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CHAPTER EIGHT

Parenting within residential neighborhoods: A pluralistic approach with African American and Latino families at the center

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Abstract

The intersection of SES and race-ethnicity impact youth development at the family and neighborhood levels. The confluence of neighborhood structural and social characteristics intersects to impact parenting multiple ways. Within lower-income neighborhoods, there is variability in economic and racial-ethnic demographics and social characteristics and a multitude of different lived experiences. We use a person-centered approach to understand how a plurality of neighborhood social characteristics shape parents' ethnic-racial socialization and monitoring strategies, normative parenting practices for diverse families. With 144 African American and Latino families in a new destination context—areas lacking an enduring historical and economic presence of same-ethnic populations—we examined whether we could replicate neighborhood profiles found in other neighborhood contexts using four neighborhood social process indicators (i.e., connectedness, cohesion and trust, informal social control, and problems), identified family- and neighborhood-level predictors of profiles, and explored differences in ethnic-racial socialization and parental monitoring knowledge by profile. We replicated three neighborhood profiles—integral (high on all positive social dynamics and low problems), anomic (low on all positive social dynamics and high problems), and high problems/positive relationships. Caregivers in these profiles differed in family SES and neighborhood disadvantage such that those in anomic neighborhoods had the lowest income-to-needs ratio whereas those in integral neighborhoods experienced the highest neighborhood disadvantage and lowest proportion of Hispanic residents. Egalitarianism, an ethnic-racial socialization message, and parental monitoring levels differed by neighborhood. Findings suggest African American and Latino families' unique experiences in a new destination context, signaling a complex interplay between race-ethnicity, SES, and place.

The intersection of socioeconomic status and race-ethnicity impact youth development not only at the level of the family, but also at the level of the neighborhood. The confluence of structural and social characteristics of residential neighborhoods intersects to impact youth development in a variety of ways. From an ecological perspective, larger systems affect youth development through proximal contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986), and

in this way, neighborhoods serve as socializing agents directly and indirectly through parents. Within neighborhoods that are lower-income, there is variability in economic and racial-ethnic demographics and social characteristics, and there are a multitude of different lived experiences based on parents' interpretations of and interactions in their neighborhoods.

We use a person-centered approach in the current study to understand how a plurality of neighborhood social characteristics shape parents' ethnic-racial socialization beliefs and monitoring strategies in low-income African and Latino families. Ethnic-racial socialization and parental monitoring serve to protect youth from contextual risks and help youth meet culturally relevant developmental competencies. Consequently, parents may be particularly likely to adjust these culturally and contextually anchored beliefs and strategies in response to their surrounding neighborhood environment. For example, based on the neighborhood social milieu and racial-ethnic composition, parents may deem it more important to impart particular messages about what it means to be a member of one's racial-ethnic group (Winkler, 2012) or engage in more restrictive monitoring behaviors (e.g., control, supervision) if there is less cohesion and support among neighbors.

1. Theoretical frameworks

Parental socialization goals, beliefs, and practices represent key family processes shaped by the contexts in which families are embedded. Ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) underscores overlapping, immediate developmental contexts (e.g., family, neighborhoods) that along with more distal contexts (e.g., policies) influenced directly, indirectly, and interactively the developing child and their families. Additionally, the integrative model for the study of development in ethnic-racial minority children brings attention to race-ethnicity and socioeconomic status as stratifying and intersecting social positions that place families and children within specific developmental niches (García Coll et al., 1996) with promotive and inhibiting environmental affordances or "meaningful social and physical attributes" (White, Nair, & Bradly, 2018, p. 729). Within this perspective, environments such as neighborhoods can either be inhibiting or promotive for child development, and parents adjust their socialization beliefs, goals, and practices accordingly (García Coll et al., 1996). Culturally-informed parenting values, beliefs, and behaviors are thus adaptive responses to families' unique circumstances within their interlocking social positions (García Coll & Pachter, 2002). For example, the degree to which African American

or Latino families endorse the importance of certain practices or enact them, may be dependent on their financial hardship or socioeconomic status. The experience of a high SES African American family and a lower SES African American family may be qualitatively different given the intersection of their race-ethnicity and SES, such that their exposures to varying neighborhoods (Matthews & Yang, 2013; Noah, 2015) produce multiple demands and affordances (White et al., 2018). Guided by these frameworks, the current chapter examines how the intersection of social position and neighborhood context is associated with parental beliefs (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization) and involvement strategies (i.e., monitoring) for African American and Latino families. Below, we provide specific theoretical background for each construct of interest—residential neighborhoods, ethnic-racial socialization, and parental monitoring.

1.1 Residential neighborhoods

Neighborhood structural characteristics (e.g., poverty rates, racial/ethnic composition) and social processes (e.g., social cohesion, informal social control) are associated with parenting practices and youth outcomes (Cuellar, Jones, & Sterrett, 2015; Murry, Berkel, Gaylord-Harden, Copeland-Linder, & Nation, 2011). Social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942) posits that neighborhood poverty and racial-ethnic heterogeneity hamper residents' ability to unite around common goals, identify shared norms, and build positive relationships. Structurally disorganized neighborhoods often exhibit visible cues of disorder such as abandoned buildings and street harassment, and residents' awareness of these neighborhood problems are closely linked with safety concerns (Wandersman & Nation, 1998).

Social disorganization can also negatively impact *collective efficacy*, or the willingness of residents to intervene on behalf of the common good (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Collective efficacy encompasses *social cohesion* (i.e., attachment and mutual trust among neighbors) and *informal social control* (i.e., the willingness of adult residents to act against threats to the collective well-being; Sampson et al., 2002; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). These positive neighborhood social processes can exist even within structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods, and residents can experience their neighborhoods differently (Aber & Nieto, 2000). The interplay between race-ethnicity, poverty, and the built and social environment uniquely impacts individuals' behaviors (Tung, Cagney, Peek, & Chin, 2017).

1.2 Ethnic-racial socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization is a normative child-rearing goal for families of color (Hughes et al., 2008; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Socializing youth about what it means to be a member of their racial-ethnic group is deemed an important belief and practice given the racial-ethnic stratification, segregation, and changing demographics of the United States (García Coll et al., 1996). Although conceptualized in many different ways, theorists have defined ethnic-racial socialization as the messages caregivers communicate (or believe to be important to communicate) to their children about race-ethnicity and have identified four primary types—cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism/silence (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization (or family ethnic socialization, Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013) focuses on instilling racial-ethnic pride and conveying information about a racial-ethnic group's history and traditions (Hughes et al., 2008). Preparation for bias messages highlights the potential for unfair treatment while also offering ways to cope with discrimination (Hughes et al., 2008). Promotion of mistrust focuses on instilling mistrust or wariness of out-group members (Hughes et al., 2006). This practice transmits messages that discourage cross-racial/cross-ethnic friendships or romantic relationships. Egalitarianism or silence about race emphasizes the equality of all racial-ethnic groups or does not discuss race-ethnicity at all. By far, cultural socialization and preparation for bias are the most frequently studied and most often conveyed ethnic-racial socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2008, 2006).

When examining the relative importance of ethnic-racial socialization in comparison to general well-being, academic issues, and peer relationships 10% of African American parents and 2% of Latino parents listed it as most important (i.e., rank 1). Sixty-eight percent of African American parents listed ethnic-racial socialization as rank 2 or 3, compared to 42% of Latino families who listed it as least important (i.e., rank 4; Hughes et al., 2008). As the beliefs about the importance of ethnic-racial socialization messages vary by racial-ethnic group, so does the practice or communication of these messages differ by racial-ethnic group. Multi-ethnic samples show that African American and Latino families engage in cultural socialization practice more than their Chinese and White counterparts (Hughes et al., 2008). Research suggests this preparation for bias is used more often by African American parents than Latino parents (Hughes et al., 2006), African American and Latino both tend to employ preparation for bias more often

than White and Chinese families (Hughes et al., 2008; Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). Also, some research suggests that recent immigrants are more likely to utilize preparation for bias messages than their second- and third-generation counterparts (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). There is a dearth of literature that explores egalitarianism messages and their association with youth outcomes. In a multi-ethnic sample, Hughes et al. (2008) found that communicating egalitarianism messages was "somewhat important" and that Latino and African American caregivers did not differ in their use of this type of message.

With regard to SES, research suggests that there may be differences in ethnic-racial socialization messages due to the different ways in which race-ethnicity may be experienced for racial-ethnic minorities based on their SES (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, higher income African American adults and more advantaged immigrants (including Latino immigrants) report more discrimination experiences (Portes, Parker, & Cobas, 1980; Williams, 1999) than their lower SES counterparts. Given these experiences, higher SES parents may engage in more cultural socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997), preparation for bias (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002) or promotion of mistrust messages. Other studies suggest that there is no relation between SES due to small samples or restricted SES range and ethnic-racial socialization messages or that there is a curvilinear association (see Hughes et al., 2006). In a neighborhood context that is predominantly comprised of individuals of color (e.g., African American and Latino), the majority group is a group of color, and the environment is predominantly lower SES (i.e., high poverty) we may expect differences in beliefs about and communication of ethnic-racial socialization messages between poorer African Americans and poorer Latinos, such that the numerically dominant group may report less importance of preparation for bias or cultural socialization messages because their in-group is more represented and the numerical minority racial-ethnic group may endorse more promotion of mistrust messages due to prevailing stereotypes of competition for scarce resources.

Ethnic-racial socialization is thought to confer benefits for developmental competencies (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012) such as psychosocial and academic well-being (Caughy & Owen, 2015; Hughes, Witherspoon, West-Bey, & Rivas-Drake, 2009; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Some research suggests that promotion of mistrust messages may lower self-esteem and diminish general psychological well-being (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001). However, in a new destination context for immigrant groups—which lacks an enduring historical

and economic presence of immigrant populations—or a neighborhood that is racially/ethnically heterogenous, parents believe it is important to use this strategy to protect their children from discrimination or other unfair treatment by dissuading intercultural context. Newly-arrived Latino families may rely on stereotypes about African Americans or view the ills of the neighborhood and attribute them to the primary residents (i.e., African Americans).

1.3 Parental monitoring

Parental monitoring has most often been conceptualized as knowledge of where youth are, what they do in their free time, and which peers they associate with (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). As youth negotiate greater autonomy in adolescence, parental monitoring becomes a prominent and developmentally appropriate strategy to protect youth from potentially harmful influences and deviant behavior (Bámaca-Colbert, Umaña-Taylor, Espinosa-Hernández, & Brown, 2012; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Parental monitoring is a central mechanism in theoretical models of adolescent development, particularly models of deviant and antisocial behavior (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Indeed research has clearly shown that low parental monitoring is associated with greater risk for substance use, delinquency, risky sexual behaviors, and association with deviant peers among diverse populations of youth (Gartstein, Seamon, & Dishion, 2014; Lac & Crano, 2009; Li, Feigelman, & Stanton, 2000; Nagoshi, Marsiglia, Parsai, & Castro, 2011; Rai et al., 2003; Udell, Hotton, Emerson, & Donenberg, 2017; Yabiku et al., 2010). Beyond deviant behavior, parental monitoring is also associated with other aspects of development, including higher grade point average, greater prosocial competence, and lower depressive symptoms (Criss et al., 2015; Jacobson & Crockett, 2000; Rankin & Quane, 2002). The ways in which caregivers monitor their youth may be dependent upon the broader environment. This may be particularly true for African American and Latino families who reside in the same neighborhoods, which are undergoing racial-ethnic transformation.

2. New destinations: Latino and African American families

Historically, immigrants have settled primarily in ethnic enclaves—neighborhoods with a high proportion of one ethnic group, typically found in immigrant gateway cities (i.e., areas where immigrant groups tend to first settle; e.g., Miami; Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). More recently, due to

migration-related demographic shifts in the United States, an influx of immigrant families are settling in new destination settlement areas. These new destination areas include urban, suburban, and rural areas that are characterized by a lack of historical presence of same-ethnic populations (Hirschman & Massey, 2008; Parrado & Kandel, 2008). Latinos who migrate to new destination areas are likely to live in areas with more non-Hispanic Whites and fewer immigrants (Frank & Akresh, 2016) or in integrated Latino-Black neighborhoods (Hall & Stringfield, 2014). Although research on new destination areas is growing, there is less research on areas where the racial-ethnic majority is a national minority, such as primarily African American neighborhoods (Brown & Brooks, 2006).

In neighborhoods characterized by Latino and non-Hispanic Black integration, Latino residents often report sensing social distance between the two groups due to racial attitudes that preclude social cohesion (Brown & Brooks, 2006; Charles, 2006; Marrow, 2008). Latino residents in such neighborhoods may be less trusting of their Black neighbors and reinforce social distances by relying on negative stereotypes (Marrow, 2008). Similarly, Black residents report concerns about the potential economic impacts of Latino immigration and may view Latino residents as economic competitors (McClain et al., 2007). Given strained relations between Black and Latino residents of the same new destination area, the protective neighborhood social processes such as a high level of social ties may be sparse new destination areas compared to areas with more racial-ethnic homogeneity (Almeida, Kawachi, Molnar, & Subramanian, 2009; Brown & Brooks, 2006). Exposure to risks such as discrimination may also be heightened in new destination areas (Bécares, 2014; Oropesa & Jensen, 2010).

Given these residential neighborhood characteristics, parents may engage in more monitoring of their youth and less reliance on neighborhood collective socialization in new destination areas. However, we are aware of no studies that have explored how specific neighborhood characteristics are associated with ethnic-racial socialization beliefs and parental monitoring strategies in new destination areas. In fact, very little research has been conducted on parenting in African American/Latino new destination neighborhoods. More research is therefore needed on the interplay between race, SES, neighborhood context, and their joint impact on ethnic-racial socialization and parental monitoring. Below, we review the extant literature that links neighborhood characteristics with each of these parenting processes.

3. Neighborhoods and ethnic-racial socialization

The culture-related parenting strategies (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization) that African American and Latino families use in new destination areas may follow similar patterns as in other residential neighborhood contexts. Although the extant literature linking neighborhood structural characteristics and/or social dynamics with ethnic-racial socialization is limited, some trends are emerging. Winkler (2012), in a qualitative study with African American families in a predominantly African American city, found evidence for neighborhood as an important contributor to comprehensive racial learning (i.e., similar to ethnic-racial socialization). Given the racial homogeneity of the environment, Winkler found that mothers engaged in fewer direct cultural socialization messages, because they perceived it as less necessary; the environment itself instilled racial-ethnic pride and shared the history of African American people (2012). Further, in this segregated environment, the families and youth experienced a "racial safe space" and a "false shield" (Winkler, 2012, p. 77). In such a segregated context, ample exposure to adaptive culture promotes youth development. However, limited exposure to the reality of the broader world may possibly inhibit development in the long-run by depriving youth of opportunities to develop coping skills for dealing with discrimination.

Quantitative work with African American and Latino families is also limited, with more research on this topic focused on African American families. In general, for African American families, neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity is related to more cultural socialization (Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005) and more preparation for bias messages (Stevenson et al., 2005), whereas greater segregation or more racial-ethnic homogeneity is associated with more promotion of mistrust (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006). For Latino families, it appears that neighborhood racial-ethnic homogeneity or concentration is associated with fewer cultural socialization messages (White, Knight, Jensen, & Gonzales, 2017), a finding consistent with qualitative work with African American families (Winkler, 2012).

When examining social dynamics of the neighborhoods, the findings for African American families are more mixed. With younger children, Caughy et al. (2006) showed that neighborhood problems were associated with more preparation for bias messages, whereas among older adolescents,

greater neighborhood problems were linked to fewer cultural socialization messages (Bennett, 2006). Also, Caughy et al. (2006) found that in a more positive neighborhood climate, both cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages increased. We are aware of no studies that explore these associations in Latino families.

4. Neighborhoods and parental monitoring

The monitoring strategies that parents use and the extent to which parents monitor their adolescents' activities and whereabouts are shaped by characteristics of the social environment (Ceballo, Kennedy, Bregman, & Epstein-Ngo, 2012; Rankin & Quane, 2002). The presence of neighborhood social processes such as social cohesion and informal social control can help facilitate adaptive parenting norms and promote parental involvement (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Leventhal, & Aber, 1997; Garbarino, 1997; Garbarino, Bradshaw, & Kostelny, 2005; Sampson, 1997). Parents in neighborhoods with high levels of social cohesion and informal social control may therefore engage in higher levels of parental monitoring. Research has shown that high levels of collective efficacy (i.e., social cohesion and informal social control) are positively associated with parental monitoring strategies in African American and Latino families (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Rankin & Quane, 2002).

Regarding the role of neighborhood problems in parental monitoring, existing research shows mixed results. Some studies have shown that parents' perceptions of neighborhood problems and safety concerns are associated with higher levels of parental monitoring, suggesting that parents adapt their strategies by engaging in more monitoring in response to neighborhood risks (Jones, Forehand, O'Connell, Armistead, & Brody, 2005; O'Neil, Parke, & McDowell, 2001). On the other hand, some studies have shown that higher levels of neighborhood problems are associated with less parental monitoring and knowledge of youth's whereabouts in African American and Latino samples (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Tolan, Gorman-Smith, & Henry, 2003), suggesting that neighborhood problems may compromise or impede parents' monitoring behaviors and knowledge. Finally, some studies have shown no association between neighborhood problems or risks and parental monitoring (Jones, Forehand, Brody, & Armistead, 2003; Law & Barber, 2006). These mixed findings on neighborhood problems and parental monitoring may indicate that neighborhood problems are only associated with parental monitoring under certain conditions (i.e., the presence of a moderating variable). However, few studies have examined

how neighborhood problems may interact with other neighborhood social processes to impact parental monitoring strategies.

Theoretically, various neighborhood characteristics operate simultaneously to promote or inhibit parental monitoring strategies. A limited number of empirical studies have examined parental monitoring as a function of neighborhood characteristics in concert. Jones et al. (2005) found that African American parents' perceptions of neighborhood social support were not directly associated with parental monitoring, but the effect of neighborhood social support was dependent on neighborhood problems. Specifically, neighborhood social support was positively associated with parental monitoring only under conditions of high neighborhood problems. Empirical studies examining other parenting strategies have similarly demonstrated that the interaction between neighborhood risks and protective social processes matter for parenting outcomes (May, Azar, & Matthews, 2018). However, few studies have considered how multiple characteristics of neighborhoods may matter simultaneously (i.e., using moderation analyses or profile analyses) for parental monitoring strategies or how these associations may differ by racial-ethnic group membership and SES.

5. Added value of person-center approach for understanding neighborhoods

In variable-centered approaches to studying neighborhoods, each neighborhood characteristic is examined in isolation. A disadvantage of this approach is that it does not allow for the examination of the roles of multiple neighborhood characteristics, even though neighborhood characteristics are not experienced in isolation (Aber & Nieto, 2000). An alternative to variable-centered analysis is a person-centered approach, which is able to accommodate interactions that cannot easily be represented in variable-centered models (Bauer & Shanahan, 2007; Bergman, 2001). Person-centered approaches offer an alternative to understanding the influences of multiple positive and negative neighborhood characteristics. They allow for the identification of subgroups of individuals based on their lived experiences in their neighborhood, thereby providing a more holistic picture of neighborhood risks and strengths and an opportunity to understand the differing pathways underlying different combinations. Researchers have used person-centered approaches to model the complexity of multiple neighborhood characteristics and their differential effects on adolescent development. For example, in some of the first work to explore neighborhood typologies,

Warren (1978) found six empirically-distinct forms of neighborhoods based on positive social characteristics. Research has also shown that neighborhood risks and strengths can combine to create different neighborhood typologies. Using cluster analysis, Seidman et al. (1998) identified six distinct types of neighborhoods based on adolescents' perceptions of neighborhood-based risk (e.g., poverty-related hassles) and strengths (e.g., cohesion). Using more recent types of person-centered analysis, Rivas-Drake and Witherspoon (2013) explored perceived neighborhood risks and positive social dynamics and found six types of neighborhoods, replicating three of the neighborhoods found originally in Warren (1978). Although studies have used person-centered analyses to model neighborhoods based on individuals' perceptions of risks and strengths, no previous study has used person-centered analyses to identify subgroups of neighborhoods among African American and Latino parents residing in a new destination context. Furthermore, no studies to our knowledge have explored how these profiles relate to parents' ethnic-racial socialization beliefs and monitoring practices.

6. Covariates

Parental monitoring strategies may vary by youth characteristics (e.g., gender, age) and family characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, household structure). Research suggests that girls experience higher levels of monitoring compared with boys. Among African American youth, girls report that their parents have more knowledge of their activities and whereabouts than boys (Li et al., 2000; Rai et al., 2003). Similarly, in Latino families, parents may use more active measures to monitor girls compared to boys (Blocklin, Crouter, Updegraff, & McHale, 2011; Cota-Robles & Gamble, 2006). These gender differences in parental monitoring may be explained by endorsement of traditional gender roles at home, along with the notion that girls need more protection than boys (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Parental monitoring may also differ for younger versus older adolescents. Parents may adjust their strategies as youth develop, and youth may disclose less information to their parents as they desire greater autonomy. Some studies have shown that youth's reports of parental monitoring is not correlated with age (Cottrell et al., 2003), while others have shown that older adolescents report their parents have less knowledge compared with their younger counterparts (Rai et al., 2003). Family characteristics may also be associated with parents' level of monitoring. For instance, girls who live in two-parent households

reported higher levels of parental monitoring on average compared with girls with another family structure (Jacobson & Crockett, 2000).

Over and above parents' perceptions of neighborhood characteristics, neighborhood structural characteristics such as neighborhood disadvantage and racial-ethnic composition may also shape parental monitoring strategies. Empirically, results are mixed regarding the effects of neighborhood disadvantage on parental monitoring, with some studies showing a positive association (Chuang, Ennett, Bauman, & Foshee, 2005) and others showing a negative association of neighborhood disadvantage and parental monitoring (Liu, Lau, Chen, Dinh, & Kim, 2009). Neighborhood structural characteristics may also be associated with parents' perceptions of neighborhood social processes. Consistent with social disorganization theory, neighborhood disadvantage is associated with lower levels of social cohesion and more perceived problems among parents (Kohen, Leventhal, Dahinten, & McIntosh, 2008; May et al., 2018). Additionally, under certain circumstances, neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity may be associated with lower levels of cohesion and trust and less informal social control (Collins, Neal, & Neal, 2017; Stolle, Soroka, & Johnston, 2008).

7. The current study

The neighborhood context shapes parenting beliefs and practices, and racial-ethnic minority families may adapt their parenting beliefs and behaviors based on the characteristics of their residential neighborhood. However, limited research examines both neighborhood structural characteristics as espoused by social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942) and subjective social processes (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 1997; Wandersman & Nation, 1998) and their relation to parenting outcomes beyond relationship quality (Cuellar et al., 2015). In addition, given the demographic shifts occurring in the United States, it is imperative that more empirical investigations explore the links between different types of neighborhoods and parenting outcomes, particularly for Latino immigrant families who are settling in non-traditional gateway cities (e.g., new destinations) where the majority is another racial-ethnic group of color (i.e., African American). Given these various types of neighborhoods, person-centered approaches that examine the constellation of multiple neighborhood characteristics to approximate the lived experience of its residents are warranted. Therefore, the current study asks three research questions: (1) Can we identify different neighborhood profiles characterized by

multiple neighborhood social dynamics (i.e., connectedness, cohesion and trust, informal social control, and problems) among low-income African American and Latino caregivers living in a small, urban city that is a new destination area; (2) What individual and neighborhood structural characteristics predict these profiles; and (3) Do important parenting beliefs (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization) and behaviors (i.e., parental monitoring knowledge) differ by caregivers' neighborhood profiles? Based on extant literature (Warren, 1978, Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013) and theory (Aber & Nieto, 1990), we hypothesized at least two orthogonal neighborhood profiles: one characterized by relatively high levels of each of the positive neighborhood processes and low levels of neighborhood problems, and one characterized by relatively low levels of each of the positive neighborhood processes but high levels of neighborhood problems and other profiles that include an array of both positive and negative neighborhood social processes. Also, we expected that neighborhood profiles would vary by race-ethnicity, family SES as well as neighborhood SES and racial-ethnic composition, such that African American families and families with higher SES would live in the more "optimal" neighborhood profiles whereas less optimal neighborhood profiles would be characterized by higher neighborhood disadvantage (i.e., greater neighborhood poverty) and more racial-ethnic heterogeneity (or greater numerical representation of Latino residents). Finally, we hypothesized that we would find different patterns of ethnic-racial socialization and parental monitoring knowledge by the identified neighborhood profiles such that in more optimally organized neighborhoods we may see less parental monitoring and varying endorsement of the different ethnic-racial socialization messages types.

8. Methods

8.1 Data and sample

Data for this study came from the Families, Adolescents, and Neighborhoods in Context (FAN-C) Study. FAN-C is a mixed-methods (focus group and questionnaire), multi-informant (parents and adolescents) study designed to examine neighborhood and cultural experiences of minority families in the northeastern United States. This project consisted of two phases. Phase I was sampled from five target neighborhoods within the Northeastern city; Phase II was sampled from Latino and/or Hispanic families from across the entire city. For the purposes of the present study, only self-identified African American ($N=67$; 46.5%) and Latino/Hispanic ($N=77$; 53.5%) parents

across both phases are included (total $N = 144$). Of these parents, 74.8% are biological mothers, 7.4% are biological fathers, and the remainder are stepparents, grandparents, or other relatives. Parents were, on average, 40.62 years old (SD = 9.16). Additionally, 32.6% of parents were married or cohabitating with a partner. With respect to socioeconomic status, 16.3% of families did not complete high school; 29.2% obtained at least some college (e.g., vocational training; associates degree; partial completion of bachelor's degree); and 11.1% completed a bachelor's degree or higher. Additionally, the average annual income for participating families was $21,607 (SD = $20,948; range = $5000–$105,000); the income-to-needs ratio for the sample was 0.98 (SD = 1.03; range = 0.08–5.15). Only 16.8% of the sample owned their place of residence. Participating youth were 58.2% female, ranged in age from 11 to 17 years old ($M = 13.5$, SD = 1.90), and on average were in the 8th grade ($M = 7.95$; SD = 1.90). Based on parents' report, youth were Black/African American (46.80%), Latino/Hispanic (50.40%), and Multiethnic/Other Race (2.8%). In total, 22 residential census tracts were represented in the present sample.

Participating families attended focus group sessions. After parents provided informed consent and permission for their youth to participate, and youth provided assent, parents and youth were administered the baseline questionnaire in separate locations. Then, focus groups were conducted to probe details of participants' experiences living in their neighborhoods. Data for the present study are taken from the baseline questionnaires.

9. Measures

9.1 Demographics

Parents reported demographic information for themselves and their participating child. Parents' reported their relationship to participating youth, date of birth, race-ethnicity, marital status, education level, annual family level for the previous year, and home ownership status. They also reported participating youth's gender, date of birth, race-ethnicity, and grade. Parental and youth age was calculated in years from date of birth and the income-to-needs ratio (INR) was calculated by dividing reported annual income by the appropriate poverty threshold based on average household size. Gender (% female), parental race-ethnicity (% Latino) and marital status which consists of three categories—Single (%), Married (%), and Separated, Divorced or Widowed (%), family socioeconomic status including INR and parental education level which consists of three categories—High

School Degree or Less (%), Vocational Training, Some College or Associates Degree (%) and Bachelor's Degree or Higher, (%) and neighborhood disadvantage, diversity, and racial composition which consists of two categories percent Black households and percent Hispanic households were included as measures of demographic characteristics.

9.2 Neighborhood structure

Participants' home addresses were geocoded to determine the census tracts in which participants lived ($N = 22$) and the corresponding neighborhood demographic data from the 2010 U.S. Census was used.

9.3 Neighborhood disadvantage

The neighborhood disadvantage score was informed by work by Shaw and McKay (1942) and included census tract-level indicators of social disadvantage and degradation within the neighborhood. Five individual variables were used in the calculation of the neighborhood disadvantage score: Percent of female-headed families in the neighborhood (i.e., census tract); percent of unemployed residents over 16 who are in the work force, percent of residents over the age of 25 without a high school degree, percent of residents with incomes below poverty level, and residential turnover in the past year. These scores were aggregated and standardized, such that higher scores represent more disadvantage and lower scores represent less disadvantage (range = −2.02 to 1.00).

9.4 Percent Black/percent Hispanic

Neighborhood racial-ethnic composition was measured by calculating the percentage of residents within each census tract who were Black and the percentage of residents who were Hispanic. A higher value indicates that there was a greater proportion of households of that racial-ethnic group residing within a given census tract.

9.5 Neighborhood social characteristics/profile variables

Four subjective indicators of neighborhood quality were used to construct neighborhood profiles. Two indicators of collective efficacy (i.e., cohesion and trust and informal social control) were used as well as an indicator of participants' perceptions of their sense of connectedness to the neighborhood and of neighborhood problems.

9.6 Cohesion and trust

The neighborhood cohesion and trust scale was adapted from the Collective Efficacy Scale (Sampson et al., 1997) and assesses perceived neighborliness and feelings of mutual trust within neighborhoods. Three items from this scale (e.g., "People in your neighborhood are close") were used. Participants indicated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 4 (agree a lot) the level of social support present in the neighborhood. The scale displayed good reliability ($\alpha = 0.85$).

9.7 Informal social control

The neighborhood informal social control scale was adapted from the Collective Efficacy Scale (Sampson et al., 1997) and assesses the degree to which neighborhood adults are willing to intervene when they observe non-relative youth engaging in deviant behavior. Five items from this scale (e.g., saw neighborhood kids skipping school and hanging out on the street corner) were used. Participants indicated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 4 (agree a lot) the level of social support present in the neighborhood. The scale displayed excellent reliability ($\alpha = 0.91$).

9.8 Connectedness

The neighborhood connectedness scale was adapted from Perez-Smith, Albus, and Weist (2001) and Seidman et al. (1995) and assesses the degree to which individuals feel a sense of belonging and connection to their neighborhood and neighbors. Six items from this scale (e.g., "The neighborhood I live in is a big part of who I am") were used. Participants indicated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) their level of connection to their neighborhood. The scale displayed good reliability ($\alpha = 0.84$).

9.9 Neighborhood problems

The Neighborhood Problems Index (Perkins & Taylor, 1996), a 16-item scale, was used to assess caregivers' perceptions social and physical disorder (e.g., vandalism, drug dealing) in the neighborhood. Responses ranged from 1 (not a problem) to 3 (a big problem). The scale displayed excellent reliability ($\alpha = 0.95$).

10. Parenting beliefs and behaviors

10.1 Ethnic-racial socialization

Parents reported on the messages about race and ethnicity using Hughes and Chen's (1997) racial socialization scale. Participants indicated how important they felt it was for caregivers to engage in specific behaviors or share specific messages on four individual subscales; responses were on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all important) to 4 (very important). All subscales displayed acceptable reliability. *Cultural socialization*, a four-item subscale (e.g., "teach children about the history and traditions") was used to measure parents' perception of the importance of engaging in cultural socialization ($\alpha = 0.72$) *Preparation for bias,* a four-item subscale (e.g., "teach children about racial problems in society") was used to measure parents' perception of the importance of preparing their youth for race-ethnicity-related bias ($\alpha = 0.78$). *Egalitarianism*, a four-item subscale (e.g., "encourage children to have friends of all races and ethnicities") was used to measure parents' perception of the importance of emphasizing equality between groups ($\alpha = 0.78$). *Promotion of mistrust*, a two-item subscale (e.g., "teach children not to trust people who are not [ethnic group]"), was used to measure parents' perception of the importance of warning youth to avoid other ethnic groups (Spearman-Brown $= 0.71$).

10.2 Monitoring (knowledge)

Parents' self-reported knowledge/awareness of their youth's whereabouts and behaviors when they are not together was assessed using a 12-item scale adapted from Stattin and Kerr (2000). Seven items from this scale (e.g., "How often do you make your child tell you his/her plans when [child's name] goes out at night?") were used. Participants indicated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always) the degree to which they monitored their youth; there was also a response option where parents could indicate the item was not applicable to their relationship with their child. The scale displayed good reliability ($\alpha = 0.89$).

11. Analytic strategy

Data analysis was completed in three steps. The first step involved identifying and describing latent profiles of neighborhood social characteristics in African American and Latino parents using latent profile analysis

(LPA; Lazarsfeld & Henry, 1968). LPA is a type of finite mixture model that posits that there is an underlying unobserved categorical variable that divides a population into mutually exclusive and exhaustive latent profiles. Profile membership of individuals is unknown but is inferred from a set of measured items. In a standard LPA, two sets of parameters are estimated. The first set is the latent profile membership probabilities, which describe the distribution of the profiles in the population. The second set is the item-response means (and variances), which describe the profile-specific item means (and variances). Profiles are interpreted and named based on the patterns of item means.

To identify neighborhood profiles, a latent profile analysis (LPA) using maximum likelihood was conducted. Models with one to six profiles were estimated. We estimated a maximum of six profiles based on previous research which found that the optimal solution contained six profiles and due to sample size we could not explore more profile solutions that would include adequate proportions of each profile type. Model selection was guided by the Akaike information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1974), Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978), sample size adjusted BIC (a-BIC; Sclove, 1987), entropy (Celeux & Soromenho, 1996) the Lo-Mendell-Ruben Test (LMRT; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001) and the Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Difference Test (BLRT; Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007) as well as model stability, interpretability, and parsimony. The AIC, BIC and a-BIC provide information on how well each model fit the data with lower values indicating better model fit. Entropy is used to measure accuracy of classification, with higher values of entropy indicating better classification. The LMRT and BLRT compare each model with the neighboring model with one less class to identify whether there is a significant improvement in model fit (Berlin, Williams, & Parra, 2014). The BLRT uses bootstrapped samples to test *k* classes against *k-1* classes. Significant values suggest that increase in model fit from previous iterations is not due to chance (Henson, Reise, & Kim, 2007). Theoretical and clinical interpretation was emphasized for the first step of identifying and describing latent profiles of neighborhood connectedness, problems, cohesion, and informal social control. Model identification for all models was checked using 1000 initial stage starts and 100 final stage starts. LPA model estimation was conducted using Mplus version 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015).

The second step examined youth, family and neighborhood predictors of profile membership using an approach proposed by Bolck, Croon, and Hagenaars (2004), colloquially known as the "BCH approach"

(Bakk & Vermunt, 2016). The BCH approach assigns participants to classes based on their modal posterior probabilities and then adjusts for classification error in these assignments when estimating the class-specific distributions. This model estimation method was used to evaluate differences in the profile-specific means or distributions of youth age and gender, parental race-ethnicity and marital status, family socioeconomic status including INR and parental education level and neighborhood disadvantage and racial-ethnic composition. Differences in youth, family, and neighborhood predictors are expressed as pairwise differences between classes. This approach is recommended currently for predictor analyses (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014). Pairwise comparisons were conducted using the BCH option in Mplus version 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015).

The third step examined whether profile membership was related to the parenting ethnic-racial socialization beliefs (e.g., cultural socialization, prep for bias, egalitarianism, and promotion of mistrust) and monitoring controlling for youth age, parent race-ethnicity, and neighborhood racial composition. The effect of profile membership on parenting practices was examined using the manual-BCH approach in Mplus 7.4 (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014). First, the BCH weights, which reflect the measurement error in the latent profile variable, were saved from BCH analysis exploring predictors of profile memberships. Next, the covariates of youth age, parent race-ethnicity, and neighborhood racial-ethnic composition, which were all mean-centered, were included in the model and held constant across profiles. Lastly, pairwise Wald tests of equality were conducted to determine if profiles differed in terms ethnic-racial socialization (e.g., cultural socialization, prep for bias, egalitarianism, and promotion of mistrust), and monitoring.

12. Results

12.1 Preliminary analyses

Tables 1 and 2 contain means and standard deviations for demographic characteristics and study variables. There was minimal data missing (<6.3%) on all variables besides parent age (15.3% missing) and family income indicators (22.2–25.0% missing, depending on indicator). Table 3 contains correlations among demographics, neighborhood profile indicators, and parenting outcomes. All neighborhood profile indicators were significantly

Table 1 Parent, youth and neighborhood demographic characteristics.

Variable	Frequency (valid %) or Mean (SD)	Missing (%)
Parent demographic characteristics		
Relationship to child		6.30%
Biological mother	74.80%	
Adoptive step/foster mother	2.90%	
Biological father	7.40%	
Step or foster father	5.90%	
Grandparent	3.00%	
Other relative	5.90%	
Age	40.62 (9.16)	15.30%
Race-ethnicity		0.00%
Black/African-American	46.50%	
Latino/Hispanic	53.50%	
Marital status		2.10%
Single	41.80%	
Married or cohabitating	32.60%	
Divorced	12.10%	
Separated	12.10%	
Widowed	1.40%	
Parental education level		6.30%
Less than high school	16.30%	
High school	40.70%	
Vocation school or some college	23.70%	
Associates degree	7.40%	
Bachelor's degree or higher	11.80%	
Family income		
Annual income	21,607 (20,948)	22.20%
Income-to-needs ratio	0.98 (1.03)	25.00%

Continued

Table 1 Parent, youth and neighborhood demographic characteristics.—cont'd

Variable	Frequency (valid %) or Mean (SD)	Missing (%)
Home ownership		4.90%
Rented apartment	35.00%	
Rented house	48.20%	
Owned house or apartment	16.80%	
Youth demographic characteristics		
Gender		2.10%
Male	41.80%	
Female	58.20%	
Age	13.50 (1.90)	0.00%
Grade	7.95 (2.14)	3.90%
Elementary school (4th–5th grade)	12.00%	
Middle school (6th–8th grade)	50.40%	
High school (9th–12th grade)	37.60%	
Race-ethnicity		2.10%
Black/African-American	46.80%	
Latino/Hispanic	50.40%	
Other	2.80%	
Neighborhood structural characteristics		
Neighborhood disadvantage	0.00 (0.77)	0.00%
Neighborhood racial-ethnic composition		0.00%
Percent black households	54.34 (19.03)	
Percent hispanic households	18.27 (9.96)	

intercorrelated except informal social control was not correlated with the other three neighborhood variables. Racial-ethnic group differences in demographic characteristics and study variables between African American and Latino parents were examined using *t*-tests. There were significant differences in INR, education level, marital status and neighborhood

Table 2 Descriptive statistics of neighborhood indicators and parenting outcomes.

Variable	Mean (SD)	Missing (%)
Profile indicators		
Cohesion and trust	2.45 (0.83)	0.00%
Connectedness	2.52 (0.80)	0.00%
Neighborhood problems	1.92 (0.61)	0.00%
Information social control	2.47 (1.00)	0.00%
Parenting		
Ethnic racial socialization		
Cultural socialization	3.58 (0.57)	1.40%
Preparation for Bias	3.54 (0.61)	1.40%
Egalitarianism	3.55 (0.63)	1.40%
Promotion of mistrust	2.62 (1.05)	1.40%
Monitoring	4.50 (0.67)	3.50%

racial-ethnic composition (Table 4). African American parents had higher INRs ($M_{\text{African American}} = 1.20$ (1.10), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.75$ (0.92)) and higher education levels, were significantly more likely to be single ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.59$ (0.50), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.27$ (0.45)) and less likely to be separated, divorced or widowed ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.16$ (0.37), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.34$ (0.48)), and lived in neighborhoods with a greater percentage of Black households ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.58$ (0.17), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.51$ (0.20)). African American and Latino parents also significantly differed in neighborhood collective efficacy and ethnic-racial socialization beliefs (Table 4). African American parents reported higher levels of cohesion and trust ($M_{\text{African American}} = 2.66$ (0.67), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 2.26$ (0.91)) and lower amounts of informal social control in their neighborhoods ($M_{\text{African American}} = 2.28$ (1.02), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 2.66$ (0.97)) and reported that it was less important to deliver promotion of mistrust messages than Latino parents ($M_{\text{African American}} = 2.14$ (0.94), $M_{\text{Latino}} = 3.03$ (0.97)).

13. Neighborhood profile analyses

Models with one through six latent profiles were estimated and compared in order to select a model of neighborhood social dynamics. The final

Table 3 Correlations among demographic characteristics and study variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Youth age	–																			
2. Youth gender (1 = Female)	0.10	–																		
3. Parent race-ethnicity (1 = Latino)	−0.12	−0.06	–																	
4. INR	0.15	0.22*	−0.22*	–																
5. Parent education, high school degree or less	−0.12	−0.15	0.19*	−0.30**	–	–														
6. Parent education—bachelor's degree or higher)	0.19*	0.13	−0.03	0.23*	–	–														
7. Marital status, single	0.10	−0.24**	−0.32**	−0.11	0.04	−0.20*	–	–												
8. Marital status, married	0.06	0.16	0.15	0.11	−0.10	0.20*	–	–												
9. Neighborhood disadvantage	0.02	−0.13	−0.11	−0.18	0.26**	−0.24**	0.29**	−0.31**	–											
10. Percent Black	−0.02	−0.12	−0.17*	0.00	−0.01	−0.23*	0.19*	−0.20*	0.49**	–										
11. Percent Hispanic	0.00	−0.14	0.04	−0.18	0.32**	−0.13	0.13	−0.21*	0.77**	0.01	–									
12. Cohesion and trust	0.05	−0.06	−0.24**	0.16	0.03	0.02	0.07	−0.01	−0.05	−0.10	−0.01	–								
13. Connectedness	0.15	0.02	−0.08	0.26**	−0.02	0.11	0.05	0.09	−0.21*	−0.13	−0.15	0.63**	–							
14. Neighborhood problems	0.00	−0.03	0.10	−0.30**	0.03	−0.13	0.01	−0.11	0.35**	0.19*	0.25**	−0.29**	−0.47**	–						
15. Informal social control	0.00	−0.04	0.17*	−0.01	−0.02	0.06	−0.07	−0.06	−0.06	−0.04	−0.04	0.06	0.08	0.16	–					
16. Cultural socialization	−0.19*	0.14	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.11	−0.07	−0.02	−0.09	−0.23**	0.06	0.24**	0.10	0.02	0.14	–				
17. Preparation for bias	0.00	0.14	−0.13	0.17	−0.10	0.13	−0.03	−0.13	−0.12	−0.16	−0.01	0.30**	0.15	−0.06	0.14	0.71**	–			
18. Egalitarianism	−0.20*	0.09	−0.12	0.08	0.03	0.01	0.03	−0.05	−0.01	−0.10	0.09	0.27**	0.08	−0.02	0.03	0.80**	0.66**	–		
19. Promotion of mistrust	−0.15	0.05	0.42**	−0.20*	0.20*	0.04	−0.09	0.03	−0.13	−0.26**	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.14	0.38**	0.25**	0.20*	–	
20. Monitoring	−0.26**	−0.01	0.06	−0.03	0.08	−0.08	0.02	0.04	−0.04	−0.01	0.05	0.04	0.06	−0.03	0.03	0.36**	0.38**	0.35**	0.12	–

**$P < 0.01$, *$P < 0.050$.

Table 4 Racial-ethnic group differences.

	African American			Latino				
Variable	***N***	**Mean**	**SD**	***N***	**Mean**	**SD**	**t**	***p***
Demographics								
Youth age	63	13.73	1.88	67	13.27	1.97	1.36	0.18
Youth gender (% Female)	65	0.62	0.49	76	0.55	0.50	0.75	0.46
INR	54	1.20	1.10	54	0.75	0.92	2.31	0.02
Parental education level	62	–	–	73	–	–	–	–
High school degree or less (%)		0.47	0.50		0.66	0.48	−2.24	0.03
Some college or associates degree (%)		0.40	0.49		0.23	0.43	2.13	0.04
Bachelor's degree or higher (%)		0.13	0.34		0.11	0.31	0.34	0.73
Marital status	64			77				
Single		0.59	0.50		0.27	0.45	4.00	<0.01
Married or cohabitating		0.25	0.44		0.39	0.49	−1.79	0.08
Separated, divorced or widowed		0.16	0.37		0.34	0.48	−2.56	0.01
Neighborhood disadvantage	67	0.09	0.71	77	−0.08	0.82	1.34	0.18
Neighborhood Racial-ethnic composition	67			77				
Percent black		0.58	0.17		0.51	0.20	2.08	0.04
Percent hispanic		0.18	0.10		0.19	0.10	−0.45	0.66
Neighborhood profile indicators								
Neighborhood problems	67	1.85	0.57	77	1.97	0.64	−1.16	0.25
Cohesion and trust	67	2.66	0.67	77	2.26	0.91	3.03	<0.01

Continued

Table 4 Racial-ethnic group differences.—cont'd

	African American			Latino				
Variable	***N***	**Mean**	**SD**	***N***	**Mean**	**SD**	**t**	***p***
Connectedness	67	2.59	0.79	77	2.46	0.81	0.96	0.34
Informal social control	67	2.28	1.02	77	2.63	0.97	−2.08	0.04
Parenting								
Ethnic-racial socialization	65			77				
Cultural socialization		3.57	0.50		3.59	0.63	−0.18	0.86
Prep for bias		3.62	0.53		3.47	0.66	1.53	0.13
Egalitarianism		3.63	0.52		3.47	0.70	1.52	0.13
Promotion of mistrust		2.14	0.94		3.03	0.97	−5.53	<0.01
Monitoring	62	4.45	0.55	77	4.53	0.75	−0.72	0.48

profile solution that best approximated the data was selected based on theory and model fit indices. A summary of the model fit information and model selection criteria are shown in Table 5. The AIC and a-BIC were not minimized and continued to decrease as additional classes were added. The BIC minimized at the three-profile model, the LMRT suggested the two-profile model and the BLRT suggested the three-profile model. The two- and three-profile models were compared using both the statistical evidence and theory to find the best profile solution for the data. Entropy was 0.80 for both models. The three-profile model showed greater profile separation compared to the two-profile model, the profiles were more interpretable, and the three-profile model replicated profiles previously identified in the literature (Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013). Thus, we selected the three-profile model as optimal for interpretation and additional analysis.

Parameter estimates for the three-profile model are shown in Table 6 and Fig. 1. Item means on the four neighborhood social dynamics indicators were used to interpret the three profiles. Profile 1 ($n = 56$) was labeled *Anomic*. These neighborhoods were characterized by low levels of cohesion and trust, low levels of connectedness and high levels of problems, suggesting that disorder was high and social connections were low in these

Table 5 Model fit information and selection criteria for latent profile analyses.

No. of classes	No. of free parameters	Log likelihood	AIC	BIC	a-BIC	LMRT	BLRT	Entropy
1	8	−817.31	1650.62	1674.38	1649.06	–	–	–
2	13	−767.55	1561.11	1599.72	1558.58	$P<0.001$	$P<0.001$	0.80
3	**18**	**−756.19**	**1548.37**	**1601.83**	**1544.87**	$\boldsymbol{P=0.15}$	$\boldsymbol{P<0.001}$	**0.80**
4	23	−748.88	1543.76	1612.07	1539.29	$P=0.53$	$P=0.09$	0.77
5	28	−733.96	1523.92	1607.08	1518.48	$P=0.36$	$P<0.001$	0.88
6	33	−722.53	1511.06	1609.06	1504.64	$P=0.42$	$P<0.01$	0.91

Note: $N=144$. Dashes indicate criterion was not applicable. Bold font indicates selected model. AIC, Akaike information criterion; BIC, Bayesian information criterion; aBIC, sample size adjusted bayesian information criterion; LMRT, Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test; BLRT, Parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test.

Table 6 Parameter estimates for the 3-profile model.

Indicator	Sample mean	Anomic ($n = 56$)	Integral ($n = 70$)	High problems/ positive relationships ($n = 18$)
		Latent profile membership probabilities		
		0.39	0.49	0.13
		Item-response means		
Cohesion and trust	2.45	1.78[a] (0.10)	2.83[b] (0.11)	3.03[a] (0.07)
Connectedness	2.52	1.76[a] (0.12)	3.04[b] (0.08)	2.87[a] (0.15)
Neighborhood problems	1.92	2.30[b] (0.09)	1.42[a] (0.06)	2.51[a] (0.15)
Information social control	2.47	2.41 (0.14)	2.37 (0.14)	2.93 (0.26)

[a]Significantly below sample mean.
[b]Significantly above sample mean
Note: $N = 144$. Standard errors are provided in parentheses.

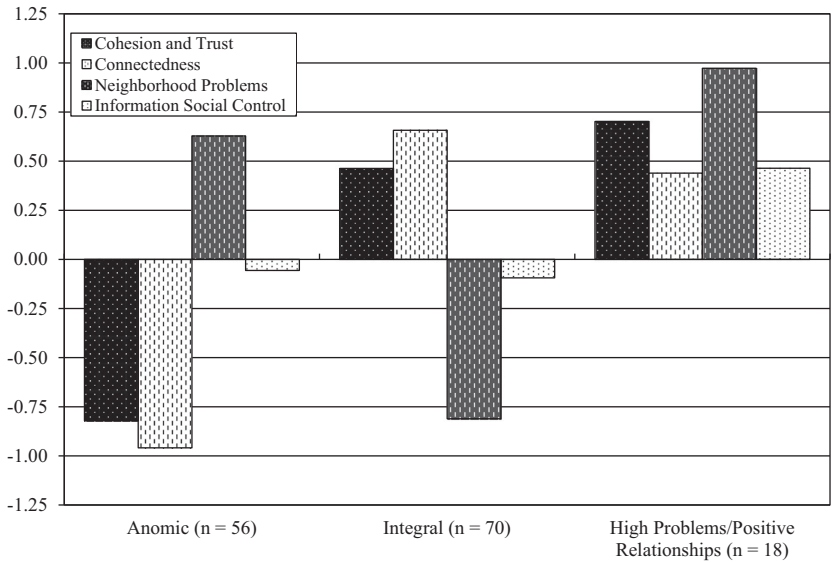

Fig. 1 Neighborhood profiles for African American and Latino Caregivers in a new destination area. Standard deviations are presented along the x-axis.

neighborhoods. Profile 2 ($n = 70$) was labeled *Integral*. These neighborhoods were characterized by high levels of cohesion and trust, high levels of connectedness, and low levels of problems, suggesting that the social fabric of these neighborhoods was intact and disorder was low. Profile 3 ($n = 18$)

was labeled *High Problems/Positive Relationships*. These neighborhoods were characterized by high levels of cohesion and trust, high levels of connectedness, and high rates of neighborhood problems; informal social control was also above average, but the effect was marginal. This suggests that in these neighborhoods, positive social connections co-existed with disorder, which provides support for pluralistic neighborhood theory.

14. Predictors of neighborhood profiles

Profile predictors were examined using the BCH method, which tests overall differences in profile-specific means using chi square statistics and pairwise differences using Wald tests. Within-profile means and pairwise comparisons between profiles for youth age and gender, parental race-ethnicity, SES in terms of INR and parental education level, and marital status, and neighborhood disadvantage and racial-ethnic composition are presented in Table 7.

Youth age ($\chi 2$ (2) = 4.99, $P = 0.08$) moderately predicted profile membership. Parents in the anomic neighborhood had the youngest children ($M = 13.10$, SE = 0.29) and their children were significantly younger than children of parents in the high problems/positive relationships neighborhood who were the oldest ($M = 14.39$, SE = 0.48). Groups differed by INR ($\chi 2$ (2) = 9.72, $P = 0.01$). Parents in anomic neighborhoods had the lowest INR with their average relative income falling below poverty level ($M = 0.62$, SE = 0.10) and falling significantly below the INR of parents in integral neighborhoods. Parents in integral neighborhoods had the highest INR ($M = 1.28$, SE = 0.18), which is still considered low income. In terms of marital status, the percentage of parents who were separated, divorced or widowed differed across groups ($\chi 2$ (2) = 6.23, $P = 0.03$). Integral neighborhoods had the lowest percentage of parents who were separated, divorced or widowed ($M = 0.14$, SE = 0.05) and this was significantly lower than the percentage of separated, divorced or widowed parents in anomic neighborhoods ($M = 0.35$, SE = 0.07). Groups differed in neighborhood structural characteristics. There were significant differences across groups in neighborhood disadvantage ($\chi 2$ (2) = 17.74, $P < 0.001$) and neighborhood racial composition, with groups differing in the percentage of Hispanic households in their neighborhoods ($\chi 2$ (2) = 17.74, $P < 0.001$). Parents in integral neighborhoods experienced the most neighborhood disadvantage ($M = -0.30$, SE = 0.11) and experienced significantly higher amounts of neighborhood disadvantage than parents in anomic ($M = 0.18$, SE = 0.10) and high problems/positive relationships neighborhoods ($M = 0.50$, SE = 0.18).

Table 7 Youth, family, and neighborhood predictors of profile membership.

	Anomic ($n = 56$)	Integral ($n = 70$)	High problems/ positive relationships ($n = 18$)	Overall $\chi 2$
Youth demographic characteristics				
Youth age	13.10_{a} (0.29)	13.53_{ab} (0.27)	14.39_{b} (0.48)	$4.99^{\dagger}$
Youth gender (% Female)	0.54_{a} (0.07	0.63_{a} (0.06)	0.52_{a} (0.15)	0.98
Parent/family demographic characteristics				
Parent race/ ethnicity (% hispanic)	0.62_{a} (0.07)	0.48_{a} (0.07)	0.49_{a} (0.14)	1.99
INR	0.62_{a} (0.10)	1.28_{b} (0.18)	0.89_{ab} (0.29)	9.72**
Parental education level				
High school degree or less (%)	0.60_{a} (0.07)	0.52_{a} (0.07)	0.66_{a} (0.14)	1.01
Some college or associates degree (%)	0.33_{a} (0.07)	0.32_{a} (0.06)	0.22_{a} (0.12)	0.61
Bachelor's degree or higher (%)	0.07_{a} (0.04)	0.16_{a} (0.05)	0.12_{a} (0.09)	1.69
Marital status				
Single (%)	0.34_{a} (0.07)	0.47_{a} (0.07)	0.49_{a} (0.15)	2.05
Married (%)	0.31_{a} (0.07)	0.39_{a} (0.06)	0.15_{a} (0.11)	3.37
Separated, divorced or widowed (%)	0.35_{a} (0.07)	0.14_{b} (0.05)	0.37_{ab} (0.14)	6.93*
Neighborhood structural characteristics				
Neighborhood disadvantage	0.18_{a} (0.10)	-0.30_{b} (0.11)	0.50_{a} (0.18)	17.71***
Neighborhood racial-ethnic composition				
Percent black	0.58_{a} (0.03)	0.51_{a} (0.03)	0.54_{a} (0.05)	3.29
Percent hispanic	0.20_{a} (0.01)	0.15_{b} (0.01)	0.24_{a} (0.03)	10.63**

Note. Difference tests are reported with chi-square test statistic resulting from pairwise Wald tests. Means that do not share subscripts differ at $P < 0.05$. Overall global $\chi 2$ test with df = 2 for the equality of means across the three profile groups. ***$P < 0.001$, **$P < 0.01$, *$P < 0.05$, †$P < .0.10$.

Additionally, parents in integral neighborhoods had significantly lower percentage of Hispanic households in their neighborhoods ($M = 0.15$, SE = 0.01) than parents in anomic ($M = 0.20$, SE = 0.01) and high problems/positive relationships neighborhoods ($M = 0.24$, SE = 0.03).

Overall, parents in the anomic neighborhoods had the youngest children, had the relative lowest income, and the majority were separated, divorced, or widowed. In contrast, parents in integral neighborhoods had the highest relative incomes, the majority were single or married and lived in neighborhoods with the highest levels of neighborhood disadvantage and the lowest percentage of Hispanic households. Lastly, parents in high problems/positive relationships neighborhoods had the oldest children, an INR that was below the poverty line but was not significantly different than parents in the other two groups, were the least likely to be married ($M = 0.15$, SE = 0.11), and lived in neighborhoods with the least neighborhood disadvantage and the highest percentage of Hispanic households.

15. Neighborhood profiles and parenting outcomes

Results of testing all parenting outcomes across profiles can be found in Table 8. Of the indicators of parenting behaviors, (when controlling for child age, parent ethnicity, and proportion of Hispanic residents in the neighborhood) only two types of parenting differed significantly by neighborhood profile. Specifically, parents in integral neighborhoods engaged in higher rates of egalitarianism ($M = 3.67$, SE = 0.09) than those in anomic neighborhoods ($M = 3.40$, SE = 0.10). Additionally, parents in

Table 8 Equality of parenting outcomes across profiles.

		Anomic ($n = 56$)	Integral ($n = 70$)	High problems/positive relationships ($n = 18$)
Cultural socialization	Mean (S.E.)	3.47_{a} (0.09)	3.60_{a} (0.08)	3.57_{a} (0.13)
Prep for bias	Mean (S.E.)	3.41_{a} (0.09)	3.63_{a} (0.08)	3.59_{a} (0.15)
Egalitarianism	Mean (S.E.)	3.40_{a} (0.10)	3.67_{b} (0.09)	3.55_{ab} (0.14)
Promotion of mistrust	Mean (S.E.)	2.48_{a} (0.13)	2.62_{a} (0.14)	2.96_{a} (0.29)
Monitoring	Mean (S.E.)	4.49_{ab} (0.11)	4.61_{a} (0.08)	4.12_{b} (0.23)

Note. Difference tests are from pairwise Wald tests. Means that do not share subscripts differ at $P < 0.05$. Tests control for youth age, parent race-ethnicity and percent Hispanic households in the neighborhood.

integral neighborhoods reported higher levels of monitoring ($M = 4.61$, SE = 0.08) than those in high problems/positive relationship neighborhoods ($M = 4.12$, SE = 0.23). Of note, though preparation for bias did not differ significantly across all neighborhood profiles, there was a marginal difference between integral ($M = 3.63$, SE = 0.08) and anomic ($M = 3.41$, SE = 0.09) neighborhoods such that parents in integral neighborhoods were slightly more likely to prepare their youth for discrimination than parents in anomic neighborhoods.

16. Discussion

Building on existing neighborhood scholarship focused on how and for whom neighborhood matters (Sharkey & Faber, 2014), we used a person-centered approach to understand the lived experience of African American and Latino families in a new destination context and identified varying neighborhood profiles and their relation to important child-rearing beliefs and behaviors. With data from a small, urban city that is predominately African American with a growing Latino population, we capitalize on our ability to better quantify how neighborhood matters for diverse residents in a lower-income city. Specifically, we identified three conceptually meaningful neighborhood profiles created from parent-reported indicators of four important neighborhood social processes (i.e., connectedness, cohesion and trust, informal social control, and problems) and related them to ethnic-racial socialization and parental monitoring. The findings highlight that there were different neighborhood typologies and these typologies were associated with parenting in some unexpected ways, signaling the importance of understudied ethnic-racial socialization messages (i.e., egalitarianism) in new destination contexts. Further, both individual and neighborhood characteristics predicted differences in the neighborhood profiles.

Using a person-centered approach to create neighborhood experiential profiles, we were able to replicate profiles found in earlier studies of African American residents. Specifically, we replicated the integral and anomic profiles found by Warren (1978) and Rivas-Drake and Witherspoon (2013) among adult residents. In our study, the integral neighborhood profile, the largest group represented (49% of caregivers) was characterized by above average levels of cohesion and trust and connection, average levels of informal social control and low levels of neighborhood problems. This neighborhood profile is seen as most optimal and beneficial for residents' outcomes because they have the relational supports, both emotional and

instrumental, to enhance their well-being. Conversely, the anomic neighborhood (39% of participants) was characterized by low positive social processes and high neighborhood problems. This neighborhood is considered sub-optimal because it does not have a culture of shared norms, strong relational bonds, and lack of social organization. An anomic neighborhood profile is what classic social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942) would theorize as high poverty with residential turnover and many diverse racial-ethnic groups. For the integral and anomic neighborhoods, these profiles are consistent with social disorganization and collective socialization theories (Jencks & Mayer, 1990). We were pleased to find evidence of a neighborhood profile, albeit small in size, characterized by high neighborhood problems as well as high positive social processes; as a testament to pluralistic neighborhood theory (Aber & Nieto, 2000). This profile demonstrates that both positive and negative social processes can occur within a residential neighborhood, providing support for subjective ratings of neighborhood characteristics. Further, the replication of this profile among African American and Latino families in a new destination area suggests that this is a meaningful profile type, because it was first found among African American caregivers in a mid-Atlantic city with variation in SES (Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013). This sample was drawn from the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study (MADICS; Eccles, 1997) and included families with pretax family incomes that ranged from $5000 or less to $75,000 or more with a mean $40,000–$44,999, which was higher than the annual African American family income at that time (i.e., 1990). Further, these families resided in neighborhoods with varying compositions of African American and White residents (as the predominant groups) compared to African American and Latino residents. Finding this profile in multiple types of cities with various racial-ethnic compositions and SES suggests a complex intersection of race-ethnicity, SES, and place.

Several characteristics predicted profile membership. Importantly, families who were most at risk for the anomic neighborhoods characterized by low rates of positive social processes and high rates reported problems were also more likely to live in family-level poverty (i.e., low INR), particularly relative to integral neighborhoods. While it is not surprising that impoverished families are more likely to live in less-advantaged neighborhood, likely by virtue of the limitation of their economic resources, we also know from various researchers that the combined stressors of family- and neighborhood-level poverty can be damaging for family processes (e.g., family stress model; Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010). The youth,

generally younger in the present sample, who live in these more-impoverished families within riskier neighborhoods may be multiply disadvantaged by lacking both family- and neighborhood-level resources. Evidence for the disruption of family processes resulting from external (i.e., neighborhood poverty and social disorder) and internal (i.e., INR) disadvantages may be found in the higher prevalence of single-parent homes also in anomic neighborhoods; however, firm conclusions cannot be drawn from these results as we did not explicitly test the family stress model.

Interestingly, integral neighborhoods were also more likely to be structurally disadvantaged—meaning typical indicators of structural neighborhood poverty were higher for parents living in neighborhoods they self-identified as having positive social processes and fewer problems. The fact that these neighborhoods also had lower proportions of Latino/Hispanic residents may provide support for researchers (e.g., Brown & Brooks, 2006; Marrow, 2008) who suggest that racially/ethnically heterogenous neighborhoods in new destination areas are less likely to be characterized by positive social processes. Additionally, this may provide some additional support for pluralistic neighborhood theory. Whereas the high problems/positive relationships neighborhoods provided subjective support for the theory, with parents reporting the co-occurrence of positive social processes and indicators of neighborhood risk, the fact that many of the neighborhoods where parents reported positive social processes and the limited presence of both social problems (e.g., loitering) and physical problems (e.g., graffiti) also happened to reflect higher rates of objective poverty (e.g., high levels of residential turnover, higher levels of unemployment) may serve to further underscore the pluralistic nature of neighborhoods in these new destination contexts.

Lastly, with this unique sample, we were able to examine how our neighborhood profiles were associated with African American and Latino parents' ethnic-racial socialization messages and parental monitoring knowledge. Both ethnic-racial socialization messages and parental monitoring are normative parenting practices for families of color because they may protect their youth from the broader environment, particularly if there is the potential for unfair treatment or exposure to other risks. When examining multiple forms of ethnic-racial socialization, we only found evidence for differences in neighborhood profiles for egalitarianism and partial support for differences in preparation for bias. Specifically, families living in integral neighborhoods endorsed higher levels of egalitarianism beliefs compared to their counterparts living in anomic neighborhoods. It may be that caregivers

in integral neighborhoods may have a more harmonious view of the world due to reduced stressors and less contextual demands given fewer neighborhood problems and greater social support. It is important to note that these families are relatively lower-income but still experience their neighborhood as a welcoming, positive environment which may compensate for their concerns. However, conversely, although a marginal association, families in integral neighborhoods endorsed slightly more preparation for bias messages than their anomic counterparts. This finding is consistent with what Caughy et al. (2006) found among African American families in a southeastern city. Our finding that endorsement of egalitarianism beliefs differed by neighborhood profiles leads us to ask what is it about this new destination neighborhood context, with its mix of African American and Latino families, that elicits more importance of messages related to tolerance, inclusivity and equality or attracts parents to eventually adopt this ethnic-racial socialization practice? Although egalitarianism is often less studied among the ethnic-racial socialization types, this set of results suggests that researchers should pay closer attention to this ethnic-racial socialization message among families of color with varying SES levels, particularly among those families within specific SES strata (e.g., lower income) and between families in with different SES levels. It is also possible that race-ethnicity and SES interact to create unique experiences and exposures to environments that impact the ethnic-racial socialization beliefs and practices of African American and Latino families. For examples, views about societal fairness and the benefits of colorblindness may be more advantageous to preserve one's sense of self in a socially stratified context.

It was surprising that we did not find any differences between profiles in cultural socialization, one of the most frequently studied ethnic-racial socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). However, what is promising is that this protective cultural process (Neblett et al., 2012) is seen as an important across all neighborhood types. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with extant findings from Winkler (2012) and Caughy et al. (2006) who showed that cultural socialization messages differed by neighborhood context. For these studies, the racial-ethnic composition of these neighborhoods were primarily African American. Also, the poverty levels differed across studies such that 49% (Caughy et al., 2006) and 21% (Winkler, 2012) of the families lived in poverty and most of the neighborhoods were characterized as disadvantaged (neighborhood SES). Given these differences in SES, it is possible that race-ethnicity and SES (both neighborhood and family) interact to inform parents' beliefs about cultural socialization. Another plausible

contributing factor to the lack of consistent findings it that these other two studies examined actual delivery of cultural socialization messages (practices) to youth rather than beliefs about the importance of this message.

Finally, parental monitoring was higher in integral neighborhoods than others, particularly compared to high problem/positive relationship neighborhoods. The fact that parents who lived in neighborhoods characterized jointly by fewer problems and more positive social relationships reported higher levels of monitoring is at odds with researchers who have found that monitoring may be higher in riskier neighborhoods (e.g., Jones et al., 2005; O'Neil et al., 2001; Vieno, Nation, Perkins, Pastore, & Santinello, 2010). Our findings seem to suggest that parents in integral neighborhoods may just be more vigilant and involved with their youth despite contextual risks and environmental supports. Perhaps, lower income families are simply trying to structure their youth's environment and experiences to gain a "leg up" that they attempt to "control" behavior no matter what.

17. Strengths, caveats, and implications for future work

The current study examined how neighborhood structural characteristics, experiential profiles, and African American and Latino caregivers' parenting practices were related. Using cultural-ecodevelopmental models, we advanced the scholarship on how neighborhoods matter for parenting, particularly highlighting parenting practices that are often understudied in relation to neighborhood characteristics (Cuellar et al., 2015). However, this study does have limitations. First, selection bias is an issue as with all neighborhood studies. Families choose where they will live, even if only for a short amount of time. Similar to most neighborhood investigations, we tried to reduce the effect of this selection bias on our outcomes by including several individual characteristics (e.g., family SES, marital status) known to be linked with neighborhood selection. Second, given the nested nature of the data (i.e., families within neighborhoods), it would be ideal to decompose the variance attributable to within versus between neighborhoods (Raundenbush & Bryk, 2002). However, given our relatively small sample size, families nested in neighborhoods (i.e., lack of sufficient clustering at the neighborhood tract level), we were unable to conduct these analyses within a multi-level framework. Future studies should include larger samples with more variability and greater representation of neighborhoods in the metropolitan area. Nevertheless, we believe that this study is a key first step toward beginning to understand the unique experiences of African American and

Latino families in a new destination context and lays the groundwork for future research to continue examining the intersection of place, race-ethnicity, and poverty among diverse families.

Third, this study is cross-sectional, so we are unable to make predictions; longitudinal studies that explore changing neighborhood dynamics are needed to advance our theorizing about how neighborhood exposures matter for youth and families. To date, most researchers consider neighborhoods as static entities that residents experience. However, we know that families spend a considerable amount of time outside of their residential neighborhoods to get their daily needs met. For Latino families in a new destination context, this mobility may be amplified to increase cultural reinforcement and exposure to other co-ethnics. Activity space research (Browning & Soller, 2014; Matthews & Yang, 2013) is a promising avenue for interdisciplinary scholars to explore how spatial and temporal aspects of place impact relationships, choices, and behaviors.

Lastly, omitted third variables likely impact the processes we examined. Future research should explore how the acculturation process (Berry, 2003), other forms of parental monitoring (Stattin & Kerr, 2000), aspects of the parent-youth relationship (Cuellar et al., 2015), and neighborhood resources (Jencks & Mayer, 1990) interact to inform the neighborhood experience and parenting practices of African American and Latino families in a new destination context. Particularly for Latino families, future research should delve into these families' experiences in new destination areas to determine whether there is a greater vulnerability risk for parents and youth. Furthermore, our measure of ethnic-racial socialization focused on beliefs (i.e., the importance of communicating the message). Ongoing research should examine how parents' beliefs translate into action (i.e., communicating specific ethnic-racial socialization messages) and whether these messages vary by African American and Latino families in new destination areas.

18. Conclusion

In this chapter, our overarching goal was to take a more holistic approach to neighborhoods by examining neighborhood profiles configured across a number of social characteristics within a sample of low-income African American and Latinos residing in a new Latino immigrant destination where African Americans are the established minority-majority. In addition, we examined differences in parenting (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization beliefs and monitoring) by neighborhood profiles. Altogether, our findings

revealed three types of profiles that are consistent with past work. We also found that parents differed in the degree to which parents endorsed the importance of egalitarianism and preparation for bias messages and engaged in monitoring. Findings underscore the need for future research to take a comprehensive perspective on neighborhoods and how the intersection of parents' social positions, namely, race-ethnicity and SES, can create unique niches and exposures to neighborhood environment that can shape parenting, a key family domain related to child adjustment and adaptation.

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