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THE ROLE OF PARENTING BEHAVIORS AND NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY IN DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR AND SUBSTANCE USE

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ABSTRACT

The current study examined the relation among parenting behaviors, neighborhood quality, and adolescents' delinquent behavior and substance use in a sample of Black and Latino adolescent males. Findings suggest that parental support, monitoring, punitiveness, and physical discipline are negatively related to problem behavior while psychological control is positively related. In addition, the role of neighborhood quality moderated the relation between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes. Specifically, for adolescents living in neighborhoods perceived as low quality, changes in levels of parental support, monitoring, and psychological control were predictive of higher levels of self-reported delinquent behavior and substance use. Further, punitiveness and physical discipline predicted lower delinquent behavior in low quality neighborhoods.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Risk behaviors such as substance use and delinquency are considerable issues that impede the healthy development of adolescents. While youths of both sexes and a range of races/ethnicities participate in risk behaviors, disproportionate rates of delinquency and incarceration between groups demonstrate disparate vulnerability. Black and Latino youth are more likely than Whites to live in higher risk settings that have been found to contribute to the initiation of maladaptive behavior (Elliot, Wilson, Huizinga, Sampson, Elliot, & Rankin, 1996). Among adolescents, Latinos are more likely than both Blacks and Whites to have offered, sold, or given an illegal drug to a peer and have the highest prevalence of lifetime heroin and ecstasy use, as well as both current and lifetime cocaine use (Youth Risk Behavior Survey, 2007).

Although Black youth have lower rates of the aforementioned behaviors than Latino and White youth, the implications for juvenile and adult sentencing is most dire for this group (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; YRBS, 2007). It is also the case that males are more frequently involved in delinquent behavior and are more likely to commit serious delinquent acts than females (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1979; North Carolina Juvenile Justice Analysis Center, 2007; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). National figures indicate that minority youth are more likely to experience harsh legal consequences associated with criminal activity than their White counterparts, making the examination of delinquency in minority male youth and the risks and protective factors associated with such behaviors especially important (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1979; North Carolina Juvenile Justice Analysis Center, 2007; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006).

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention states that during the span of less than 20 years, the rate of growth in delinquency cases for Black youth have nearly doubled

the rate for White youth (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). In 2002, for instance, Black youth represented 29% of the cases in the juvenile court system (disproportionate to the Black juvenile national population of 16.4%) and of the 1% of youth inmates under the age of 18 that are in the adult prison system, 59% of new entries were Black youth, whereas only 28% were White (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Furthermore, the overall juvenile arrest rates in California are twice and 12 times more common in Latino and Black youth, respectively, than for White youth. Specifically, 41.5% of the nearly 900 felony arrests that occurred in 2005 were youth of Latino descent (Children in Our Community, 2007). Although California is home to a large population of Latinos, Whites still make up over twice the Latino population, making the juvenile arrest rate demographically inconsistent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). The inequity in California arrest statistics is also present among Blacks considering that their presence only accounts for 6.7% of the population residing in California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Black youths in North Carolina represented 58% of the population in juvenile detention centers between 2005 and 2007; whereas White youth topped out at 34% even though they make up significantly more of North Carolina's population (North Carolina Juvenile Justice Analysis Center, 2007). From these figures it is evident that the cost of involvement in illegal acts has incommensurately adverse implications for minority youth.

In order to identify antecedents to participation in problem behavior, it is important to recognize differences in the development of White and minority adolescents. For instance, Black and Latino youth have an increased likelihood of residing in communities characterized by high levels of disadvantage and a high concentration of single parent households (Burton & Jarrett, 2000). These living conditions place Black and Latino youth at higher risk for substance use, violence, and victimization than their White counterparts (Choi, Harachi & Catalano, 2006;

Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). In addition to community context, an adolescents' propensity toward participation in delinquency has been linked to parenting practices, which have been found to be differentially effective by race/ethnicity (Dearing, 2004). In addition, because it has been found that adolescents may interact uniquely and acquire distinct information from each parent that could ultimately affect problem behavior outcomes, parenting practices of both mothers and fathers are important be examine separately (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Thus, the goal of this study was to examine the role of parenting practices and neighborhood context in the development of problem behavior in Black and Latino male youth.

Theoretical Framework

Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979) ecological model emphasizes the role of context in human development. More specifically, the ecological perspective expresses the notion that the characteristics of the contexts in which individuals are embedded affect their vulnerability to and propensity toward later developmental outcomes. Two ecological systems that have been discussed in relation to the development of adolescent problem behavior are the mesosystem and the microsystem.

The microsystem, a proximal developmental context, includes the home environment which consists of the members that make up the family unit (i.e. parents, children). The mesosytem, a broader developmental context, consists of the environments in which individuals regularly function when outside of the home (e.g. neighborhood context). The opportunities afforded within these two contexts affect overall adolescent adjustment outcomes (Fannin, 1987). In the current study, the ways in which the microsystem (i.e. parenting practices) and the mesosytem (i.e. characteristics of the neighborhood context) predicted adolescent outcomes was examined. Specifically, this study examined whether different parenting practices predicted

problem behaviors (i.e., delinquent behaviors and substance use; see Figure 1 for hypothesized main effect model) and whether parenting practices and neighborhood context would interact to predict the likelihood of substance use and delinquency (see Figure 2 for hypothesized main effect and moderation effect model) in Black and Latino male youth.

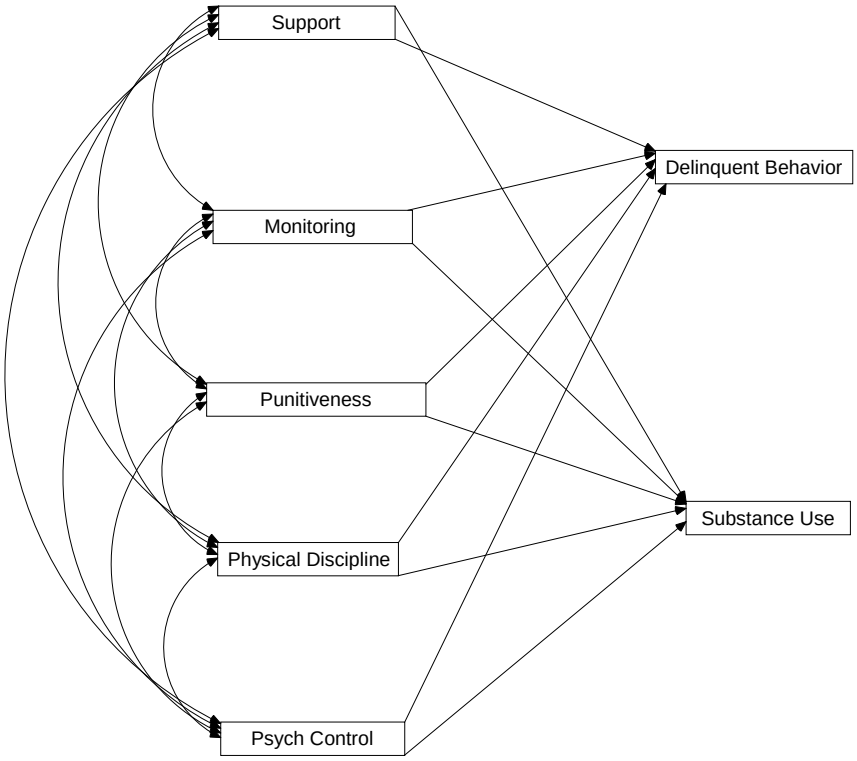

Figure 1. Hypothesized structural model of main effects for perceived parenting behaviors on adolescent substance use and delinquency.

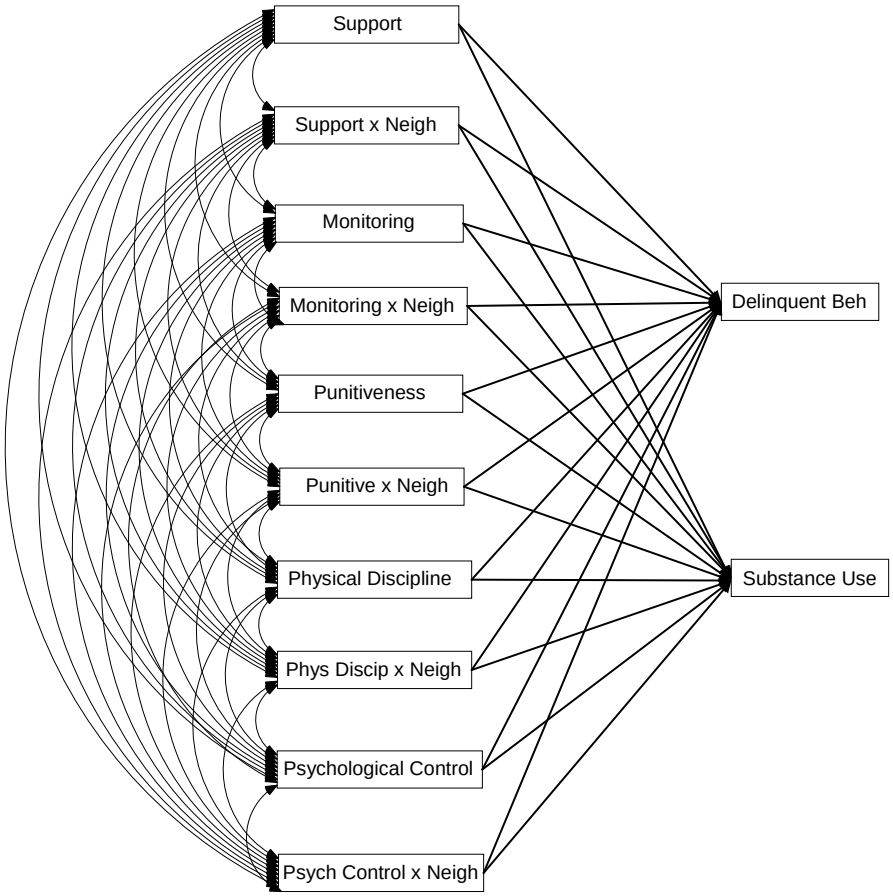

Figure 2. Hypothesized structural model of main effects and moderation effects (x neigh) with neighborhood quality.

Parenting Behaviors and Adolescent Outcomes

The study of parenting behaviors has been discussed in terms of child and adolescent outcomes for decades (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Baumrind, 1966, 1993, 2002; Darling, 1999; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates & Pettit, 1996; Hill, Bromell, Tyson & Flint, 2007). Although the extent to which parents contribute to the development of their children has been a much disputed topic (Harris, 1998; Scarr, 1992), many studies have concluded that parents are one of the most prominent influences in a youth's life (Steinberg, 2001). This is evident not only through the literature that seeks to find linkages between parenting and youth outcomes, but also through the

many interventions that focus on altering parenting practices as a way to improve child and adolescent adjustment (Aktan, Kumpfer, Turner & Charles, 1996; Dumka, Lopez & Carter, 2002; Murry, Berkel, Brody, Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007). Some of the most commonly assessed parenting behaviors that have been linked to adolescent substance use and delinquency are parental support, monitoring, punitiveness, psychological control, and physical discipline.

Parental Support

The least controversial of the commonly referenced parenting practices linked to youth adjustment is supportive parenting. Scholars have referred to this parenting practice using different names (e.g. authoritative parenting and parental support), all of which refer to the extent to which parents use warmth, lend support, and encourage verbal input from their children. The presence of these behaviors has been linked to a variety of child and adolescent outcomes including less delinquency and substance use. For instance, within two-parent families, when both parents demonstrate supportive behaviors towards their children, children show the most optimal outcomes in terms of lower levels of depression, less delinquency, more commitment to school, and better overall adjustment (Baumrind, 1966; Darling, 1999; Steinberg, 2001). Additionally, the presence of at least one parent exhibiting these characteristics acts as a protective factor against the second parent's use of less optimal parenting practices (Simons & Conger, 2007). Supportive parenting has also been found to positively affect adolescent adjustment and negatively relate to internalizing and externalizing behaviors such as depression, violence, aggression and delinquency in Blacks and Latinos (Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris & Acosta, 2007; Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, Hiraga & Grove, 1994; Simons, Simons, Burt, Brody & Curtona, 2005). For instance, decreases in adolescent perceived parental support related to school (e.g. attending school events), increased the likelihood of committing

delinquent acts (i.e. theft, vandalism) and being convicted of a crime in a sample of Latino adolescents (Davalos, Chavez, & Guardiola, 2005). In addition, supportive parenting has been related to less conduct disorder and depression for Latino children and early adolescents (Roosa, Tein, Groppenbacher, Michaels, & Dumka, 1993). Furthermore, even in the presence of a great deal of parent-adolescent conflict, parental support has been associated with less internalizing and externalizing symptoms in Latino male and female adolescents (Crean, 2008). Findings with Black adolescents also showed that those who have more parental support exhibit lower levels of self-reported regular alcohol use and deviant behaviors (Barnes & Farrell, 1992). Furthermore, research suggests that outcomes are less likely to be negative for racial/ethnic minorities, when warmth and support are used in tandem with controlling parenting behaviors (McLoyd & Smith, 2002). For instance, using high levels of warmth and support has been found to moderate the association between parenting practices typically regarded as harsh and the likelihood of problem behaviors in Black and Latino youth (McLoyd & Smith, 2002). Given its salience, in this study, adolescents' perceptions of supportive parenting were examined in order to assess whether its use points to more positive adolescent outcomes than harsh parenting practices.

Parental Monitoring

Another parenting behavior relevant to adolescent adjustment outcomes is parental monitoring. The use of parental monitoring refers to the use of active surveillance used by parents to garner information about the whereabouts and overall activities of their child (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Monitoring by parents has been regarded as both positive and negative in terms of youth outcomes. In terms of positive outcomes, a study of young Black, White, and Latino adolescents, showed that parental monitoring was associated with lower levels of overall delinquency in boys and girls and less monitoring was associated with more smoking for girls

(Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Diaz & Miller, 2000) as well as less alcohol and other substance use for Black and Latino boys (Barnes, Welte, Hoffman, & Dintcheff, 2005; Bray, Adams, Getz, & Stovall, 2001). Greater parental monitoring was also associated with less deviant behavior for Black and Latino adolescents (Forehand, Miller, Dutra, & Chance, 1997). Moreover, Latino adolescents reporting higher levels of parental monitoring were more knowledgeable about drugs and were less likely to have used marijuana in their lifetime as well as in the last 30-day period (Ramirez, Crano, Quist, Burgoon, Alvaro, & Grandpre, 2004). Among Black youth, poor parental monitoring has been linked to an increased likelihood of depressive symptoms (Sagrestano, Paikoff, Holmbeck, & Fendrich, 2003) and later child conduct problems. Furthermore, parental monitoring has been found to lessen the effects of family income on the incidence of child conduct problems in Black families (Kilgore, Snyder, & Lentz, 2000). However, a review of the parental monitoring literature (Dishion & McMahon, 1998) concluded that higher levels of monitoring were associated with risky behaviors in young children, as well as, delinquency and substance use later on during adolescence. As some argue (e.g. Stattin & Kerr, 2000), increases in monitoring may be associated with more negative outcomes for children and adolescents because the parents that are more likely to monitor their children are doing so, in part, because they suspect that their child is involved in some risk behavior.

The variation in findings for parental monitoring is believed, by some, to be due to the ways through which parental knowledge, the information that parents have about their children's activities, is acquired (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). In other words, parental knowledge is measured in many parental monitoring studies and is often assumed to be gathered through active surveillance, even though this may not always be the case. Monitoring in terms of active surveillance refers to the use of solicitation of information from the child by the

parents (i.e. parents seeking/asking information from the child) whereas child disclosure refers to children offering information about their whereabouts and activities to their parents. These two behaviors have been found to relate differentially to the prevalence of adolescent problem behaviors (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). For instance, parents' attempts to solicit information from their children have been linked to negative outcomes. This may be true because parents who are soliciting information may be doing so because they already suspect the onset of maladaptive behavior. In addition, surveillance may serve as a proxy for poor parent-child communication which has been associated with more delinquency in children (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). On the other hand, child disclosure as a means of acquiring knowledge and information has been found to be associated with less substance use and delinquency because it may be reflective of the overall positive quality of the parent-child communication, which has been linked to less problem behaviors from children (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Research has also found sex differences in disclosure behaviors, with girls being more likely to disclose information about their whereabouts to their parents than boys (Stattin & Kerr, 2000) Thus, it is possible that boys' less desirable rates of delinquency and substance use outcomes are linked to their lack of disclosure to their parents about their behaviors and activities. To avoid the issue of active surveillance versus child disclosure, this study focuses on adolescent perceptions of what their parents know about their behaviors and activities.

Punitiveness and Psychological Control

The use of punitive and controlling parenting behaviors has largely been described as being associated with negative child and adolescent outcomes. For instance, parental use of punitiveness and control has been found to predict more child emotional problems equally across

racial/ethnic groups (Ho, Bluestein & Jenkins, 2008), although exceptions do exist (e.g. Crockett, Brown, Russell & Shen, 2007; Dearing, 2004; Roche, Ensminger & Cherlin, 2007). Punitiveness refers to disciplinary practices that occur as a result of a youth's disregard of rules and/or standards upheld by parents (Baumrind, 1966; Darling, 1999). Psychological control is characterized by the desire of parents to control and mold their child by indoctrinating values and belief systems through lecture and punishment without showing much consideration for the child's thoughts and desires, in general denying autonomy (Baumrind, 1966).

The extent to which parents use forms of psychological control and punitiveness when interacting with their children, and the degree to which youth perceive their parents as exhibiting punitive and controlling behaviors, has been found to predict adolescent externalizing behaviors. For example, in a largely Belgian sample that included some African and Central and South American children and early adolescents, parental use of psychological control was associated with higher levels of conduct disorder and internalizing problems (Kuppens, Grietens, Onghena, & Michiels, 2009; Soenens, Luyckx, Vansteenkiste, Luyten, Duriez, & Goossens, 2008) as well as low self-esteem in a sample of Israeli adolescents, especially the boys (Ojanen & Perry, 2007). In addition, for both Blacks and Whites, the use of punitiveness and control has been associated with more child/adolescent aggression (Ho et al., 2008).

In general these parenting practices appear to be detrimental. However, it is possible that psychological control and punitiveness differentially relate to problem behaviors among adolescents from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. For instance, research indicates that it is common for Latino families to practice hierarchical parenting, which features parental figures as the sole authority (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). For this reason, dissimilar to the findings with White families, parental control, in general has not been associated with aggressive and delinquent

behaviors in Latino families where respeto, or subscribing to the wishes of authority figures, is emphasized (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007; Lindahl & Malik, 1999). These inconsistent findings indicate the need to further examine the effectiveness of these parenting practices across racial/ethnic minority groups. In addition, many of the studies detailing the association between psychological control and adolescent outcomes have not focused on minority samples. Thus, this study examined punitiveness and psychological control in Black and Latino adolescents.

Physical Discipline

The use of physical discipline builds even further upon parenting practices that rely on the use of insistent lecturing and dominance as a form of control. Physical discipline has been regarded bleakly in a plethora of the parenting literature (Gershoff, 2002). Even those who do not typically value parents as an important aspect of child development, regard physical discipline as almost deterministic in terms of the likelihood of negative outcomes (Scarr, 1992).

The use of physical discipline has largely been regarded negatively. However, the effect of this type of discipline has been found to vary among adolescents from different racial/ethnic groups. In a study assessing the relation between childhood physical abuse and adult alcohol use, Black and Latino adult males reporting severe childhood physical discipline were twice and 1.5 times more likely, respectively, than those not abused to have alcohol-related issues in adulthood (Caetano, Field, & Nelson, 2003). Furthermore, for Latino early adolescents, being spanked has been associated with an increased prevalence of antisocial behavior (Eamon & Mulder, 2005). However, Black children who are disciplined physically have been found to report lower rates of aggression and behavior problems (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Henry, & Florsheim, 2000). Further, in some cases for Black youth, there is no association at all between physical discipline and behavior problems (Whaley, 2000). Furthermore, a study that examined the moderating role of

race/ethnicity in shaping the relationship between physical discipline and externalizing problems found that physical discipline was associated with more externalizing behaviors, but only among Whites; there was no association between externalizing behavior and high or low levels of physical discipline for the Black children in this study (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates & Pettit, 1996). Thus, more work is necessary that examines racial/ethnic group variations.

In sum, with respect to parenting practices and their contribution to the outcomes of Black and Latino adolescents, more work is necessary in order to clarify widespread inconsistencies that may ultimately hinder prevention efforts aimed at these groups. Specifically, it is important to take into account other contexts in adolescents' lives as research has found that racial/ethnic differences in the role that parents play in adolescent outcomes are, in some cases, due to secondary contexts in which the adolescent is embedded. For instance, the type of neighborhood context in which adolescents and their families inhabit is often linked to parenting processes and youth outcomes.

Neighborhood Context and Adolescent Outcomes

Minority youth in the United States are disproportionately represented in disadvantaged communities where safety may be an issue (Burton & Jarrett, 2000). For instance, both Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to have been threatened or injured with a weapon, feel unsafe in their environment, and engage in physical fighting (YRBS, 2007). Residing in contexts where safety is an issue is likely to have detrimental effects on the overall quality of life for minority youth as well as obvious implications for entrance into the criminal justice system (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). For instance, exposure to violence has been linked to the perpetration of violence and delinquency for Black adolescents (Chauhan & Reppucci, 2009). In addition, spending more time in a disadvantaged setting has been associated with higher levels of

antisocial behavior in minorities (Eamon & Mulder, 2005) and neighborhood socioeconomic status has been linked to conduct problems in Latino and Black early adolescents (Shonberg & Shaw, 2007).

The characteristics and processes occurring within a neighborhood have been linked to the likelihood of violence and substance use in adolescents (Choi, Harachi & Catalano, 2006). For instance, Choi and colleagues explored the association between neighborhood risk factors (e.g. lack of attachment to the neighborhood, lack of involvement in positive social opportunities in the neighborhood, and lack of neighborhood safety) and substance use in a sample including Black and Latino adolescents and found a link between these neighborhood risk factors and adolescent substance use. Specifically, both directly and indirectly, neighborhood safety issues were significant pathways to substance use for both racial/ethnic groups (Choi et al., 2006).

In addition to neighborhood characteristics such as safety, the expectations of people from disadvantaged communities can determine the moral milieu of its inhabitants. One of the characteristics of neighborhood context that has been widely examined in relation to the behavior of its people is social cohesion and collective efficacy. Collective efficacy in a neighborhood refers to the willingness of members of the community to act in order to support the well-being of their community in reducing illegal activities (Sampson et al., 1997); this community effort has been found to be important only in settings characterized by deprivation (Odgers, Moffitt, Tach, Sampson, Taylor, Matthews & Caspi, 2009). In a study examining Black neighborhood clusters it was found that collective efficacy was negatively associated with crime and victimization, meaning that there was less crime and victimization when collective efficacy was in place (Sampson et al., 1997). A similar conclusion was reached when it was also found that highly aggressive and/or delinquent Black and Latino youth were more likely to reside in

neighborhoods with less collective efficacy (Molnar, Cerda, Roberts & Buka, 2008). These findings suggest that whereas some characteristics of neighborhoods may be deemed disadvantageous (e.g. high levels of crime and poverty), other characteristics can be protective in nature (i.e., collective efficacy). Thus, neighborhoods are not deterministic in terms of poor adolescent outcomes. It is important to examine specific aspects of the neighborhood such as social cohesion and collective efficacy in tandem with neighborhood risk given that these factors have been found to impact more immediate aspects of adolescents' lives (e.g. parenting practices).

Parenting Behaviors, Neighborhood Context, and Adolescent Outcomes

Although the neighborhood context has been directly linked to adolescent outcomes, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model suggests that more proximal aspects in adolescents' lives such as the family environment (e.g. parents) play a more direct role, with broader social contexts like the neighborhood more likely playing an indirect role that may shape parenting practices. Specifically, parenting practices and their effectiveness in predicting adolescent adjustment may depend on the characteristics of the neighborhood context in which families live.

As stated earlier, previous work has found a link between the neighborhood context and adolescent outcomes. In addition, research has also found that neighborhood quality is associated with parenting practices, which in turn are linked to adolescent outcomes. For instance, a study with Black adolescents living in an urban setting (Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005) found that neighborhood stress (e.g. barriers to services, neighborhood problems) was associated with more parent psychological distress, which was associated with less positive parent-adolescent relationships and worse adjustment outcomes for adolescents. Further demonstrating the interplay between parenting and neighborhood context, Mrug and Windle (2008) found that

neighborhood disorder (i.e. concentrated poverty, resident instability, and a lack of social cohesion) was associated with poor parenting practices (e.g. more harshness, inconsistence, and less nurturance); in turn, poor parenting practices were associated with more delinquency, deviance, and disruptive behavior for a sample of Black fifth graders. Similarly, in a sample of Latino adolescents, socioenvironmental risk (e.g. maternal psychological distress and neighborhood problems) was associated with less socioemotional competence for adolescents and indirectly related with more externalizing problems (Prelow, Loukas, & Jordan-Green, 2007). The aforementioned studies have demonstrated that problems in the neighborhood context have negative effects on parenting practices which, in turn, have detrimental effects on adjustment for both Black and Latino adolescents. However, as mentioned earlier, there may be underlying factors enacted in neighborhoods such as collective efficacy that change the relation between the effectiveness of parenting practices and adolescent adjustment.

The negative effects of neighborhood disadvantage have been found to be lessened by the residents making up the context itself through their influences on parenting behaviors. A study on the role of community context and parenting practices on delinquency considered the ways in which context can affect parenting practices (Simons et al., 2005). This study found that neighborhoods that implemented the use of collective efficacy were more likely to have parents that use styles of childrearing characterized by warmth and support with control (i.e. authoritative parenting). Warmth and support used in neighborhoods implementing collective efficacy amplified the deterrent effect of parenting practices on delinquency (Simons et al., 2005). Furthermore, Chung and Steinberg (2006) showed that lower levels of social cohesion were indirectly associated with delinquency through parenting behaviors, which were deemed less effective without social organization. Altogether, these studies show that the effectiveness of

parenting practices, in disadvantaged neighborhoods, depends on the quality of the neighborhood which is determined by its residents and their cohesiveness.

As mentioned earlier, parenting practices have been found to be differentially effective based on race/ethnicity. In many of these studies, race/ethnicity may have been acting as a proxy for neighborhood context, given that racial/ethnic minority families are overrepresented in poor, high risk neighborhoods, which has not always been taken into account to explain these differential findings. Thus, it is possible that neighborhood context would demonstrate differences in adaptive parenting strategies for Black and Latino youth. For instance, despite the evidence that an authoritative parenting style is linked to the most optimal adolescent outcomes, Brody and Flor (1998) note that rural African American parents develop the adaptive parent strategy of "no nonsense parenting" that is characterized by high levels of control (including physical punishment) in the presence of warmth and affection. Based on this work, no nonsense parenting appears to be an effective parenting practice because of the contextual realities of these families. Further supporting this idea, research has found that the link between punitive parenting and problem behavior is less strong when the neighborhood is perceived as more dangerous (Roche et al., 2007). These findings demonstrate that when the relation between parenting and adolescent outcomes is examined, the role of neighborhood quality should be taken into account to determine whether these associations differ depending on the quality of the neighborhood in which racial/ethnic minority families live. That is taking into account both neighborhood disadvantage and social cohesion.

The Current Study

To gain further understanding of the processes by which neighborhoods and parents contribute to the substance use and delinquency of Black and Latino adolescent males, this study

explored the associations among parenting behaviors (i.e. parental support, monitoring, punitiveness, psychological control, and physical discipline), neighborhood quality (i.e. neighborhood risk and social cohesion), delinquency and adolescent substance use. Specifically, it was hypothesized that parental support and parental monitoring would be associated with lower levels of substance use and delinquency, whereas psychological control, punitiveness, and physical discipline would be associated with higher levels of substance use and delinquency prior to considering the moderating role of neighborhood context. It was also hypothesized that adolescents' perception of neighborhood quality would moderate the association between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes. Specifically, it was expected that the relation between parenting practices and adolescent outcomes would be shaped by adolescents' perception of neighborhood quality such that changes in positive parenting behaviors (i.e. support and monitoring) would be more important in lower quality neighborhoods and the positive relation between harsh parenting styles (i.e. psychological control, punitiveness, and physical discipline) and delinquency and substance use would be weaker when used in neighborhoods perceived as low in quality for both Black and Latino males. Finally, given that Black and Latino families have differing settling experiences in the U.S., Black families involuntary through slavery and Latino families largely by choice (Ogbu, 2008), cultural differences may inadvertently shape the association among variables, thus, the possibility that differences in the fit of our model may exist between Latino and Black adolescents was explored.

Chapter 2

METHODS

Participants

The sample analyzed for this study was a subset of the original Fathers Count study data; a study aimed at assessing the role of fathering in the adjustment of minority youth. Adolescent boys of Black and Latino racial/ethnic origin were recruited in California, Oklahoma, and North Carolina. This study focused on participants residing in California and North Carolina. Data from fathers or father-figures were also collected for some adolescents. However, because fathers' response was low, only data from boys was used in this study. The sample for the current study consisted of 218 Black (n = 56) and Latino (n = 162) boys ranging from grades 8th-12th. Black participants ranged in age from 14-17 years (M = 15.086) and Latinos ranged in age from 13-18 years (M = 15.043).

Procedure

Areas within North Carolina and California offering a diverse student body were targeted and permission from the schools' administration and participating teachers was sought in order to be included in the study. A contact person (e.g. administrator, school counselor) was selected from each school to ask teachers whether they would allow their classroom of students to participate in the study. Teachers that agreed to participate passed out parental and youth consent forms (one side in English and the other in Spanish) to their students. Only adolescents who returned both parental and youth consent forms signed were eligible to participate. Data were collected within classroom settings where project personnel were present to answer questions.

Measures

Parental support

Supportive parenting was measured by 4 items from the Parental Behaviors Measure (Peterson, 1982). The four items assessed the extent to which adolescents' perceive their parents as exhibiting supportive behaviors (e.g. "Has made me feel that he/she would be there if I needed him/her" and "Tells me how much he/she loves me"). Parental support was assessed separately for mothers and fathers on a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). Participants' scores were averaged for both mothers and fathers, separately. Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived parental support. With the current sample, coefficient alphas were .82 and .91 for Black adolescents and .78 and .80 for Latino adolescents, for mother and father subscales, respectively.

Punitiveness

Parent's use of punitiveness was examined by a 7 item subscale, from the Parental Behaviors Measure (Peterson, 1982). This subscale assessed the extent to which adolescents' perceive their parents as being harsh and controlling in their everyday parenting practices (e.g. "Yells at me a lot without good reason"; "Does not give me any peace until I do what he/she says"). Punitiveness was assessed separately for mothers and fathers on a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to (1) *strongly agree* (4). Participants' scores were averaged for both mothers and fathers, separately. Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived parental punitiveness. With the current sample, coefficient alphas were .74 and .81 for Black adolescents and .78 and .77 for Latino adolescents, for mother and father subscales, respectively.

Physical discipline

Parent's use of physical discipline was assessed by 1 item from the punitiveness subscale of the Parental Behaviors Measure (Peterson, 1982). This item assessed the extent to which adolescents perceived their parents as being physically abusive towards them (e.g. "Punishes me

by spanking or hitting me"). Physical discipline was assessed separately for mothers and fathers on a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to (1) *strongly agree* (4). Participants' scores were averaged for both mothers and fathers separately. Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived physical discipline.

Psychological control

The use of psychological control was measured by two subscales with 4 items assessing love withdraw (e.g. "Avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him/her") and 3 items assessing guilt inducing behavior (e.g. "Tells me about all the things that he/she has done for me") by parental figures. These subscales are also part of the Parental Behaviors Measure (Peterson, 1982). Psychological control was assessed separately for mothers and fathers on a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). Participants' scores were averaged for both mothers and fathers separately. Higher scores indicated high levels of perceived psychological control. With the current sample, coefficient alphas were .85 and .84 for Black adolescents and .76 and .78 for Latino adolescents, for mother and father subscales, respectively.

Monitoring

The extent to which adolescents felt that their parents are aware of their activities and know their friends (e.g. "Knows where I am after school"; "Knows who my friends are") was assessed by a 6 item subscale from the Parental Behaviors Measure (Peterson, 1982). Parental monitoring was assessed separately for mothers and fathers on a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). Participants' scores were averaged for both mothers and fathers separately. Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived parental

monitoring. With the current sample, coefficient alphas were .79 and .90 respectively for Black adolescents and .79 and .84 for Latino adolescents, for mother and father subscales, respectively.

Neighborhood Quality

Adolescents' perceptions of their neighborhood context and associated risks (e.g. "I have seen people do illegal things"; "Many adults are unemployed"; "I feel unsafe") was assessed by an12 item neighborhood risk measure modified from a previous measure (Supple, Ghazaharian, Frabutt, Plunkett & Sands, 2006). Response items were measured with a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). Scores on the items were summed and a mean score was created with higher numbers indicating higher levels of perceived neighborhood risk. With the current sample, coefficient alphas of .92 and .91 for Black and Latino adolescents, respectively, were obtained.

To further assess neighborhood quality, adolescents' perceptions of the extent to which people in their neighborhood communicate with one another (e.g. "Most people know their neighbors") was assessed using a 3 item measure (Plunkett, Sands, Marachi, Chavira, Saetermoe, & Leanos, 2006). Response to these items were measured using a 4-point Likert Scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). Scores on this measure were summed and a mean score was created with higher numbers indicating greater perceived social cohesion. With the current sample, coefficient alphas of .70 and .76 for Black and Latino adolescents, respectively, were obtained. Social cohesion was combined with the measure for neighborhood risk to assess neighborhood quality.

Substance Use

Adolescent self-reported substance use within the last six months (e.g. "Gotten drunk"; "Used marijuana, pot") was assessed by an 8 item measure created for this study. Response items

for this measure assessed the frequency of substance use using *never* (0), *once* (1), a *few times* (2), and *many times* (3). The scores obtained from this measure were summed and a mean score was created with higher numbers indicating more substance use by the adolescent. With the current sample, coefficient alphas of .77 and .88 for Black and Latino adolescents, respectively, were obtained.

Delinquent Behaviors

Adolescent self-reported delinquency within the last six months (e.g. "Stayed out all night without your parents' permission"; "Stolen something"; "Been arrested") was assessed using a 17 item measure created for this study. Response items for this measure assessed the persistence of delinquent behaviors using *never* (0), *once* (1), a *few times* (2), and *many times* (3). The scores obtained from this measure were summed and a mean score was created with higher numbers indicating more frequency of delinquent behaviors reported by the adolescent. With the current sample, coefficient alphas of .95 and .94 for Black and Latino adolescents were obtained.

Plan of Analysis

In order to examine the associations among parenting behaviors, neighborhood quality, and adolescent substance use and delinquency, structural equation modeling (SEM) using AMOS was employed. The parenting behavior and neighborhood quality variables were centered at the mean in order to aid in the interpretation of interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). An initial model assessed the main effects between parenting behaviors (i.e. supportive parenting, psychological control, punitiveness, physical discipline, and parental monitoring) and adolescent delinquency and substance use. Next, a separate model tested the interactions between neighborhood quality and parenting variables to examine whether neighborhood quality moderated the relation between parenting behaviors and adolescent substance use and

delinquency for the complete sample. Finally, the fit of the model and parameter estimates were assessed and/or modified for Blacks and Latinos using modification indices to find the best fitting model for each group.

In order to assess the fit of the models for the data, the chi-squre statistic, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), comparative fit index (CFI), and akaike information criterion (AIC) were used. For RMSEA, values below .08, .05, and .01 indicate a moderate, good, and very good fitting model, respectively (Loehlin, 2004; Steiger, 1989). Values of .90 or above for the CFI usually indicate a good fitting model (Bentler, 1990). The AIC does not specify values, but relative model improvement can be assessed by decreases in value from model to model (Akaike, 1987).

Chapter 3

RESULTS

See Table 1 for intercorrelations of parenting behaviors (i.e. supportive parenting, psychological control, punitiveness, physical discipline, and parental monitoring) for mothers and fathers, neighborhood quality, substance use, and delinquency for the overall sample. See Table 2 for descriptive statistics (i.e. means and standard deviations) of parenting behaviors, neighborhood quality, prevalence of substance use and delinquency by race/ethnicity for the adolescents in the sample.

Table 1

Bivariate correlations for full sample (N= 218).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Supp(M)													
Mon(M)	.55***												
Pun(M)	.12	.14*											
Phys(M)	-.12*	-.03	.45***										
Psych(M)	-.10	-.09	.51***	.48***									
Supp(F)	.58***	.44***	.00	-.16*	-.18**								
Mon(F)	.35***	.54***	-.04	-.17*	-.19**	.68***							
Pun(F)	.08	.11	.65***	.29***	.36***	.05	.14*						
Phys(F)	-.13*	-.07	.34***	.75***	.40***	-.06	-.08	.45***					
Psych(F)	-.05	-.10	.40***	.42***	.73***	-.04	-.01	.51***	.52***				
Neigh	-.11	-.22***	.06	.03	.09	-.13	-.12	.18**	.08	.21**			
Sub Use	-.17*	-.16*	.06	.18**	.12	-.20**	-.16*	-.02	.13	.15*	.25***		
Dlq Beh	-.23***	-.19**	-.02	.15*	.20**	-.22***	-.19**	-.05	.12	.17*	.23***	.73***	

Note. Supp= Support, Mon= Monitoring, Pun= Punitiveness, Phys= Physical Discipline, Psych= Psychological Control, M= Mother, F= Father, Neigh= Neighborhood Quality, Sub= Substance, Dlq Beh= Delinquent Behavior

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Means and standard deviations by race/ethnicity.

	Overall Sample $N = 218$		Black Sample $n = 56$		Latino Sample $n = 162$	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Supp (M)	3.52	.51	3.58	.51	3.51	.51
Mon (M)	3.29	.60	3.29	.60	3.28	.61
Pun (M)	2.48	.63	2.56	.63	2.46	.63
Phys (M)	1.70	.95	1.80	.86	1.67	.98
Psych (M)	2.20	.66	2.20	.72	2.20	.64
Supp (F)	3.29	.63	3.34	.69	3.27	.61
Mon (F)	3.01	.73	2.95	.82	3.03	.70
Pun (F)	2.40	.64	2.40	.68	2.40	.63
Phys (F)	1.73	.94	1.76	.84	1.72	.98
Psych (F)	2.11	.63	2.10	.63	2.11	.63
Neigh	2.24	.53	2.06	.51	2.31	.52
Sub Use	.16	.38	.06	.18	.19	.43
Dlq Beh	.32	.53	.24	.46	.35	.55

Note. Supp= Support, Mon= Monitoring, Pun= Punitiveness, Phys= Physical Discipline, Psych= Psychological Control, M= Mother, F= Father, Neigh= Neighborhood Quality, Sub Use= Substance, Dlq Beh= Delinquent Behavior

Main Effects Model

Results indicated that the hypothesized main effect model, with parenting behaviors directly predicting both delinquency and substance use, did not fit the data well (See Figure 3) for either perceived maternal (χ^2 (1) = 159.003, $p < .000$, RMSEA = .853, CFI = .619, AIC = 227.003) or paternal parenting behaviors (χ^2 (1) = 149.634, $p < .000$, RMSEA = .828, CFI = .679, AIC = 203.634).

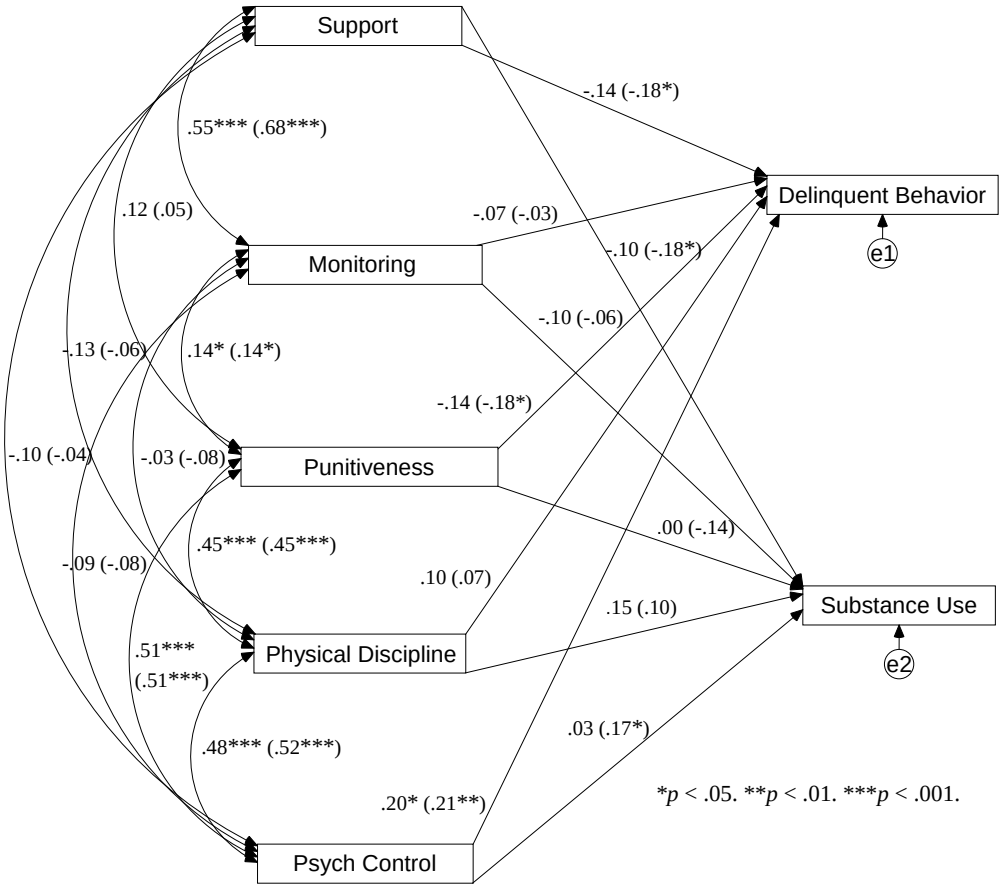

Figure 3. Hypothesized main effects model for maternal (and paternal) behaviors.

Modification indices were examined to determine any paths in the model that needed to be added or removed. Modification indices suggested that a path be added from delinquent behaviors to substance use. Because delinquency and substance use are inextricably linked and minor delinquent offenses have been found to precede substance use (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2006), the modified model was empirically supported. Thus, a modified model was examined where delinquent behavior was a predictor of substance use and adolescent perceived maternal and paternal parenting behaviors predicted delinquent behavior directly. The modified model including maternal parenting (See Figure 4) exhibited a much improved and overall good fit (χ^2 (5) = 7.638, $p < .177$, RMSEA = .049, CFI = .994, AIC = 53.638). Results for the maternal

parenting model indicated that of all maternal parenting behaviors, adolescents' perceptions of mothers' psychological control was the only significant factor associated with delinquency. Delinquency was more likely as perceptions of maternal psychological control increased.

The model including perceptions of paternal parenting (see Figure 4, values in parenthesis) exhibited a very good fit for the overall sample (χ^2 (5) = 1.739, $p < .884$, RMSEA = .000, CFI = 1.000, AIC = 47.739).

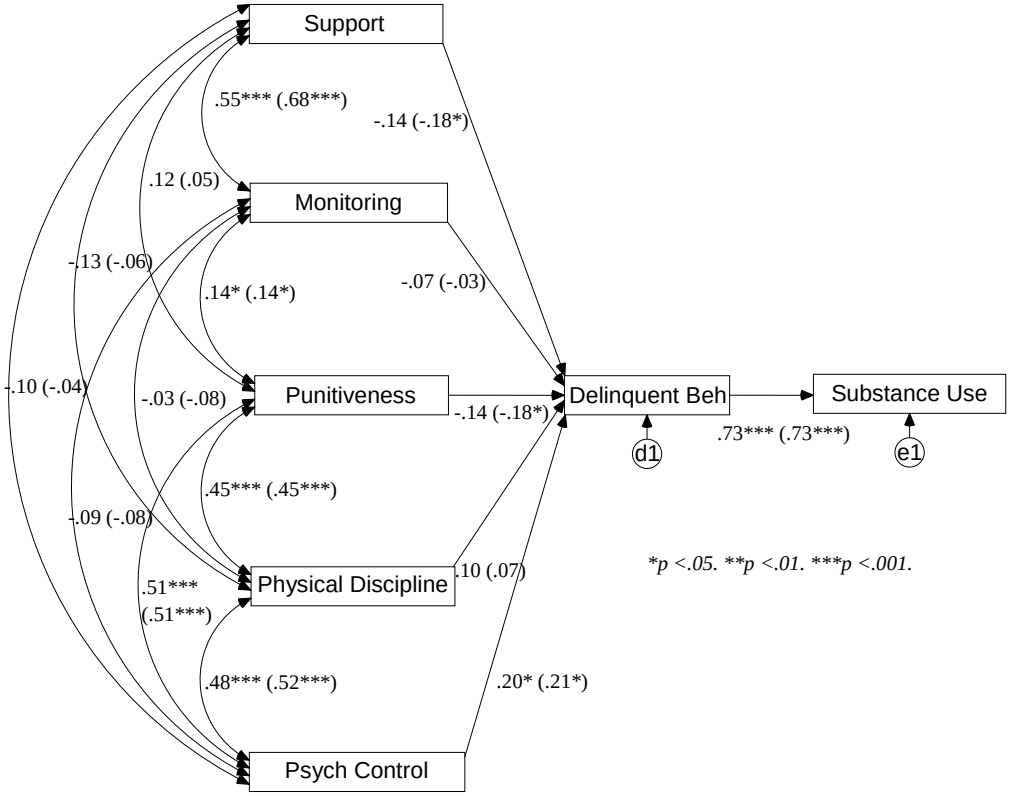

Figure 4. Modified main effects model for maternal (and paternal) behaviors.

Results for the model that included paternal parenting indicated that adolescents' perceptions of fathers' supportive parenting, punitiveness, and psychological control were significantly associated with delinquency. Delinquency was less likely in the presence of paternal support and punitiveness, whereas, delinquency was more likely as perceptions of

psychological control increased. In addition, for both models (i.e., mothers and fathers), adolescent delinquency was significantly associated with adolescent substance use.

Moderation Effects

Neighborhood Quality

Separate models were examined to test the interaction of adolescent perceptions of maternal and paternal parenting behaviors and neighborhood quality in relation to delinquency and substance use in the whole sample (N = 218). The model that included adolescents perceptions of maternal parenting and neighborhood exhibited a good fit of the data (χ^2 (10) = 15.312, $p < .121$, RMSEA = .049, CFI = .993, AIC = 175.312, see Figure 5).

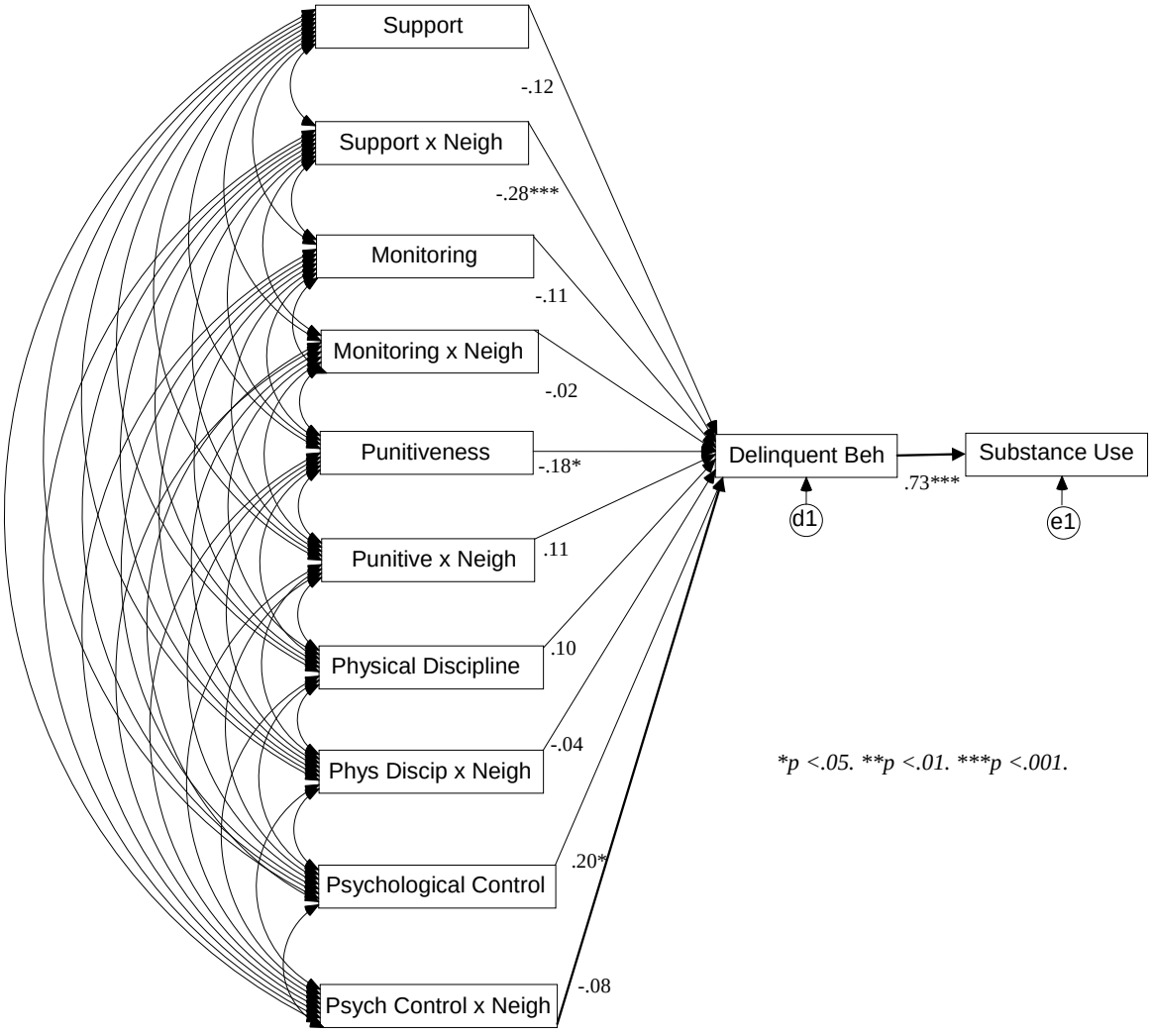

Figure 5. Neighborhood quality moderation model for maternal behaviors (N = 218).

Results indicated that higher levels of punitiveness were associated with lower delinquent behavior while higher psychological control was associated with higher delinquent behavior. Further, neighborhood quality interacted with maternal support to predict delinquent behavior (See Figure 6 for interaction). Specifically, at high levels of neighborhood quality, low levels of delinquent behavior were reported by adolescents reporting low and high maternal support. Yet, in a low quality neighborhood, adolescents who perceived low maternal support, reported higher levels of delinquent behavior than adolescents perceiving high maternal support. That is, when

neighborhood quality was low and maternal support was low, delinquent behavior was most likely. In addition, adolescents' delinquency was significantly associated with adolescent substance use No other paths were found to be statistically significant for maternal parenting behaviors for the overall sample.

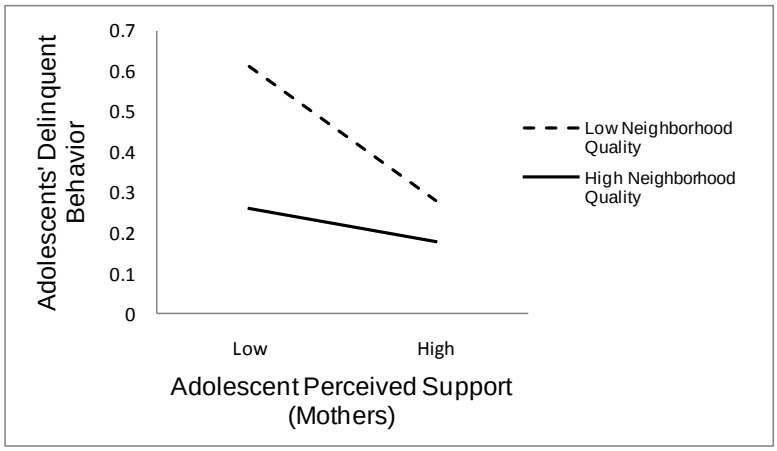

Figure 6. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived maternal support predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the whole sample (N=218).

The modified model using perceptions of paternal parenting exhibited a poor fit for the overall sample (χ^2 (10) = 29.052, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .094, CFI = .981, AIC = 189.052). Modification indices were examined to determine whether paths needed to be added. A modified model adding paths from the interactions terms for support, monitoring, and psychological control to substance use directly was examined (See Figure 7). This model indicated a good fit to the data (χ^2 (4) = 7.361, $p < .392$, RMSEA = .015, CFI = 1.000, AIC = 173.361). In terms of main effects, results indicated that higher levels of paternal support and punitiveness were associated with lower delinquent behavior while higher levels of psychological control were associated with more delinquent behavior.

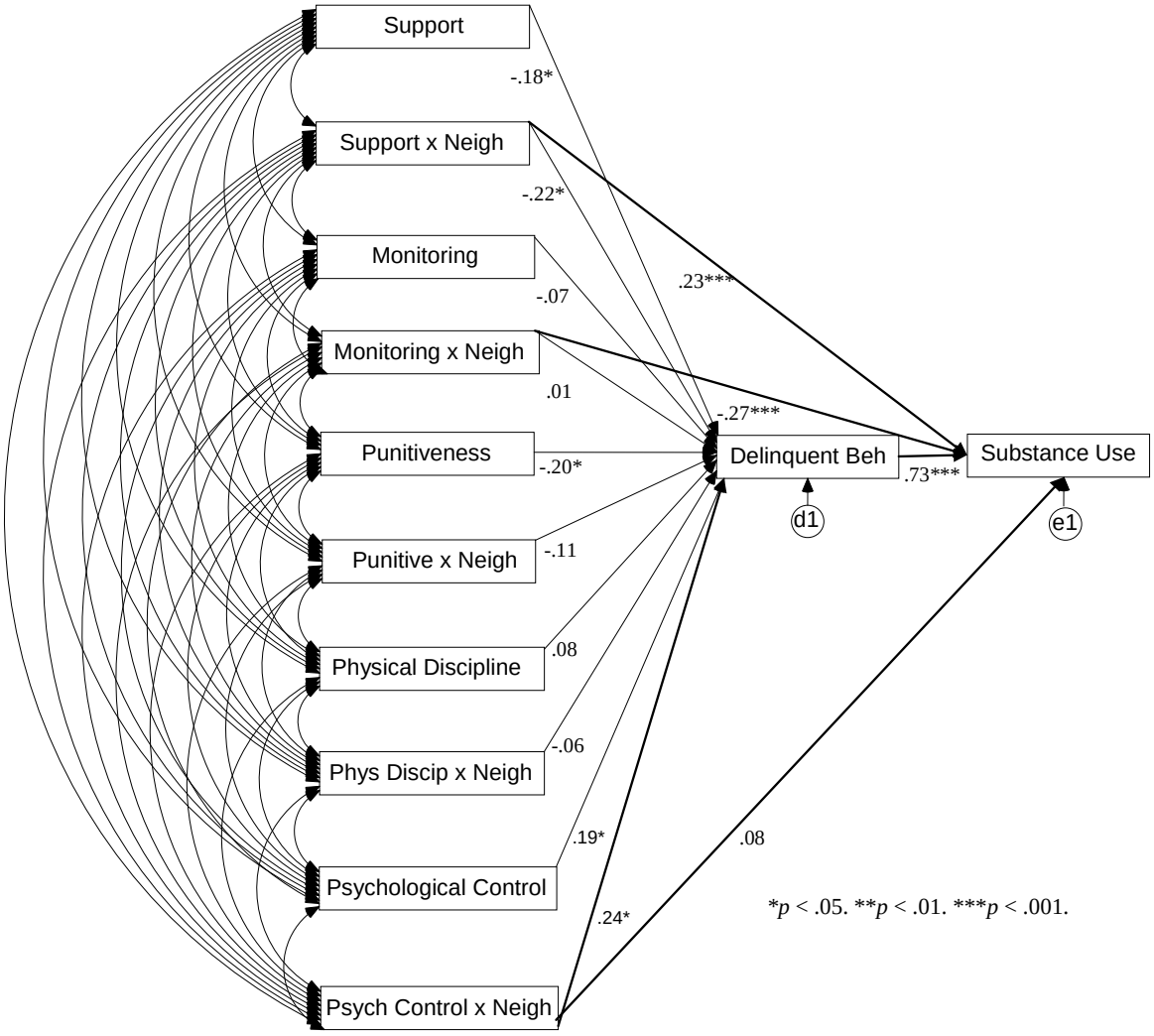

Figure 7. Neighborhood quality moderation model for paternal behaviors (N=218).

Further, neighborhood quality interacted with paternal support to predict delinquent behavior (See Figure 8a). Similarly to the model with mothers' data, higher scores on neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of delinquent behavior for both adolescents who reported low and high levels of paternal support. When neighborhood quality was low and paternal support was low, delinquent behavior was most likely.

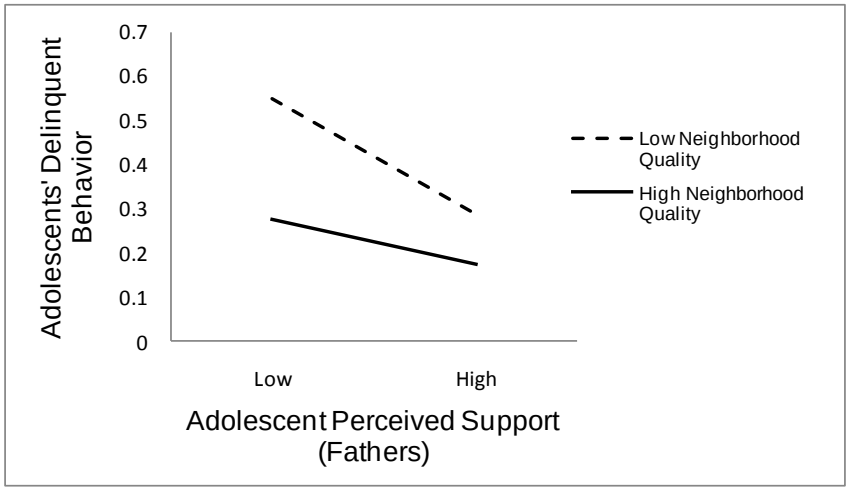

Figure 8a. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal support predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the whole sample (N=218).

In addition, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal psychological control to predict delinquent behavior (See Figure 8b). Specifically, high neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of delinquent behavior. When paternal psychological control was high in a low quality neighborhood, delinquent behavior was the most likely.

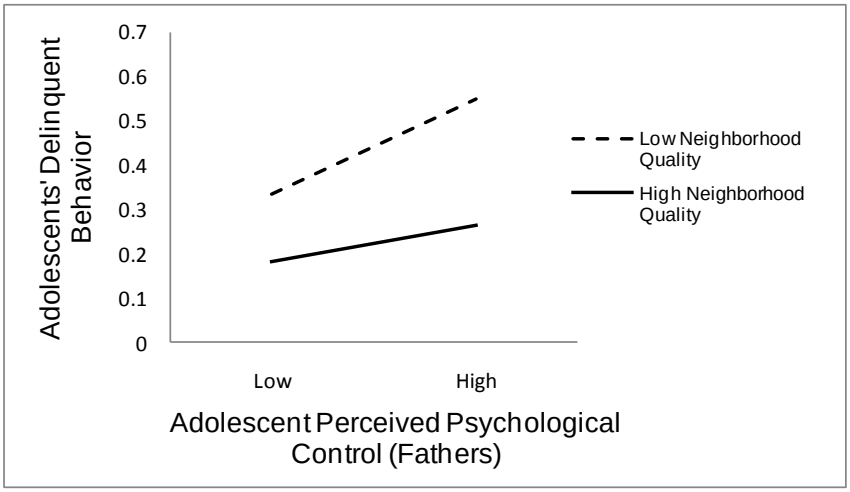

Figure 8b. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal psychological control predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the whole sample (N=218).

Results also indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal support to predict substance use (see Figure 8c). Specifically, high levels of perceived neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of substance use. Further, when neighborhood quality was low and paternal support was low, substance use was higher.

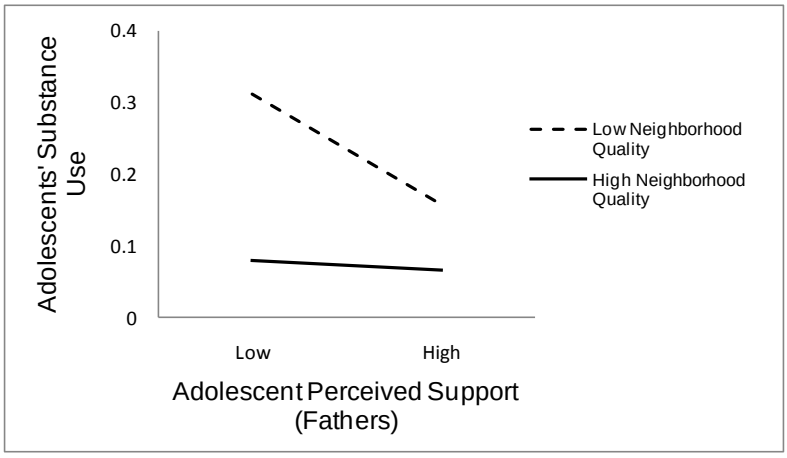

Figure 8c. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal support predicting adolescents' substance use in the whole sample (N=218).

Finally, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal monitoring to predict substance use (see Figure 8d). Specifically, high levels of perceived neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of substance use for both low and high perceived paternal support. When neighborhood quality was low and paternal monitoring was low, substance use was the most likely. No other paths were found to be statistically significant for paternal parenting behaviors in the overall sample.

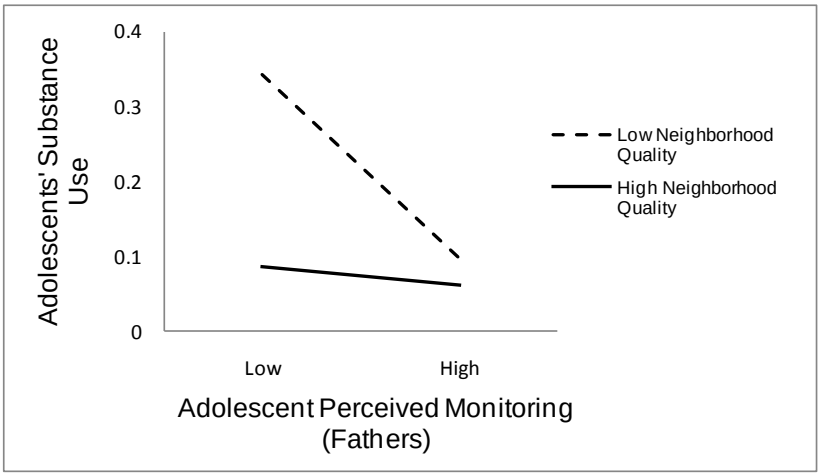

Figure 8d. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal monitoring predicting adolescents' substance use in the whole sample (N=218).

Analyses by Race/Ethnicity

Modified models were tested separately for Blacks (n=56) and Latinos (n=162) to see whether processes differ by racial/ethnic group. Below, the results for the Black subsample, followed by the results for the Latino subsample are described.

Black Sample

The modified model using perceptions of maternal parenting exhibited a moderate fit for the Black sample (χ^2 (10) = 12.158, $p < .275$, RMSEA = .063, CFI = .991, AIC = 172.158). In terms of main effects, higher levels of maternal support were associated with lower levels of

delinquency and higher levels of psychological control were associated with higher levels of delinquency.

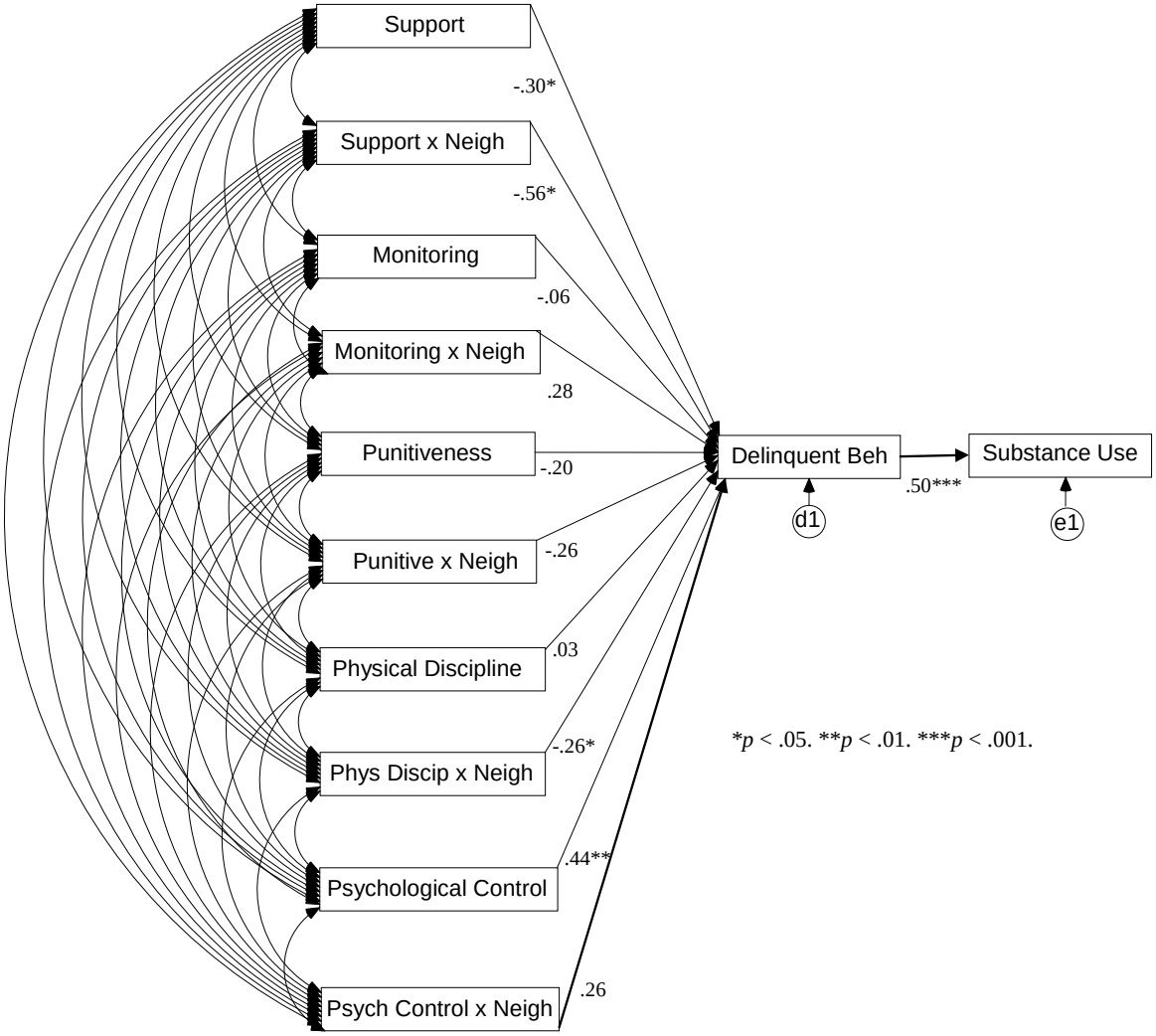

Figure 9. Neighborhood quality moderation model for maternal behaviors in Black sample (n = 56).

Further, neighborhood quality interacted with maternal support to predict delinquent behavior (Figure 10a). Specifically, high levels of perceived neighborhood quality predicted low levels of delinquent behaviors in adolescents who perceived low and high maternal support. However, low neighborhood quality predicted high levels of delinquent behavior for adolescents

who perceived low support. Yet, for adolescents who perceived high levels of maternal support, low neighborhood quality predicted low levels of delinquent behaviors. That is, predicted delinquent behavior was highest when there was low maternal support in a low quality neighborhood.

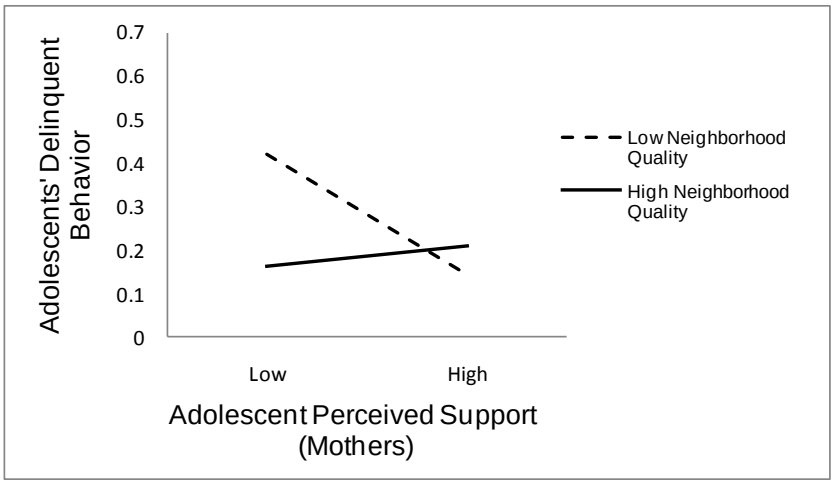

Figure 10a. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived maternal support predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Black sample (N=56).

Finally, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with maternal physical discipline to predict delinquent behavior (Figure 10b). As expected, for those perceiving their neighborhood as high quality, delinquent behavior increased when perceived maternal physical discipline increased while for those perceiving their neighborhood as low quality, delinquent behavior was higher when maternal physical discipline was low and lower when maternal physical discipline was high. In sum, when neighborhood quality and maternal physical discipline were low, delinquent behavior was most likely. No other paths were significant for perception of maternal parenting behaviors in the Black sample.

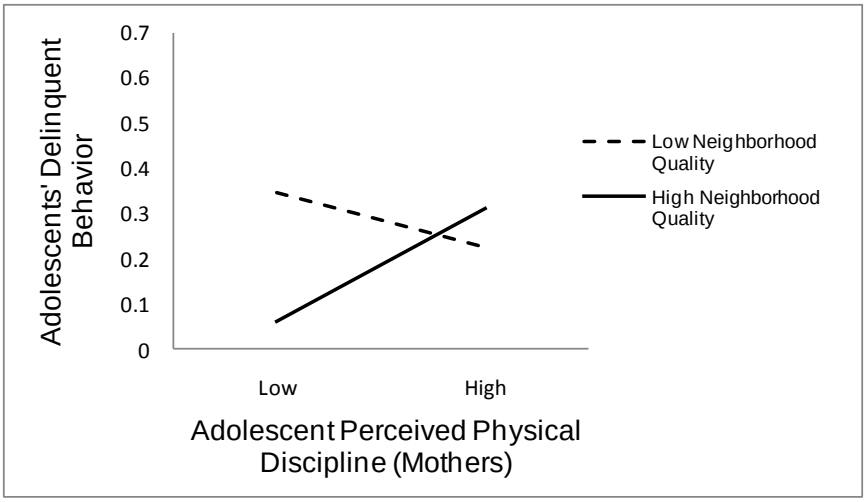

Figure 10b. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived maternal physical discipline predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Black sample (n = 56).

The new modified paternal parenting model (Figure 7), with additional paths from the interactions terms for support, monitoring, and psychological control to substance use, did not exhibit a good fit for the Black sample (χ^2 (7) = 16.135, $p < .024$, RMSEA = .154, CFI = .965, AIC = 182.135). Modification indices were examined to determine whether paths needed to be added or deleted. Modification indices suggested that paths from support and punitiveness to substance use directly should be added. Thus, a new model with these additional paths was examined. Fit indices indicated that this model was a good fit to the data (χ^2 (8) = 8.411, $p < .394$, RMSEA = .031, CFI = .998, AIC = 172.411; see Figure 11). In terms of main effects, higher paternal support and punitiveness were associated with lower substance use.

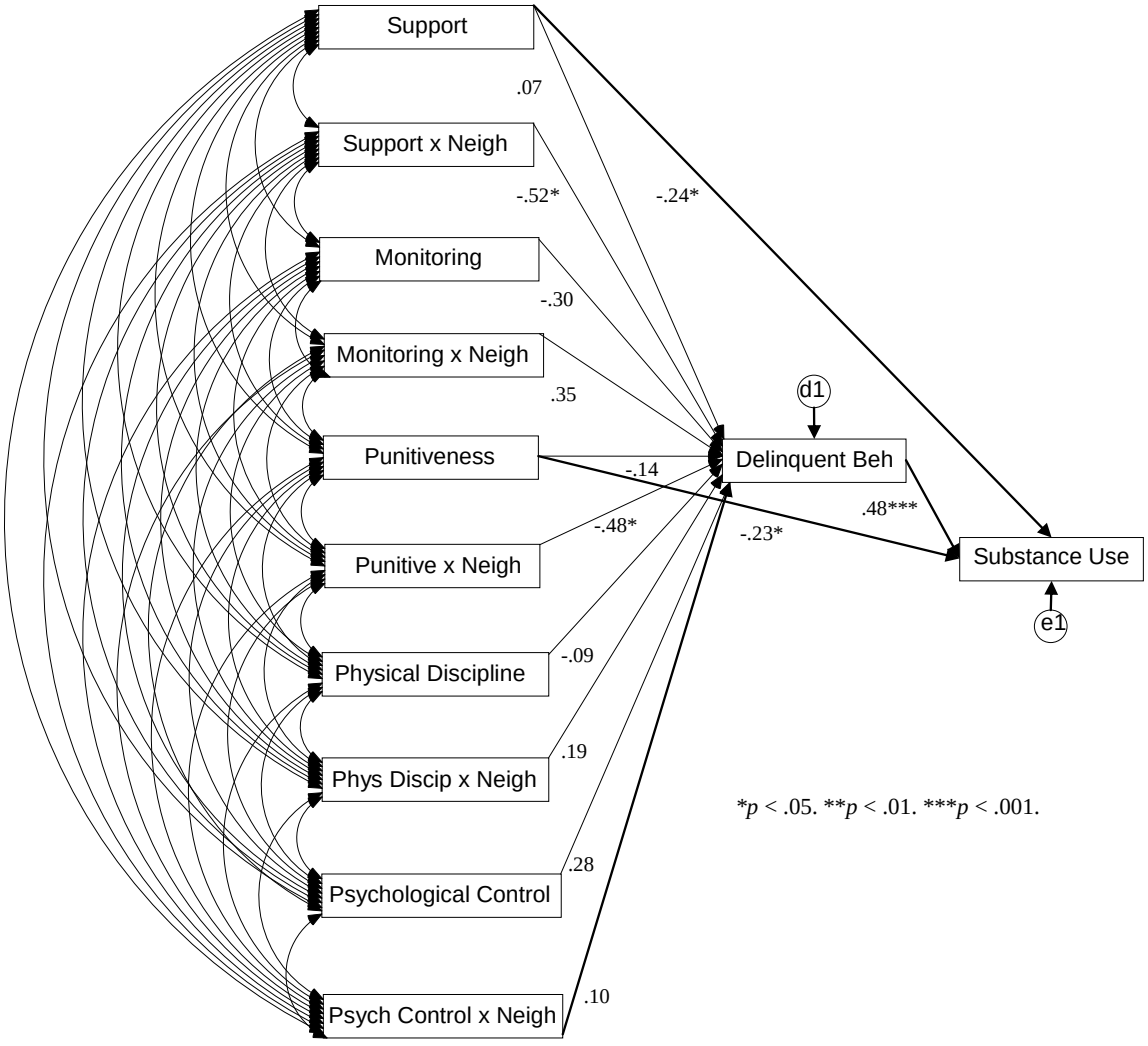

Figure 11. Neighborhood quality moderation model for paternal behaviors in Black sample (n = 56).

In addition, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal support to predict delinquent behavior (Figure 12a). For Black adolescents who perceived their neighborhood as low quality, delinquent behavior decreased when paternal support was high. However, for Black adolescents who perceived their neighborhood as high quality, delinquent behavior was lowest when paternal support was perceived as low and increased when paternal support was perceived as high. Further, predicted delinquent behavior was at its peak when support was low in low quality neighborhoods.

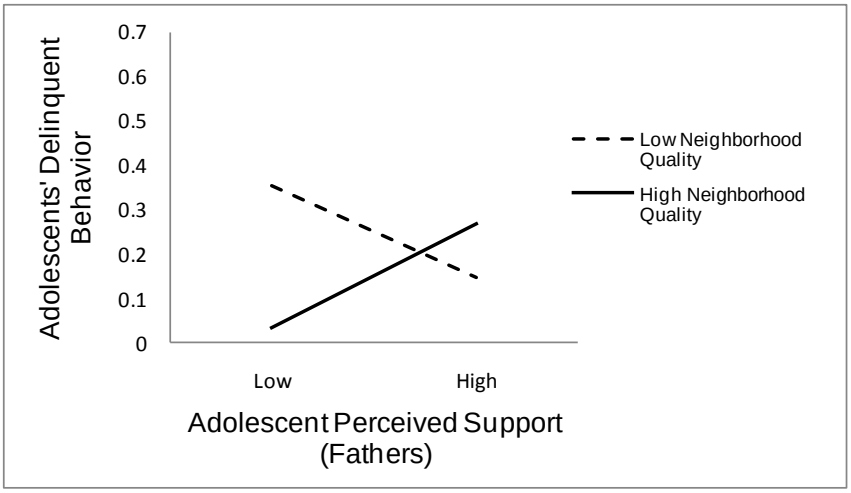

Figure 12a. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal support predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Black sample (n = 56).

Moreover, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal punitiveness to predict delinquent behavior (Figure 12b). Specifically, when paternal punitiveness was high for those perceiving their neighborhood as high quality, delinquent behavior increased. Only a slight increase in delinquent behavior occurred for Black adolescents from low quality neighborhoods when punitiveness was high. No other paths were found to be statistically significant for paternal parenting behaviors in the Black sample.

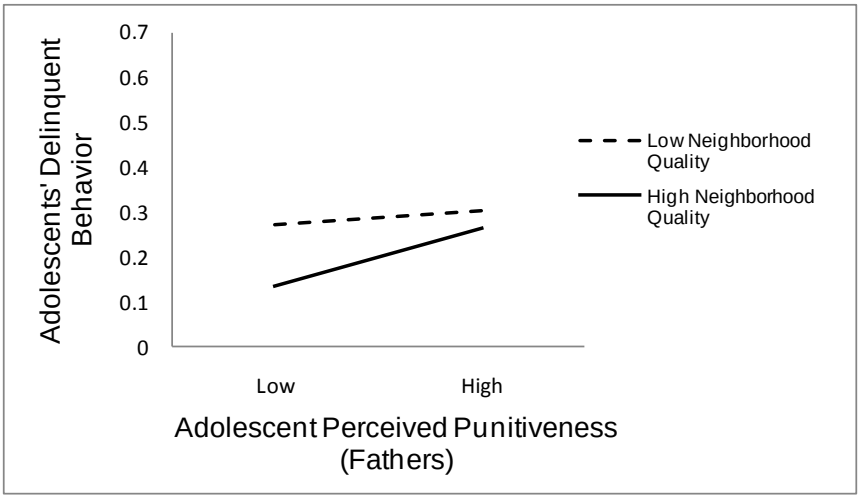

Figure 12b. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal punitiveness predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Black sample (n = 56).

Latino Sample

The modified model examining the interactions between parenting behaviors and neighborhood quality was assessed for model fit among the Latino subset of the sample. The model using perceptions of maternal parenting exhibited a moderate fit for the Latino sample (χ^2 (10) = 17.829, $p < .058$, RMSEA = .070, CFI = .988, AIC = 177.829; see Figure 13).

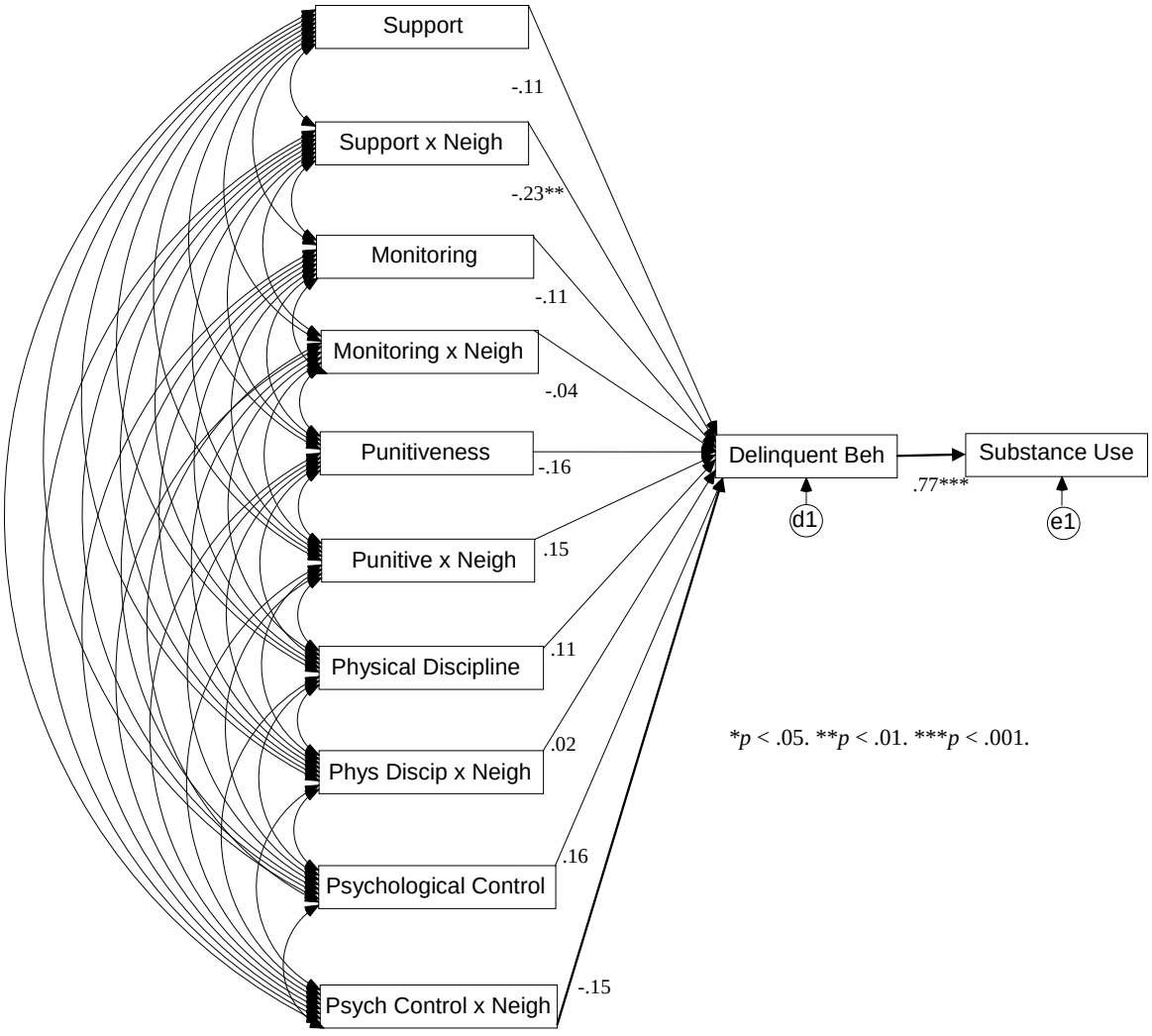

Figure 13. Neighborhood quality moderation model for maternal behaviors in Latino sample (n = 162).

Results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with maternal support to predict delinquent behavior (see Figure 14). Specifically, when perceived neighborhood quality was high, adolescents reporting low and high maternal support reported lower levels of delinquent behavior. Yet, the gap between delinquent behavior for high and low neighborhood quality was largest when perceived maternal support was low. Specifically, those adolescents reporting low maternal support reported the highest levels of delinquent behavior, but only in low quality

neighborhoods. When neighborhood quality was high, delinquent behavior was lower even when maternal support was low. No other paths were found to be statistically significant for maternal parenting behaviors in the Latino sample.

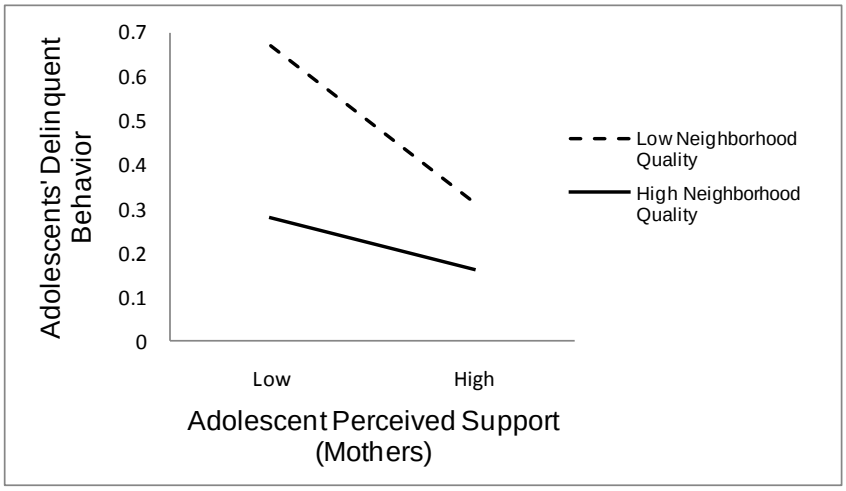

Figure 14. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived maternal support predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Latino sample (n = 162).

The modified paternal parenting model (Figure 7), with additional paths from the interactions terms for support, monitoring, and psychological control to substance use, exhibited a good fit for the Latino sample (χ^2 (7) = 9.511, $p < .218$, RMSEA = .047, CFI = .997, AIC = 175.511; see Figure 15). With respect to main effects, higher paternal support and punitiveness were associated with less delinquency, and higher psychological control was associated with more delinquency.

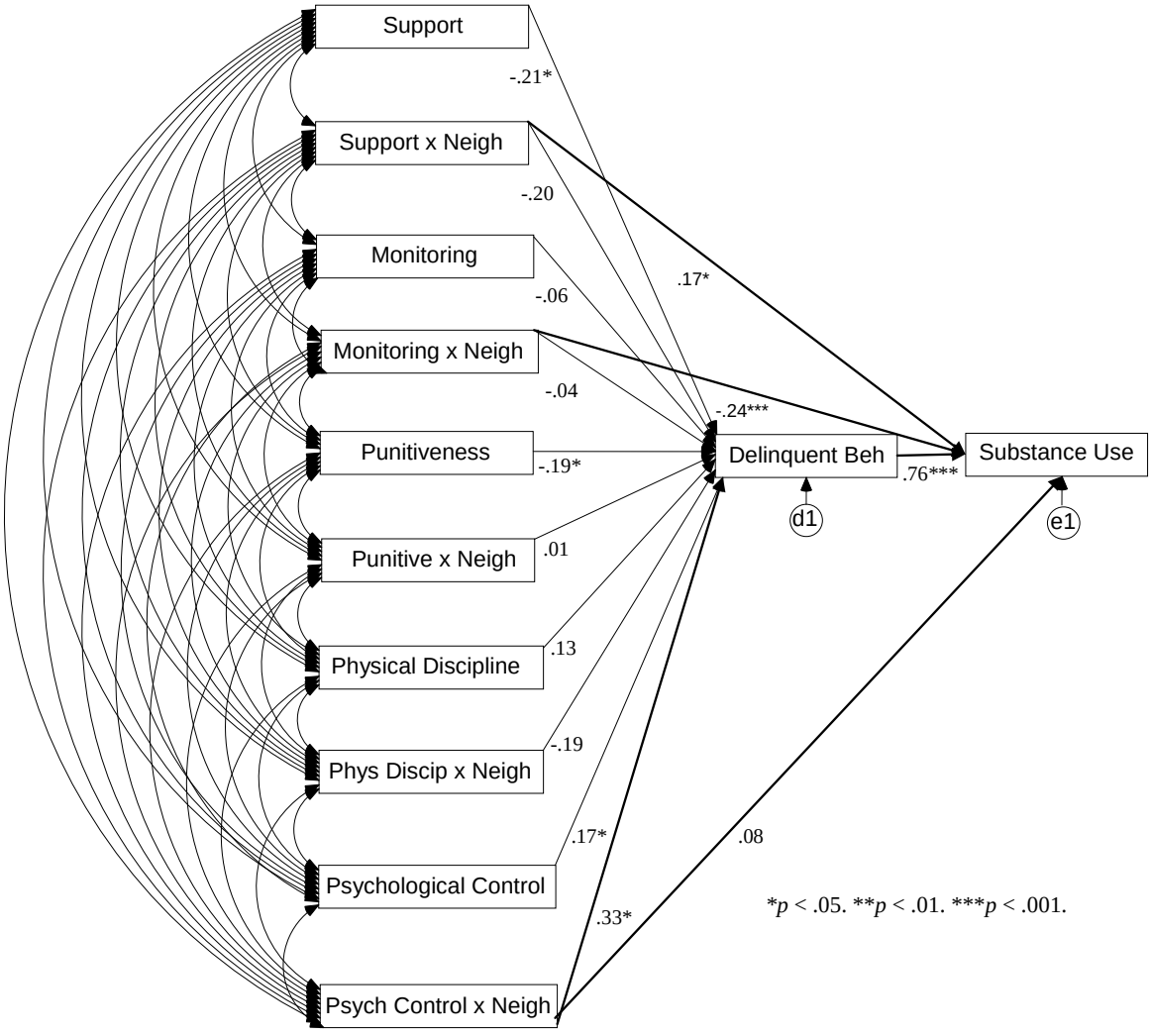

Figure 15. Neighborhood quality moderation model for paternal behaviors in Latino sample (*n* = 162).

Further, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal psychological control to predict delinquent behavior (Figure 16a). Specifically, higher perceived neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of delinquent behavior. In addition, when paternal psychological control was high and neighborhood quality was low, delinquent behavior was most likely.

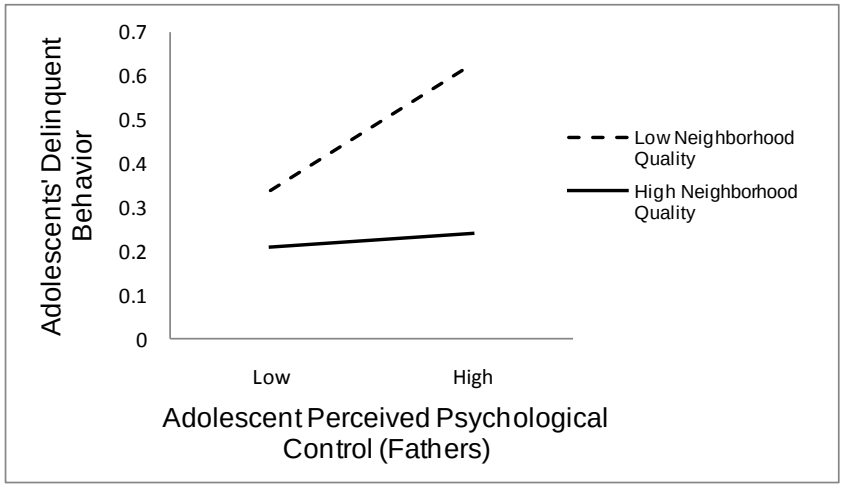

Figure 16a. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal psychological control predicting adolescents' delinquent behavior in the Latino sample (n = 162).

Results also indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal support to predict substance use (Figure 16b). Specifically, perceived high neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of substance use across perceived levels of paternal support. Yet, when perceived neighborhood quality was low and paternal support was low, substance use was highest.

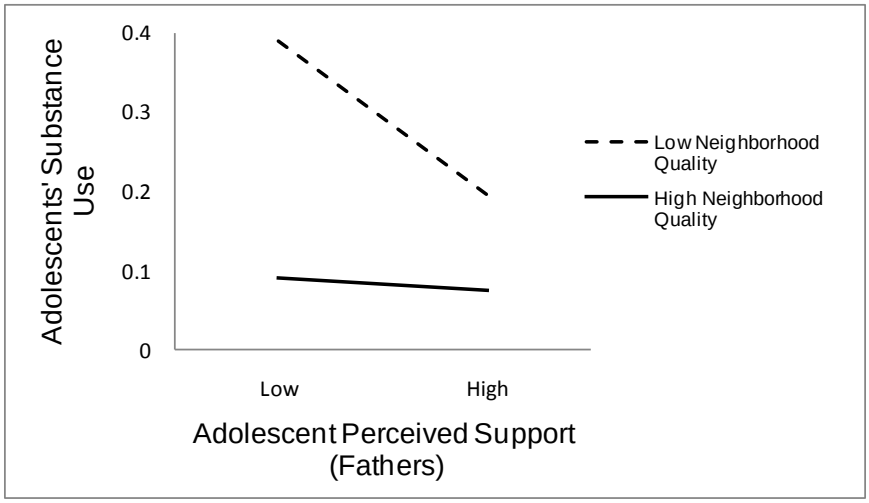

Figure 16b. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal support predicting adolescents' substance use in the Latino sample (n = 162).

Finally, results indicated that neighborhood quality interacted with paternal monitoring to predict substance use (Figure 16c). Specifically, higher perceived neighborhood quality predicted lower levels of substance use across levels of perceived paternal monitoring. Interestingly, substance use was lowest even when parental monitoring was low in a high quality neighborhood. No other paths were found to be statistically significant for paternal parenting behaviors in the Latino sample.

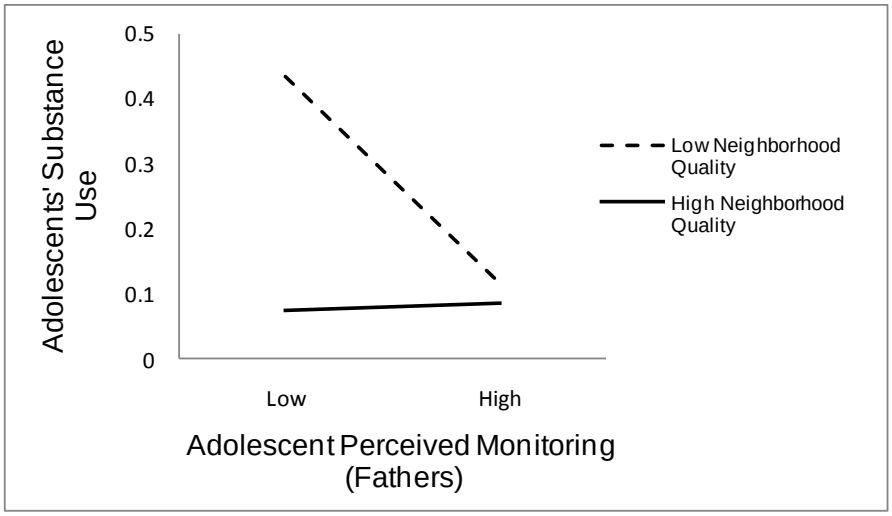

Figure 16c. Interaction between adolescents' perceived neighborhood quality and adolescents' perceived paternal monitoring predicting adolescents' substance use in the Latino sample (*n* = 162).

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the ecological systems perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979), this study examined the role of developmental contexts in the propensity toward problem behaviors in adolescents. Specifically, the relation between adolescent perceived parenting behaviors (i.e. support, monitoring, punitiveness, physical discipline, psychological control) and adolescent outcomes (i.e. delinquent behavior and/or substance use) was explored in a sample of Black and Latino males. Further, the possible moderating role of adolescent perceived neighborhood quality (i.e. neighborhood risk and social cohesion) in shaping this relation was examined.

Fit of Hypothesized Model

The hypothesized model (Figure 3) did not fit the data well and was modified such that each parenting variable directly predicted adolescent delinquent behavior, which then predicted adolescent substance use (Figure 4). This modification is consistent with literature that has identified delinquent behavior as a precursor to adolescent substance use (e.g. Burfeind & Bartusch, 2006) and as a longitudinal predictor of later alcohol and marijuana use among minority male adolescents over a six year period (White, Xie, Thompson, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2001). All models showed a positive and significant association from delinquent behavior to substance use. The fit of the modified model was assessed across perceived maternal and paternal parenting behaviors and racial/ethnic group. Once the interaction terms were entered, this model had to be modified further for paternal parenting behaviors in the overall sample and the Latino sample similarly (Figure 7 and 15, respectively) and differently for the Black sample (Figure 11).

It is probable that having the person designated as an eligible father (or mother) be anyone whom the adolescent considered to function as a mother-or-father-figure (i.e. birth parent, stepparent, grandparent, aunt/uncle, sister/brother) played a role in the fit of the model for these data. The prevalence of birth mothers and fathers in this sample, 92.7% of mothers and 66.1% of fathers for the Black sample and 99.3% of mothers and 83.7% of fathers for the Latino sample, shows the disparity in birth parent gender. Further, given that youth have been found to interact with and be affected by the role of each parent differentially (e.g. Parke & Buriel, 1998) the modifications made to the model assessing fathers' behaviors further demonstrates their unique role.

With respect to the relation between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes, findings partially confirmed the hypotheses tested and demonstrated variations among the fit of the modified models by racial/ethnic group. Moreover, the role of neighborhood quality as a moderator was supported suggesting differences in the effects of parenting behaviors on the outcomes of delinquent behavior and substance use for those perceiving their neighborhood as high and low in quality. These results extend the current knowledge of the role of neighborhood quality in the relation between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes in minority male adolescents.

Parenting Behaviors, Delinquency, and Substance Use

One of the aims of this study was to examine the main effects of parenting behaviors on delinquent behavior and substance use. Specifically, it was hypothesized that parental support and monitoring would be associated negatively with delinquent behavior and substance use whereas parental punitiveness, physical discipline, and psychological control would be associated positively, predicting higher levels of these outcomes.

Parental Support

Findings for maternal and paternal support confirm the hypothesis that parental support is associated with lower levels of delinquency and/or substance use. Findings provided evidence for the association between parental support from mothers and fathers and delinquent behavior for the full sample in the main effects and interaction models as well as for the paternal model in the Latino sample. However, some differences were found across racial/ethnic groups. Specifically, among the Black sample, the strongest association was between maternal support and delinquency. Further, for Black adolescents, parental support significantly predicted substance use when assessing paternal behaviors, not for Latino adolescents. It may be that for Black adolescents in the sample, fathers' support is needed because they are less likely to have both birth parents than the Latino youth and may need the support of their one parent more so than adolescents from two-parent households because the deterrent effect of parental support on maladaptive behavior is most advantageous in two-parent families (e.g. Baumrind, 1966; Darling, 1999; Steinberg, 2001), but having at least one parent that is supportive functions as a valuable protective factor as well (e.g. Mason et al., 2005; McLoyd & Smith, 2002; Simon & Conger, 2007).

Parental Monitoring

It was hypothesized that parental monitoring would be associated with less delinquency and/or substance use; however, this hypothesis did not produce any main effects that were either significant or approaching significance for any of the models across parental figure or racial/ethnic group. Although there is a plethora of empirical studies suggesting that parental monitoring is linked to decreased problem behaviors (e.g. Barnes et al., 2005; Bray et al., 2001; Griffin et al., 2000; Ramirez et al., 2004), it may be the case that the construct that operates as

decreasing the likelihood of problem behavior is not monitoring as assessed in this study, but child disclosure. That is, child disclosure is indicative of better parent-child communication and, therefore, may be associated with less maladaptive behavior (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987). However, monitoring as a function of surveillance and control does not predict parental knowledge or levels of delinquency over time (Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010). For that reason, it is probable that the measure used in this study to assess parental monitoring as a function of adolescent perception (e.g. "Knows where I am after school", "Knows how I spend my money") is not assessing the pertinent construct underlying the surface of monitoring (i.e. child disclosure) which has been related to delinquency.

Punitiveness

Findings from the current study did not support the hypothesis that higher levels of punitiveness would be related to more delinquent behavior and/or substance use in this sample. Conversely, findings indicated that higher levels of parental punitiveness predicted lower levels of delinquent behavior and substance use. This significant finding was replicated in five models for the maternal main effects model and the maternal model in the Latino sample. The only model for which the main effect of punitiveness did not reach significance for either delinquent behavior or substance use was among Black adolescents; however, this model was also the only one that did show significant main effects for both psychological control and physical discipline, both of which are harsh parenting behaviors. Thus, it is possible that these parenting behaviors did not reach significance due to shared method variance with other parenting behaviors in the model.

Although the finding that punitiveness predicted lower levels of delinquent behavior and substance use was not hypothesized, it is not difficult to conceptualize the differential

effectiveness of harsh parenting behaviors in minority youth (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Specifically, Black and Latino adolescents who are reared with punitiveness are not hindered so long as support is also used as a parenting behavior (McLoyd & Smith, 2002), which may be the case for the youth in the sample. Further, many Latino youth are reared within a hierarchical parenting style which upholds the authority of the parent at all times; therefore, punishment for disobedience is expected (Lindahl & Malik, 1999), which may result in less harmful effects when punishment is experienced. Moreover, on average, adolescents' perception of punitiveness were halfway between the response choices of 'disagree' and 'agree' (M = 2.40 - 2.56) meaning that these adolescents may not have experienced inordinate amounts of punitiveness required to predict more negative outcomes in a minority sample. Finally, in the literature, punitiveness is commonly discussed in tandem with psychological control, and therefore, the construct of punitiveness may need further examination in order to fully distinguish its distinctiveness from other construct for minority male youth.

Psychological Control

Findings for maternal and paternal psychological control were consistent with the hypothesis that the use of psychological control would predict higher levels of delinquent behavior and substance use. The association between psychological control and delinquent behavior was strongest for the model assessing maternal parenting behaviors in the Black sample. The only model that did not approach significance was the paternal model in the Black sample. These results are in line with the literature regarding the negative outcomes for delinquency, substance use, and overall development when psychological control, explicitly, is used (e.g. Kuppens et al., 2009; Soenens et al., 2008). The relation between psychological control (e.g. "Is always finding fault with me") and delinquency is opposing to that of parental

support (e.g. “Seems to approve of me and the things I do”) which is similarly strong in relation to adolescent outcomes. Parental support and psychological control are based on the parent-child emotional bonding, whereas, monitoring, punitiveness, and physical discipline, are related more closely to actions taken by parents to rear their child. These findings provide evidence for the notion that the mental/emotional relation between parent-child plays a critical role in terms of adolescent outcomes. Thus, from the current findings, it is evident that the parent-child bond can either be manipulation to the detriment of the child/adolescent (i.e. psychological control) or to their benefit with stability and warmth (i.e. support).

Physical Discipline

The relation between physical discipline and adolescent outcomes was hypothesized so that more physical discipline predicted higher levels of problem behavior. This association however, was not supported in the main effect models. None of the main effects approached significance. The lack of significant results for physical discipline may be due to the use of a one-item measure of physical discipline (i.e. “Punishes me by spanking or hitting me”) as well as low levels reported in general (M = 1.67-1.80).

It may also be the case that the adolescent males in this sample did not want to openly admit to physical discipline by their parents due to the fear of getting themselves or their parents in trouble and/or to preserve their masculinity. Because machismo or the dominance of a male figure is very much culturally relevant among less acculturated Latino families (Morgo-Wilson, 2008); admitting to experiencing physical disciple may in some way be perceived as being weak. Further, the possible normative nature of physical discipline among different racial/ethnic groups may lessen the effects that harsh parenting behaviors can have on the outcomes of minority

youth when it is an expected and accepted practice in their cultural environment by both youth and their parents (Lansford, Dodge, Malone, Bacchini, Zelli, Chaudhary, et al., 2005).

The Moderating Role of Neighborhood Quality

The role of adolescent perceived neighborhood quality in shaping the relation between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes was also examined. Findings partially supported the hypothesis that the relation between parenting behaviors and delinquency and substance use would be shaped by perceived high and low quality neighborhoods. More specifically, neighborhood quality moderated the association of positive (i.e. support and monitoring) and harsh (i.e. punitiveness, physical discipline, and psychological control) parenting on delinquency and/or substance use such that adolescents living in neighborhoods perceived as low quality were most affected by changes in parenting behavior.

Although the main effect of parental support on delinquent behavior was not significant across racial/ethnic group and parent models, there was a significant interaction of parental support and neighborhood quality in predicting delinquent behavior and/or substance use. Specifically, findings across all models indicated that in perceived low quality neighborhoods, the risk of delinquent behavior and/or substance use was highest when parental support was low and then decreased as parental support increased. The same pattern was true for neighborhoods of high quality, albeit, in the Black sample the relation was positive, especially for fathers' parenting behaviors, and there was much less change across high and low levels of parental support. This finding was not expected, but further suggests that parenting behaviors may be most important in low quality neighborhoods. It is however, possible, that the positive relation between paternal support and delinquent behavior in the Black sample in high quality neighborhoods demonstrates that the father-figure is a negative influence on the adolescent such

that their presence (which is the least likely across race/ethnicity with 66% of birth fathers present) and the adolescents' desire to spend time with their same-sex parent could impede positive development for the adolescent.

Neighborhood quality also moderated the relation between parental monitoring and substance use for the paternal parenting model in the overall sample and the Latino sample. The interaction supported the hypothesis that parental monitoring seems to be the most important when adolescents perceived living in low quality neighborhoods. Findings followed the same trend as parental support in that, in low quality neighborhoods, low levels of monitoring predicted the highest level of substance use showing a significant decrease when levels of parental monitoring were high.

The hypotheses that parental support and monitoring would be more important in low quality neighborhoods was supported and demonstrates the importance of positive parenting behaviors in neighborhoods where there are more risks and less social cohesion. These findings are consistent with the literature that has shown the link between neighborhood risk factors and substance use and delinquency (e.g. Chauhan & Reppucci, 2009; Choi et al., 2006; Eamon & Molder, 2005; Shonberg & Shaw, 2007) as well as the role that parenting behaviors play in determining the affect of the neighborhood quality on child and adolescent behavior (Gutman et al., 2005; Mrug & Windle, 2008).

With respect to punitiveness, neighborhood quality also shaped the association between paternal punitivenes and delinquent behavior for the black sample such that punitiveness did not predict delinquent behavior for adolescents who reported low neighborhood quality, but did predict delinquent behavior for adolescents perceiving living in high quality neighborhoods. This finding supports the idea that the role that punitiveness may have in predicting delinquent

behavior would be muted when used in neighborhoods perceived as low quality. That is, from this finding, it is evident that the relation between punitiveness and delinquent behavior is weaker when the harshness of punitive parenting is enacted within contextually harsh neighborhood environments (Brody & Flor, 1998; Roche et al., 2007).

Whereas the main effect of physical discipline on delinquency was not significant, the interaction term, where neighborhood was entered into the model assessing maternal behaviors among Black adolescents, indicated that the relation between physical discipline and delinquent behavior was lessened in neighborhoods perceived as low quality. That is, the level of delinquent behavior predicted by physical discipline decreases as physical discipline increases, which was contrary to the relation between these two variables for adolescents who perceived high neighborhood quality. Previous findings that show physical discipline to significantly predict more negative outcomes (Caetano et al., 2003; Eamon & Mulder, 2005; Gershoff, 2002) and those that show that physical discipline has little or no change in minority samples (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Gorman-Smith et al., 2000; Whaley, 2000) are furthered clarified by the current finding by exemplifying that paradigms akin to "no nonsense parenting" are adaptive for minority youth in disadvantaged settings (Brody & Flor, 1998).

Finally, psychological control interacted with neighborhood context to predict delinquent behavior in the overall model and the Latino model that examined paternal parenting behaviors. Specifically, there was a positive relation between psychological control and delinquent behavior in low and high quality neighborhoods, but levels of psychological control for high neighborhood quality seemed to have no effect. These results do not support the idea that, similarly to physical discipline, the contribution of psychological control to predict negative outcomes would be weakened when used in lower quality neighborhoods. On the contrary, the

current finding indicates that the effect of psychological control is more negative for adolescents living in a low quality neighborhood than for those living in high quality neighborhood settings.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study further identifies the importance of neighborhood quality in the relation between parenting behaviors and delinquency and substance use. However, the sample size of this study was small, especially after separating adolescents by race/ethnicity. This study should be replicated with a larger sample in order to get more variance in the outcome variables and to test whether it is generalizable across samples of minority youth in other areas as well as with female adolescents. In addition, many of the adolescents in this study reported low levels of substance use and delinquency, which likely affected some of the nonsignificant findings. Parental and/or teacher reports of delinquency and substance should be used to corroborate self-reports by adolescents.

In addition, the differences in the effects of parenting behaviors on adolescents from high and low quality neighborhoods may indicate the presence of an underlying genetic susceptibility to problem behavior that is exacerbated in the context of low quality neighborhoods (Price & Jaffee, 2008). It is possible that adolescents with the same susceptibilities residing in high quality neighborhood contexts fair better than their counterparts elsewhere. In the future, the notion of a gene-environment interaction should be examined further to determine its relevance in delinquency and substance use among minorities.

Conclusions

The present study examined the role of parenting behaviors and neighborhood quality in the delinquency and substance use of Black and Latino adolescent males. Results provided partial support for the predictive value of parenting behaviors. In addition, findings provided

support for the idea that neighborhood quality played a role in the predictive value of parenting behaviors on problem behavior revealing differences among racial/ethnic group as well as parental gender.

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