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ORIGINAL PAPER

A Contextual Exploration of Parental Monitoring in Latinx Parent-Adolescent Dyads

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Abstract

Parental monitoring of youth daily activities is a salient parenting strategy that has important implications for adolescents' adjustment and safety. Limited research, however, has examined positive contextual factors that can facilitate parental monitoring behaviors in Latinx families. We examined parental warmth and neighborhood social processes (i.e., social cohesion, informal social control) as predictors of parental monitoring dimensions. Surveys were completed by 62 Latinx parent-adolescent dyads in a small, predominantly African American northeastern U.S. city. Results of structural equation modeling indicated positive associations between parental warmth and most dimensions of parental monitoring for parent and adolescent reports. For parent report, neighborhood social cohesion was positively associated with parental knowledge and youth disclosure; neighborhood informal social control was negatively associated with youth disclosure. Gender differences also emerged: parental warmth was positively associated with parental control for boys but not girls, and the negative association between informal social control and youth disclosure was significant only for boys. Findings suggest that parental monitoring often occurs in the context of a warm parent-child relationship. Parents' experiences of their neighborhoods might have a stronger impact on parental monitoring strategies than adolescents' experiences. Implications for future research include conceptualizing monitoring as multidimensional, assessing both parent and adolescent reports, and recruiting diverse Latinx ethnic groups and extended family members. Practitioners should be aware of family and neighborhood relational contexts when facilitating parenting practices in Latinx families. Program providers should offer culturally relevant programs that emphasize strengthening the family environment and parenting in addition to adolescent development.

Keywords Parental monitoring · Parental warmth · Neighborhood informal social control · Neighborhood social cohesion · Latinx families

Highlights

- Examined multiple dimensions of parental monitoring in Latinx parent-youth dyads.
- Expanded understanding of Latinx parenting in non-traditional settlement areas.
- Highlighted the importance of using parental warmth and parental monitoring together.
- Parental monitoring strategies varied based on neighborhood social processes.
- The association between warmth and monitoring and the association between neighborhood and monitoring varied by gender.

Parental monitoring of youth's daily activities and whereabouts is identified as a parenting process that has

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implications for a multitude of youth outcomes in Latinx families, including reduction of substance use (Yabiku et al., 2010), higher school engagement and academic motivation (Lowe & Dotterer, 2013), and greater social competence (Taylor et al., 2015). Given Latinx cultural values (e.g., family interdependence and support; Halgunseth 2019), and Latinx families' exposure to risk factors (e.g., poverty and risky neighborhoods; Cruz-Santiago & Ramírez García, 2011), parental monitoring plays an important role in protection, ensuring adolescents' positive adjustment, and curbing adolescents' potential problem behavior (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Yet, empirical work exploring multiple dimensions of parental monitoring in Latinx families and the contextual predictors (e.g., family and neighborhood social processes) of these parenting practices is limited (e.g., Blocklin et al., 2011). Contextualizing parental monitoring is critical as Latinx families settle in various neighborhood contexts and adjust their parenting strategies accordingly (Fuller & García Coll, 2010). As suggested by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, family and neighborhood are immediate environments in which individuals interact and establish relationships. Examining the family and neighborhood characteristics and strengths that promote parental monitoring strategies in Latinx families will advance knowledge about how multiple ecological systems shape Latinx' youth's developmental contexts. Scholarship suggests that parents' monitoring of adolescents' activities is more effective within a warm parent-adolescent relationship (Patterson et al., 2017) and when living among helpful, united and responsive neighbors (Rankin & Quane, 2002). Also, as parental monitoring may be gender-specific in Latinx families (Halgunseth, 2019), youth's gender might contribute to monitoring differences in family and neighborhood relationship contexts.

We extended the literature by examining family and neighborhood predictors of multiple dimensions of parental monitoring, as reported by adolescents and parents, in a new Latinx immigrant destination. In the last two decades, Latinx families have increasingly settled in new destination areas (e.g., Atlanta, Cincinnati) with fewer same-ethnic neighbors and greater racial-ethnic diversity (Negi et al., 2013), rather than in traditional gateway cities (e.g., Miami). The new immigrant destination offers a unique context to understand parental monitoring in Latinx families, where structural resources and protective co-ethnic social processes may be limited (Marrow, 2008).

Theoretical Frameworks

Parental monitoring is situated in and shaped by family and neighborhood contexts. As indicated by ecological frameworks (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), family and neighborhood are both influential contexts during adolescence, and parenting is influenced by other family processes and other microsystems such as neighborhood. Further, García Coll et al. (1996) suggest that parents tend to adjust parenting strategies based on their surroundings and traditional cultural values. From this perspective, the co-occurrence of a warm parent-adolescent relationship and control-oriented monitoring strategies in Latinx parenting can be interpreted as both adaptive and culturally-based responses to protect adolescents in their neighborhoods (Cruz-Santiago & Ramírez García, 2011; White et al., 2018). In particular, culturally-based values, familismo (i.e., interdependence, mutual wellbeing and reciprocal support in a family) and respeto (i.e., respect and obeying to authority figures, including parental authority; Halgunseth, 2019), may promote strict and vigilant parenting practices that co-occur within a warm, positive relationship that are protective of youth in neighborhoods with limited community support (Gonzales et al., 2011; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007).

Pluralistic neighborhood theory (Aber & Nieto, 2000) suggests that positive social processes can occur alongside and offset neighborhood deficits. Neighborhood social processes such as social cohesion (i.e., cohesion and trust among extrafamilial neighbors) and informal social control (i.e., neighbors intervening in youth problem behaviors) have been shown to promote greater neighborhood safety and facilitate parenting behaviors (Law & Barber, 2007; Sampson et al., 1997). In addition, adolescents and parents may form different perceptions of parents' parenting behaviors (Tein et al. 1994). As adolescents and parents interact with different people and form unique neighborhood experiences, their perceptions of their neighborhood could also differ (Witherspoon & Ennett 2011). As a result, parents' and adolescents' differential perceptions of parental monitoring strategies may be modified depending on their unique perceptions of parent-adolescent relationship and neighborhood social processes.

Parental Monitoring during Adolescence and the Roles of Context and Gender

Adolescence is a distinct and critical developmental period for the establishment of long-term behavioral and health trajectories (Dittus et al., 2015). Although adolescents may desire greater autonomy and expanded activity space (Steinberg, 2014), parental monitoring helps ensure safety, positive adjustment, and less risky behavior of youth (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007; Soenens et al., 2006). To date, most studies of parental monitoring examine parental knowledge as the primary indicator of parental monitoring (Montano et al., 2017). Stattin and Kerr (2000), however,

conceptualized parental monitoring as a multidimensional construct with *parental knowledge* of youth's activities and whereabouts as well as three parent and adolescent driven behavior-specific sources of knowledge (Dittus et al., 2015). *Youth disclosure* refers to youth's voluntary provision of information to their parents. *Parental solicitation* refers to parents asking youth about unsupervised time. *Parental control* includes controls imposed on youth's free time, thereby limiting youth's opportunity to engage in activities without their approval (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Examining multiple dimensions of parental monitoring in contexts can enhance our knowledge of the nuances in Latinx monitoring practices, given that no prior work has examined the complete Stattin and Kerr (2000) measure with this population. Past work has only adapted some subscales of this measure for Latinxs residing in established immigrant destinations and found that parents' cultural orientations and parent-adolescent relationship were significantly associated with disclosure and solicitation (Blocklin et al., 2011; Roche et al., 2014), that disclosure was a salient factor for positive U.S. Mexican youth development (Blocklin et al., 2011), and that knowledge predicted lower levels of substance use (Marsiglia et al., 2012).

Family and neighborhood relational contexts are important factors that can shape parents' monitoring strategies. Parental warmth can foster an accepting and nurturing parent-adolescent relationship, which sets the foundation for effective parental monitoring practices (Patterson et al., 2017). Within a warm parent-adolescent relationship, parents are more knowledgeable of adolescents' activities (Patterson et al., 2017), and adolescents feel more comfortable disclosing information to parents and view parental monitoring as an expression of care and concern (Wang et al., 2011). In the absence of parental warmth, adolescents may perceive monitoring as a sign of distrust or intrusion (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). One study found that parental warmth is positively associated with disclosure and solicitation in Mexican American families (Blocklin et al., 2011). More research is needed to examine multiple dimensions of parental monitoring (Stattin & Kerr, 2000) and their associations with parental warmth in Latinx families.

Beyond the family context, parents adjust parenting practices to neighborhood norms and demands of the social environment (Rankin & Quane, 2002). Considering Latinx cultural values (Halgunseth, 2019) and the limited social ties in new destinations (Negi et al., 2013; Marrow, 2008), Latinx parents might deliberately restrict youth's access to neighborhood-based activities by engaging in solicitation and control to protect youth (Maurizi et al., 2013; Rankin & Quane, 2002). Youth may also alter their disclosure depending on their perceptions of the neighborhood (Sampson & Graif, 2009). Past qualitative studies demonstrated Latinx parents' adaptation of parenting strategies to neighborhood challenges, such as poverty, violence, and crime (Ceballo et al., 2012; Cruz-Santiago & Ramírez García, 2011). However, work that examines the association between positive neighborhood social processes and parental monitoring in Latinx families is lacking. To address this gap, we examined how perceived positive neighborhood social processes (i.e., social cohesion and informal social control; Sampson et al., 1997) may facilitate monitoring practices in Latinx families. Specifically, social cohesion assesses one's trust towards and social ties within the neighborhood. Informal social control assesses whether parents and adolescents think that their neighbors will intervene and correct youth's behavior if they see neighborhood youth engaging in problem behaviors.

In addition to family and neighborhood contexts, traditional gender roles rooted in cultural values may also impact parental monitoring in Latinx families (Halgunseth, 2019). Boys and girls may have different developmental paths based on parents' endorsement of gender socialization (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Adolescent boys tend to experience more freedom to explore outside the home and without the family, whereas girls are protected more by parents and expected to assist the family (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Further, some studies suggest that girls tend to be highly monitored, whereas parents know less about sons' whereabouts (Blocklin et al., 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007) despite increased potential for boys' unsupervised exposure to risky settings. Boys may be more susceptible to neighborhood influences because they spend more time outside of their homes and are more exposed to neighborhood risks (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Given the endorsement of gender roles in Latinx families (Halgunseth, 2019), we explored whether the associations of parental monitoring with parental warmth and neighborhood social processes differed by adolescent gender.

Current Study

The goal of this exploratory study was to enhance understanding of Latinx parental monitoring in the contexts of family and neighborhood. Specifically, we examined the contributions of parental warmth and neighborhood social processes to multiple dimensions of parental monitoring using both parent and adolescent reports (Fig. 1). We hypothesized that parental warmth and neighborhood social processes (i.e., social cohesion and informal social control) would be positively associated with multidimensional parental monitoring (i.e., knowledge, disclosure, solicitation, and control). Although few studies have provided conclusive empirical evidence, given gendered socialization in Latinx families (Blocklin et al., 2011), gender differences in these associations were explored.

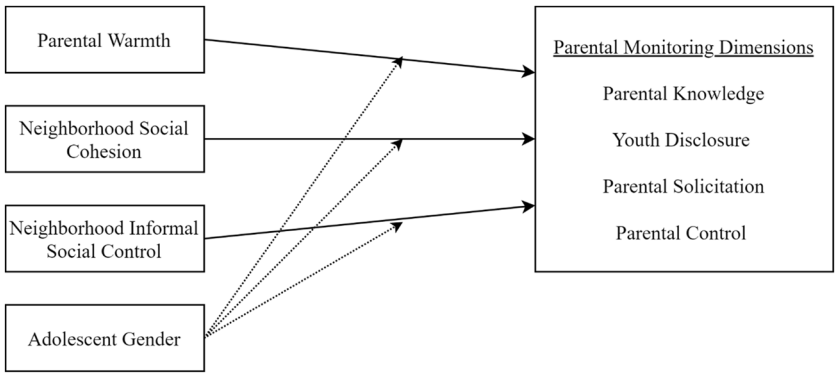

Fig. 1 Conceptual Figure. *Note*. Conceptual figure depicting the associations of parental monitoring dimensions with parental warmth and neighborhood social processes. Covariates included adolescent gender, adolescent age, and parent education

Method

Participants and Procedures

The Places/Lugares study was approved by the university Institutional Review Board with the protocol number STUDY00004644. The Places/Lugares study focused on neighborhood experiences and parent-adolescent relationships among self-identified Latinx families in a small, predominantly African American northeastern U.S. city that is considered a new destination area for Latinx immigrants. Latinx residents represented 18.2% of the city population, with 82.6% growth from 2000 to 2010 (PASDC, 2011). Participants were Latinx adolescents ($N = 62$, 53.2% girls) and their parents ($N = 63$, 74.6% biological mothers). Adolescent age ranged from 11 to 17 years ($M_{age} = 14.28$, SD = 2.03). Parent age ranged from 27 to 68 years ($M_{age} = 42.50$, SD = 8.76). Recruitment took place via referrals from community partners, advertisements at community events, flyers at recommended community locations, snowball sampling, and contacting prior study participants. In total, 79 dyads were recruited. Sixty-one dyads plus 2 parents and 1 adolescent participated (resulting in the final sample of $N = 63$ parents and $N = 62$ adolescents). Fourteen of these dyads participated in previous studies.

Participant demographic characteristics are presented in Table 1. Parents' education ranged from 5th or 6th grade to a bachelor's degree, with 43.5% of parents having less than a high school education. A majority of families had income below the federal poverty line ($n = 37$, 58.73%). Participants completed questionnaires in their preferred language with trained interviewers and were compensated. The interviewer team included the principal investigators, undergraduate and graduate students, and community personnel. Some interviewers were Spanish-English bilingual speakers and others were English speakers. English speaking interviewers only interviewed participants who selected the English questionnaires. All interviewers received multiple trainings on project goals, recruitment and data collection procedures, and in-field activities. During all interviews, at least one bilingual personnel was present to clarify questions. Most parents completed the interview in Spanish ($n = 51$, 81.0%); most adolescents completed the interview in English ($n = 50$, 81.0%).

Table 1 Participant demographic information

	Parents $N = 63$ *n* (%)	Youth $N = 62$ *n* (%)
Ethnicity/nationality of descent		
Puerto Rican	26 (41.3%)	28 (45.2%)
Mexican	9 (14.3%)	9 (14.5%)
Dominican	6 (9.5%)	6 (9.7%)
Other or multiple ethnicities	22 (34.9%)	19 (30.6%)
Marriage/cohabitation status		
Married or cohabitating	29 (46.0%)	–
Not married or cohabitating	20 (31.7%)	–
Divorced or separated	14 (22.2%)	–
Born in the U.S.	10 (15.9%)	36 (58.1%)
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*
Age	42.50 (8.76)	14.28 (2.03)
Years living in the U.S.	15.63 (12.63)	4.17 (4.36)
Years living in current neighborhood	5.85 (7.05)	4.18 (3.73)

Participants lived in a total of 18 census tracts (29 block groups). The number of participants per census tract ranged from 1–21; eight census tracts had two or more participants. Within each census tract, the percent of female-headed households ranged from 4.70–45.67% ($M = 29.57\%$); the population over age 25 without a high school or equivalent diploma ranged from 2.17–40.70% ($M = 25.85\%$); residents aged 16 and older unemployed but in the workforce ranged from 1.34–28.7% ($M = 18.38\%$); households under the federal poverty line ranged from 1.98–56.26% ($M = 36.87\%$); and residential turnover rates within the past year

ranged from 9.20–35.99% ($M = 19.21\%$). Participants lived in neighborhoods with a Black, non-Hispanic population that ranged from 2–74% ($M = 39.94\%$) and a Latinx population (any race) that ranged from 1–41% ($M = 26.04\%$).

Measures

Measures were adapted from pre-existing self-report questionnaires. All measures that were not available in Spanish were translated and back-translated by a translation team consisting of the co-principal investigator and two bilingual Ph.D. student researchers (of Guatemalan, Argentinian, and Mexican background). In cases of translation discrepancies, consensus was reached through discussions among the translation team and one of the bilingual trained interviewers (a community member of Colombian background). Given the diversity among the Latinx population in the community, translators aimed to provide Spanish words and phrases that are commonly used by individuals from different countries.

Sociodemographic variables

Adolescents reported their gender (0 = female, 1 = male) and age. Parents reported their level of education (1 = less than high school, 2 = high school or equivalent, 3 = some post-secondary education, 4 = bachelor's degree).

Parental warmth

Parental warmth (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was assessed with nine parallel items for adolescents and parents, such as "I try to be understanding when my child is angry." Response options ranged from "almost never or never true" to "almost always or always true" on a four-point scale. This measure has been translated previously and demonstrates good reliability in English and Spanish in previous research (Bámaca-Colbert et al., 2018; Gonzales et al., 2006).

Neighborhood social processes

Parents' and adolescents' perceptions of neighborhood social processes (Sampson et al., 1997) were assessed in two ways. Neighborhood social cohesion was assessed with four items such as "People in my neighborhood are willing to help each other out"; responses ranged from "completely disagree" to "agree a lot" on a four-point scale. Informal social control was assessed by participant report on the likelihood of neighborhood adults intervening in five types of deviant youth behavior (e.g., "skipping school and hanging out on the street"). Responses ranged on a four-point scale from "not at all likely" to "very likely". Both measures have been translated and used with Latinx families (Witherspoon et al., 2019).

Parental monitoring

Parallel questions were presented to parents and adolescents to assess parental monitoring dimensions (Kerr & Stattin, 2000), rated on a five-point scale. Given low internal consistency of parental monitoring dimensions in this unique sample, items were subjected to confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). For both adolescent and parent reports, we conducted one CFA model with parental knowledge items and one CFA model with items for the three sources of knowledge (i.e., youth disclosure, parental solicitation, and parental control). Only items with statistically significant factor loadings ($p < 0.05$) were retained, meaning that it was possible for different items to be retained for parent and adolescent reports. Although the final set of items were not identical across parents and adolescents, this approach resulted in the best fitting measurement model for each reporter. In the final CFA models, all standardized factor loadings ranged between 0.30 to 0.97, except for one item with a loading of 0.26. (see eTable 1 in the Supplementary Information). Parental knowledge was measured with seven of the nine original items for parents and six items for adolescents (e.g., "Do you know where your child goes when he/she is out with friends at night?"). Youth disclosure was assessed with three of the five original items for parents and adolescents separately (e.g., "Does your child talk at home about how he/she is doing in the different subjects in school?"). Parental solicitation was assessed with three of the five original items for parents and all five items for adolescents (e.g., "How often do you start a conversation with your child about his/her free time?"). Finally, parental control was assessed with five original items for parents and four of the five original items for adolescents (e.g., "Before your child goes out on a Saturday night, do you require him/her to tell you where he/she is going and with whom?"). English and Spanish questionnaires from the original measure (Kerr & Stattin, 2000) were adapted in parallel by bilingual researchers, and the current parental knowledge subscale was used in published work (Witherspoon et al., 2019). Selected subscales of the original measure have also been validated previously with Latinx families (Blocklin et al., 2011; Marsiglia et al., 2012; Roche et al., 2014).

Data Analyses

Hypotheses were tested using structural equation modeling, conducted in Mplus version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). Hypothesized associations were examined separately for parent report and adolescent report, as parents' and adolescents' perceptions may differ (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011). Intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) showed that ratios of between-neighborhood variability to total variability were miniscule (less than 0.01) for most dependent

Table 2 Bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations of measures for parent report (above the diagonal) and youth report (below the diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*M(SD)*	α
1. Parental Knowledge	**0.22**	0.53**	0.53**	−0.02	0.37**	0.12	0.01	4.55(0.57)	0.79
2. Youth Disclosure	0.22	**0.14**	0.50**	−0.10	0.36**	0.00	−0.24	4.39(0.74)	0.69
3. Parental Solicitation	0.58**	0.39**	**0.07**	0.11	0.47**	−0.02	−0.04	4.40(0.69)	0.82
4. Parental Control	0.32*	0.32*	0.41**	**0.31***	0.06	−0.13	0.00	4.59(0.78)	0.76
5. Parental Warmth	0.55**	0.28*	0.42**	0.23	**0.23**	−0.26*	−0.18	3.55(0.46)	0.87
6. Social Cohesion	0.15	0.14	0.23	0.0002	0.03	**0.09**	0.40**	2.66(0.70)	0.80
7. Informal Social Control	−0.04	−0.058	−0.15	0.04	−0.10	0.44**	**0.05**	2.30(1.03)	0.93
M(SD)	3.93(0.83)	3.56(0.98)	3.18(0.99)	4.53(0.70)	3.29(0.61)	2.71(0.77)	2.39(1.06)		
Chronbach's α	0.69	0.66	0.78	0.76	0.87	0.76	0.91		

Correlations between parent and youth report of the same indicator are presented along the diagonal (bolded). Measure descriptive statistics are presented in the vertical columns for parents and in the horizontal rows for youth

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$

variables. However, for adolescent report of disclosure, the ICC was 0.15. To ensure that standard errors were not biased due to nesting at the neighborhood level, analyses were conducted using maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors. Age, gender, and parent education were included as covariates in all models. Model fit was assessed using χ^2 goodness-of-fit test (statistically non-significant indicating good fit) and CFI (>0.95 indicating good fit), as other fit indices (i.e., TLI and RMSEA) are not preferred when sample size is small (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Taasoobshirazi & Wang, 2016). Interaction terms were added to the models in subsequent steps, and significant interactions were examined using simple slopes analysis (reported as unstandardized coefficients, using the online calculator described by Preacher et al., 2006). To reduce the number of parameters in the model given the small sample size, statistically nonsignificant covariances among independent variables were constrained to zero. Additionally, with four parental monitoring outcomes in each model, dependent variables were allowed to covary only if they were significantly correlated at the bivariate level. Otherwise, if parental monitoring dimensions were not significantly associated at the bivariate level or in the multivariate models, their covariance was constrained to zero. Given the sample size and models, the post-hoc power to detect a medium effect size (partial R^2 of 0.09) was 0.69 at $p < 0.05$ and 0.79 at $p < 0.10$. With limited power to detect small effects, findings are interpreted with caution.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Cronbach's alphas, descriptive statistics, and correlations are presented in Table 2. Independent samples t-tests examined mean gender differences for all variables. Parents of girls had higher education ($t(54.31) = 2.01$, $p < 0.05$), and parents reported that girls engaged in more disclosure than boys ($t(43.82) = 2.05$, $p < 0.05$).

Structural Equation Models

Results of structural equation models are presented in Table 3.

Parent-report models

The hypothesized model had good fit to the data, $\chi^2(20) = 17.03$, $p = 0.65$; CFI = 1.00. Accounting for all other variables, parental warmth was positively associated with knowledge, disclosure, and solicitation. Neighborhood social cohesion was positively associated with parental knowledge. Neighborhood social cohesion was positively associated with youth disclosure, whereas neighborhood informal social control was negatively associated with youth disclosure.

Interactions between warmth and adolescent gender were then added to the model, with all main effects and covariates included, $\chi^2(25) = 23.27$, $p = 0.56$; CFI = 1.00. There were no significant interactions of warmth and gender in the parent-report model. Interactions between neighborhood variables and gender were then examined in a separate model with all main effects and covariates, $\chi^2(29) = 28.95$, $p = 0.47$; CFI = 1.00. There were marginally significant interactions: the association between social cohesion and parental control varied by gender, as did the association between informal social control and youth disclosure. Simple slopes analysis revealed that the association between social cohesion and parental control was not significant for boys ($B = 0.11$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = 0.38$) or girls ($B = -0.30$, $SE = 0.22$, $p = 0.19$). Informal social control was negatively associated with youth disclosure for boys but not girls, as depicted in Fig. 2.

Table 3 Standardized coefficients and robust standard errors of structural equation model paths for parent and youth report

	Parent Report $N = 63$ β (*SE*)	Youth Report $N = 62$ β (*SE*)
Main Effects Model[a]		
Parental knowledge		
Parental warmth → parental knowledge	0.41 (0.10)***	0.55 (0.08)***
Neighb. social cohesion → parental knowledge	0.22 (0.08)**	0.19 (0.11)†
Neighb. informal social control → parental knowledge	0.03 (0.12)	−0.08 (0.10)
Youth disclosure		
Parental warmth → youth disclosure	0.34 (0.13)*	0.27 (0.12)*
Neighb. social cohesion → youth disclosure	0.18 (0.08)*	0.19 (0.15)
Neighb. informal social control → youth disclosure	−0.24 (0.12)*	−0.12 (0.13)
Parental solicitation		
Parental warmth → parental solicitation	0.51 (0.10)***	0.39 (0.11)***
Neighb. social cohesion → parental solicitation	0.12 (0.09)	0.07 (0.15)
Neighb. informal social control → parental solicitation	−0.03 (0.11)	−0.12 (0.14)
Parental Control		
Parental warmth → parental control	0.10 (0.13)	0.32 (0.11)**
Neighb. social cohesion → parental control	−0.12 (0.13)	−0.07 (0.14)
Neighb. informal social control → parental control	0.02 (0.12)	0.12 (0.14)
Warmth x Gender Interactions Model[b]		
Warmth x gender → parental knowledge	0.28 (0.17)	−0.03 (0.12)
Warmth x gender → youth disclosure	0.26 (0.18)	−0.07 (0.15)
Warmth x gender → parental solicitation	0.27 (0.17)	0.16 (0.13)
Warmth x gender → parental control	0.10 (0.16)	0.43 (0.12)***
Neighborhood x Gender Interactions Model[c]		
Neighb. social cohesion x gender → parental knowledge	0.16 (0.12)	0.07 (0.18)
Neighb. informal social control x gender → parental knowledge	0.01 (0.23)	−0.12 (0.12)
Neighb. social cohesion x gender → youth disclosure	0.11 (0.11)	−0.21 (0.21)
Neighb. informal social control x gender → youth disclosure	−0.31 (0.16)†	0.19 (0.16)
Neighb. social cohesion x gender → parental solicitation	−0.09 (0.14)	0.12 (0.21)
Neighb. informal social control x gender → parental solicitation	−0.03 (0.18)	0.05 (0.18)
Neighb. social cohesion x gender → parental control	0.21 (0.11)†	0.003 (0.19)
Neighb. informal social control x gender → parental control	−0.15 (0.19)	−0.20 (0.18)

[a]Covariates (gender, age, and parental education) were included in these models (not shown). Model fit for parents: $\chi^2(20) = 17.03$, $p = 0.65$; CFI = 1.00. Model fit for youth: $\chi^2(15) = 12.61$, $p = 0.63$; CFI = 1.00

[b]All main effects and covariates were included in this model (not shown). Model fit for parents: $\chi^2(25) = 23.27$, $p = 0.56$; CFI = 1.00. Model fit for youth: $\chi^2(23) = 16.69$, $p = 0.82$; CFI = 1.00

[c]All main effects and covariates were included in this model (not shown). Model fit for parents: $\chi^2(29) = 28.95$, $p = 0.47$; CFI = 1.00. Model fit for youth: $\chi^2(28) = 20.92$, $p = 0.83$; CFI = 1.00

†$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

Adolescent-report models

The hypothesized model had good fit to the data, $\chi^2(15) = 12.61$, $p = 0.63$; CFI = 1.00. Warmth was positively associated with all dimensions of parental monitoring. Neighborhood variables were not directly associated with parental monitoring outcomes.

Interactions between warmth and adolescent gender were then added to the model, with all main effects and covariates included, $\chi^2(23) = 16.69$, $p = 0.82$; CFI = 1.00. The association between warmth and parental control varied by gender. Simple slopes analysis revealed that warmth was positively associated with parental control for boys but not girls, depicted in Fig. 2. Finally, interactions between neighborhood variables and adolescent gender were then entered into a separate model with all main effects and covariates, $\chi^2(28) = 20.92$, $p = 0.83$; CFI = 1.00. There were no interactions of neighborhood variables and gender in the adolescent-report model.

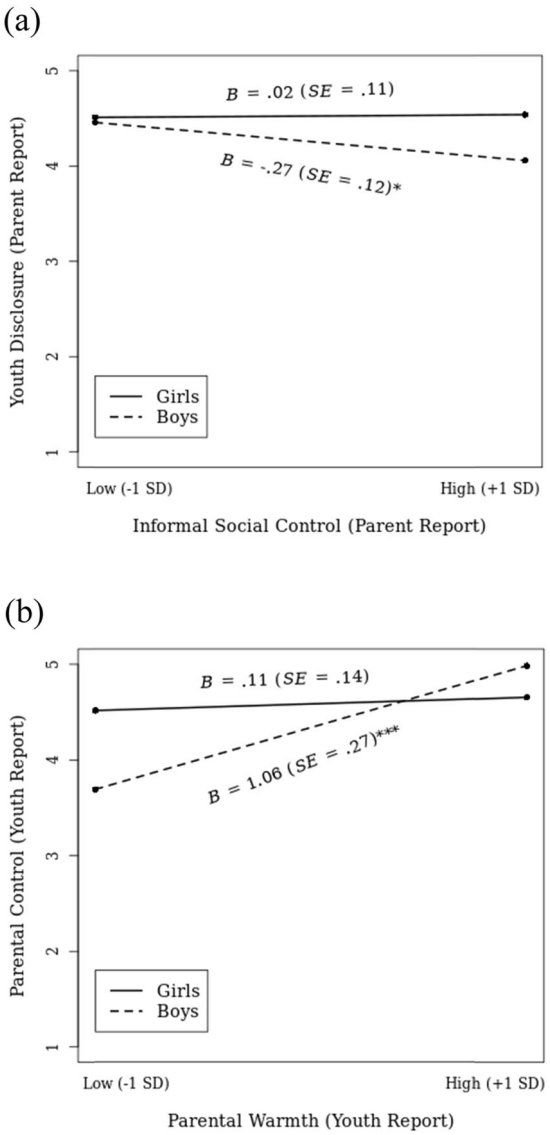

Fig. 2 Gender Interaction Models in Parent and Youth Report. *Note*. Unstandardized simple slopes for (**a**) informal social control and youth disclosure by adolescent gender (parent report) and (**b**) parental warmth and parental control by adolescent gender (youth report). $^{*}p < 0.05$

Discussion

We examined multiple dimensions of parental monitoring among Latinx parents and adolescents in the context of family and neighborhood social processes. Our findings demonstrated the salience of the parent-adolescent relationship and neighborhood social processes for parental monitoring among Latinx families. Differences emerged between parent and adolescent reports of these associations, which is consistent with literature suggesting parent-adolescent differences in perceiving both environments (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011). Results also highlighted gender differences in these associations. Below, we discuss these findings in light of the extant literature.

Parental Warmth and Parental Monitoring

Consistent with past findings (Blocklin et al. 2011), we found that parental warmth was positively associated with parental monitoring, although these associations differed by reporter. For parents, parental warmth was associated with knowledge, disclosure, and solicitation, whereas for adolescents, parental warmth was associated with all dimensions of parental monitoring. The positive associations of parental warmth with dimensions of parental monitoring are reflections of Latinx parenting, which emphasizes the balance of restrictive and supportive parenting (Cruz-Santiago & Ramírez García, 2011; Halgunseth, 2019). In the context of a warm parent-adolescent relationship, adolescents may

be more motivated to make honest disclosures to parents, and parents may be more likely to ask adolescents about their free time. Consequently, parents gain more knowledge of youth's daily activities. The association of warmth and control was significant only for adolescent report. Adolescents' experiences of high parental control alongside parental warmth may reflect their understanding and experience of restrictive parenting and parental warmth that likely occur together to protect them in their neighborhood (Bámaca-Colbert et al., 2018).

Overall, the associations between parental warmth and parental monitoring dimensions did not vary by adolescent gender, except for the association between parental warmth and parental control according to adolescent report. Parental warmth was associated with parental control for boys but not girls. Consistent with gendered family roles and socialization in Latinx families (Blocklin et al., 2011), the nature of parents' control may differ for boys and girls. Latinx girls tend to receive higher supervision and restriction than boys (Blocklin et al., 2011), so girls may perceive parental control not as an act of warmth but as a measure of protection. Another explanation of this gender difference may be that girls in Latinx families tend to spend more time at home fulfilling family obligations, whereas boys tend to spend more time in the neighborhood with friends (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Therefore, adolescent-reported control for girls may be a function of girls' time spent at home under parental supervision rather than parent-adolescent relationship warmth. Because control is a parent-initiated monitoring strategy (Kerr & Stattin, 2000), adolescent report of this gender difference suggested the importance of a warm parent-adolescent relationship for parents to initiate restrictive and controlling monitoring strategies on Latinx boys. In the case of these Latinx parents, their self-reported uses of parental monitoring strategies in the context of parental warmth did not vary by adolescent gender. Future work should examine additional Latinx family and parent-adolescent relational factors. For example, parents' endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) might be a salient predictor of parental monitoring for Latinx girls. Specifically, parents who endorse traditional gender roles might monitor adolescent girls' daily life more and put higher levels of restrictions on their social activities.

Neighborhood Social Processes and Parental Monitoring

Our findings advanced understanding of parental monitoring in the neighborhood social context. Previous literature on non-Latinx families suggests that greater monitoring is more likely to occur in neighborhoods with positive neighborhood social processes (Neumann et al., 2010; Rankin & Quane, 2002). Consistent with this literature, we found a positive association between social cohesion and parental knowledge. Parents who are socially cohesive with their neighbors may be able to rely on the information shared by trustworthy neighbors to gain additional knowledge about their adolescents' activities. Social cohesion also predicted greater youth disclosure according to parents' report. When a community is bounded by trust and reciprocity, the interconnected social network might create an environment in which youth feel cared for and adapt to the community norms of appropriate youth behaviors (García Coll et al., 1996; Sampson & Graif, 2009), which might include youth disclosure.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found a negative association between informal social control and youth disclosure as reported by parents. This finding suggests that when neighborhood informal social control is high, parents perceive lower levels of disclosure in adolescents. The lessening of disclosure might represent a sense of security in a neighborhood where watchful adults share responsibility for providing social control and responding to youth misbehavior (Neumann et al., 2010; Rankin & Quane, 2002). In this case, adolescents' voluntary disclosure may be a less necessary safety precaution due to the establishment of collective community control over youth behaviors. Alternatively, neighbors' intervention and surveillance of neighborhood youth's delinquent behaviors might be in response to limited youth disclosure within the family. Parents who are aware of youth's unwillingness to disclose might request neighbors to "keep an eye" on youth. Gender analyses revealed that this negative association between informal social control and youth disclosure was only significant for boys. Boys are often exposed to more neighborhood risks (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007) and as shown in this study, less likely to disclose. Parents who are surrounded by vigilant and responsive neighbors may rely on their neighborhood social networks to acquire knowledge about their son's whereabouts, especially when their adolescent sons limit their disclosure. More research is needed of these gendered patterns of parental monitoring in neighborhoods.

It is worth highlighting that informal social control was negatively associated with youth disclosure, whereas social cohesion was positively associated with youth disclosure in the parent report. Social cohesion and informal social control are often examined together as a composite (i.e., collective efficacy; Brisson et al., 2014; Sampson et al., 1997). However, by exploring informal social control and social cohesion separately, the current study highlights the unique associations of these neighborhood social processes with parental monitoring processes. Future research should continue to examine these processes in Latinx families in various neighborhood contexts. These significant associations between neighborhood social processes and parental monitoring dimensions were not

replicated in adolescents' reports. To the extent that hypothesized associations differed by parents' and adolescents' perceptions of their neighborhood (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011), adolescent reports may not have been the best instruments to detect associations between neighborhood processes and parental monitoring strategies.

Additional Protective Factors to Facilitate Monitoring

The current study suggests that a warm family environment and trusted neighbors may be important resources for Latinx parents to monitor adolescents in their neighborhoods. Latinx parents with adolescents should cultivate a warm parent-adolescent relationship as well as a strong neighbor support system to facilitate their monitoring. In adverse contexts, caring adults and service programs should also recognize the collective power of vigilant neighbors on ensuring adolescent safety in the neighborhood. Interventionists and community leaders may consider ways to promote neighborhood surveillance of adolescent behaviors.

In addition, established community programs might also help Latinx parents to know their adolescents' whereabouts. Previous studies suggested that adolescents' participation in organized programs might help parents carry out positive parenting practices (Leventhal & Shuey, 2014), especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Through adolescents' participation in organized programs, parents can ensure adolescents' location and safety when they are not around, which can relieve parents' stress from worrying about adolescents' safety and interaction with deviant peers (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Bouffard et al., 2006). However, parents in emerging immigrant destinations may deliberately restrict their adolescents' access to neighborhood-based activities in order to protect them from potential danger (Bouffard et al., 2006), which aligns with the parental control and parental solicitation dimensions of parental monitoring. Therefore, community program providers should pay close attention to the cultural sensitivity and accessibility of their programs to ensure adolescent participation and parental involvement. A program similar to the Family Mentoring Program (Barron-McKeagney et al., 2001), which aims to strengthen the overall family environment and parenting, is a good example to consider.

Limitations and Future Directions

Extending beyond previous examinations of Latinx parental monitoring strategies, this study examined parental monitoring as a multidimensional construct in contexts of family and neighborhood social processes using both parent and adolescent reports in families living in a new immigrant destination. In light of these early findings and the exploratory nature of this study, future work should continue to examine whether Latinx parenting in these family and neighborhood contexts would operate differently within a new immigrant destination as compared to a more established gateway destination. Despite the current study's contributions to the literature, there are some limitations. Although the sample was comprised of Latinx families from different backgrounds, most identified as Puerto Rican. Different Latinx ethnic groups in the U.S. may have different experiences and live in distinctive neighborhoods, thereby limiting this study's generalizability. Future research should sample multiple Latinx ethnic groups to better understand cultural nuance in Latinx parenting practices. Even though a strength of this study was obtaining adolescents' and parents' perspectives, incorporating extended kin (e.g., grandparents, uncles or aunts) in our understanding of parental monitoring and other family management strategies is necessary for Latinx families who often have multiple generations within a household who share child-rearing responsibilities (Barrett & Turner, 2006). Likewise, Latinx mothers and fathers tend to play different parental roles and engage in different patterns of parenting with youth (Crean, 2008; Cruz et al., 2011). Future research is needed to examine mothers' and fathers' monitoring strategies separately to understand further the role of parental gender in the links between parental warmth, neighborhood social processes, and parental monitoring.

Lastly, our results should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size and cross-sectional design. However, it is promising that despite the sample size, we found significant associations within and across reporter that compare in magnitude to published studies (e.g., Blocklin et al., 2011). Due to sample size, we were unable to examine the effects of additional interactions (e.g., parental warmth, neighborhood social processes, and gender three-way interactions) on parental monitoring. Future studies should examine these associations with larger samples and explore these associations longitudinally to discover how parenting practices and neighborhood factors may protect youth from environmental challenges throughout adolescence.

Conclusions

We examined how Latinx families' different domains of monitoring were linked with parent-adolescent relationships, neighborhood social context, and adolescent gender. As this exploratory study demonstrated, family and neighborhood social processes each contributed to the use of different parental monitoring strategies in Latinx families, with a few differences between parents' and adolescents'

reports. Altogether, our findings highlight the multi-dimensionality of parental monitoring in Latinx families. Findings also indicate that parental warmth is often implemented together with restrictive monitoring strategies and that parental monitoring strategies vary by levels and types of neighborhood social processes. The moderating effects of gender suggest the importance of parental warmth and external resources from neighbors to monitor Latinx boys effectively. These findings can guide future research on the salience of contextualized parenting in family and neighborhood settings. Family practitioners and interventionists working with Latinx families are encouraged to consider family relationships and positive neighborhood social processes as resources to facilitate contextually- and culturally-responsive parenting strategies.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare no competing interests.

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