age groups: some older back guys and some younger black guys. And one of them [one of the younger men] said "yo, grandpa!" . . . and I'm like, "he's talking to the guy on the stool." And they were giving each other a hard time in a positive way."

To be clear, the senior people in pockets of peace were not always old heads themselves. Sometimes the elder men and women in the neighborhood who were most similar to old heads were performing roles more closely tied to othermothering (Collins 1990). In some ways, the

elder men in pockets of peace could be considered otherfathers more than old heads or even redeemed old heads.

Both Men and Women Participate in Othermothering, Primarily through Storytelling

Youths' indirect exposure to local storytelling as an oral tradition was threaded throughout our experience in pockets of peace. When we spoke with Donny—a retired security guard— "he gave us the whole 'Blizzard of '78,'" while his daughter and grandkids were listening in the audience. We also met Mr. Glen who our rover describes as "an interesting storyteller. . . He was a host. He would be somebody that would host people and tell a story, and he talked about how he liked to eat. And at the time [when he was talking], their kids were getting out of school and getting off the bus there." In these instances, youth were exposed to storytelling simply through the atmosphere in the neighborhood. At other times, some of the young men themselves recognize and participate in the neighborhood culture practice. For example, Jeff told rovers, "I like my girlfriend. . . when I'm cooking for her, I tell stories that my grandmother told me."

Our interaction with one reformed old head, Joe, is perhaps the best example of how elders are serving as both old heads and otherfathers in pockets of peace. Joe is retired and living below the poverty line, and he is one of the elder men who Carrie allows to hang out in McDonald's. A bus stop for several middle and high school buses is directly adjacent to the McDonald's. A lot of the young people come into the restaurant when they get off the bus, and Joe and his friends are there listening to music, talking about music, and telling stories.

> --So I was sitting there and the first thing, two older men just start talking to
> me. One of them, Joe, started telling me a story about him being a little
> criminal and he was 67… He started out talking about how he was a criminal
> and then, he talked about the "young thugs" that were walking near him and

then he started telling me a story about traveling overseas ... And there was no

shame in this man. He had gray, really gray hair, really short.

--And I said, "Do you ever talk to any of the young men?" And Joe said,

"yeah, we do sometimes. There's sometimes; there's a group that comes over

to us"… this young man, like four years ago, would come over and just kinda

listen to them and Joe said he called the young man stupid (laughs) …Joe

said, "I think he was a good listener, but he had stopped. He was selling drugs,

and he had stopped."

--Then Joe said he had got the boy a job at Wendy's on 38th and Central.

Then he said, like a year later, the boy, he got his GED and went to college.

Joe and his friends serve as an example of the one-generation removed relationships we

witnessed in pockets of peace. Although he is not a professional, he provided mentorship and a

pathway to advancement through legitimate means. Although he has become reformed and aged

out of crime, he is not a direct role model to young men who may want to turn their lives around.

What he seems to do consistently is share stories, talk with young men, and introduce people in

the space—even us newcomers—to a sense of community.

Discussion

Of the four types of relationships we explored, old heads and othermothering seem to be

most salient and unique in pockets of peace. Specifically, in pockets of peace, a few old heads were

present, but even more were depicted in historical stories about the neighborhood. The integration

of old heads and oral tradition tied them—as contemporary individuals and fictive figures—to

othermothering efforts in those neighborhoods.

Our results also indicate that othermothering in pockets of peace may be better captured

through the more gender-neutral lens of otherparenting. Due to structural and historical factors,

traditional, normative, gendered constructions of parenting are rarely appropriate for Black families, as is evidenced through fictive kinship (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler 2000), brothermothering (S. Elliott, Brenton, and Powell 2018), grandparent caregivers (Peterson 2018), and myriad other forms of resilient parenting structures. In a similar way, considering otherparenting may help deconstruct the gender stereotypes and roles that were imposed on these disadvantaged communities, allowing them to purposefully break stereotypes and partake in the social development of the next generation of youth. Regardless of gender, one-generation removed relationships in pockets of peace seem to involve otherparenting.

The importance of otherparenting may be associated with the fact that many old heads in the areas of concentrated disadvantage that we studied do not have stable means nor do they serve as direct examples of how to live a middle-class lifestyle. Even if they are no longer involved in crime, they are not reformed old heads in the sense that they can serve as role models because they now have stable families and careers. However, several of these older men in pockets of peace focus on sharing uplifting messages and culturally responsive stories with Black youth. Like Miss Gwen and some other women in the neighborhood, the older men tell the tales of when old heads or reformed old heads were present. They paint a picture of the neighborhood that the young men have never seen before. In that neighborhood, not only are middle class men who throw barbeques and reward success in school present; but there are stores, basketball tournaments that aren't sponsored by the police department, music wafting from backyards and chatter on front porches.

Thus, the creation of both positive cultural identity and place identity (Belanche, Casaló, and Rubio 2021; Peng, Strijker, and Wu 2020) may be unique to one-generation removed relationships in pockets of peace. The emotional and evaluative significance of place identity has been established in previous studies of young men's violent behavior in low-income

neighborhoods. For example, David Harding (2010) provides a detailed look at the neighborhood's importance on young men's social identity and violent behavior in Boston. For the boys living in these neighborhoods, individual conflict was informed by the recognition that their own actions would influence the neighborhood's reputation. This body of work highlights the link between the neighborhood's place identity and boys enacting violence. In a parallel, the place identity supported by long-term resident elders in pockets of peace—a proud and perhaps hopeful one based on knowing about a previous, thriving time— might explain why young people do not enact violence in specific neighborhood spaces.

One-generation removed relationships may also be tied to pockets of peace specifically through cultural identity. Cultural identity is particularly important competency for marginalized minority youths' positive youth development. "Five Cs" are central to positive youth development: competence, character, connection, confidence and caring (Lerner et al. 2005), but they need to be placed into the specific social, political, and historical context of the predominately Black adolescents growing up in the neighborhoods we studied. As Swanson and her colleagues (2003) explain, failing to consider the historical and social contexts of Black adolescents leads to a deficit-orientation that devalues developmental perspectives, and the avoid racial and ethnic themes. It is essential, then, to add the two "C's" of cultural identity and citizenship when discussing how minority youth might grow into thriving and productive adults (Travis and Leech 2014).

Cultural identity refers to how affiliations with, perceptions about, and social ties to a group influence a person's pride and sense of belonging to that group. The otherparenting and relationships with old heads that we documented are likely to produce a knowledge of heritage and promote pride typical of positive cultural identity. Scholars have linked this type of cultural identity to various positive outcomes among Black youth. Perhaps most important to the idea of pockets of

peace is positive cultural identity's connection to decreased behavioral problems (Brody et al. 2005; Lateef et al. 2022), including evidence that youth with stronger cultural identity are less likely to choose escalation options in response to direct teasing or as a bystander to an ongoing fight (Udell 2008). One-generation removed relationships could be resulting in this type of increased cultural identity in pockets of peace.

It is important to note that this study is exploratory and all these potential mechanisms tying old heads and otherparenting to pockets of peace are hypothesized. We relied upon a small sample of places in one city, and we investigated themes that emerged from initial, grounded observations. Our data are limited to describing the phenomena that seem to uniquely characterize one-generation removed relationships within the pockets of peace. However, we did not test the association between any of the adolescent/elder relationship characteristics and rates of adolescent violence. Those tests and investigations should be done in future studies.

Conclusion

One-generation removed relationships within pockets of peace seem to rely upon banter, colloquial interactions, and general storytelling that strengthens real and fictive relationships. Sharing memories of a thriving neighborhood may be the essential aspect of one-generation removed relationships versus general adult-youth relationships. Adults who are the youths' parents' age grew up during a time when these neighborhoods had already been hit hard by deindustrialization, the concentration of poverty, and mass incarceration. Therefore, stories from about their childhood years would depict neighborhood dynamics that are similar to today's reality.

In contrast, the neighborhoods one-generation removed adults' tales are more likely to resemble a thriving community. The stories may introduce young people to figurative neighbors who can serve as role models. Through oral history and social interaction, elder adults may help

youth to visualize the space around them, and the community to which they belong, in a more positive light. We know that those types of perceptions about place and community influence adolescent behavior within spaces.

The one-generation removed relationships that were over-represented in pockets of peace—othermothers, otherfathers, old heads—may play a role in the social development of youth, or at least the expression of violence as a social behavior within these spaces. It could simply be that the young people respect these elders who they associate with these specific neighborhoods, and so even those youth inclined toward violence do not enact it within these particular spaces. It may also be that one of the competencies that is particularly important to marginalized minority youths' positive youth development—cultural identity—is more salient during or after interaction with these elders. More research is needed to reliably distinguish these potential mechanisms.

Regardless of the mechanism, the potentially positive effect of this storytelling is time sensitive. The concentration of disadvantage in marginalized and racialized urban neighborhoods throughout the country has been occurring since highways began slicing through them after WWII, followed by deindustrialization. So, elders' ability to share these stories—to recreate some of the vibrant Rust Belt communities that they grew up in for the imaginative consumption of today's Black youth—is limited to the generation that experienced the 1960s and earlier epochs (Hackworth 2019). There may be a generational expiration date on elders' ability to occupy this role and, therefore, on the neighborhood-level positive effects of one-generation removed relationships.

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