Latina Mothers' Parenting and Girls' Anxiety and Depression in an Urban Sample: Associations with Ethnic Identity and Neighborhood Context

by

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Abstract

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Advisor: Professor Colette Daiute

In spite of the rapid growth of the Latino population in the United States, research continues to inadequately represent Latinos, particularly urban Latina adolescent girls and mothers. One cannot assume that empirical findings derived from non-Latina samples apply to Latina girls and mothers.

Using an ecological-contextual-developmental framework (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) my dissertation aimed to close this gap in developmental research by focusing on a group of urban, Latina girls (n = 200) and their mothers (n = 101) to test constructs that were previously established with mostly non-Latina samples. In addition, I examined the associations among girl exposure to community violence, neighborhood crime/danger, perceived maternal control and affection, ethnic identity, and symptoms of depression and anxiety. Using the mother quantitative, scale-based data, I explored the links among socioeconomic status, maternal acculturation, neighborhood crime/danger, sense of collective efficacy, and the mothers' perceptions of their control of their daughters. This study contributes a new layer of understanding by also exploring the girls' and mothers' personal meanings of affection, control, and Latino family practices.

My research focused on a subsample of data collected from a larger longitudinal evaluation of a school-based violence prevention program. Quantitative, scale-based data

from the girls and mothers were collected using a self-report format. Qualitative data were also collected via in-depth interviews with 19 mother-daughter pairs. The multiple methods and sources of data allowed me to go beyond the traditional individual unit of analysis to examine how intragroup variations were a function of contextual factors. Moreover, I examined how the concordance between the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' parenting influenced the girl outcomes.

My results support earlier findings on the negative effects of exposure to community violence and the beneficial influence of maternal affection on the girls' mental health symptoms. Diverging from earlier findings, I found that the macro-level factor of Latino family practices influenced the micro-levels factors of maternal acculturation and parenting which, in turn, affected the girls' mental health.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Lists of Figures

LATINA MOTHERS' PARENTING AND GIRLS' ANXIETY AND DEPRESSION SYMPTOMS IN AN URBAN SAMPLE: ASSOCIATIONS WITH ETHNIC IDENTITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXT

"…They like do that smoking and drinking stuff, I wouldn't do it, like I don't do it. But my friends do it and they be like "Oh its nothing", but I don't do it 'cuz I hear my mother's voice in the back of my head…and my father's voice and then if one thing happens in my house my whole family will find out within that same day. People in the Dominican Republic will know what happened; Upstate they will know what happened. Everybody will know and they will call you and say 'Oh I'm so disappointed in you, how could you do something like this?'" - a 15 year old Latina girl living in New York City

The number of Latinos[1] living in the United States is projected to nearly double in size by the year 2025 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996). In the year 2004 there were 39.9 million Latinos living in the United States, about 13% of the population (U.S. Census, 2004). By the year 2030, the number of Latino children and youth will reach 9.6 million (Duany & Pittman, 1990). Latinos constitute the fastest growing ethnic group in the history of the United States. In spite of this population's rapid growth, developmental research continues to generate little knowledge about Latino youth and the unique factors and challenges affecting their lives (Fisher, Jackson, & Villarruel, 1998; McLoyd, 1998; Montero-Sieburth & Villarruel, 2000). A review of articles in 14 journals published by the American Psychological Association (APA) between 1993 and 1997 found that only 5.7% of the adult research participants were Latino (Case & Smith, 2000) as compared to

[1] The pan-ethnic term *Latino,* which will be used throughout this paper, refers to all groups whose ancestry originates in Spanish-speaking Latin America (e.g. Mexico, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and countries in Central and South America).

10.3% of the total population of adult Latinos in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 1996). In comparison, this study found that 74% of adult research participants were European American (Case & Smith, 2000) which equaled the total population of adult European Americans in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 1996).

The number of studies conducted with Latino children and youth also remain abysmally low (Hagen & Conley, 1994; Hernández, Siles, & Rochín, 2000). The paucity of research using Latino samples is alarming because it raises questions about the external validity of developmental theories and research. Findings based on studies conducted with European American, middle class children and families are considered to be limited in their generalizability to other ethnic and socio-economic groups (Allen & Mitchell, 1998; McLoyd, 1998). For example, research has found that many European American middle class families strongly value individual autonomy and competitiveness while many minority families, such as Latinos and Asian Americans, more strongly value interdependence and cooperation (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Vázquez García, García Coll, Erkut, Alarcón, & Tropp, 2000). These findings support the argument that policy makers and child development specialists should be cautious in extending to ethnic minorities traditional experimental designs, theoretical frameworks, and empirical findings that may not meet goodness-of-fit criteria for different cultural communities (Fisher et al., 1998; Stanfield, 1993).

Although dramatic advances have been made in the study of previously underrepresented groups, such as women and adolescent girls (Bohan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982), studies that specifically focus on Latina and other racial and ethnic minority girls are scarce (Allen & Mitchell, 1998; Leadbeater & Way, 1996). Of the few studies that

have focused on Latina adolescent girls, most tend to use a comparative framework in which girls are compared to boys and Latinas and African Americans are compared to their European American, middle class counterparts (McLoyd, 1998; Way, 1995).

In order to promote positive, healthy development among Latina girls, one must go beyond the traditional theories and approaches in developmental psychology that focus on the individual as the unit of analysis. Early theoretical foundations of youth development often neglected to examine the ecological circumstances and factors that might be expected to negatively affect Latina girls, such as the pervasive influence of racism, sexism, segregation, high rates of unemployment and poverty, and concentration in urban areas that experience high rates of violent crime (García Coll, Crnic, Lamberty, Wasik, Jenkins, Vásquez García, & McAdoo, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990). As Leadbeater and Way (1996) found, earlier research also neglected the examination of protective factors that might be expected to enhance Latina girl development, such as family interpersonal processes (e.g. parental support, monitoring, and open communication), the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Latino cultural practices and values, and the formation of a strong sense of ethnic identity. Therefore, in order to fully understand Latina girls and their families, developmental research must strive to increase the representation of Latina participants and, more importantly, it must formulate culturally relevant constructs and frameworks. This type of research is necessary to create educational and social policies that indeed improve the lives of Latina girls and their families.

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence the lives of urban, Latina girls, one must analyze how intragroup variations are a function of

unique ecological and cultural elements. My dissertation project was designed to contribute to the developmental literature by examining intragroup differences from within a conceptual model that linked various theoretical frameworks and research approaches. Using an ecological-contextual-developmental perspective (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), I explored how ecological risks, specifically poverty, exposure to community violence, and levels of neighborhood crime/danger, influenced urban Latina girl development. In addition, I examined how maternal behaviors impacted the girls' exposure to community violence and the resultant negative consequences. Using multiple methods and sources of data, I also explored how Latino culture shaped the mothers' and daughters' beliefs and understandings about the parenting behaviors the mothers used with their daughters.

In the following sections I review the literature that addresses the aims of my dissertation research. These sections are divided into three main theoretical and research frameworks: 1) environmental/contextual risks, 2) protective factors, and 3) theoretical models used in earlier and current research with urban Latina girls. In the risk section I review the existing literature on macro- and micro-level risks faced by urban Latina adolescent girls, specifically poverty, neighborhood disadvantage, and exposure to community violence. In the section on protective factors, I describe research on parenting strategies, with a particular emphasis on Latino family practices/values and the factors involved in Latino parent-child relations such as acculturation, ethnic identity, and Latino/a group identity. In the third main section I present theoretical perspectives and approaches that have been used in research with minority populations, especially with Latino groups. Finally, I summarize the major conclusions and limitations of the existing

literature presented in the previous sections. This will be followed by my research goals and questions, a methods section, analytic strategy, results section, discussion, implications of my findings, a review of the limitations of my study, and finally, a section on future directions for my research.

RISKS IN THE LIFES OF URBAN LATINA GIRLS

Research has indicated that poverty can pose an increased risk for youth to develop various types of negative outcomes (Gershoff, Aber, & Raver, 2003; Seidman & Pedersen, 2003). I consider poverty a contextual risk factor that impacts the lives of many urban Latina girls. In the following section I describe research on the rates of poverty amongst Latinos living in New York City and findings of the associations between poverty and youth development.

Poverty

Studies have found that for generations Latinos remain among the poorest people in New York City (Sánchez-Korral, 1994; Shorris, 1992). While the overall poverty rate in New York in 1999 was 19.1%, for Latinos it was 29.7% (Hernández & Rivera-Batiz, 2003). Among Latino groups, the poverty rate is the highest for Dominican New Yorkers with 32% living in poverty (Hernández & Rivera-Batiz, 2003). Studies have found that Dominican female-headed households have surpassed Puerto Rican female-headed households as the poorest Latino group in New York City (Hernández & Rivera-Batiz, 2003; Shorris, 1992). In 2000, close to half of Dominican female-headed families in New York City were very poor, more than twice the poverty rate for other households (Hernández & Rivera-Batiz, 2003).

In New York City, most of the occupations filled by Latino laborers have tended to be in industries that offer little job security and financial growth (Sánchez-Korral, 1994). Scholars have identified fundamental changes in the New York City economy from the 1960's to the present day that have undermined the Latino workforce, such as sectoral shifts with significant declines in manufacturing, technological changes in the

force of production (computerization, automation, etc.), relocation of productive firms to the sunbelt and regions with cheap labor, and blue-collar structural unemployment (Rodríguez, 1989). Due to these changes, Latinos remain disproportionately employed in low-wage jobs (Ehrenhalt, 1993). For example, it was estimated that in 1990, 44% of employed European Americans were in managerial, professional, and technical jobs as compared to 22% of African Americans and only 17% of Latino workers in New York City (Ehrenhalt, 1993). Although I could not find more recent data on New York City occupations listed by race and ethnicity, data from the U.S. Census 2000 show that nationally the percentage of workers employed in management, professional, and related occupations was 45% for Asians, 37% for European Americans, 25% for African Americans, and only 18% for Latinos (US Census, 2000a). The combined effects of structural and economic factors have resulted in Latinos experiencing a downward mobility, substantially higher unemployment rates and lower employment-to-population ratios compared to other New York City residents (Ehrenhalt, 1993).

These findings suggest that a large number of New York City Latina girls live in poverty. Numerous studies have documented the negative associations between poverty and a wide range of developmental outcomes in physical, cognitive, and psychosocial domains (Gershoff et al., 2003). For example, research has found that experienced poverty in childhood is linked to higher prevalence rates of low birth weight, chronic illness, lead poisoning, low health status, poor nutrition, cognitive deficits (such as developmental delays and learning disabilities), and behavioral or emotional problems which can continue onto adolescence (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; McLeod & Shanahan, 1996).

In addition, poverty can indirectly contribute to the risks urban adolescents face through the composition of their neighborhood (Gershoff & Aber, 2004; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). The persistence of residential segregation places poor African American and Latino families at a higher risk to live in poor or disadvantaged neighborhoods (Massey & Denton, 1989; Sampson & Wilson, 1995). A neighborhood can be considered poor or disadvantaged if it lacks one or more of the following six institutional resources that researchers have identified as most important for child and youth development: (1) learning activities (such as libraries, resource centers, museums); (2) social and recreational activities (such as parks and after-school programs); (3) child care (specifically the availability, quality, and cost of child care); (4) schools (specifically their quality, norms, and resources); (5) health care services (specifically the availability, quality, and affordability of medical and social services); and (6) employment opportunities (e.g., for adolescents supply of and access to jobs) (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Studies have found that these social inequalities and lack of neighborhood resources can hinder the educational achievement, adaptive development, and ability to obtain high-paying, secure employment for many urban, Latino youth (Hernández et al., 2000; Zambrana, Dorrington, Hayes-Bautista, 1995). For example, Prelow and Loukas (2003) found a strong, negative association between maternal perceptions of neighborhood level crime/safety and Latino adolescents' scores on standardized math and reading tests. I argue that family level poverty poses an additional risk in the lives of urban, Latina girls through the mechanism of neighborhood-level disadvantage which has

been found to be strongly linked to neighborhood-level violence (Aber, 1994; Hsieh & Pugh, 1993).

Exposure to Community Violence

Inner-city neighborhoods that are characterized by high levels of poverty, unemployment, and residential mobility also tend to be associated with high rates of violent crime that persist over time (Gershoff & Aber, 2004; Coie & Dodge, 1998; Wilson, 1987). Studies conducted in urban cities, such as Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New Orleans, have found that almost 25% of youth surveyed have witnessed someone shot and/or killed during their lifetime (Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Osofsky, Wewer, Hann, & Fick, 1993). During the mid 1990's in Chicago, 88% of a sample of 80 urban youth reported witnessing at least one form of violence during their lifetime, such as someone hit, chased, or heard the sound of gunfire, and 68% reported being a victim of at least one form of violence, such as being hit, seriously threatened, or attacked with a weapon (Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, Buka, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1998).

Exposure to violence has been repeatedly linked to depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and conduct disorder (Allen, Jones, Seidman, & Aber, 1998; Gershoff & Aber, 2004; Ceballo, Dah, Aretakis, & Ramirez, 2001; Horowitz, Weine, & Jekel, 1995). A previous analysis from the larger study on which this dissertation is based (that included the Latina girls in my sample) found that, for both girls and boys, witnessing violence and especially victimization by violence had a stronger impact on their current mental health outcomes than did their mental health symptoms from middle childhood (Aber, Gershoff, Ware, & Kotler, 2004). That study concluded that chronic/everyday exposure to community violence was more harmful to the mental health

of New York City youth than episodic/fleeting forms of violence even as catastrophic and shocking as the terrorist attack of September 11th (Aber et al., 2004).

Although research specifically addressing the effects of community violence exposure on girls is limited, one could argue that girls may experience even more extreme reactions to such exposure because they are already at heightened risk for developing internalizing symptoms, such as depression and anxiety, relative to boys (Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994). Studies have consistently found that beginning in adolescence girls report higher levels of depression and anxiety than boys (Allgood-Merten, Lewinsohn, & Hops, 1990; Jacques & Mash, 2004).

In addition, for some groups of girls such as urban Latinas, the negative effects of community violence may be compounded by social disadvantage due to poverty and neighborhood segregation. It should be noted that while a number of studies have examined gender differences in exposure to community violence, most have focused exclusively on the levels and types of exposure to community violence reported by boys and girls (Kuo, Mohler, Raudenbush, & Earls, 2000). For example, boys tend to report more exposure than girls (Kuo et al., 2000) but girls more often than boys report being victims of sexual assault (Eitle & Turner, 2002)[2]. I contend that these types of descriptive accounts of gender differences impede a deeper understanding of the etiology of depression and anxiety in urban girls. To understand the role exposure to community

[2] Research has found that girls more often than boys report being victims of sexual assault and knowing others who have been physically and sexually assaulted (Eitle & Turner, 2002; Horowitz, Weine, & Jekel, 1995). However, recent studies that have conducted factor analyses of items in many measures of exposure to community violence indicate that sexual assault does not fit well with the other items which could mean a poor fit with the core construct of violence exposure (Brennan, Molnar, & Earls, 2004; Kuo et al., 2000). These findings suggest that sexual assault can be considered a form of interpersonal violence that is different from other types of violence measured in many adolescent surveys of exposure to community violence including the measure (Richters & Saltzman, 1990) I used in my dissertation. Therefore, for the purposes of my research I did not focus on sexual assault.

violence plays in predicting depression and anxiety symptoms for urban Latina girls, research must go beyond descriptive findings to examine how exposure to violence is embedded in a broader ecological context in which other risks (e.g., socioeconomic status) and protective factors (e.g., parenting) are involved.

Furthermore, there are currently few studies that have comprehensively examined how exposure to violence affects other girl developmental outcomes, such as ethnic identity, especially for urban Latina girls.

PROTECTIVE FACTORS IN THE LIVES OF URBAN LATINA GIRLS

Although numerous studies have examined how poverty and exposure to community violence can increase the risk of urban youth to develop negative outcomes, few have investigated how parenting, family practices/values, and ethnic identity can serve as protective factors or positive outcomes for low income urban youth, particularly for Latina girls.

Parenting Strategies

The past 50 years of research on parent-adolescent relations has consistently found that parents exert a strong influence on adolescents' behavior (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherinton, & Bornstein, 2000). Studies have identified two global, relatively independent dimensions of parental behavior that significantly impact adolescent development. The first is support and/or affection, defined here as "The extent to which parents express affection and acceptance of their children, enjoy them, and help, support, and praise them" (George and Bloom, 1997, p. 65), and the second is control, defined here as "The extent to which parents take an active role in monitoring the behavior of their children and in setting specific limits on their activities away from home" (George & Bloom, 1997, p. 65). Each of these parenting indicators has been linked with adolescents' behavior and psychosocial adjustment (Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003; Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993). For example, studies have found that higher parental support and higher behavioral control were significantly related to higher academic competence (Eccles, Early, Frasier, Belansky, & McCarthy, 1997; Gray & Steinberg, 1999).

Additional research on parental affection and control has indicated that perceived affection was significantly negatively correlated with symptoms of depression and obsessive-compulsive disorder while perceived control was significantly positively correlated with symptoms of depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorder for a sample of young adults (George & Bloom, 1997). Another study found that parental control was a significant predictor of early adolescents' internalizing problems; adolescents whose parents reported higher levels of control showed lower levels of internalizing symptoms (Galambos et al., 2003). However, this study did not find that parental control or affection/support predicted change in the adolescents' internalizing problems over time (Galambos et al., 2003). The mixed nature of these findings provides inconclusive evidence and many questions remain. How does parental affection and control independently and conjointly influence adolescents' internalizing mental health symptoms and other psychosocial domains such as ethnic identity? These outstanding questions have not been adequately addressed in the developmental literature. Moreover, the results from previous studies derive from samples which consisted of European American middle class suburban families (Galambos et al., 2003; George & Bloom, 1997). To date, no studies have tested the external construct validity of both parental affection and control (as defined by George and Bloom, 1997) with a sample of urban Latina girls and mothers. Nor have any studies examined how maternal affection and control uniquely and relatively influence internalizing symptoms and sense of ethnic identity for urban Latina girls. One cannot assume that the parenting constructs of affection and control and their relations to adolescent outcomes apply to non-studied samples. My dissertation demonstrates the need to test and explore if and how theoretical

constructs and their associations to adolescent outcomes found in traditional parenting studies are relevant and generalizable to different ethnic groups.

Parents vary widely in the types of practices and behaviors they use with their adolescent children (Collins et al., 2000). This variation occurs because parents develop their parenting behaviors based on several factors some of which include their ethnic-cultural background, socialization experiences, individual familial practices, their personalities, and the personality of their child (Belsky, 1984; Gershoff, 2002). The developmental-contextual framework (Ogbu, 1981; Lerner, 1989) suggests the cultural variations found in child-rearing practices promote adolescent competencies that, while different from those of middle class European Americans, are valued and adaptive given their past and present contextual demands. One could argue that one of these competencies is ethnic identity (which I will describe more fully in the subsequent sections of my dissertation).

Parents formulate strategies to raise their adolescent children based on their cultural beliefs about parenting behaviors and their perceptions of their neighborhood context (Belsky, 1984; Boykin-McElhaney, & Allen, 2001). Studies have found that parents who live in neighborhoods that are considered high risk because of high levels of crime and residential instability use different types of strategies with their adolescents and these strategies, in turn, can protect or buffer the effects of disadvantaged neighborhoods on adolescents (Furstenberg, 1993; Gershoff, Pedersen, Ware, & Aber, 2004; Jones, 2001). For example, parents' use of practices high in control and monitoring have been found to be beneficial for adolescents who live in high-risk neighborhoods whereas parents' use of low control has been found to be beneficial for

adolescents who live in low-risk neighborhoods (Darling & Steinberg, 1997; Eamon, 2001, Gonzales, Cauce, Friedman, & Mason, 1996).

Additional studies have found that high levels of parental monitoring of children's activities is associated with decreased externalized behavior problems in children who reside in neighborhoods characterized by high rates of residential instability (Beyers, Bates, Pettit, & Dodge, 2003). This same association has been found for children who reside in neighborhoods characterized by low levels of collective efficacy (Rankin & Quane, 2002) which is a theoretical construct that taps the levels of mutual trust among neighbors and their willingness to intervene and exercise social control (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Another parenting practice that has been found to be strongly associated with child outcomes for children living in high-risk neighborhoods is parental support. High levels of parental support have been found to moderate the negative effects of disadvantage and high-risk neighborhoods on children's mental health, intrusive thinking, and social competence (Kliewer, Lepore, Oskin, & Johnson, 1998; Krenichyn, Saegert, & Evans, 2001).

A review of the literature suggests that parenting behaviors depend upon parents' cultural understandings and beliefs about parenting and their perceptions of the context of the neighborhood in which they live (Belsky, 1984; Darling & Steinberg, 1997; Rankin & Quane, 2002). However, these findings are based on studies that had small samples of Latino parents. It is mostly unknown how neighborhood context impacts Latinos' parenting behaviors. My dissertation addressed this gap in the literature by examining the various direct and indirect pathways by which neighborhood characteristics influenced urban Latina mothers' parenting behaviors and how these, in turn, impacted the girls'

exposure to community violence, sense of ethnic identity, and symptoms of depression and anxiety.

Latino Family Practices/Values

As mentioned earlier, research has indicated that parenting behaviors also derive from family values that are based on a person's cultural/ethnic background (Belsky, 1984).

Studies have found many similarities across Latino subgroups in their parenting behaviors and family values (Andrade, 1980; Garrison & Weiss, 1979; Gurak, 1981; Triandies, Marín, Betancourt, Lisansky, & Chang, 1982). Numerous studies have identified *familism,* which is the strong identification, loyalty, attachment, and solidarity of individuals with their families, as the most important culture-specific aspect of Latino families (Andrade, 1980; Triandies et al., 1982; Vázquez García et al., 2000). Other important concepts include: (1) *respeto* which is defined as a value and behavior that serves in the preservation of generational and gender role boundaries in families moderating how individual family members interact based on age and sex, (2) *strict sex roles*, (3) *discouragement of independence*, and (4) *avoidance of conflict with significant others* (Vázquez García et al., 2000).

Following Vázquez García et al.'s (2000) ideas of the cultural characteristics of Latino families, one can consider concordance or agreement between the parent and adolescent as an indication of *familism* and/or *avoidance of conflict with significant others.* Research that has examined parent-adolescent concordance has mainly focused on the level of concordance between parent and adolescent reports and ratings of family functioning (Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996), parenting behaviors, and of the

adolescent's behaviors or well-being (Howard, Cross, Xiaoming, & Huang, 1999; Ogden & Steward, 2000; Hartos & Power, 2000). Most research has found poor concordance between parents and their children when reporting on each others' behaviors and on relationships within the family (Achenbach, McConaughy, & Howell, 1987; Gonzales et al., 1996). For example, Gonzales et al. (1996) found non-significant convergence levels between adolescent and parent reports of maternal support and maternal control. Similarly, Howard et al. (1999) found low concordance between the adolescents' and parents' reports of the adolescents' exposure to community violence and distress symptoms (parents underreported both the adolescents' exposure and distress). In this study, adolescents from the low concordance dyad groups were more likely to have engaged in direct or indirect acts of violence and suffered from more distress (Howard et al., 1999).

Although research has indicated that parent-adolescent concordance tends to be low to moderate, these findings are derived from European American and, to a lesser degree, African American samples (Achenbach et al., 1987; Ogden & Steward, 2000; Gonzales et al., 1996; Howard et al., 1999). As of yet, no studies have explored how concordance between Latino parents and their adolescent children influences adolescent outcomes.

My dissertation examined how concordance is tied to Latina mothers' and daughters' cultural beliefs about parenting. Recent research findings on Latino families suggest that differences in socioeconomic status, parental education level, maternal employment, levels of acculturation, generation, language preference, gender, and ethnic identity can impact the extent to which Latino families adhere to the traditional family

values of *familism, respeto, strict sex roles,* and *avoidance of conflict with significant others* (Garza & Gallegos, 1985; Vázquez García et al., 2000). For example, studies have found that employed, immigrant Latina women tend to adopt egalitarian gender roles at a faster rate than Latino immigrant men (O'Reilly, 1985). Although current research on Latino families has begun a comprehensive examination of the links among macro- and micro-level factors and adherence to traditional Latino practices/values, many questions remain. Does concordance fit in with traditional Latino family practices/values? Moreover, how do immigration and generational status impact Latina mothers' use of traditional Latino values and their parenting behaviors?

Migration and Generational Status

Although two-thirds of the Latino population in the United States was born here, over the past decade the total U.S. Latino population has increased by 57% with a high percentage of this growth due to immigration (Guzmán, 2001). Research has indicated that migration of Latinos to and from the U.S. mainland influences the family practices/values and practices of those who migrate as well as those who do not (Parke, Coltrane, Duffy, Buriel, Dennis, Powers, French, & Widaman, 2004; Vázquez García et al., 2000). Because my dissertation focused on Latina girls and mothers who lived in New York City, I did not examine the patterns of migration for Latino subgroups throughout the United States (for a detailed report see Aponte, 1993, and Shorris, 1992). Instead, I provide a review of the migration patterns of Latinos to New York City.

Latino Migration to New York City. In the year 2000 there were 2,183,150 (27% of the population) Latinos or persons of Latino origin living in New York City (U.S. Census, 2000b). Of the five boroughs that make up New York City, most Latinos lived in

the Bronx (645,000), followed by Queens (557,000), Brooklyn (488,000), Manhattan (418,000), and Staten Island (54,000) (Guzmán, 2001). Across the Latino subgroups in New York City, Puerto Ricans represented the largest share with 36% of the total Latino population; Dominicans were the second largest with 20%; Latinos who did not choose a particular Latino national subgroup ("Other Latino" in the U.S. Census questionnaire) were third (18%); South Americans fourth (12%); Mexicans fifth (8%); Central Americans sixth (4%;) and Cubans last with the smallest group (2%) (Ayala, 2000).

Research with Latino immigrants has indicated that migration to the United States can be a difficult and painful experience that involves adaptation to a new country and environment that has values, roles, languages, and social mores that differ and may conflict with those of the immigrants (Ortiz & Arce, 1984; Rogler & Cooney, 1984). Studies on immigration and generational status (which is defined here as the number of generations a family has resided in the United States (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988)) have found that second-generation immigrants have a higher socioeconomic status than do first-generation immigrants (Buriel, 1993). However, by third or later generations economic and social gains have been found to be altered by factors such as education, employment, and discrimination (Sandefur, 1998).

As immigrants and the descendents of immigrants adapt to their new host culture, they undergo a process of acculturation which involves changes in language, attitudes, behaviors, and values (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2005). Researchers view acculturation as a multidimensional process that can impact educational achievement, occupational status, family functioning, and parenting (Gonzales, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Sirolli, 2001; Parke et al., 2004). For example, a recent study

found that Mexican American mothers who showed higher levels of acculturation reported lower levels of hostile parenting (Parke et al., 2004). Other research has indicated that less acculturated Mexican American parents used more supportive and controlling parental behaviors than their more acculturated counterparts (Buriel, 1993; Chun & Akutsu, 2003). In addition, research has found that higher levels of maternal acculturation were associated with fewer adolescent antisocial behaviors (Eamon & Mulder, 2005).

Studies on acculturation typically use measures that examine language use and preference (English versus Spanish), food, media, and traditions (Coatsworth et al., 2005; Contreras, López, Rivera-Mosquera, Raymond-Smith, & Rothstein, 1999). Research has indicated that language use and preference is a reliable and valid indicator of the acculturation process among Latinos in the U.S. (Contreras et al., 1999; Norris, Ford, & Bova, 1996; Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991).

Although progress has been made in the number of studies that have explored the associations among parental acculturation, parenting behaviors, and child and/or adolescent adjustment, much of this research has focused on Mexican American samples living in Western parts of the U.S. (Buriel, 1993; Parke et al., 2004; Rogler et al., 1991). Little is known how acculturation influences the maternal behaviors and adolescent girl internalizing symptoms of Latino subgroups living in the Northeast region of the United States. Moreover, to date no studies have examined how maternal acculturation, affection, and control influence the sense of ethnic identity of urban Latina girls.

Ethnic Identity Development in Latino Youth

Researchers have argued that parents are agents of socialization who, in their interactions with their children, teach them the tools they will need in order to succeed in their environment (García Coll et al., 1996). Research with minority populations has claimed that minority parents have the additional task of orienting their children about the existing social hierarchy in the United States and their children's position within that hierarchy (McAdoo, 1982). This racial or ethnic socialization has been postulated as a critical aspect of family processes within minority populations from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds (García Coll et al., 1996). One could argue that Latino parents teach their children how to cope with the demands of a society that devalues their heritage, ethnicity, and culture. While some Latino children may demonstrate preferences for being members of the dominant culture, parents have the task of ensuring that their children maintain a positive view of their ethnic group (Garcìa Coll et al., 1996).

The success with which minority parents foster a positive attitude in their children about their ethnic group determines the development of a healthy and strong sense of ethnic identity which consists of positive feelings of commitment and pride in one's ethnic group (Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999). Research that has examined the processes involved in the transmission of ethnic identity has found strong associations among parenting behaviors and the development of adolescent ethnic identity (Davey, Fish, Askew, & Robila, 2003; Phinney, 1992). For example, a study with suburban Jewish adolescents and their parents found that adolescents who reported higher levels of Jewish ethnic identity had parents who were responsive of their

adolescents' needs and had expressed clear expectations for their children's participation in Jewish activities both at home and in the community (Davey et al., 2003). Other research has indicated that a positive ethnic identity most likely develops in the context of a supportive family (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Given that George and Bloom's (1997) construct definition of affection includes the concept of support, one could argue that parental affection should have a positive impact on adolescents' sense of ethnic identity. However, few studies have tested this assumption, especially with urban Latina mothers and adolescent girls. Moreover, it is unknown how other parenting behaviors (such as control) influence adolescent ethnic identity.

Research with Latino families has found that a majority of Latino adolescents maintain, to some degree, traditional Latino values that are taught to them by family members (Vázquez García et al., 2000). Latino adolescents who show this commitment to Latino family values also express a strong sense of pride in their family and ethnic group (Hernández et al., 2000; Vázquez García et al., 2000). One could argue that in recent years this has become a fundamental socialization task for many Latino parents. A growing xenophobia toward immigrants, cuts in bilingual education funding, a mounting English Only movement, and welfare reform have all contributed to negative stereotypes and conceptualizations of Latinos (Montero-Sieburth & Villarruel, 2000). Latino parents have the task of teaching their children and adolescents how to resist and fight against derogatory and false conceptualizations of Latinos in the United States.

The development of the psychological construct of ethnic identity can be considered a positive outcome for minority youth because of their awareness of belonging to a distinct racial and/or ethnic group that has a shared perception or

experience of racial discrimination and social oppression (Helms, 1990; Ogbu, 1992; Phinney, 1990). A strong sense of ethnic identity can protect minority youths' sense of self against the harmful effects of negative and racist stereotypes. Ethnic identity has been defined as a complex construct that includes: (a) a commitment and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group; (b) positive evaluation of the group; (c) interest in and knowledge about the group; and (d) involvement in activities and traditions of the group (Davey et al., 2003; Phinney, 1996). Several studies have found links between adolescent ethnic identity and psychological outcomes including self-esteem, academic motivation, and antisocial behaviors, such as violence toward peers (Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999; Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1995; Terrell & Taylor, 1980). Although recent research suggests that a strong sense of ethnic identity can protect adolescents from adopting a pro-fighting attitude toward peers, the findings are tentative and vary widely for African American and Latino adolescents (Arbona et al., 1999; McMahon & Watts, 2002). It is still unclear how ethnic identity is associated with positive and negative outcomes especially for urban, Latina girls.

Theoretical Approaches in Ethnic Identity Research. Most research on ethnic identity in minority youth populations has used two distinct theoretical approaches: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and the developmental theory of Erikson (1968). First, the social identity approach emphasized the attitudes and feelings associated with a person's sense of belonging to and being a member of a group (Roberts et al., 1999). Tajfel and colleagues have proposed that group identity is an important part of the self-concept; people generally attribute value to the group in which they belong and derive self-esteem from their sense of belonging to that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

According to Roberts et al. (1999), ethnic identity is one type of group identity that is central to the self-concept of members of ethnic minority groups.

A second theoretical approach to the study of ethnic identity is based on Erikson's (1968) theory of identity development. Erikson's approach has been critical to the study of ethnic identity because it emphasizes developmental processes. According to Erikson (1968), identity development occurs through a process of exploration that usually takes place during adolescence and that leads eventually to a commitment or decision in important identity domains. Erikson's (1968) theory, as conceptualized by Marcia (1966, 1980), proposed a stage model in which young people enter adolescence with ideas about themselves and the world around them that are either: (1) unclear and negative (diffuse ego identity status), or (2) positive but uncritically accepting of the teachings of their parents and significant others (foreclosed ego identity status). People can move forward into adulthood with either a negative (diffuse) or positive but unexplored (foreclosed) ego identity (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). These types of ego functioning in adults would be associated with general immaturity (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001).

In order to achieve a complete or healthy sense of self-identity, the adolescent must enter a phase of self-reflection and self-exploration that is usually precipitated by a crisis in the adolescent's sense of self (this stage is called moratorium) (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Marcia 1980). If the period of moratorium and exploration leads to a firm commitment and sense of resolution about the self, then the adolescent is believed to have achieved his or her identity and the associated ego status (achieved identity) (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Marcia, 1980).

Studies by Phinney (1989, 1992) have proposed that the identity development experiences of different ethnic and racial groups follow the stages of Erickson's Model. Ethnic and racial minorities are believed to approach adolescence with poorly developed ethnic identities (diffuse status) based on ethnic labels given to them by their parents or caretakers (foreclosed status) (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1993). The experience of an identity crisis which may be caused by the adolescents' growing awareness of the conflict between the values and attitudes of the majority society and a positive view of themselves or their group (Arce, 1981), is followed by an active exploration of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). If the adolescent shows a great deal of self-reflection, self-acceptance, and resolution of identity conflicts, then s/he is believed to have an achieved sense of ethnic identity.

In recent years, researchers have begun to expand upon Phinney's conceptualizations of ethnic identity. The measure she developed, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, is a paper and pencil scale that can be administered to a broad range of ethnic groups for the purpose of empirically positioning subjects into four categories: "ethnic identity diffusion", "foreclosure", "moratorium", and "ethnic identity achieved". Most of Phinney's studies have taken place in the West and Southwest areas of the United States and have focused mainly on European American, African American, Mexican American, and Asian American adolescents. Little is known about the ethnic identity formation processes for other ethnic groups living in other geographical areas. Furthermore, most studies by Phinney and colleagues have examined differences among ethnic groups instead of within groups. Phinney and colleagues have argued that their focus is on normative trends and that their conceptual model explains how *most*

adolescents develop a sense of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). However, this assumption does not take into account environmental and other important contextual factors, such as neighborhood and school ecologies, which can lead to differences in the understandings and meanings adolescents attach to their ethnicity and ethnic identity. Phinney's stage model offers a general conceptualization of how ethnic identity develops. However, the understanding an adolescent has about his/her ethnicity and ethnic identity is shaped by his/her community and interpersonal relations with family and peers.

Latino Group Identity

Urban youth who live in large metropolitan areas (such as New York City) are exposed to a wide variety of ethnic groups. In such settings, it is likely that pan-ethnic groups (e.g. Latinos, Asian Americans) are formed that encompass a large number of subgroups that have different national origins and immigration histories. Most studies on ethnic identity development have not examined how the exposure to a large number of groups including those that are very different from the adolescent's own and those that are similar, impact the adolescent's understanding of his/her ethnicity and ethnic identity.

Phinney (1992) argued that ethnic identity develops when the adolescent self identifies or uses an ethnic label to describe his/her ethnicity. Most studies on ethnic identity ask adolescents to select an ethnic self-label from a list of categories that include broad categories (e.g. African American, Hispanic, and Asian American) and groups within these broader groupings (e.g. Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican), as well as categories for Mixed Ancestry and Other. In these studies, the adolescent is not given the option to choose more than one label to describe his/her ethnicity (Phinney, 1992;

Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). Studies have found that, if given the opportunity, people will choose multiple labels as self-identifiers (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Deaux & Perkins, 2001).

Latino groups are extremely diverse. Latinos, or Hispanics, do not have a common biological descent and, according to the US Census Bureau, they "can be of any race" (as cited in Fox, 1996, p. 3). Latinos can also be of any religion, citizen status, and have over twenty distinct national histories (Fox, 1996). Although diversity among Latinos is great, studies have shown that there are conditions and social issues that unify Latinos. Fox (1996) argued that a great number of Latinos have adopted the concept of "Latino" or "Hispanic," partially due to the shared experience of being discriminated against in the United States. Other factors that unite Latino groups are the Spanish language (80% of Latinos ages 5 and older speak Spanish rather than English at home), family values (concept of la familia, or familism, and respeto), and an interest in immigrant rights (Hernández et al., 2000).

Studies have found that Latino immigrants in New York City attach the strongest cultural meanings and values to their own national identities as Dominican, Puerto Rican, Columbian, and so forth, and prefer that others acknowledge these national identities (Ricourt & Danta, 2003). However, these same individuals also use *hispano* and *latinoamericano* in Spanish and *Hispanic* or *Latino* in English, to refer to themselves in the context of the larger Spanish-speaking, multinationality group (Ricourt & Danta, 2003). For first- and second-generation Latino adolescents or those who were born in a Latin American country but have lived in the United States for many years, there is a

strong possibility that they will view and identify themselves as both Latino and as Mexican American, or Puerto Rican, or Cuban American, and so forth.

Numerous arguments have been made against grouping distinct Latino national origin adolescents into one Latino pan-ethnic category (Flores, 2000; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). However, I contend that in large metropolitan urban areas, such as New York City, diverse Latino groups have experienced a high degree of contact with each other. This contact can lead to what Ricourt and Danta (2003) have termed "experiential pan-ethnicity" which occurs in the daily-life interactions between Latinos in the settings of neighborhood and school. As Fox (1996) has explained, "Spanish speakers and their descendents from places as widely separated as Chile and Mexico often feel a *simpatía,* a recognition of themselves in the other, that they do not have with non-Hispanics" (p. 6).

The conceptualizations of experiential Latino pan-ethnicity tie in to research that has studied how families make connections with other families/households and with institutions within their community (Greenberg, 1989; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1988). As Moll (1997) has indicated, families never function alone or in isolation. They share with each other funds of knowledge which are defined as bodies of knowledge that underlie household activities (Greenberg, 1989, Moll, 1997). One could argue that a family's fund of knowledge is shaped by ethnicity and cultural background, economic factors, and neighborhood context. Following this assumption, it is highly likely that Latino families that live in neighborhoods that afford a high degree of contact with other Latino families share a similar outlook on parenting behaviors that are based on traditional shared Latino values. This Latino pan-ethnic contact and reinforcement of Latino family practices/values can influence the development of ethnic identity for urban, Latina girls.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF URBAN LATINA GIRLS

In the following sections I present a historical overview of the various theoretical approaches and models that have been used in research with urban Latina girls. My goal here is to highlight the differences amongst the various approaches and to show how the first two models tended to perpetuate false conceptualizations and negative stereotypes by neglecting consideration of contextual and structural factors. This is followed by a review of a third model which I argue provides the best approach to studying urban Latina girls and mothers.

Genetic and Cultural Inferiority Models

Earlier research on adolescent development tended to exclude girls and minority children. Of the few studies that attempted to explain or describe differences among girls and boys and racial/ethnic groups, most relied upon two theoretical models (García Coll et al., 1996). The genetically deficient model (Dunn, 1987; Jensen, 1969) claims that physical, intellectual, and psychological differences between the races are innate and genetically driven. Research that uses an underclass model or the culturally deficient model, posits the "culturally deprived" as those who lack the benefits and advantages of European American middle class America (García Coll et al., 1996). This model extends the culture-of-poverty thesis that argues that the poor have a different way of life than the European American middle class mainstream of society and that these cultural differences explain continued poverty. According to Baca Zinn (1989), there are three reasons given in the underclass model to explain the poverty experienced by minority populations: culture, family, and welfare. In the case of low income Latino families, it is their culture that is responsible for their lack of economic advancement. Studies that use

this model suggest that, as a group, Latinos are characterized by low aspirations, excessive masculinity, and the acceptance of female-headed families as the norm (Hurtado, 1995).

Cultural deficiencies are considered to be the primary explanations for numerous negative developmental outcomes shown by Latino children such as poor academic achievement and performance and delinquency (Hernández et al., 2000; García Coll et al., 1996). There are studies that also suggest that Latino parents are to blame for not transmitting the "right" educational values (e.g. European American, middle class competencies) to their children (Baca Zinn, 1995; Bloom, Davis, & Hess, 1965; Dunn, 1987). These conceptualizations are inadequate and harmful because they promote a belief that the Latino culture is inherently inferior to that of the European American middle class and Latinos should assimilate their values, language, beliefs, and way of life to the European American mainstream culture.

Race/Ethnic Comparative Framework

In recent years, greater attention has been given to contextual factors and processes that affect youth development. Although most studies no longer conceptualize individual differences in terms of genetic and/or cultural inferiorities, many continue to use a comparative framework (Leadbeater & Way, 1996; McLoyd, 1998). As several theorists have claimed, this approach is problematic in several ways. First, differences are documented based on vague conceptions about why gender and race/ethnicity matters (McLoyd, 1998). Factors that can account for or mediate gender or ethnic group differences have not been systematically investigated and have lead to a "...desultory

literature replete with reports of racial differences that are pedestrian, unexplained, and insubstantial in their scientific contribution" (McLoyd, 1998, p. 11).

Furthermore, many studies that use a comparative framework do not attempt to separate the effects of race/ethnicity from socioeconomic status. Minority youth who participate in research typically are developing in high-risk contexts marked by poverty, parental unemployment, and dangerous neighborhoods (Aber, Seidman, Allen, Mitchell, & Garfinkel, 1989; Ramirez, 1989). Many studies have confounded socioeconomic status with racial and/or ethnic group differences (McLoyd, 1998; McLoyd & Randolph, 1985). For example, Graham (1992) examined the rates of race-comparative studies published in *Developmental Psychology* and the *Journal of Educational Psychology* from 1970 to 1989 and found that 14% and 19%, respectively, of all race-comparative studies confounded race/ethnicity with socioeconomic status by comparing low income minority children with middle class European American children.

While poverty rates are as high in rural areas as in urban settings, disadvantaged urban Latino families are disproportionally visible as they have become concentrated and isolated in inner-city neighborhoods (Wilson, 1995 as cited in Leadbeater & Way, 1996). Studies that do not consider the economic and structural factors that place urban, minority families in disadvantaged neighborhoods seem to suggest that it is individual or cultural level deficiencies that are responsible for the disadvantage experienced by many urban, minority youth (Musick, 1993). Leadbeater and Way (1996) argued that these types of studies have perpetuated "stereotypes of despair" (p.5). As they claim, "The school dropout, the teenage welfare mother, the drug addict, and the victim of domestic violence

or of AIDS are among the most prevalent public images of poor and working-class urban adolescent girls" (Leadbeater & Way, 1996, p. 5).

In spite of the risks that are inherent in economic disadvantage, the majority of poor urban Latina girls do not fit the stereotypes that are made about them. The 1996 national pregnancy statistics for 15- to 19-year-old girls indicated that 83 per 1,000 European Americans, 165 per 1,000 Latinas, and 179 per 1,000 African Americans in the United States became pregnant and had a birth, abortion or miscarriage (Henshaw & Feivelson, 2000). This means that for every 1,000 girls in this age group, 835 Latinas did *not* become pregnant. Additionally, studies have found that most urban Latina girls are not high school dropouts or drug addicts (Leadbeater & Way, 1996). This leads to the overarching question of why some Latina girls from poor inner-city neighborhoods develop negative outcomes and some do not.

Ecological-Contextual Model

The comparative framework is an inadequate theoretical orientation that can misrepresent and negatively portray Latina girls and their families. In order to study and understand the complexities involved in the lives of Latina girls, one must use an ecological-contextual-developmental theoretical framework in which human behavior is viewed as developing within an interactive set of systems and levels ranging from the dispositional characteristics of individuals to microsystems including family, peers, and neighborhood, and to the macrosystem, which consists of broad societal, institutional, and cultural norms (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). In this approach, indirect macro- and micro-level forces, such as socioeconomic status, neighborhood characteristics, and

ethnicity/cultural background are understood as factors that influence parenting beliefs and practices which consequently serve as mediators for adolescent outcomes.

CONCLUSIONS OF LIMITATIONS OF PRIOR RESEARCH

A review of the developmental literature indicates that the number of studies on Latina girl development is very small (García-Coll et al., 1996; McLoyd, 1998). The gap in our current understandings of urban Latina girls leads to and maintains negative stereotypes. To date, there are no studies that have comprehensively examined the links among ethnicity, neighborhood context, parenting behaviors, and urban Latina girl developmental adjustment.

Although numerous studies acknowledge that parents and neighborhood context influence the development of ethnic identity as well as the mental health outcomes of depression and anxiety, the processes involved remain unexplored and unknown especially for urban Latina girls. A few studies have examined the rates of depression and anxiety (Allen & Mitchell, 1998) and the levels of exposure to community violence for urban Latina girl samples (Kuo et al., 2000; Horowitz et al., 1995). However, currently there are no studies that have provided a comprehensive examination of the links among cultural family values, neighborhood context, parenting behaviors, and urban Latina girl *and* mother outcomes.

GOALS OF THE DISSERTATION RESEARCH

My dissertation aimed to test and extend previous research findings on the associations among the following constructs: exposure to community violence, neighborhood crime/danger, parenting behaviors (specifically control and affection), cultural family values, and the outcomes of ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety for a sample of adolescents that has been traditionally ignored by developmental research, urban Latina girls. In addition, this study aimed to examine how prior research findings on the links among the constructs of neighborhood crime/danger, mothers' sense of neighborhood collective efficacy, and the mothers' parenting practice of control applied to a group of urban Latina mothers. Because research that has examined these constructs and the relations among them has primarily focused on middle class European American families, it is unknown and imperative to understand how valid the constructs and relations among them are to urban, Latina girls and their mothers.

My dissertation contributes to our current understandings of Latina adolescent girls' and their families by providing a more extensive investigation. The richness of the data, the demographic characteristics of the sample (community-based, urban, 100% minority female), and the use of multiple methods/multiple sources of data present a unique opportunity to examine comprehensively the constructs and factors that impact the lives of urban Latina girls and their mothers. The majority of studies on urban, Latina families tend to use cross-sectional data based on girl and/or mother self-reports (Allen & Mitchell, 1998; Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996; Rotheram-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot, 1996). My dissertation used data collected from a larger study that conducted a longitudinal evaluation of a school-based violence prevention program, the Resolving

Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP)[3]. I analyzed data collected at two time points: during the girls' middle childhood and adolescence. In addition, I used multiple methods (quantitative, scale-based self-reports and qualitative, in-depth interview data), and multiple sources (girl and mother reports and neighborhood level data). The multifaceted nature of these data allowed me to go beyond the traditional individual unit of analysis to examine how the urban Latina girls and mothers were influenced by various ecological and cultural factors. I explored how the intragroup variations among the girl and mother samples were due to differences in their socioeconomic level, immigrant, and generational status.

Furthermore, by using the girl and mother scale-based self-reports, I was able to form a dyadic (or multi-rater single-trait) unit of analysis to understand how the girls' and mothers' concordance on the mothers' parenting behaviors influenced the girl outcomes. The use of this innovative method provided an additional tool to understand my sample as prior research has indicated that Latinas have a collectivistic cultural orientation and value harmony or concordance within the family (Harrison et al., 1990; Vázquez García et al., 2000).

Building on earlier research with Latino families (Andrade, 1980; Triandies et al., 1982; Vázquez García et al., 2000), I used qualitative, in-depth interview data to examine how previously developed notions of Latino family practices/values applied to my sample of urban Latina girls and their mothers. In addition, I used the qualitative data to examine the validity of the scale-based constructs (e.g., maternal affection, control, and neighborhood crime/danger). The use of the developmental-ecological-contextual

[3] I am involved with this evaluation through my former employer, the National Center for Children in Poverty at the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University.

theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Lerner, 1989) along with the methodologies I used permitted a more comprehensive examination of the risk and protective factors in the lives of urban Latina girls. I also had the unique opportunity to explore how macro-level contextual and cultural factors influenced the mothers' parenting behaviors and how these, in turn, impacted the girls' ethnic identity and mental health symptoms.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Stemming from the goals of my dissertation, I addressed five research questions. First, how do the macro-level factors of girls' immigrant/generational status, family socioeconomic level, neighborhood danger/crime, and exposure to community violence directly and/or indirectly impact the micro-level factors of perceived maternal parenting behaviors (both affection and control) and the girl outcomes of ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety while including the covariates of the girls' age and prior levels of depression and anxiety (see Fig. 1)? Second, how do the macro-level factors of mothers' immigrant/generational status, socioeconomic status, level of neighborhood danger/crime, and maternal perceptions of neighborhood context (measured here by mothers' self-reports on the level of neighborhood collective efficacy) directly and/or indirectly influence the micro-level factor of acculturation and the mothers' outcome of their perceptions of their control of their daughters (see Fig. 2)? Third, how does the concordance between the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the mothers' parenting behaviors of affection and control influence the girls' ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety? Fourth, do the mothers' and girls' personal meanings of maternal affection and control converge with the construct definitions of the subscales of affection and control developed by George and Bloom (1997)? And five, how do the mothers and daughters maintain or adhere to traditional Latino cultural family practices/values and practices, such as familism, respeto, strict gender roles, and avoidance of conflict with family members?

METHOD

Study Overview

The data for this study come from the longitudinal evaluation of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP), the largest-serving universal violence prevention curriculum in the U.S. The original evaluation, conducted from 1994-1996, included 11,160 students in New York City public elementary schools. The implementation and impact of RCCP on these elementary school students over two years has been evaluated by Aber and colleagues (Aber, Brown, & Jones, 2003; Aber, Jones, Brown, Chaudry, & Samples, 1998). From 2002 to 2003, a follow up study was begun with a subsample from the original RCCP evaluation. In the follow up, 908 students participated in semi-structured, computer-assisted interviews. Of these students, 52% were females, 48% were males, 38% categorized themselves as Latino, 34% as African America, 13% as European American, 11% as biracial (African American and European American or Latino), 2% as Asian and/or Arab American, and 2% as Other (did not specify an ethnic group) or unknown (did not answer this question).

Procedure

This study focused on the Latina girls and their mothers who participated in the larger, RCCP follow up study. I selected girls and mothers from the follow up sample who met the following requirements. First, both girls and mothers reported their gender to be female. Second, both described their ethnicity as Hispanic/Latina. And third, the girls named their mothers and/or a female guardian such as an aunt, grandmother, or stepmother as one of their primary caregivers.

Although my study also used data on the girls' depression and anxiety symptoms that were collected during their middle childhood (from the fourth wave of the original RCCP study), I did not consider complete data on these two factors as necessary for inclusion into my study. Aber et al. (2003) has indicated that child participation over the four assessment periods in the original RCCP study ranged from 75% to 84%. In the fourth wave, 3199 (29%) children had missing data. Of the 908 adolescents in the RCCP follow up sample, only 372 (41%) had data on their depression and anxiety symptoms during the fourth wave of the original study. Of the Latina girls in my sample, 54% were missing data for their depression symptoms and 47% were missing data for their anxiety symptoms. Because a large percentage of the girls were missing data from their middle childhood I decided not to focus on complete data as a selection criterion into my study (I discuss how I addressed missing data in my analyses in a subsequent section).

As mentioned previously, I used the girls' self-descriptions of their ethnicity that they provided during the follow up study as a requirement for inclusion into my study. Of the 475 girls who participated in the follow up, 237 (50%) described themselves as Latina or as belonging to a Latina subgroup. Because my focus was on the Latina mother-daughter relationship, I decided my final sample of girls would consist of girls who described both themselves *and* their mothers as Latina ($n = 200$)[4]. I excluded from my final sample 37 Latina girls who described their mothers' ethnicity as non-Latina.

Using the demographic factors of interest in this study, I tested whether there were significant differences in these factors between the Latina girls in my sample and those I excluded because they claimed their mothers' ethnicity was non-Latina.

[4] I provide a more detailed breakdown of the girls' ethnic self-descriptions for my final sample in the upcoming Girl Participants section.

Compared with the 200 Latina girls with Latina mothers in my sample, the 37 Latina girls with non-Latina mothers were significantly younger [M = 15.38, SD = 1.54; girls in my sample had a mean age of 16.43, SD = 1.59, $t(235) = 3.70$, p = 0.00 (two-tailed) d = 0.67], of slightly higher family level socioeconomic status [M = 3.84, SD = 1.26, girls in my sample reported a mean of 3.21, SD = 1.64, $t(235) = -2.19$, p = 0.03 (two-tailed), d = -0.43], and were more likely to be second generation Americans [M = 0.76, SD = .43, the girls in my sample had a mean of 0.39, SD = .49, $t(235) = -4.26$, p = 0.00 (two-tailed), d = -0.80]. There were no other significant demographic differences.

In terms of my third selection criterion, I classified the girls' primary caregivers as those persons or person the girls' reported as being the most responsible for their care and emotional needs. I found that 95% of the girls said they lived with their mothers at the time of the RCCP follow up interview. In addition, 98.5% said that their mother or female caregiver (such as a grandmother, stepmother, aunt, or older sister) was one of two people they felt were the most responsible for their care and emotional needs. Only three girls (1.5% of the sample) did not report their mother or a female caregiver as responsible for their care and emotional needs. The percentage of Latina girls who did not view their mothers and/or a female guardian as one of their primary caregivers was so small that it seemed unlikely that their responses would affect my analyses and the generality of my results. Therefore, I kept these three Latina girls in my final sample.

Based on my selection criteria, I examined self-reported data from 200 Latina girls and 101 of their mothers. My study also included a qualitative component based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a subsample (n = 19) of the girls and their mothers.

Middle Childhood Assessment

Middle childhood data for this study come from the fourth wave of data collection (Spring of 1996) of the original RCCP evaluation project. The original study focused on first through sixth grade students from 15 schools that participated in the evaluation. Twelve of the schools were in Brooklyn with the remaining three in the Upper Manhattan. Students who were severely mentally or physically challenged, as identified by school principals, were excluded from the study. Otherwise, all students in each of the 15 participating schools were included in the study unless a "refusal to participate" form was returned by a parent or signed by a student or if the student was discharged from the school. [This passive consent procedure, approved both by the Office of Educational Research at the New York City Board of Education and the Institutional Review Board of Columbia University, was voluntarily implemented by the PI of the original study following a waiver of active consent based on a Single Project Assurance, submitted to the Office for Protection from Research Risks (OPRR) of the National Institutes of Health, Department of Health and Human Services.] Child report data were collected by a multiracial field research team using classroom-based group administration procedures during classroom periods while teacher report data on children were collected from individual teachers at the end of each data collection wave. A total of 11,160 children participated in this study in at least one wave across the two evaluation years (see Aber, Jones, Brown, Chaudry, & Samples, 1998 for a full description of the design and rationale of the evaluation and Aber, Brown, & Jones, 2003, for a summary of the results from the middle childhood evaluation).

Adolescent Follow-Up Assessment

For the RCCP follow up study, the target sample was 900 youth from the original 11,160 (Gershoff, Aber, & Ware, 2006). The six- to seven-year lag between the last middle childhood assessment (wave 4) and the current adolescent assessment posed significant challenges to recruitment. Contact information was obtained from the New York City Department of Education using identification numbers that uniquely identify the academic and personal records (such as residential address and phone number) of each student within the New York City public school system. Twelve percent of the adolescents we set out to contact no longer had records in the Department of Education computer system (Gershoff et al., 2006). At the start of the study, we made all contact with families via mail, requesting that they mail back a consent form or call a toll-free phone number; 10% of the adolescents contacted in this way were successfully interviewed. In light of this very low response rate, we sought and obtained approval from the Columbia University IRB and from the Department of Education to obtain phone numbers for the families; again, some families did not have current phone numbers in the Department's records but 49% of the adolescents for whom we attempted to get phone numbers were eventually recruited into the follow up study. When we were able to speak with the adolescents and parents by phone, 64% of the adolescents participated in the study (Gershoff et al., 2006). In total, the follow up RCCP sample consisted of 908 adolescents. The follow up sample was matched to the demographic characteristics of the original sample with regard to gender (52% female vs. 48% female), race-ethnicity (38% Latino and 34% African American vs. 39% Latino and 38% African American), and free lunch status in elementary school (74% vs. 68%) (Gershoff et al., 2006).

Although the RCCP follow up sample was similar to the original one in terms of demographic and social characteristics, the follow up youth were exposed to higher levels of RCCP (both in number of lessons and levels of staff training in the RCCP curriculum) during elementary school than did the original sample (Gershoff et al, 2006). Moreover, we found the follow up sample reported more conduct problems and depression symptoms in elementary school than reported by the original sample (Gershoff et al., 2006). The follow up sample differed significantly from the original sample because we stratified selection into the follow up study by level of exposure to RCCP, comorbidity (experiencing both conduct disorder and depression symptoms) status, and representativeness relative to the original sample. Children with greater exposure to RCCP and either or both depression or conduct disorder symptoms were sampled at higher rates than children who had lower levels of RCCP exposure or children who had fewer symptoms of conduct disorder and/or depression symptoms (Gershoff et al., 2006). Because of the procedures we used during sample selection, the follow up sample is not representative of the 11,160 children who participated in the original RCCP study.

To counter the over-sampling of youth who were highly exposed to RCCP and had greater symptoms of conduct disorder and depression, Wagmiller (2005) used a statistical procedure that adjusted the follow up sample for unequal selection probabilities. Wagmiller (2005) estimated and calculated sampling weights which maximized statistical efficiency and minimized sampling bias. I used these sampling weights created by Wagmiller (2005) in my quantitative analyses (which I describe with more detail in upcoming sections) to adjust for the substantial over- and under-sampling that occurred during the follow up study sample selection process which affected the

Latina girls and their mothers in my sample. Using these weights reduced the undue influence in the estimation of my sample statistics.

We contacted the adolescents who were selected to participate in the follow up study. If the adolescents expressed a willingness to participate, we required that their parent and/or legal guardian review and sign the consent form allowing their children's participation. Parental consent was not necessary for those who were 18 years of age or older at the time of the interview. All of the adolescents also provided active written assent before participating in the interview.

Trained research assistants interviewed the adolescents using a semi-structured format for two and a half to three hours. In order to minimize any intimidation adolescents might feel, a research staff was selected that was diverse (over half of the interviewers were racial-ethnic minorities), primarily female, and entirely young adults. Based on how comfortable the individual adolescents felt reading the interview on a computer (determined informally by the interviewer through observations of how long the adolescent took to read the consent form and to complete initial demographic questions on the laptop), the interviews either were administered entirely by the interviewers in which the interviewer read the protocol questions aloud to the adolescents and entered their responses onto a laptop computer or the students read the questions to themselves and entered their responses into the laptop. However, in the case of interviews read aloud, the interviewers did ask the adolescents to enter their answers to sensitive questions directly into the laptop (e.g., questions about sexual activity and drug use) both to protect the adolescents' privacy during interviews conducted in public settings and to increase the likelihood of honest responses. Furthermore, the Principal

Investigator obtained a Certificate of Confidentiality for this study and explained to all participants (and their parents) in the consent and assent forms that that this certificate protected them from having to reveal any illegal activities to authorities. Each interviewer carried a copy of the Certificate to show to participants if asked.

The interviews took place primarily after school or during weekends at locations that included public spaces such as community libraries or local parks, commercial establishments such as coffee shops, and, less frequently, adolescents' homes. The students were compensated $50 for their time.

Procedure for the Maternal Study

Parents and legal guardians of the adolescents who participated in the broader RCCP study were contacted by mail and phone. Recruitment letters, written in English and Spanish, described both the student and parent studies. Parents who were willing to participate in the parent component of the RCCP follow up study indicated by checking off a line on their child's consent form that authorized their own participation. If their child was 18 years or older and had signed a consent form for him/herself, parents signed their own consent form.

For the 200 girls in this study, parent data were collected for 124 of the girls. Because my project focused on Latina girls and their mothers and/or female legal guardians, I excluded data collected from fathers or male legal guardians. Consequently, I did not use parent data for 23 of the girls. Instead, I analyzed maternal/female legal guardian data collected for 101 girls. Of these, 64 mothers/female guardians reported on one adolescent (their daughter) and 37 reported on more than one adolescent (more than one of their children participated in the follow up study). From the sample of

mothers/female guardians, 94% described themselves as the girls' mothers, 3% as aunts, 2% as grandmothers, and 1% as a female legal guardian (unrelated to the girl). Due to the large number of mother participants, I will refer hereafter to all of the parents in my sample as mothers. One mother per child was allowed to participate.

Mother interviews were based a structured format that lasted one to one and a half hours (varied on the number of children in the larger RCCP follow up study). Depending upon the comfort level of the mothers, the interviews were administered in various ways. Mothers could either: 1) fill out a paper copy of the parent interview on their own, 2) have the interview administered in person by the interviewer in which the protocol questions were read aloud to the parents and entered their responses onto a laptop computer, or 3) have the interview administered over the phone by the interviewer. Both the written and oral versions of the parent interview were available in Spanish for those mothers who preferred to read and/or speak Spanish. Of the 64 individual mothers who participated, 57% were interviewed in Spanish and 43% were interviewed in English. Mothers were compensated $25 per child regarding whom they answered interview questions.

Because of the procedure we used during the recruitment process of the RCCP follow up study, we oversampled parents of youth who had more internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems than that of the general population of New York City parents of adolescents. Therefore, as with the girl quantitative data, I used a weighted variable created by Wagmiller (2005 that adjusted my sample of mothers for unequal selection probabilities and made this sample less biased.

Girl Participants

The sample for this study consists of 200 Latina adolescent girls residing in New York City. When asked to self describe their ethnicity, 34% described their background as Dominican, 29% as Puerto Rican, 8% as South American (includes Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru), 7% as Central American (includes Costa Rica, Honduras, and Panama), 4% as Mexican, 12% used one or more categories (e.g., mixed, European American and Latino, African American and Latino), and 6% used a generic term such as Hispanic and/or Latina. All the girls described their mothers' ethnicity as Latina or as belonging to a Latina subgroup. The majority of the girls (78%) reported being born in United States' territory while 22% described themselves as immigrants from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries (this excludes Puerto Rico). Using the girls' reports of their mothers' immigration status as a marker of the girls' generational level, I found the girls were evenly divided between first generation (50%) and second generation Americans (50%).

When asked to write a description of their own ethnicity, two-third of the girls used a combination of Latina and/or Hispanic with a specific Latin American nationality (e.g. "Latina, from the Dominican Republic" and "Mexican, Chicana"). The remaining 34% of the girls used broad categories (e.g. "Hispanic", "Black American and Hispanic", and "Spanish" among others) to self-describe their ethnicity.

During middle childhood, 84% of the sample received a free school lunch, a marker of low family income. At the time of my dissertation, we had not received from the NYC Department of Education the adolescents' lunch status. Therefore, I used the girls' self-report of their parents' employment status as a marker of family level

socioeconomic status. (Note that this indicator was moderately correlated with the mothers' self-report of education level, $r = .30$, $p = .01$, and annual income, $r = .30$, $p = .01$, which indicated that it was a good proxy for family level socioeconomic status). The socioeconomic characteristics of my sample were as follows: 39% reported that only one parent had a full-time job, 31% said both parents had full-time jobs, 13% said neither parents had a job, 10% said one parent worked full-time and the other part-time, 4% reported only one parent worked part-time, and 2% reported that both parents had part-time jobs. Slightly more than half of the girls reported that their parents were married (55%).

The girls self-identified their religion as follows: 65% Catholic, 15% Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian), 7% "Other" (included Buddhist, Mormon, and Jehovah Witness), and 13% reported no religion.

In wave four (middle childhood assessment), the girls ranged in age from 6 to 13.5 years ($M = 9.46$, $SD = 1.35$). In the follow up, girls' ages ranged from 12 to 20 years ($M = 16$, $SD = 1.59$). At the time of the follow up interview, 31% of the girls were in 7^{th} – 9^{th} grades, 57% were in 10^{th} – 12^{th} grades, 3% were in a GED or vocational program, 4% were in college, 4% had graduated high school and were working, and 1% were not working or not in school. Most girls (92%) indicated that they attended or had attended a public junior high or high school in New York City.

During the RCCP follow up interview, 69% of the Latina girls in this study resided in Brooklyn. This was followed by Manhattan with 19%, Queens 9%, the Bronx 2%, and Staten Island with 1% of the Latina girls in this study living there. This

distribution is understandable given that 80% of the participating schools in the original RCCP study (which occurred during the girls' middle childhood) were located in Brooklyn and 20% were in Manhattan.

I used data from Gershoff et al. (2004) that were obtained from the U.S. Census 2000 (which I describe with more detail in the Measures section of this dissertation) to examine various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the populations for each neighborhood from which I drew my sample of Latina girls. I used the New York City government conceptualization of neighborhoods as community districts which are areas that vary in terms of their size and number of census blocks and were established by the city government to facilitate delivery and accountability of city services (www.infoshare.org/fHelp/guide.pdf). The girls in my sample came from 30 different community districts across the five boroughs of New York City.

Of the 137 girls who resided in Brooklyn, most lived in the community district of Sunset Park (n = 50). This was followed by East New York/Starret City (n = 42), Borough Park (n = 9), Park Slope/Carroll Gardens (n = 8), East Flatbush (n = 7), Fort Green (n = 6), and the reminder were distributed across Flatbush/Midwood, Greenpoint/Williamsburg, Bushwick, Bay Ridge, Brownsville, and Flatlands/Canarsie.

Of the 38 girls who resided in Manhattan, most lived in the Upper West Side (n = 16), followed by Morningside Heights (n = 7), next was Central Harlem (n = 6), and the remaining lived in the Lower East Side (n = 5), Washington Heights/Inwood (n = 3), and one girl lived in the Clinton/Chelsea community district.

Of the 17 girls from Queens, most resided in Ozone Park/Woodhaven (n = 8), next was Astoria (n = 2), and Ridgewood/Maspeth (n = 2). One girl lived in each of the

following Queens community districts: Jackson Heights, Hillcrest, and South Ozone Park/Howard Beach. We could not obtain the community districts of two girls from Queens because Gershoff et al. (2004) were unable to map their Census tracts.

Of the five girls from the Bronx, one lived in Mott Haven, one in Hunts Point, one in Riverdale, two in the community district of Parkchester/Soundview, and one in Williamsbridge/Baychester. All three girls from Staten Island lived in the same community district (St. George/Stapleton).

In terms of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the girls' community districts, I selected indicators that had been used in multiple studies (Gershoff & Aber, 2004; Gershoff et al., 2004) such as the proportion of immigrants relative to U.S. born individuals, percentage of Latino, African American, and European American residents, percentage of population living in poverty, and proportion receiving public assistance.

I found the highest proportion of immigrants relative to U.S. born individuals lived in Jackson Heights (Queens) with 61% of the population reporting to be foreign born. This was followed by Flatbush/Midwood (Brooklyn) with 53% and Washington Heights/Inwood (Manhattan) with 50%. The community district with the lowest proportion of immigrants relative to Americans was Brownsville (Brooklyn) with 11%. Across the five boroughs, Queens had the largest proportion of immigrants with 43% of its population claiming to have been born outside U.S. territory. Brooklyn followed with a proportion of 40% immigrant, the Bronx 32%, Manhattan 29%, and Staten Island 18%. This showed wide variance in the proportion of immigrants across the 30 distinct community districts where the Latina girls in my sample lived.

There was also a wide distribution of Latino residents across the girls' boroughs and community districts. I found that the girls who lived in the Bronx were the most likely to have Latino neighbors (58% Latino population). This was followed by Manhattan (39%), Queens (36%), Brooklyn (34%), and Staten Island (19% Latino). With respect to the girls' community districts, Hunts Point and Mott Haven in the Bronx had the highest percentage of a Latino population (81% and 76% respectively). Other community districts with a high percentage of Latino residents were Washington Heights/Inwood (Manhattan) with 73% and Sunset Park (Brooklyn) with 71% Latino. In comparison, the girls in this study who lived East Flatbush and Flatlands/Canarsie (both in Brooklyn) were less likely to have Latino neighbors with 5% and 8% respectively of their populations Latino.

I found that the girls who lived in Brooklyn and the Bronx were the most likely to have African American neighbors (the African American population for each of these two boroughs was 34%). This was followed by Manhattan (23%), Staten Island (22%), and Queens with the smallest percentage of African American residents (8%). In terms of the girls' community districts, East Flatbush (Brooklyn) had the highest percentage African American population (91%), followed by Brownsville (Brooklyn) with 81% and Central Harlem (Manhattan) with 69% African American. The girls' community districts with the smallest percentage of an African American population were Ridgewood/Maspeth (Queens, 0.7%) and Jackson Heights (Queens, 1%).

Across the girls' boroughs, the highest percentage of European Americans lived in Staten Island (53%), followed by Queens (34%), Manhattan (27%), Brooklyn (17%), and the Bronx (5%). The European American breakdown by the girls' community

districts was as follows. Ridgewood/Maspeth (Queens) had the highest percentage (78%), next was Clinton/Chelsea (Manhattan) with 67%, and Bay Ridge (Brooklyn) with 64%. The girls' community districts with the smallest percentage of European Americans were Brownsville (Brooklyn) with 0.27% and Bushwick (Brooklyn) with 1%.

In terms of socioeconomic status, the girls' borough with the highest percentage of people living below the federal poverty line was the Bronx (36%). This was followed by Brooklyn (27%), Manhattan (25%), Queens (17%), and Staten Island with 16% of its population living below the poverty line. The girls in my sample from Mott Haven (Bronx) lived in the community district with the highest percentage (59%) of individuals living below the poverty line. Next was Brownsville (Brooklyn) with 54% and Hunts Point (Bronx) with 41% of the population living in poverty. The girls from Hillcrest (Queens) lived in the community district with the smallest percentage of people living below the poverty line (8.5%) which was followed by Clinton/Chelsea (Manhattan) with 9% of its population living in poverty.

Examining the distribution of people who received public assistance across the girls' 30 community districts, I found that Mott Haven and Brownsville had a similar proportion (48% of the population of each community districts was on public assistance). Similar to the findings of the percentage of people below the poverty line, Hillcrest had the smallest proportion (6%), followed by Clinton/Chelsea (7%) of people receiving public assistance.

The demographic and social characteristics show that many of the girls in this study lived in neighborhoods that were ethnically and economically homogenous. All of the girls from the Bronx, Washington Heights/Inwood (Manhattan), and Sunset Park

(Brooklyn) lived in neighborhoods densely populated by Latinos. Moreover, most of the girls in this study lived in neighborhoods with high percentages of Latino, immigrant, and African American residents.

The data suggest that the girls who lived in neighborhoods with a higher percentage of Latino and African American residents were more likely to have neighbors living below the poverty line and on public assistance (as was the case with Mott Haven, Bronx and Brownsville, Brooklyn). However, the girls who lived in neighborhoods with a higher percentage of European American residents were more likely to have neighbors with a higher socioeconomic status (as was the case Ridgewood/Maspeth, Queens and Clinton/Chelsea, Manhattan).

Mother Participants

The following demographic data were obtained during the mother interview of the RCCP follow up study. Of my sample, 42% were born in United States territory (this includes Puerto Rico) and 58% were born in another country. Of those born outside the U.S., the majority reported the Dominican Republic (30%) as their country of origin. The third largest group (14%) listed countries in Central America; 8% South America (includes Ecuador, Colombia, and other Spanish speaking countries); 5% Mexico; and 1% reported Cuba as their country of origin.

The majority (48%) of the mothers described themselves as married; 28% as divorced and/or separated; 17% as never married; 5% as a member of an unmarried couple; and 2% as widowed. The mothers' level of education varied tremendously. More than half reported a high school education; 26% reported having graduated from high school and 26% said they did not complete but had some high school. Of the remaining

sample, 25% reported having attended only elementary school, 13% said some college or technical school, 8% graduated from college, and 2% reported no schooling. With respect to employment, 40% of the mothers were employed for wages, 27% did not work (this included those were retired, unemployed, and/or unable to work), 23% were homemakers, and 10% described themselves as self-employed.

The mothers' ages ranged from 27 to 75 ($M = 42$, $SD = 7.69$ years). More than half (55%) of the sample reported an annual household income of $25,000 or less. Of these, 7% said $10,000 or less; 34% said $10,001 to $20,000; and 10% said $20,001 to $25,000. The remaining 32% reported an income greater than $25,000. Of these, 6% reported incomes of $25,001 to $30,000; 19% said $30,001 to $50,000; and 5% reported an annual household income greater than $50,000. Thirteen percent of the mothers did not report an income.

As mentioned earlier, of the 200 Latina girls in this study data from their mothers were obtained for 101 girls. Using neighborhood-level data from Gershoff et al. (2004), I found that 65% of the mothers of these girls resided in Brooklyn, 21% in Manhattan, 10% in Queens, 3% the Bronx, and data for one mother could not be obtained. None of the mothers of the Latina girls who lived in Staten Island participated in the mother portion of the RCCP follow up study.

The mothers were drawn from 21 different community districts. Of the twenty-one mothers who resided in Manhattan, three mothers were from the Lower East Side, eleven from the Upper West Side, three from Morningside Heights, and four lived in Central Harlem. Of the sixty-six mothers who lived in Brooklyn, two were from Fort Greene, one from Bushwick, twenty from East New York/Starrett City, five lived in Park

Slope/Carroll Gardens, twenty-five in Sunset Park, two in Bay Ridge, four in Borough Park, two in Flatbush/Midwood, one in Brownsville, two in East Flatbush, and two were from Flatlands/Canarsie. Of the ten mothers who resided in Queens, two lived in Astoria, one in Jackson Heights, one in Ridgewood/Maspeth, and six in Ozone Park/Woodhaven. Of the three mothers who lived in the Bronx, two were from Parkchester/Soundview and one was from Williamsbridge/Baychester.

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics I mentioned earlier of the girls' community districts are the same for the mothers in this study because both mothers and daughters lived in the same community districts.

In-depth Interview Participant Characteristics

Of the 200 participants, 20 girls and 17 mothers consented to participate in separate, in-depth interviews by mailing in a signed parent consent form and student assent form. Recruitment packets containing a parent consent form and adolescent assent form were mailed to 48 eligible families. The response rate for this part of my study was 42%. In order to participate, both mother and daughter must have agreed to participate. Due to my focus on the mother-daughter relationship, families eligible for participation were only those in which both the mother and daughter agreed to participate. The recruitment letter and phone call made to the eligible families asked the mothers to sign and mail in the parent consent form and the girls to sign and mail in the student assent form.

Of the 17 mother participants, 3 had more than one daughter in the study. Nineteen mother-daughter pairs were interviewed. Two pairs were not interviewed because of scheduling conflicts. All the girls and their mothers described their ethnicity

as Latina and reported living in New York City. Of the mothers who participated, 15 preferred to be interviewed in Spanish. I conducted all of the girl and mother in-depth interviews as I am fluent in oral and written expression in Spanish and had the Spanish questions verified for accuracy by a professional translator. The interviews had an average duration of 15 to 20 minutes for the girls and 30 to 45 minutes for the mothers. All of the interviews were conducted over the telephone and tape-recorded. Compensation to the participants was $25 per person. To ensure privacy and increase candidness, the girls were interviewed separately from their mothers.

Girl Measures

In the following section I describe all of the girl measures that the represent covariates, and the micro-and macro-level factors I drew from the girls' demographic characteristics and responses to various scales given during the RCCP follow up study. See Table 2 for descriptive information for all of the girl scales and Table 3 for the correlations among all the factors.

Covariates from Middle Childhood

Mental Health. Symptoms of depression and anxiety were assessed using the *Seattle Personality Inventory* (SPI; Greenberg, 1994) during the forth wave of the original RCCP study. The SPI is a child-reported measure designed to assess symptoms of anxiety, depression, conduct problems, somatization, school dislike, and lying. For the purposes of this dissertation, I focused on the anxiety and depression symptomatology subscales. Students responded to each SPI item using a forced-choice yes/no scale. There were seven items in the anxiety subscale and eleven items in the depression subscale. The SPI asks children to self-report their psychological symptomatology and to indicate the

extent to which each item reflects their current feelings. Sample items from the anxiety subscale are: “Do you feel afraid a lot of the time?”, “Do you worry about what other kids might be saying about you?”, “Are you afraid to try new things?”, and “Do you worry about being teased?” Some of the depression items include: “Do you feel unhappy a lot of the time?”, “Do you feel like crying a lot of the time?”, “Do you feel that you do things wrong a lot?”, and “Do you have trouble falling or staying asleep?”

The SPI conceptualized anxiety by using terms in the items such as “worrying” and “feeling afraid” which are commonly used in the child anxiety symptomatology literature (Greenberg, 1994). Depression symptoms were conceptualized by such terms in the items as “unhappy”, “feeling upset”, and “trouble paying attention”, and “trouble while sleeping”. These concepts are also frequently used in child depression research (Crowley & Emerson, 1996; Greenberg, 1994). The SPI constructs of middle childhood symptomatology of depression and anxiety have been found to be reliable by earlier studies (Greenberg, 1994; Greenberg, Kusché, & Beilke, 1989; Quamma & Greenberg, 1994).

The internal consistencies of the two SPI subscales for my sample and across the subgroups within my sample (based on the girls’ immigration/generational status) were good (scale alphas ranged from .67 to .84; see Table 1). The good to high internal consistencies among the subscale items for my sample along with that reported in other studies (Greenberg, 1994; Quamma & Greenberg, 1994) indicated that the SPI was a reliable measure of the girls’ middle childhood symptomatology of anxiety and depression and, therefore, appropriate to use in my quantitative analyses. Although the cross-time correlations between the girls’ middle childhood and adolescence scores for

the anxiety and depression items were poor, I used the SPI as representative of the girls' middle childhood symptoms of depression and anxiety because they showed good within-time internal consistency. It may be that across time the correlations were weak because of the wide time span between assessments (seven years) and/or because I used a different measure (C-DISC IV) to determine the girls' adolescent depression and anxiety symptoms (e.g., weak multi-method correlation). See Table 2 for descriptive statistics of the SPI.

Adolescent Macro-level Factors and Covariates.

Girl Demographic Characteristics. I used two demographic characteristics as macro-level factors in my quantitative analyses. These consisted of: (1) the girls' family level socioeconomic status which was determined by the girls' reports of their parents/legal guardian's employment status; and (2) the girls' immigration and generation status. The girls' age which I calculated from their date of birth and the date they participated in the RCCP follow up interview was used as a covariate in the analyses. All of these variables from adolescence were obtained during the RCCP follow up interview. I provided descriptive information for these demographics variables in the Girl Participants section of this dissertation.

Macro-level: Neighborhood Context. As a measure of neighborhood crime or danger, I used data obtained by Gershoff et al. (2004) to determine the types of neighborhoods and level of neighborhood risk for the girls in my sample. I conceptualized neighborhood risk or danger as a latent factor that included rates of violent crime, youth arrests, substantiated cases of child maltreatment, and number of youth deaths (all of these indicators consisted of rates per 1000 people).

Rates of violent crime, youth arrests, and cases of child maltreatment were obtained at the community district level while the rate of youth deaths were obtained at the zip code level. (Youth here was defined as a person younger than 25 years of age). These neighborhood indicators were obtained from Infoshare Online, a site of current demographic, socioeconomic, and public health data maintained by Community Studies of New York, Inc. (www.infoshare.org). Infoshare serves as a clearinghouse and combines the demographic and socioeconomic data from the 2000 Decennial U.S. Census with data provided by New York City on public health, public services, and public safety. Rates of violent crime and cases of child maltreatment were obtained for the year 2000; youth arrests and youth deaths were from the adjacent years of 1999. Child maltreatment data were obtained from the New York City government website (www.nyc.gov). Census tracts were obtained by Geocoding addresses using the MapInfo Professional v7.0 software.

I used rates of violent crime, youth arrests, substantiated cases of child maltreatment, and number of youth deaths per 1000 people as indicators of neighborhood level danger because prior research has found them to be a reliable representation of neighborhood level danger (Gershoff et al., 2004). For descriptive statistical information for the neighborhood danger variables see Table 2.

Micro-level Factors/Outcome Variables

Mental Health in Adolescence. The Computer Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children-IV (C-DISC Development Group, 2000) is a highly structured interview designed to assess DSM-IV psychiatric disorders and symptoms in children and adolescents aged 6 to 17 years. For the purposes of my study, I focused on the girls'

depression and anxiety symptoms as measured by the C-DISC-IV. The girls were asked if they had experienced symptoms of major depression and generalized anxiety disorder during the past year in which they participated in the RCCP follow up interview. There were 21 depression symptom items and 12 generalized anxiety disorder symptom items.

Sample items from the depression subscale included: "In the last year was there a time when you felt sad or depressed?", "In the last year was there a time when nothing was fun for you and you just were not interested in anything?", and "In the last year was there a time when you had trouble sleeping, that is trouble falling asleep, staying asleep, or waking up too early?". Sample items from the generalized anxiety disorder subscale were: "In the last year did you often worry a lot when you made small mistakes doing your homework or other projects or activities?", "In the last year have you worried a lot that you might have some sickness or illness?", and "In the last year did you have problems keeping your mind on what you were doing because you were so nervous?". For both subscales students could answer either "No" (0), "Sometimes" (1), or "Yes" (2). I used these continuous counts rather than cut-off scores to capture the full range of symptoms.

Studies that have focused on Latino populations have found good test/re-test and inter-rater reliability and validity scores with the DISC. Bravo, Woodbury-Fariña, Canino, and Rubio-Stipec (1993), using the DISC version 2.1, found the test/re-test reliabilities to be $k = .50$ for anxiety and $k = .69$ for depressive disorders in a sample of Puerto Rican youth. Concordance between a psychiatrist's clinical judgment and DISC diagnosis was good for this sample, anxiety ($k = .54$) and depressive ($k = .65$) disorders. The Bravo et al. (1993) findings are similar to those obtained with English-speaking

samples of community youth. In test/re-test analyses, Schwab-Stone, Shaffer, Dulcan, Jensen, Fisher, Bird, Goodman, Lahey, Lichtman, Canino, Rubio-Stipec, and Donald (1996), using the DISC version 2.3, found for the overall sample, anxiety (k = .49) and depressive (k = .79) disorders. Although research that has used the DISC has not conducted reliability and validity testing for English-speaking American youth by ethnic and gender subgroups (P. Fisher, personal communication, May 5, 2004), one could assume that, for Latino youth, the test/re-test reliabilities and the content and criterion equivalence validity results for the anxiety and depressive disorder modules will fall between the Bravo et al. (1993) and Schwab-Stone et al. (1996) results. I could not calculate test/re-test reliabilities because the girls in my sample took the CDISC once (during their adolescence). However, the internal consistencies of the CDISC-IV depression and anxiety symptom items for my sample and within subgroups were strong and comparable to those from the larger RCCP follow up sample (see Table 4). This indicated that the C-DISC-IV reliably measured the adolescent anxiety and depression symptoms of the Latina girls in my sample and were, therefore, appropriate to use in my subsequent analyses. See Table 2 for descriptive statistical information of the C-DISC-IV.

Micro-level Factor: Ethnic Identity Scale. This scale assesses adolescents' self-perceptions of their race/ethnicity and their feelings about belonging to their ethnic group (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1994). The scale was developed by the Adolescent Pathways Project (1994) and is based on Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (or MEIM). The Ethnic Identity Scale consists of three subscales: ethnic group esteem, exploration of ethnic group, and group involvement. There is a total of 14 items,

each of which asks adolescents to rate how well the statement describes them on a four-point scale (ranging from "Not true at all" to "Very true").

There are seven items in the ethnic group esteem subscale; sample items include: "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments" and "I feel good about being in my racial/ethnic group". The exploration of ethnic group subscale consists of five items; example items are: "I talk with my friends about our racial/ethnic group and how it affects our lives" and "I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs". There are two items in the group involvement subscale and they include: "I feel comfortable among people of my own group and of at least one other group" and "I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special foods, music, or customs".

Findings from studies that have conducted cross-ethnic equivalence testing using the MEIM indicate strong reliabilities and factor loadings for English-speaking Latino samples (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$ in Roberts et al., 1999). I found adequate internal consistencies with my sample and across the subgroups within the sample (see Table 5). As shown in Table 5, the correlations for the group involvement scale are lower than the other two Ethnic Identity subscales. This may explained by the fact that the group involvement subscale consists of only two items. Because the subscale alphas were good within my sample and across the subgroups, and prior research has found strong internal consistencies among the Ethnic Identity subscales with other Latino samples, I decided that the three subscales were reliable indicators of the Latina girls' ethnic identity and, therefore, appropriate to use in my analyses.

Mediating Macro-level Factor

Exposure to Community Violence in Adolescence. The extent to which the girls have witnessed and been victimized by community violence was assessed using the Survey of Exposure to Community Violence (Richters & Saltzman, 1990). With this measure, girls were asked whether they have ever seen and experienced any of 11 different events[5]. Sample items from the witnessing subscale include "Have you *ever* seen someone being chased by a gang or individual?", "Have you *ever* seen someone being threatened with serious physical harm?", and "Have you *ever* seen someone being slapped, punched, or hit?". The victimization subscale items repeated the questions of the witnessing items but changed the wording from "have you ever seen" to "have you ever" (i.e. "Have *you ever* been threatened with serious physical harm?"). The participants answered yes or no to each item.

Almost all (97%) of the Latina girls in this sample witnessed at least one violent event and a majority (82%) experienced at least one event (see Figure 3 for the top ten violent events reported by the girls). The mean number of violent events the girls witnessed was 4.57 (*SD* = 2.37) while the mean number of events the girls experienced was 2.00 (*SD* = 1.77) (see Table 2 for descriptive information for the subgroups within my sample).

I conceptualized the girls' exposure to community violence similar to others researchers who have also used the Richters and Saltzman (1990) measure (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1998; Richters & Martinez, 1993a) by summing the violent events the girls' witnessed and those they experienced to create two composite scores/variables (one for

[5] I removed for my analyses two items from the Richters and Saltzman (1990) scale that focused on sexual assault. As mentioned earlier, previous research findings have indicated that these items do not fit (continued on next page) with the other exposure to community violence items. Also, the focus of my dissertation did not include an examination of the effects of sexual assault on the girl outcomes.

witnessing and one for victimization). I used these two variables to form one latent factor of total exposure to community violence. Both subscales showed strong internal consistencies and the correlation between the two subscales for my sample and for the subgroups within the sample was also strong (see Table 6). The high internal consistencies among and between the subscales for my sample along with that reported in other studies (Richters & Martinez, 1993a; Richters & Martinez, 1993b) indicated that the Survey of Exposure to Community Violence was a reliable measure of the girls' total exposure to community violence and, therefore, appropriate to use in my quantitative analyses.

Mediating Micro-level Factor

Girls Perceptions of Parenting. I used two subscales from the Colorado Parental Child-Rearing Scale (George & Bloom, 1997) to assess the girls' perceptions of their parents' affection and control. The affection subscale consists of five items; examples include: "My parents are happy when they are with me" and "My parents enjoy talking things over with me". The control subscale has five items; sample items are: "My parents don't let me roam around because something might happen to me" and "My parents worry about me when I'm away". The participants rate each item on a five-point scale ranging from "Very untrue in my family" to "Very true in my family".

I found good internal consistency in the affection subscale with my sample and across the subgroups within the sample (see Table 7). This suggested that the affection construct was reliable and appropriate to use in my analyses. However, the alphas for the control subscale for the entire sample of Latina girls and within the subgroups were low (Cronbach's $\alpha = .51$ or less; see Table 7). In addition, the correlation between the two

subscales was low (r = .26 or less; see Table 7) for the entire sample and across the subgroups. The weak internal consistency of the control subscale suggested that the control construct was an unreliable indicator of the girls' perceptions of parental control and, thus, unacceptable to use in my subsequent quantitative analyses.

Maternal Measures

In the section below I discuss the mother measures that the represent covariates, and the micro-and macro-level factors I drew from the mothers' demographic characteristics and responses to various scales given during the parent component of the RCCP follow up study. See Table 8 for descriptive information for all of the mother scales and Table 9 for the correlations among all the factors.

Macro-level Factors and Covariates. I used the mothers' immigration status, level of education, and reported annual household income as macro-level factors in my quantitative data analyses and their marital status as a covariate.

Macro-level: Neighborhood Danger. I used the same indicators of neighborhood danger from the girls with their mothers (rates of violent crime, youth arrests, substantiated cases of child maltreatment, and number of youth deaths per 1000 people; obtained by Gershoff et al., 2004). The mothers' neighborhood level danger data is identical to the girls' because they both live in the same home neighborhood. Therefore, the descriptive information I provided in Table 2 for the girls is the same for their mothers and does not need to be shown again.

Mediating Macro-level Factor.

Neighborhood Collective Efficacy. In addition to using the neighborhood-level Census data, I included maternal self-reports of the social and organizational

characteristics of their neighborhood. I used the Sampson et al. (1997) Collective Efficacy Scale to measure the mothers' sense of solidarity with and among their neighbors. This is a 20-item measure with three subscales: informal social control (five items), social cohesion (ten items), and reciprocated exchange (five items). Each item was rated on a five-point scale ranging from "Never" or "Very unlikely" to "Often" or "Very likely".

For the informal social control items, mothers were asked to rate the likelihood that their neighbors could be counted on to intervene in various situations such as "Children were skipping school and hanging out on the street corner", "Children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building", and "A fire broke out in front of their house". High ratings for these items meant that the mothers' perceived their neighborhoods as having a high level of informal social control.

For the social cohesion items, mothers were asked to rate how strongly each item applied to their neighborhood. Example items include "Parents in this neighborhood know their children's friends," and "People around here are willing to help their neighbors." A high score in this subscale represented mothers' viewing their neighborhoods as having high levels of social cohesion.

For the reciprocated exchange subscale, mothers rated the frequency of each item which ranged from "Never" to "Often". Example items include "How often do you and other people in your neighborhood have parties or other get-togethers where other people in the neighborhood are invited?", "When a neighbor is not home, how often do you and other neighbors watch over their property?", and "How often do you and people in this neighborhood visit each other's homes or in the street?". A high score in this subscale

meant that the mothers' perceived their neighborhoods as offering high levels of reciprocated exchange amongst neighbors.

All of the subscales showed strong internal consistencies for my sample and for the subgroups within the sample (see Table 10). However, the correlations between the subscales were inadequate for some of the mothers in this sample. For example, for the immigrant mothers the correlation between social control and social cohesion was r = .04. However, I used all three subscales from the Collective Efficacy Scale in my upcoming analyses because the internal consistency of each subscale was strong which suggested that each was a reliable indicator of the mothers' sense of collective efficacy in their neighborhood. In addition, prior research has found the Collective Efficacy Scale to be a reliable and valid measurement with urban adult samples (Sampson et al., 1997).

Micro-level Factor: Acculturation.

I used the mothers' language preference as an indicator of their level of acculturation. During the parent component of the larger RCCP follow up study, we created a language indicator that captured whether the parents were interviewed in English or Spanish. Previous research has indicated a strong association between language use and acculturation; individuals who show proficiency and are more comfortable speaking English tend to be more acculturated to mainstream American values and norms (Contreras et al., 1999).

Micro-level Factor/Outcome: Colorado Parent Child Rearing Scale.

As with girl participants, I drew on two subscales from the Colorado Parental Child-Rearing Scale (George & Bloom, 1997): affection (five items) and control (five items). The original scale asks students to respond to each item. However for the parent

protocol, the scale was adapted. For example, an original item "*my parents* punish me by making me do extra work" was adapted to read "*I* punish my child by making him/her do extra work." Mothers rated each item on a five-point scale (the scale range remained the same as with the girls). (See Table 8 for descriptive information on the mothers' responses to the parenting items).

I found strong internal scale consistencies for my sample of mothers. For the entire sample of parents (excluding the women in my sample), Cronbach's alpha for the affection subscale was $\alpha = .77$; for my sample Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$. Across the immigration subgroups in my sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$ for immigrants, and $\alpha = .80$ for those mothers born in the U.S.

For the control subscale, Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$ for the entire sample of parents; Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$ for the women in my sample; $\alpha = .62$ for immigrants; and Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$ for the mothers born in the U.S. The two subscales were not significantly correlated for the entire sample of parents (excluding the women in my sample), $r = -.003$. The correlation for the sample mothers in this study was also weak, $r = .21$, as it was across the subgroups of mothers (those born in the U.S. $r = .32$; immigrant mothers $r = .21$.

The strong internal consistencies within the two subscales for my sample of mothers and across the subgroups of mothers showed that these two constructs were reliable indicators of the Latina mothers' perceptions of their affection and control of their daughters. However, the weak correlation between the two subscales indicated that these are two separate indicators of parenting practices that *should not* be combined to form one latent factor.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

I used a two-pronged approach to analyze the data from my sample of urban, Latina mothers and daughters. The first part involved conducting confirmatory factory analyses (CFA) using structural equation modeling (SEM) to test the fit of the indicators (that were based on the scaled-item measures I used for my dissertation) within the latent constructs I formed. I used the program Mplus version 3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2004) for all of my CFA and SEM analyses. If the CFA results suggested that the constructs I used for the latent constructs fit well, I continued with an SEM analysis that examined the associations among the macro-and micro-level factors, latent, and outcome variables simultaneously.

I used SEM to examine the following three research questions. Note that research questions one and three have changed from those I presented in the Introduction section because I removed the micro-level factor of girls' perceptions of maternal control. Given that the *girls'* response to the George and Bloom (1997) control subscale were not internally consistent, I excluded girl perceived control from my SEM analyses. This led to the revised versions of my first and third research question which are addressed below and in the subsequent sections of this dissertation.

First, how do the macro-level factors of girls' immigrant/generational status, family socioeconomic level, neighborhood danger/crime, and exposure to community violence directly and/or indirectly impact the micro-level factors of perceived maternal affection and the girl outcomes of ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety while including the covariates of girls' age and prior levels of depression and anxiety? Second, how do the macro-level factors of mothers' immigrant/generational

status, socioeconomic status, level of neighborhood danger/crime, and maternal perceptions of neighborhood context (measured here by mothers' self-reports on the level of neighborhood collective efficacy) directly and/or indirectly influence the micro-level factor of acculturation and the mothers' outcome of their perceptions of their control of their daughters? Third, how does the concordance between the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the mothers' affection influence the girls' ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety?

SEM Analytic Strategy. With the girl SEM models I used their age at the time of the interview and their previous mental health symptoms in depression and anxiety as covariates. With the mother SEM model, I used the mothers' marital status as a covariate.

SEM and Missing Data Estimation. Because some of the sample had missing data, I used full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML) of parameters in my SEM models. FIML estimation fits a covariance structure model to the data observed from each participant rather than deleting persons with missing data (i.e., using listwise deletion). Findings suggest that FIML estimation is the most efficient and least biased way of analyzing data that includes cases that are missing completely or randomly (McDonald & Ho, 2002).

There were very few cases from the adolescent girl dataset (from the follow up study) that were missing data for the variables I was interested in analyzing. Only one girl had missing data on her exposure to violence; one girl did not rate the parenting subscale items; and two girls were missing neighborhood level data because Gershoff et al. (2004) could not obtain Census tracts for them.

I did not find any missing cases for the girls' current demographic characteristics (such as age, immigration, generation, and family level socioeconomic status) and outcomes of interest to this study (girl anxiety and depression symptoms and sense of ethnic identity). However, as mentioned earlier, I found that many of the girls had missing data on their middle childhood mental health symptoms: 54% were missing depression and 47% were missing anxiety symptoms. Prior to FIML imputation, the mean for early girl depression was 1.51 and for anxiety it was 1.37. After FIML imputation, the early girl depression mean changed to 1.50 and anxiety changed to 1.39.

As for the variables of interest with the mother quantitative data, I found that two mothers were missing data on neighborhood collective efficacy, one on the parenting affection subscale, two on the control subscale, and one mother was missing neighborhood level data because Gershoff et al. (2004) could not obtain her Census tract. None of the mothers had missing data for their demographic characteristics. Because 98% of the mothers had complete data, it is unnecessary to report the means for all the construct and subscale scores pre-and post-FIML imputation (for example pre-FIML the mean for control was 3.40 and post it remained 3.40).

Indicators of SEM model fit. To evaluate the fit of the structural models to the data, I used various indicators that included the chi-square index of statistical fit which is typically provided for the maximum likelihood estimation of parameters, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Brown & Cudeck, 1993), and the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990). The RMSEA is an absolute index of fit. RMSEA values under .05 indicate close fit to the data, values between .05 and .08 represent reasonable fit, and values of .08 or higher represent poor to unacceptable fit. Associated with the

RMSEA is a confidence interval (CI) for the RMSEA; if the range of the CI includes .05, the hypothesis of the close fit of the model to the data cannot be rejected. The CFI values should be greater than .90; a value of 1.00 represents a perfect fit.

Approach to the Qualitative Data. The second part of my analytic strategy involved further exploration of the validity of the SEM constructs and relations among them through a careful examination of the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews with the subsample of mother and daughter pairs (n = 19). I used these qualitative data to address my fourth and fifth research questions. Research question (4) Do the mothers' and girls' personal meanings of maternal affection and control converge with the construct definitions of the subscales of affection and control developed by George and Bloom (1997)? Research question (5) How do the mothers and daughters maintain or adhere to traditional Latino cultural family values and practices, such as familism, respeto, strict gender roles, and avoidance of conflict with family members? Moreover, I used the qualitative data to explain the unexpected associations and directions that resulted from my SEM analyses.

I conducted a discourse analysis of the qualitative data by considering the girls' and mothers' answers to my open-ended interview questions (see Appendix 1 for list of questions) to be specific discourse forms that represented the girls' and mothers' cultural values and personal subjectivities (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). A discourse analytic framework allowed me to analyze the range of multiple, intersecting forces involved in the girls' and mothers' personal understandings of control, affection, family practices/values, and neighborhood (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1999). In addition, I viewed the mothers' and daughters' utterances within the context of

positioning theory which assumes that speaking is a situated action that is co-constructed in an interactive setting that includes the person's history as she conceives it (Bamberg, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1999). By responding to my questions about parenting practices and ethnicity, the mothers positioned themselves within the category of mother, the girls as daughters, and all within the category of Latinas (or as belonging to a particular Latino subgroup). This theoretical and methodological framework was very useful for it allowed me to examine, in-depth, how the girls' and mothers' utterances reflected their unique and shared positions.

I began my discourse analysis by creating a coding scheme based on the theoretical concepts of control, affection, family values, and neighborhood (see Table 14 for codes and definitions). To allow for analysis of the girls' and mothers' utterances that *did not* fit within the Latino family practices/values coding scheme, I created a global category of American family practices/values with specific codes that were based on Harrison et al. (1990) and O'Reilly (1985). Using Atlas.ti version 5 software, I coded words and utterances in accordance with this scheme while also permitting unexpected themes and concepts to emerge from the girls' and mothers' data.

RESULTS

In the following sections, I present the findings in terms of my research questions[6]. I begin each section with discussing the results from the quantitative, scale-based analyses. This is followed by the findings from the qualitative, in-depth interview data.

Associations among the Macro- and Micro-level Factors and Girl Outcomes

Research Question 1: How do the macro-level factors of girls' immigrant/generational status, family socioeconomic level, neighborhood danger/crime, and exposure to community violence directly and/or indirectly impact the micro-level factors of perceived maternal affection and the girl outcomes of ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety while including the covariates of the girls' age and prior levels of depression and anxiety?

Measurement of the Girls' Macro-and Micro-Level Factors. I began my examination of my first research question by analyzing the measurement of the indicators and latent constructs involved in the question. As mentioned earlier in the Method section and shown in Tables 1, and 3 through 6, the internal consistency for most of the girl scale-based indicators showed strong to acceptable reliability alpha levels. I found those that showed poor, unacceptable alpha scores were the George and Bloom (1997) indicator of perceived parental control with a Cronbach's alpha below .56 for the total sample of Latina girls in this study (α =.47 for immigrants, α =.55 for first generation, and α =.49 for second generation Americans) and the victimization indicator for the immigrants (α = 53) and first generation girls (α = 55). Although the internal consistency

[6] Recall that the research questions I am addressing here are the revised versions (e.g., research questions one and three exclude the girls' perceived maternal control because of the unacceptable reliability alphas I found with the George and Bloom (1997) control subscale with the girls' data).

of the victimization subscale was poor for two subgroups in my sample, the reliability alpha for the entire sample of Latina girls was acceptable (α = .62) and the cross-subscale correlations (between victimization and witnessing) were significant (r = .60 or higher across the subgroups). This suggested that a combined latent construct formed of these two indicators might be reliably tapping into the girls' total exposure to community violence. In comparison, the cross-subscale correlations between affection and control across the sample were non-significant (r = .27 or lower across the subgroups).

To determine whether the scale-based indicators could be combined to form latent constructs, I conducted a CFA that included all of the latent constructs I formed based on the aforementioned reliability/measurement analyses and previous research. This CFA model fit the data well, $\chi^2(35, N = 200) = 53.68$, p = .02, RMSEA= .05 (CI ranged .01 and .09), CFI = .97. I began by combining the indicators of witnessing and victimization by violence to form one latent construct of total exposure to community violence and found that they fit well together (both z-scores were over the p value of .05).

I used the neighborhood indicators of violent crime, youth arrests, substantiated cases of child maltreatment, and number of youth deaths per 1000 people to form a latent construct of neighborhood danger. Three of these indicators fit well together (with p values of .01) while one did not. The number of youth deaths had a standardized parameter estimate for factor loading = 0.14 (SE = .01), $p > .05$. I removed this indicator from the latent construct of neighborhood danger for the remaining SEM analyses.

The CFA of the latent construct of girl internalizing behaviors (which included the girls' depression and anxiety symptoms) showed that the two indicators did not fit well together. I found that the indicator of anxiety symptoms had a large negative

residual variance and that fixing the factor loading for this indicator would still not allow the model to converge.

For the latent construct of ethnic identity, I used the three indicators from the Ethnic Identity Scale (ethnic group esteem, exploration, and group involvement). All fit well together and had z-scores with *p* values over .05.

SEM Results for Research Question 1. In the next series of analyses, I conducted a SEM analysis by testing a conceptual model which included the single indicators of girl current depression and anxiety symptoms and perceived maternal affection. Due to the significant CFA results, I used the model which included the following latent constructs: total exposure to community violence, neighborhood danger, and ethnic identity. The SEM model converged and I found that it fit very well with the data, $\chi^2(80, N = 200) = 90.70$, $p = .19$, RMSEA= .03 (CI ranged .01 and .05), CFI = .99 (see Table 11).

As shown in Figure 4, the relations among the girls' immigration status, generation, and exposure to community violence were significant; girls who were second generation Americans reported the highest levels of exposure. The association between neighborhood danger and exposure was not significant. Similarly, the relation between neighborhood danger and perceived affection was not significant. (See Table 11 for list of all standardized parameter estimates among significant and non-significant pathways).

I found that the significant predictors of the girls' depression symptoms were: (1) exposure to violence (girls who reported high exposure showed more depression than those girls who reported less exposure), (2) generation status (first generation American girls reported more depression symptoms than did immigrants or second generation girls), and (3) perceived maternal affection (girls who rated their mothers as being very

affectionate showed less depression symptoms than did girls who rated their mothers as less affectionate).

The association between exposure to violence and anxiety was non-significant. I found that the significant predictor of the girls' current anxiety symptoms was their perception of maternal affection (more affection was associated with less anxiety). The findings indicated that affection did not mediate the impact of exposure to violence on the girls' mental health. Both exposure to violence and perceived affection had direct effects on the girls' depression and anxiety symptoms.

The relation between ethnic identity and perceived affection was non-significant. The macro-level factors of family level socioeconomic status, immigration, and generation status did not significantly predict neighborhood danger. However, I found that immigrant girls and those with a higher family level socioeconomic status reported greater levels of ethnic identity. Also, the link between the macro-level factor of immigrant status and the micro-level factor of perceived maternal affection was significant; immigrant girls reported more affection. Surprisingly, I found that macro-level factor of exposure to community violence was significantly, positively related to the micro-level factor of girl ethnic identity; girls who showed higher levels of exposure reported a greater sense of ethnic identity. Next, I examined whether this link was due to untested associations among the macro-level factors of immigration/generation status and family socioeconomic level and found that the correlation between immigrant and socioeconomic status was non-significant as was the correlation between first generation and socioeconomic status. Moreover, when I included these correlations in the SEM

model, the link between exposure to violence and girl ethnic identity remained significant.

The measurement and SEM findings suggest that the George and Bloom (1997) indicator of perceived maternal affection was reliably tapping into the perceptions the girls in my sample had of their mothers' affection. However, it was unknown how the girls' made sense of that affection. In the next sections, I present the findings from the qualitative analyses which addressed my fourth research question: Do the mothers' and girls' personal meanings of maternal affection and control converge with the construct definitions of the subscales of affection and control developed by George and Bloom (1997)? Analyzing this question also permitted me to explore the construct validity of perceived maternal control. Perhaps perceived control was defined differently by the girls than by George and Bloom (1997)?

Girls' Personal Meanings for Maternal Affection. I used the qualitative data[7] to understand the girls' personal meanings more fully by examining how they converged or were similar to George and Bloom's (1997) conceptualization of affection. I found that 50% of the girls spontaneously[8] used words or utterances that were similar to the terms used in George and Bloom's (1997) subscale items which included "My parents are affectionate with me", "My parents enjoy talking things over with me", and "My parents are very happy when they are with me". The following exemplars illustrate this finding.

Exemplar 1: "*…she {mother} just, she's just happy with me…" – 16 year old girl of Dominican descent.*

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[7] I analyzed in-depth, qualitative interview data from 18 girls (one girl's interview I could not transcribe because of a malfunction that occurred with the recording machine used during the interview).

[8] My in-depth interview questions (see Appendix 1) did not use the terms or language used in the George and Bloom (1997) subscale items. Therefore, I consider the girls' use of George and Bloom's (1997) terms or concepts as spontaneous and not elicited.

Exemplar 2: *"Um, when I have problems in school I talk to her about it" – 15 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"I like it when she asks me like how I'm doing in school, how my day was, or like when she looks at my test grades and stuff cause I usually get good grades and you know I like it when she sees that…um, and I like it when she hugs me cause then I feel like, you know, like she actually cares about me." – 17 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.*

I found that many of the girls who used terms that were similar to George and Bloom's (1997) subscale items also described their mothers' affection very differently from George and Bloom (1997). During the qualitative analysis, I found that 94% of the girls' responses to my questions about their mothers' parenting contained concepts that differed from George and Bloom's (1997) definition for the construct of affection. The Latina girls in my sample defined their mothers' affection using not only George and Bloom's (1997) terminology but also concepts that included the psychological feelings of love and care. Moreover, the girls viewed affection as a reciprocal or mutual practice between themselves and their mothers in which talking, helping, and/or comforting were provided not only by the mothers for the daughters' benefit but also by the daughters for the mothers' benefit. The following exemplars illustrate these findings.

Exemplar 1:

Interviewer: "So you, do you still get along with her in the same way that you did when you were younger?"

Girl: "Um, I get along with her better now."

Interviewer: "How do you get along with her better?"

Girl: "Because now I can talk to her, before I felt like I couldn't talk to her cause she was my mother. So, now I realize that I could talk to her about anything and I, I get along with her in the sense that I guess now I'm older. And we have more things to talk about…it's a lot of things that I, that she does that I like, she, I guess the way she, she's with us, like she's more like a friend" – 19 year old girl of Dominican descent.

Exemplar 2: *"My mother, she's, um, very understanding, she's like, she's, me and her, we're close. Yeah, um, we talk a lot and I could come and talk to her and she could talk to me…" – 17 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"…I mean, I guess since I'm getting older, like I said before, it's more like a friendship thing than a mother/daughter thing, I mean, she still, she's still my mother and I still have to, you know, listen to what she says, but we also have a relationship where we can just, you know, talk about things that's going on, not only in my life but her life also." – 20 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

These findings show that half of urban Latina girls who participated in the in-depth interviews independently generated or spontaneously used concepts and terminology that matched the George and Bloom (1997) conceptualization of perceived affection. Because the questions I used during the in-depth interviews were open-ended and did not contain George and Bloom's (1997) terminology for affection (an example of one in-depth question is "What are your parents like? Particularly your mother?"), it was very encouraging that a majority of the girls' responses included words used in the George and Bloom (1997) subscale. These findings, along with the high internal consistency I found among the affection subscale items, indicated that the George and Bloom (1997) affection subscale was an effective, reliable, and valid measure with the

Latina girls in my sample. However, it should be noted that the qualitative findings also suggest that the girls can view their mothers' affection on a deeper, more reciprocal level than as construed by George and Bloom (1997).

Girls' Personal Meanings for Maternal Control. Part of my fourth research question included exploring how the girls' personal meanings of control converged with that of George and Bloom's (1997) construct definition. A few of the girls' responses (22%) to my in-depth interview questions contained spontaneous utterances and words similar to those in the subscale items for control (George & Bloom, 1997; examples of the items are: "My parents worry when I am away from home", "My parents worry that I cannot take care of myself", "My parents ask me to tell her them everything that happens when I am away from home", etc.). The following exemplars highlight the similarities between the girls' descriptions and those used in the George and Bloom (1997) subscale.

Exemplar 1: *"Yeah, like if, if I say I want to go out somewhere, she's like, "Oh like who you going with?", she like wants to know like where am I going or whatever, like she wants to know." – 18 year old girl of Puerto Rican and Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 2:

Interviewer: "Right, okay. Well, what if you're out with friends and you just like lose track of time and you come home later, what, what would happen then?"

Girl: "My mom would tell me that, not, not to do it again, basically, she won't like yell at me at, she'll be like "Oh my God, honey, I was worried about you, where were you, you could have at least called" or something." – 17 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.

Although a few of the girls did use words or utterances similar to those in George and Bloom's (1997) subscale items for control, many of these and other girls interviewed

used concepts that described their mothers' controlling parenting practice differently from George and Bloom's (1997) construct. I found that all girls' responses showed they perceived their mothers' control in a manner that was more complex than George and Bloom's (1997) conceptualization. Here, the girls described their mothers' control as function of multiple, intersecting factors that included the girls' age, her status (e.g., has a job, goes to college, or has a child), and/or the trustworthy nature of her relationship with her mother. The following exemplars emphasize these findings.

Exemplar 1:

Girl: "Yeah, it only started when I was like, maybe like 7th grade, she let me go out by myself."

Interviewer: "Oh, okay, and how late would she let you, when you were in the 7th grade, stay out till?"

Girl: "Oh, only till like, uh, maybe around 6 o'clock cause I had a friend right here, so I would just go to her house or something…"

Interviewer: "And as you got older would she let you have, uh, a later curfew?"

Girl: "Yeah."

Exemplar 2:

Interviewer: "Would she let you stay out, like now that you can stay out till 11:00pm?"

Girl: "Uh huh."

Interviewer: "Has it been the same since you were like say 15?"

Girl: "Yeah, it's been the same."

Interviewer: "Was there ever a time when you couldn't stay out till 11:00?"

Girl: "Uh, when I was pregnant. Cause she didn't want me to like, like I'll fall or something and she won't be there with me, so she would just want me to be here early, like she don't want me in the street a lot when I was pregnant." - 16 year old girl of Dominican descent.

Exemplar 3: *"Yeah, that's why my mom trusts me, like she lets me go outside cause she knows that I, I know what's right from wrong, and she's taught me well… And I know not to come home later than that {curfew time} cause I don't want her to lose trust in me" – 17 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.*

Given the low internal consistency I found among the subscale items, along with qualitative findings presented above, it seemed that the George and Bloom (1997) conceptualization of control was unreliable and did not apply to the perceptions the Latina girls in my sample had of their mothers' control. However, this idea merits further research. One should conduct a CFA or exploratory factor analysis to determine whether perceived control is one or more factors.

Associations among the Macro-and Micro-level Factors and Mother Outcome. Although I found the control subscale to be an unreliable indicator of the *girls'* perceptions, the internal consistency among the mothers' responses to the subscale items was acceptable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .62$ or higher across the subgroups). Thus, I kept my second research question: How do the macro-level factors of mothers' immigrant/generational status, socioeconomic status, level of neighborhood danger/crime, and maternal perceptions of neighborhood context (measured here by mothers' self-reports on the level of neighborhood collective efficacy) directly and/or indirectly influence the micro-level factor of acculturation and the mothers' outcome of their perceptions of their control of

their daughters? In addition, I examined how the mothers' personal meanings of their parenting practices converged with the definitions of these constructs provided by George and Bloom (1997).

Measurement of the Mothers' Macro-and Micro-Level Factors. As with the girl data, I began to address my second research question by analyzing the measurement of the indicators and latent constructs involved in the question. As mentioned earlier in the Method section and shown in Table 10, the internal consistency for all of the mother scale-based indicators showed strong reliability alpha levels.

Next, I conducted a CFA of the two latent factors in the model: neighborhood danger and collective efficacy. I found this model fit the data well, $\chi^2(8, N = 101) = 10.36$, $p = .24$ RMSEA = .05 (CI ranged from .00 to .14); CFI = .99. I formed both of these latent factors based on previous research and the findings from the measurement analyses. I found that, of the indicators for neighborhood danger, three fit well together while the number of youth deaths did not (its standardized parameter estimate for factor loading = 0.14 ($SE = .01$), $p > .05$). This indicator was removed from the latent construct of neighborhood danger for all of the remaining SEM analyses.

Although the Collective Efficacy Scale cross-subscale correlations were low across the mother subgroups ($r = .33$ or lower), I found with a CFA that the indicators from the three subscales for the latent construct of collective efficacy fit well together (all factor loading estimates had p values greater than .01). This suggested that combining the three indicators from the Collective Efficacy Scale to form one latent construct was reliably tapping into the mothers' perceptions of neighborhood collective efficacy.

SEM Results for Research Question 2. I conducted a SEM analysis the conceptual model presented in my second research question. As shown in Figure 5, this model fit the data closely, $\chi^2(30, N = 101) = 25.31$, $p = .71$ RMSEA = .00 (CI ranged from .00 to .09); CFI = 1.00. The association between neighborhood danger and maternal control was significant; mothers who lived in neighborhoods that had higher crime levels reported using more control with their daughters. In addition, I found that mothers who were less acculturated (interviewed in Spanish) reported higher levels of control than those who were more acculturated (interviewed in English). Other significant predictors of the mothers' perceptions of their control were their socioeconomic status (mothers who reported lower levels of education rated themselves as controlling than mothers with higher education) and marital status (mothers who were married or a member of an unmarried couple rated themselves as more controlling).

In addition, the link between socioeconomic status and sense of collective efficacy was significant; mothers with less education viewed their neighborhood as having higher levels of collective efficacy than those with more education. However, I did not find that the mothers' immigration status predicted their control or sense of collective efficacy.

I found that acculturation was significantly correlated with: A) marital status (less acculturated mothers were married or in an unmarried couple than more acculturated mothers), B) socioeconomic level (more acculturated mothers reported higher education levels), and C) immigration status (immigrants tended to be less acculturated). Moreover, I found that immigrant status and socioeconomic level were significantly and negatively

correlated which indicated that American mothers were more likely to have reported a higher socioeconomic level.

Although my second research question did not include how the various macro-and micro-level factors influenced the mothers' perceptions of their *affection* of their daughters, I conducted a SEM analysis similar to the one above but replaced control with affection because I found with the girl quantitative data that perceived affection was significantly and negatively related to the girl outcomes of depression and anxiety symptoms. Thus, the question remained as to how the mother macro-and micro-level factors impacted urban Latina mothers' own perceptions of their affection?

SEM Results with Mothers' Data on Maternal Affection. As mentioned earlier, I conducted a SEM model with the mothers' quantitative data in which I replaced control with affection. I found this model fit the data well, $\chi^2(30, N = 101) = 27.78, p = .58$; RMSEA = .00 (CI ranged from .00 to .05); CFI = 1.00 (see Figure 6). In comparison to the previous mother SEM model, none of the macro- or micro-level factors significantly predicted the outcome, in this case maternal affection. Similar to the previous mother SEM model, I found that the mothers' level of education was significantly and negatively associated with their sense of collective efficacy. Also, the correlations I described in the earlier SEM mother model remained significant in this analysis (e.g., acculturation was negatively correlated with marital status and immigrant status).

The measurement and SEM findings suggest that the George and Bloom (1997) indicators of maternal control and affection were reliably tapping into the perceptions the mothers in my sample had of their behaviors towards their daughters. However, it was unknown how the mothers' made sense of their parenting behaviors. In the next sections,

I present the findings from the mother qualitative analyses which addressed my fourth research question: Do the mothers' and girls' personal meanings of maternal affection and control converge with the construct definitions of the subscales of affection and control developed by George and Bloom (1997)?

Mothers' Personal Meanings of Control. Similar to my qualitative analysis of the girls' data, I examined the mothers' responses to my in-depth interviews[9] to find how their personal meanings converged with George and Bloom's (1997) construct definition for control.

I found that few (27%) mothers spontaneously and independently generated descriptions or words similar to those in the George and Bloom's (1997) subscale items. The following exemplars show the similarity between the mothers' utterances and the items.

Exemplar 1: *"...just ask her, "Where are you gonna be at?" Ask her {daughter) like who, when, where." – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 2: From a different mother*"...I get worried when she {daughter} goes out…" (translated from Spanish – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Although a few of the mothers' responses to my questions converged, they also diverged from George and Bloom's (1997) conceptualization of control. I found that all the mothers interviewed discussed their control as a more multifaceted practice than that defined by George and Bloom (1997). Here, the Latina mothers' conceptualized their control as a function of their daughters' age, birth order of children, support from

[9] Of the 15 individual mothers, two preferred to be interviewed in English and 13 preferred Spanish. The quotes I present here from the Spanish-speaking mothers were translated into English.

husband or daughter's father, knowing their daughter's friends and parents of friends, and trusting their daughters. The following are exemplars of this finding.

Exemplar 1: "Y*eah, yeah, you know, she, she's growing up and she has, uh, decisions that she doesn't have to call me for any little thing, as long as she just follows the basic rule, which is, you know, let us know that she's okay and where she's at…. you know, that's mainly the, the whole thing, we tell them, you know, you don't do, you don't do anything illegal, you don't hurt nobody, you don't start trouble, respect, stuff like that."*

Interviewer: "So you don't think that you're treat, that you, the way you were treating {oldest daughter's name} when she was {younger daughter's name} age is any different?"

Mother: "Well, {oldest daughter} complains (laughs) about that, and she says that, you know, the younger ones are getting away with more than she did, but I guess, because she's the first one, you know, we try to start a rule and once it got to the youngest one it's already been, like, she calls it "violated," she says, she says, "Oh look, she violated that rule…and she's getting over, and I would never be able to do something," but, you know, I guess that's part of growing up for us as parents as well her" Mother of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar 2 from a different mother: "*Right because as a little, I had to be the disciplinarian, the, both parents cause her dad wasn't here anymore…So I, I, that, that's why I think the relationship evolved and went from one thing to another, and every now and then she forgets I'm the parent (laughs) and, you know, I have to (makes the sound of brakes) put on the brakes…" - Mother of Puerto Rican descent*

Exemplar 3: *"I think you need to be pendiente {watch out for} their friends, know who their friends are, where they are from, and where they live because their friends influence them a lot. You need to know all about them. Discreetly try to find out more, where you child is going, with whom does she hang out with, with whom does she talk with because then you will find out if there is a bad friend or bad acquaintance….If you find that things are getting too dangerous you need to take action, need to move your daughter out of the neighborhood, away from the friend…" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

The qualitative findings suggest that George and Bloom's (1997) construct of control had validity for some of the mothers in my sample. However, all of the mothers viewed their control on a more complex level than defined by George and Bloom (1997) that depended on several factors such as girls' age, knowing her friends, and so forth. Although I did not find with the scale-based, quantitative data a significant relation between neighborhood context and mothers' control (see Figure X), the qualitative results suggested that the mothers did perceive neighborhood as an influence on their control.

Link between Neighborhood and Parenting. With the mothers' scale-based data I found a significant association between the latent construct of neighborhood crime and the mothers' use of control. To further understand this finding, I examined the mothers' responses to the qualitative, in-depth interview questions and found that 53% of the mothers' responses contained a connection between their neighborhood and their controlling parenting practices. The following exemplars show this finding.

Exemplar 1. *"And I move into, uh, uh, let's say, a mini Sodom & Gomorrah…and, and then, then you wonder why your kids go bad…" – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 2: *"Its difficult to make her {daughter} see what it {her neighborhood} is really like, telling her what it is like…its not easy and there are many, how do you say, there are many things here that you would never see in the countryside, or in small towns where there are no drugs, diseases, all of that…..gangs, there are a lot of gangs here and those girls that get involved with them, that get into so many problems, do you see?" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Mexican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"She {daughter} would argue that she wants to go out with her friends and because the environment is not very good here in New York, well sometimes I would tell her "No, look don't do that. Look this is bad…."" (translated from Spanish) - Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

The qualitative findings support my SEM results that show that the mothers' control was a function of the level of danger in their neighborhoods.

I further explore my fourth research question in the next series of analysis by examining how the mothers' personal meanings of their affection towards their daughters converged or diverged from the George and Bloom (1997) construct definition.

Mothers' Personal Meanings of Affection. I found that 27% of the mothers' responses spontaneously contained words or utterances similar to those in George and Bloom's (1997) subscale. The following exemplar shows the similarity.

Exemplar 1:

Mother: "Um, if she has anything, you know, to tell me, she'll on her own volunteer and just come up and just ask me or tell me how she feels, and I'm about the same way"

Interviewer: "So, you both share a lot with each other?"

Mother: "Yes, we do." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.

Although a few of the mothers did use terms similar to George and Bloom's (1997) construct of affection, their responses to my questions about their parenting also diverged from George and Bloom's (1997) construct definition. All the mothers' provided descriptions of their affection that went beyond George and Bloom's (1997) conceptualization. Similar to their daughters, I found the mothers defined their affection as a psychological feeling that included love and care. The mothers also perceived their affection as an ability to maintain a reciprocal relationship between themselves and their daughters. Indeed, more mothers than daughters mentioned a desire to be friends and have an open, highly communicative relationship with their daughters. The following exemplars illustrate these findings.

Exemplar 1: *"She {daughter} is very nice to me, she pays attention to me in everything, she asks my opinion and it's like she accepts me. Before I would tell her what to do and she would act as though she was the one that knew everything and I didn't." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 2: *"I think you need to sit down to talk and ask your daughter what is happening with her. Sometimes I tell {daughter's name} that I see that she looks down, and I say to her "Lets see, we're going to talk. What is bothering you, what is happening with you? Look, tell me. I'm your friend, I am your mother, look, forget that I am your mother, pretend that I am a friend of yours and talk to me"" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"Well, you need to be your daughter's friend. That is principal to be her friend before being her mother. She {daughter} can get disoriented and find in a*

friend what she doesn't have at home" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.

The measurement and qualitative findings suggest that the construct of affection defined by George and Bloom (1997) was an internally reliable indicator that had validity for some of the mothers from the in-depth interview sample. Yet, the qualitative findings also show that the mothers viewed their affection towards their daughters on a deeper level. The mothers perceived affection not as a unilateral but rather as a bilateral practice conducted by themselves and their daughters.

Girls' Personal Meanings for Neighborhood Crime. In comparison with the mothers, I did not find with the girls' scale-based data significant associations among neighborhood danger and the girl factors and/or outcomes. However, during the in-depth interviews 28% of the girls spontaneously described a relation between the level of danger in their neighborhoods and their mothers' parenting. The following exemplars illustrate this finding.

Exemplar 1:

Girl: "…she {mother} told us that when she was 14, she used to come home like 11 o'clock at night and her mother didn't have a problem with it as long as she called, but when we was 14, we couldn't go, we couldn't come home at that time."

Interviewer: "Oh, why do you think that is?"

Girl: "Because it's more dangerous over here. And people are crazy over here." – 17 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar 2: *"…the streets are dangerous and you shouldn't be coming at that time." – 20 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Although some of girls mentioned a link between neighborhood crime/danger and parenting, the majority did not. One could argue that this finding is due to my in-depth interview questions not explicitly asking the girls' to describe their perceptions of the relation between neighborhood characteristics and parenting. Further research is necessary to determine whether the girls view neighborhood crime/danger as an influence on their mothers' parenting.

Concordance Between the Mothers' and Daughters' Perceptions

The findings I presented in the previous sections indicated that perceived maternal affection significantly influenced the girls' mental health symptoms. Earlier research has found that Latinas value collectivity and concordance within the family (Harrison et al., 1990). Next, I present my results on the analyses I conducted to examine whether and how the concordance between the urban Latina girls' and their mothers' perceptions of the mothers' parenting influenced the girl outcomes.

Research Question 3: How does the concordance between the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the mothers' affection influence the girls' ethnic identity, depression, and anxiety?

Measurement Issues. Before I addressed my third research question with SEM, I examined the correlations between the girls' and mothers' scores for each item in the affection subscale (George & Bloom, 1997). I found that girls' and mothers' ratings for the affection subscale items were mostly non-significantly correlated (see Table 12 for the mother-daughter correlation by item for the affection subscale). Due to the lack of significant mother-daughter correlations, I examined the frequencies of the girls' and mothers' responses for each item. With the affection subscale, I found there was little

variation among the mothers' ratings (for four out of the five affection items, the mothers' responses were significantly positively skewed with a kurtosis level of three or higher). A large majority of the mothers perceived their affection parenting practice very highly (e.g., responding "Very True" to such item statements as "I enjoying talking things over with my daughter" and "I am very happy when I am with my daughter").

In comparison, there was great variation among the girls' ratings for each of the affection items (all the kurtosis levels for the girl items were below two). This finding helps explain why most of the girl and mother ratings for each affection item were uncorrelated. My attempts to normalize the distribution of the mothers' responses by using a square root and/or log transformation were unsuccessful and their responses remained significantly positively skewed.

Given the lack of significant correlations between the mothers' and girls' ratings for the George and Bloom (1997) affection subscale items and the low variation among the mothers' reports, I could not follow my intended plan of exploring how the concordance between the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' affection influenced the girl outcomes through the use of SEM. A fundamental component of SEM involves testing of patterns of correlations among a set of variables to explain as much of their variance as possible with a hypothesized model (Kline, 2005). This SEM component can be understood as being based on a correlation/covariance matrix (Little & Card, 2005). Because there was little to no variation among the mothers' ratings for the George and Bloom (1997) parenting subscales items, I could not test a concordance model with SEM.

Although most of the mothers' and girls' ratings for each item in the George and Bloom (1997) subscale of affection did not significantly correlate, I found there were significant mean level differences between the mothers' and girls' ratings for each item (see Table 13). Similar to earlier research examining the effects of parent-adolescent concordance on adolescent outcomes (Gonzales et al., 1996: Howard et al., 1999), I decided to use these differences between the girls' and mothers' ratings for the subscales' items as a measure of discordance. Next, I analyzed how this discordance influenced the girl outcomes of ethnic identity and current symptoms of depression and anxiety. I created one constructs that consisted of the average of the differences between the girls' and mothers' item ratings across the affection subscale. The construct for discordance on affection had a mean of 3.35 (*SD* = .67). The frequencies for the scores within each construct were normally distributed (with a range of 1 to 4) and showed wide variation.

Because my new discordance construct consisted of continuous scores, I was able to conduct regression analyses in which the independent variable (the discordance on the affection construct) and the girl covariates (age at time of follow up interview, previous mental health symptoms, immigrant, generational status, and family socioeconomic level) were entered simultaneously. I present the results from these analyses in the following sections.

Regression Results on Discordance of Perceived Maternal Affection. I first conducted a regression analysis in which discordance of affection was the independent variable, the girls' age, previous depression symptoms, immigrant, generational status, and family socioeconomic level were analyzed as covariates, and the girls' current

depression symptoms was the outcome. I found this regression model did not adequately fit the data, $R^2 = .16$, $F(5, 46) = 1.78$, $p = .14$.

Next, I conducted a regression analysis similar to the one above except here I replaced the girls' depression symptoms with their anxiety symptoms as the outcome and included their previous anxiety symptoms as one of the covariates. I found this model did not adequately fit the data, $R^2 = .07$, $F(5, 46) = .64$, $p = .67$.

In the following regression models, I used the discordance between the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' affection as the independent variable, the girls' age, immigrant, generational status, and family socioeconomic level as covariates, and the girls' sense of ethnic identity as the outcome. I found that the regression models that used the ethnic identity indicators of group esteem and exploration did not adequately fit the data (F values were non-significant). The only regression model that fit was with the indicator of group involvement, $R^2 = .12$, $F(5, 93) = 2.58$, $p = .03$. The significant predictors of the girls' ethnic group involvement was their discordance with their mother on the affection subscale items ($\beta = 20$, $t = 1.98$, $p = .05$) which suggested that more discordance was associated with more group involvement. In addition, I found that, as with the girl SEM analyses, family level socioeconomic status was significantly linked with the girls' group involvement ($\beta = .25$, $t = 2.47$, $p = .01$) that indicated that girls with higher socioeconomic status reported a greater sense of ethnic group involvement.

Although earlier research with Latino families (Harrison et al, 1990) has found that Latinos value concordance within the family, my results indicated that concordance between the Latina girls and their mothers about the mothers' affection did not have a significant impact on the girls' mental health. In the following sections, I review my

findings from the qualitative data analysis I conducted that addressed my fifth research question in which I explored how the girls' and mothers' responses to the in-depth interview questions adhere to other family practices/values that have been previously established with Latino families.

Family Practices/Values

Research Question 5: How do the mothers and daughters maintain or adhere to traditional Latino family values and practices, such as familism, respeto, strict gender roles, and avoidance of conflict with family members? First, I review the findings from the girl qualitative data and then I present the results from the mothers' qualitative data. I organized the findings here in accordance to the coding scheme I used to analyze the girls' and mothers' words or utterances in terms of Latino and American family values (see in Table 14). The breakdown in percentages of girls and mothers who used words or utterances across the various codes is shown in Table 15.

Familism – Girl results. A large majority of the girls' responses contained words or utterances I coded as conceptualizations of familism. These girls described feeling close and strongly identified with their immediate and extended family. This finding is illustrated in the following exemplars.

Exemplar 1: "*And we're like more open, we, we like, like talking to our family, we, we're real close to our family members and stuff. And other families like they won't even talk to their grandmothers and stuff, so I think we have a good, a good race or a good, I don't know, like it's good to be Latin." – 16 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.*

Exemplar 2:

Girl: "Yeah, they {extended family} live here, they live on my block, on my block."

Interviewer: "Oh, okay. So do you get to see your aunts, uncles?"

Girl: "Yeah, all the time, we're like a real close family" - 16 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.

In addition, many of the girls talked about helping their families by watching their younger siblings or doing chores in the house, as shown in the following quote. *"Yeah, cause, I mean, I don't do nothing bad, like in the house I help her out, you know, I have been, I have a job and everything, I go to work and I always tell her where I go and who I go with" – 18 year old girl of Mexican descent.*

Familism – Mother results. In comparison to the girls, a small group of mothers (see Table 15) used words or utterances that could be coded as familism. Of these mothers, many described feelings of closeness and reliance on their family members for emotional and financial support as shown in the following exemplars.

Exemplar 1:

Mother: "Yeah, so that's how, you know, we grew up, myself and my brothers and sisters, with my mom but my grandmother was pretty much in charge of a lot of the parenting."

Interviewer: "Okay. Did your grandmother live with you?"

Mother: "She would, I would say yeah, she would only be like 6 hours out, she would, uh, come in the morning at 6, prepare breakfast for us, she would cook lunch, breakfast, lunch and dinner and then we would go to church, and from church we would drop her off at her home and I would stay over with her or we would take turns cause she was uh, uh, she was a single widow" – Mother of Puerto Rican descent..

Exemplar 2. Here a different mother described how she managed after getting divorced from her daughter's father*: ".....it was very hard, and if I didn't have the*

support of my sisters and my brothers, I mean because they came to the rescue. Many times financially, emotionally supporting me, uh, I wouldn't have made it…." – Mother of Puerto Rican descent

Exemplar 3: *"Yes, I would say that I follow the pattern my mother taught me as it relates to providing a home for my family. My mother was always responsible for maintaining the home, kitchen, children, and I practically follow the same pattern. Right at this moment I just got home from work, I already put away my bag and jacket, and now I'm in the kitchen preparing dinner. I'm not in the habit of ordering a pizza, I meet my responsibilities of the home and family" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

The majority of the mothers did not use terms related to familism. Instead, I found the mothers' national origin emerged as playing a greater role in how the mothers described their family values and parenting. All of the mothers discussed how immigration to the U.S. had affected their parenting practices and relationships with their children. The following are exemplars of this finding.

Exemplar 1: *"We moved from Peru when she was two years old…..it was really difficult, really difficult when both parents have to work and I thought life here was how it was back in my country. But now I know that it's not and so that is why I am always vigilant with {daughter's name}." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Peruvian descent.*

Exemplar 2. When asked what advice she would give a mother who had just moved to her neighborhood with a daughter the same age as her daughter, this mother said *"I would tell her not to give her children everything they ask for because this is a*

country that overwhelms you. Ok, it shines a light in your eyes and so don't give them everything, give them what is necessary because you have to meet their needs, but do so within limits, with limits…" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar 3. A different mother gave the following advice to a newly arrived mother: *"If she has just arrived here, to a new country, an unknown world….it's hard because in our country there is a much more human quality. More than just knowing your next-door neighbor. There your aunt lives around the block from you, your cousin lives down the street. You know your entire community, many of them are your family members and everyone helps each other. Life here is very different, you can't knock on your neighbor's door and ask "I'm going to leave my child alone, can you please watch her". That does not exist here. We're in a country in which if you have just arrived, well you can't bother anyone because everyone lives their own lives and you have to pull yourself up and maybe you're clawing at the walls…trying to make it however you can, but never bothering anyone. The less you bother the better…" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Ecuadorian descent.*

Avoidance of conflict – Girl results. Along with notions of familism, I found that most of the girls described their relationships with their families, especially their mothers, as being harmonious and lacking in conflict. When probed to recall specific instances of conflict, the majority of the girls would describe only *one* instance of arguing with their mothers. The following exemplars illustrate this finding.

Exemplar 1: "Yeah, she's been the same, really, like I, I never really had any problems with her because I'd always do what she said. I never broke any rules or anything like that". – 16 year old girl of Dominican descent.

Exemplar 2.

Interviewer: "And then when she would say that, would you usually just agree with what she said?"

Girl: "Well, in the minute no, but you know, right there, when, the moment that she tells me no, but, um when I, you know like, I think about it good, I'd be like "Oh yeah, you know she's right, you know maybe something will happen to me" so I think yeah, she's right" – 18 year old girl of Mexican descent.

Exemplar 3. *"Yeah, she let me go to my friend's house in Bushwick. I was like "Oh my God, let me leave before she changes her mind" (laughs), so….but like it didn't really bother me, the whole going out by myself thing" – 20 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Avoidance of conflict – Mother results Similar to the girls, most of the mothers described their relationships with their daughters as harmonious. The following quote captures this finding.

Interviewer: "Then you never had a discussion with her about wanting to go out and you not letting her?"

Mother: "Thank God no, we haven't. She is a very calm girl, very humble, and has been like this her whole life. We hope that she continues to be like this." – Mother of Mexican descent.

Respeto – Girl results. Of the girls, a small group used words or utterances that I coded as conceptualizations of respeto. The following exemplars show this finding.

Exemplar 1: *"That's your father, you have to respect him, everybody else, no matter where you live, you could, you could still have to love him because that's your*

father, you know, you're gonna love him anyway, you know, um, I still love him unconditionally, I might not LIKE the person he is or what he has done, but I still love him, I still respect him, that's not gonna change" – 18 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar 2. Here a girl described how ethnic groups differ in child-parent relationships, which I coded as respeto. "*…and she {girl's friend} was just screaming at her mother like it was okay, like her mother was talking to her, telling her something, I don't remember, and she was just screaming at the lady, and I was like "Oh my God, you're crazy," I would, you know (laughs)…I wouldn't even dare to speak to my mother that way, but she was, you know, it was like it was okay, and the mother didn't really say anything. She was like "Oh, just be quiet," and she just walked away, but, I'm mean, I'm sure every White person isn't like that, but that girl, she was just screaming at her, and I was like "{Friend's name}, what's wrong with you? Be quiet" (laughs).*

Respeto – Mother results. In comparison, I found more mothers used utterances related to respeto. These mothers described it as an important behavior and attitude towards family members. The following are exemplars of this finding.

Exemplar 1: *"She is educated, well behaved, and respectful. I tell her she needs to respect older people and children." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Peruvian descent.*

Exemplar 2: *"…we always had to use the formal 'you' (usted) and nowadays to their own parents they use the informal you (tú), "Look here, look mami, give me this", do you understand? In our times we spoke to our elders with usted, to this day I say usted*

to my mother and so, yes, things have changed a lot and we used to have some fear of our parents..." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.

Exemplar 3: *"...my parents taught me respect. Although my father was not around a lot, my stepmother raised me right. She taught me to be well behaved, and she never hit me. She would always tell me "look mami, this is how it's done" and you know she gave me a good education" {meaning here is a proper upbringing and being taught good manners} (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Discouragement of independence – Girl results. A small group of girls mentioned their families' discouragement of their independence. The following quote illustrates a girl's conceptualization. *"Yeah because like, my mother, most of the time she doesn't let us have mistakes, you know, she just, like if we're, we're thinking about doing something or going a certain place or whatever it is, she says "Oh, don't do this because it's bad, and you can do this and this and this …." You know? "This, this could happen," like she doesn't let me learn from my mistakes, she's always telling me "Oh I did, I went through this and I, this and this is what happened to me," so she doesn't let me do it." – 19 year old girl of Dominican descent.*

Discouragement of independence – Mother results. Similar to the girls, less than half of the mothers used words or utterances I coded as discouragement of girl's independence. The following exemplars illustrate this finding.

Exemplar 1:

Mother: "Yes, she wants to go out. Sometimes her friends invite her to go to the movies or just to go outside, but I tell her she cannot".

Interviewer: "So all her free time she spends it at home?"

Mother: "Yes, she spends it here" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar from a different mother: *"I haven't given her much freedom, she has wanted as much freedom as I had growing up, but I try to communicate with her. To tell her about the dangers she could find in the streets." (translated from Spanish) - Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Strict gender roles – Girl results. Almost half of the girls used words or utterances I coded as notions of strict gender roles. Many of these girls described the inequity between girls and boys, the special privileges and freedom given to their brothers, and men in general. In addition, I unexpectedly found that many of these girls discussed gender roles in terms of sexual relationships. The following quotes exemplify these findings.

Exemplar 1:

Interviewer: "Okay, well do you think your brother gets any sort of…"
Girl: "Special treatment? Of course! He's the boy! (laughs). My father lets him go everywhere, everywhere, and he's only, he's 15, he'll be 16, but like, he'll be, he'll ask to go somewhere, even if it's to my family, okay, he, when I was 15, if I wanted to sleep over at my cousin's house, I couldn't." – 17 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.

Exemplar 2: *"Um, I did more chores, I, I guess so, like he {her brother} cleaned his room but the kitchen and all the other stuff, we would do it, me and my mom." – 16 year old girl of Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 3. This is a girl's answer to my question as to why she thinks her mother doesn't let her spend a lot of time outside with her friends: *"Cause she says I,*

since I'm a woman, I could get pregnant, I, and there's so much more, there's so much more of a downside to being a woman if you get pregnant, like, the man might be like "Oh, I don't know you" or they won't give their last name to your kid or something." – 17 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.

It is interesting to note that the girl said "your kid", which reiterated her view that going out alone may lead to pregnancy and having a child without the support of the child's father.

Strict gender roles – Mother results. More mothers than girls used words or utterances I coded as strict gender roles. Similar to girls', the mothers talked about the privileges given to male family members and gender inequity in sexual relationships. The following exemplars illustrate these findings.

Exemplar 1: "*...maybe my husband is a little bit different with the boy, but that's a macho thing, you know, this type of culture or the Puerto Rican, you know that macho man….. He {son's name} thinks it's a boy/girl thing, but he gets a lot of slack from his dad because like I say, you know, in, in our culture, still it's like Dinosaur Age, we have a lot of men that still carry with that "Oh, we the man of the house" (laughs slightly) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 2: *"Yes, many people say that men just because they are men have the right to do anything they want and women don't."(translated from Spanish) – Mother of Mexican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"Men always get more freedom and sometimes it seems that there are some mothers who have no shame because they don't tell their sons it's their responsibility. You're 18 years old, you have to do what is right and if you have a*

girlfriend you better treat her right and know how to prevent pregnancy….some mothers say "that is not my problem, if my son gets some girl pregnant well that is not my problem because the woman is the one who has to raise that child". I say that is not right because the man, just as much as the woman, has that responsibility in life." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Ecuadorian descent

American Family Practices/Values: Absence of strict gender roles – Girl results. The majority of the girls used word or utterances that described their homes and/or families as egalitarian or lacking of strict gender roles. All of these girls responded that they were not treated differently from their brothers nor did they feel that their brothers or male family members had more freedom. Interestingly, I found that the girls' perceptions of their families' use of gender roles were dichotomous: either they described their families as enforcing strict gender roles or they did not. The following quotes illustrate how girls' described an absence of gender roles in their families.

Exemplar 1:

Interviewer: "Oh, okay… Do you think she ...what about cleaning up and stuff in the house, does she make him do that too or is it just..."

Girl: "No she makes him do that too. She makes everybody clean. My mother's a neat freak." - 15 year old girl of Dominican descent.

Exemplar 2: *"Um, um, I would say that she treats us all the same, only that she has to take care of the little kids more because of the mistakes they might do, but pretty much it seems like she pays attention to us all equally." – 17 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"Yeah, like one week he {her brother} would take out like the garbage or something and the next week I would do it and washing dishes, like every other day we would do it" – 18 year old girl of Puerto Rican and Dominican descent.*

Absence of strict gender roles – Mother results. Similar to the girls, I found the mothers' views of the enforcement of strict gender roles were divided. Many of the mothers' words or utterances I coded as notions of strict gender roles were those that they prescribed to other people, society, or the Latino culture. When I examined the mothers' responses to my questions about the division of labor and chores in their own household, most used words or utterances that represented an absence of strict gender roles. The following quotes exemplify this finding.

Exemplar 1: *"Well in my country I had a servant and I never made them {her children} do any chores in the house. When we moved here, between my husband and I we would clean because we want our kids to study." (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Peruvian descent.*

Exemplar 2: *"I treat them equally because I think that both men and women need to be responsible." – (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 3: *"…I do think that there are parents that treat their sons and daughters differently, but I have always thought that boys and girls have the same rights…..but, yes there are many parents that treat them….you notice the difference." – Mother of Mexican descent.*

Independence from family – Girl results. Almost all of the girls used words or utterances that captured their desire or reality of being independent from their families. As mentioned previously, some of the girls said that their families were discouraging

them from being independent. The majority of the girls were allowed to have some freedom. However, the amount, conditions, and reasons for their freedom varied widely among the girls. The following exemplars emphasize this result.

Exemplar 1:

Interviewer: "Okay and does she ever, does she let you go out with your friends alone?"

Girl: "Yeah."

Interviewer: "Why do you think she lets you go out?"

Girl: "Cause she trusts me."– 15 year old girl of Ecuadorian descent.

Exemplar 2: *And, um, basically, that's it, that I… that I'm good at making like important decisions that, you know, that I should be making on my own, she knows that I would come to her if I have to, but I think, I think that she thinks that I'm like capable of doing it on my own." – 18 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 3: "*Also because, um, all my friends are telling her together that I'm growing up and that she has to give me more freedom….so…because if she gives me more freedom then there's more of a chance for me to talk to her and not run away or something like that. Yeah, cause if she keeps me locked up inside the house, I'm just gonna rebel against her or whatever so she's giving me freedom." – 15 year old girl of Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 4:

Interviewer: "And why was it until you were 15?" {that mother allowed her to go out alone}

Girl: Well, I guess cause she felt like that, um, I was mature enough to go outside. And now she treats me like an adult." – 18 year old girl of Dominican descent.

The exemplars above show the relation between girls' independence and their mothers' perceptions of them as trustworthy and mature or, as demonstrated with the third exemplar, the mothers' fears of their daughters rebelling. Additionally, most of these girls mentioned their age, work, and college status as the reasons as to why their mothers would grant them independence.

Independence from family – Mother results. In comparison to the girls, less than half of the mothers expressed a desire for or encouragement of their daughters' independence from the home. Although I found there were more mothers who encouraged their daughters to be independent than mothers who discouraged, the majority of the mothers' words or utterances could not be coded in either category. This means that 53% of the mothers *did not* describe encouraging their daughters' independence and 60% *did not* describe discouraging their daughters. I think this finding reflects the mothers' ambivalence towards their daughters' independence. The following exemplars from the same mother illustrate this finding.

Exemplar 1:

Interviewer: "And does {daughter's name} complain that you do not let her go out with her friends?"

Mother: "Yes, sometimes she reproaches me because of it….And sometimes she gets kind of angry with me, but later it goes away."

Interviewer: "So she has never rebelled against you? Has she ever run away or ….?"

Mother: "No, thank God."

Exemplar 2: Later in the interview *"…sometimes I feel bad and I say what I am doing is a little wrong because I need to, at least, let her go out and give her time alone,*

right? Tell her "you can go out" so that she will know how to desenvolverse {develop, or separate from mother/family}….I think that I am doing things wrong……but, I don't know…..I'm afraid" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.

Another mother discussed how difficult it is for her to promote her daughter's independence: *"Well look, I treated {older daughter's name} more strongly, with a lot of strength, and with {name of daughter who is the subject of interview} since she was the youngest, the baby, well I raised her with a lot of childishness, babying. She is now 20 years old and doesn't want to leave my skirt, you know how it is. My other daughter calls me, she lives in Puerto Rico, and she tells me "mami let go of the baby, let her go, she is no longer a baby", but… you know, its hard" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Puerto Rican descent.*

Conflict with family – Girl results. Most of the girls described one or more situations in which they would argue or become angry with their parents or mothers because they were not seen as individuals or allowed to make their own decisions. The following exemplars highlight this finding.

Exemplar 1: *"….I'm like, you know, um, "I wanted to do that" and they're {her parents} like "Oh, why you didn't say anything?" "But I did say something, you're just not listening to me" and like the same thing with college, like I wanted to start college like now, like THIS year, I started last year, but I wanted to start now, I wanted to take a break…So, I messed up in school because, because of that… I messed up a little over there, you know, I think it would have been better if I would have started now."– 18 year old girl of Puerto Rican descent.*

Exemplar 2:

Interviewer: "Okay. And when you were younger, when you were 16, say, did you ever, uh, rebel against it {her mother's curfew}?"

Girl: "I did it once (laughs slightly) and I regretted it cause my mother was really pissed off at me…my mother's the kind of person that if she, she's mad at us, she just, she won't talk to us, she would just like, she won't let us explain anything, she won't talk to us or nothing, she wouldn't even look at us, so we'll be punished and she would not talk to us at all for any reason."

Interviewer: "Oh. And that time, how did you get punished, did you get grounded?"

Girl: "Yeah, I was just able to go to school and back." – 19 year old girl of Dominican descent.

Conflict with family – Mother results. In comparison to the girls, I found that less than half of the mothers' talked about conflict with their daughters as shown in the following exemplars.

Exemplar 1: *"…there is always a time when girls start to want to go out with their friends alone. A while ago my daughter was like this, she would come home late, but it was because she was friends with a girl who was influencing her to be like that and she became rebellious" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

Exemplar 2 from a different mother: *"When she started going out with her friend, when she was around 16, at that age when girls start to get agitated and wanting to go out, we did not get along because I would have to punish her. We would fight every Saturday…" (translated from Spanish) – Mother of Dominican descent.*

Overview of the Qualitative Findings Used to Address Research Question 6

Overall, I found that my coding scheme was a good tool to analyze the in-depth, qualitative data from the girls and mothers (see Table 15). I found familism and avoidance of conflict with significant family members characterized the utterances from a high percentage of the girls while respeto and strict gender roles characterized a high percentage from the mothers. The girls adhered to the traditional Latino family value of familism by expressing positive identification with their families and feeling close and connected to their immediate and extended family members. A large majority of the girls discussed avoiding conflict with their parents or mothers by accepting and following their rules and decisions. Indeed when I probed, most girls reported only one instance of conflict.

Although the majority of the girls used words or utterances that could be coded within the global category of Latino family values, many used terms that fit within the global category of American family values. Ninety-four percent of the girls discussed wanting or having independence from their families. This finding revealed a tension between the girls' feelings of identification with their families while also yearning for freedom to make their own decisions.

Across the specific Latino family codes, more mothers than daughters talked about adhering to respeto. These mothers felt that respecting parents, family members, and other people was an important tradition they wanted to transmit to their children. Moreover, I found that a high percentage of the mothers mentioned strict gender roles. Interestingly, the manner in which the mothers described strict gender roles was divided between their negative appraisal of families or husbands, and/or the Latino culture for

valuing such roles and the mothers' individual beliefs and practices of gender equity. In fact, when I asked how they divided household chores amongst their children most of the mothers said their sons and daughters did an equal amount of work (they described an absence of strict gender roles). These mothers also conceptualized gender roles in terms of sexual relationships; many discussed how both men and women should be responsible in preventing pregnancy and/or raising children. In the following Discussion section, I provide greater explanation and interpretation for all of my findings.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of my dissertation study was to address and explore five research questions. In the following sections, I briefly summarize how my results answer each question. Next, I provide explanations and interpretations of my findings within the context of the theoretical frameworks I used to guide my dissertation research. This is followed by the implications of my findings, limitations of my dissertation research, and directions for future studies.

Summary of Results

Research Question (1) How do the macro-level factors of girls' immigrant/generational status, family socioeconomic level, neighborhood danger/crime, and exposure to community violence directly and/or indirectly impact the micro-level factor of perceived maternal affection and the girl outcomes of ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety while including the covariates of the girls' age and prior levels of depression and anxiety?

I found that all of the macro-level factors, except for neighborhood danger, influenced the girl outcomes. The strongest predictors of girl adolescent depression symptoms were exposure to community violence, perceived maternal affection, and generational status, while the only significant predictor of the girls' anxiety symptoms was perceived maternal affection. The girls' sense of ethnic identity was strongly linked to their immigrant status, socioeconomic level, and exposure to violence. In addition, the association between generational status and exposure to community violence was significant. I found that perceived maternal affection had a beneficial impact on the girls'

mental health; girls who rated their mothers as more affectionate reported a lower count of depression and anxiety symptoms.

Research Question (2) How do the macro-level factors of mothers' immigrant/generational status, socioeconomic status, level of neighborhood danger/crime, and maternal perceptions of neighborhood context (measured here by mothers' self-reports on the level of neighborhood collective efficacy) directly and/or indirectly influence the micro-level factor of acculturation and the mothers' outcome of their perceptions of their control of their daughters?

I found that the significant predictors of the mothers' control of their daughters were: (1) the level of danger/crime in their neighborhood, (2) their level of acculturation, (3) socioeconomic status, and (4) marital status. The macro-level factors of immigrant and mothers' perceptions of neighborhood collective efficacy did not significantly impact the mothers' control.

Although the research question above did not include the mothers' perceptions of their affection, I conducted a second SEM model with the mothers' quantitative data that replaced control with affection to examine how the various macro-and micro-level factors impacted the mothers' perceptions of their affection to their daughters. I found that none of the factors significantly influenced the mothers' affection.

Research Question (3) How does the concordance between the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the mothers' affection influence the girls' ethnic identity and symptoms of depression and anxiety?

Concordance between the girls' and their mothers' perceptions of maternal affection was significantly linked with only one girl outcome, ethnic group involvement.

Research Question (4) Do the mothers' and girls' personal meanings of maternal affection and control converge with the construct definitions of the subscales of affection and control developed by George and Bloom (1997)?

I found that the majority of the girls' personal meanings of maternal affection converged with George and Bloom's (1997) construct definition of affection. Moreover, I found with measurement/reliability analyses that the girls' and mothers' responses to the items in the George and Bloom (1997) affection subscale were internally consistent. The quantitative and qualitative results suggest that the George and Bloom (1997) construct of affection was reliable and most likely a valid measure of perceived parental affection with the urban Latina girls in my sample. Although the reliability analyses showed good internal consistency among the mothers' responses to the affection subscale items, most of the mothers' answers to the open-ended in-depth interview questions did not contain terms or concepts similar to those of the George and Bloom (1997) construct definition for affection. This mixed nature of the findings indicates that more research is necessary to determine how urban Latina mothers define their affection of their daughters.

In comparison to the results on affection, most of the girls' personal meanings of maternal control diverged from George and Bloom's (1997) definition of the construct. In addition, the unacceptable reliability alpha levels from the girls' responses to the control subscale items suggested that the George and Bloom (1997) measure of perceived control was unreliable. The qualitative findings suggest that the George and Bloom (1997) construct did not apply to the Latina girls in my sample. Although the reliability alphas levels among the mothers' responses to the control subscale items were good, few of the mothers in the in-depth interview sample spontaneously used terms similar to the George

and Bloom's (1997) construct definition. Again, more research is required to understand how urban Latina mothers and girls view maternal control.

My qualitative findings support the relation I found with my SEM analysis of the mothers' scale-based data. More than half of the mothers in the qualitative, in-depth interview sample spoke about the link between neighborhood danger and their control of their daughters.

Research Question (5) How do the mothers and daughters maintain or adhere to traditional Latino cultural family values and practices such as familism, respeto, strict gender roles, and avoidance of conflict with family members? As mentioned earlier, I found that the urban Latina girls and mothers in my sample maintained the traditional Latino family values by: (A) expressing positive identification with their families, (B) avoiding conflict with significant family members, (C) feeling that respeto was an important behavior (especially for the mothers), and (D) questioning the use of strict gender roles (most of the mothers and daughters negatively appraised families, or husbands, and/or the Latino culture for valuing such roles). In addition, I found that the mothers and daughters used concepts that can be characterized as American family practices/values such as independence from family and absence of strict gender roles. Both the Latino and American family value codes were extremely useful in approaching and understanding the data from my sample of urban Latina girls and their mothers. Most of the girls used words or utterances that fit within the Latino family value of avoidance of conflict. However, many of these girls also used terms that I characterized as the American value of independence. I found that the girls' longing for independence was not frequently overt in the form of a conflict or argument, but rather it was manifested as an

internal, unexpressed struggle. This internalized conflict or tension can be explained by Zavala-Martínez' (1994) notion of *entremundos,* which is the experience of being caught between two worlds, forced to "forge multiple identities within these contexts...while simultaneously adapting to the taxing demands of a constantly changing, highly urbanized technological society" (p. 30). The qualitative findings suggested that many of the Latina girls in my sample were functioning between two or more value and belief systems. Thus, they adhered to some of the Latino family values, while also desiring and/or following the American value of independence from family. Perhaps this tension of being *entremundos*, of outwardly accepting their mothers' control in order to avoid conflict while also desiring greater freedom, was associated with the urban Latina girls' anxiety and depression symptoms. One could argue that higher levels of perceived maternal control could lead to greater tension and internalized symptoms as the Latina girls' have to negotiate between two very distinct cultural frames of reference (Latina and American).

Explanations and Interpretations of the Results.

My findings allowed me to thoroughly examine my research questions. In line with prior research, I found that the girls' exposure to community violence was a risk factor for the girls (it was significantly linked to their depression symptoms). In addition, I found that perceived affection was a significant, positive micro-level factor in the lives in the Latina girls in my sample (more affection was associated with less symptoms of depression and anxiety). Because of the lack of internal consistency among the girl responses to the George and Bloom (1997) control subscale items, I was unable to examine whether the quantitative construct I used for neighborhood danger/crime (Gershoff et al., 2004) influenced the girls' perceptions of maternal control. However, with the mothers' scale-based data I did find a significant, positive link between neighborhood danger and mothers' reports of their control of their daughters. These findings suggest that perhaps neighborhood danger only impacts Latina maternal parenting practices and not the Latina girls' *perceptions* of their mothers' parenting. Or it may be that neighborhood danger does influence the girls' perceptions of their mothers' control as measured by reliable indicators and/or other parenting constructs (such as monitoring). More research is needed to address these important questions.

I was surprised to find that the mothers' sense of neighborhood collective efficacy did not impact the mothers' controlling parenting practice. I measured collective efficacy with the Sampson et al. (1997) Collective Efficacy Scale which tapped into the mothers' perceptions of the social and organizational characteristics of their neighborhood. I had expected a negative relation between the mothers' sense of collective efficacy and their control of their daughters. My findings do not support this expectation; the mothers' use

of control was not a function of their sense of neighborhood collective efficacy. Perhaps the mothers in my sample did not perceive a connection between neighborhood collective efficacy and their parenting practices. One could argue that high rates of collective efficacy were insufficient for the mothers in my sample to use less controlling parenting practices (e.g., these mothers *did not* rely on their neighbors to control their daughters' behaviors).

Although I did not find a relation between the mothers' sense of neighborhood collective efficacy and their parenting practices, I found that the mothers' socioeconomic status had a significant impact on the mothers' collective efficacy (mothers who were less educated showed a higher level of collective efficacy). This result suggests that mothers with lower socioeconomic status relied and trusted their neighbors more than mothers with a higher socioeconomic status. Perhaps for poorer mothers neighborhood collective efficacy was an important factor in their lives. Although collective efficacy did not significantly affect the Latina mothers' parenting practices of control and affection, it could be linked to other parenting constructs (such as monitoring) and/or the mothers' sense of security or well-being. Perhaps mothers with a higher socioeconomic status have the financial means to live in neighborhoods where collective efficacy (e.g., informal social control, trust, and reciprocated exchange among neighbors) is not necessary. It may be that mothers with a higher socioeconomic status rely on formal channels of neighborhood control (i.e., police and other officials). These interesting questions require further testing.

I found that many of my scale-based quantitative results were supported by the qualitative findings. For example, I found with the mother SEM model a negative relation

between acculturation and the parenting constructs of control (less acculturated mothers rated themselves as more controlling than the more acculturated ones). As I found while coding the qualitative data, most of the less acculturated mothers' responses indicated that they valued the traditional Latino notion of discouragement of their daughters' independence and that they did not experience conflict with their daughters (the girls did not rebel against the mothers' use of control). One could argue that the less acculturated mothers felt that control was a positive parenting practice that would not lead to conflict with their daughters. Perhaps the mothers' personal understandings were that control was a necessary practice for raising an adolescent age daughter. This idea merits further research.

Another qualitative finding that provided further evidence for the scale-based SEM results was the mothers' perceptions of the link between neighborhood danger and their control. The majority of the mothers from the in-depth interview sample spoke about such a link.

The quantitative finding I was unable to address with the qualitative data was the positive association between marital status and the parenting construct of control. The question remains as to why the mothers who were married or in a couple rated themselves as more controlling than the single mothers. I found that less acculturated mothers were more likely to be married or in an unmarried couple than more acculturated mothers. Given that the less acculturated mothers valued the traditional Latino notion of discouragement of their daughter's independence and perceived themselves as being more controlling than the more acculturated mothers, one could argue that the more acculturated *single* mothers were the least likeliest to perceive themselves as controlling.

However, this argument needs to be tested with a larger sample of urban Latina mothers that includes more acculturated mothers than did my sample. In this manner, one could examine how marital status and acculturation independently and relatively influence the Latina mothers' use of control.

The quantitative factor of neighborhood crime was not significantly associated with any of the girl factors or outcomes. However, I did find that the girls' self-reports of their *exposure to community violence* strongly and negatively influenced their mental health. As mentioned earlier, this finding supports and extends previous research with urban minority adolescents (in this and other samples) that have indicated a negative relation between exposure to violence and adolescent adjustment (Aber et al., 2004; Allen et al., 1998; Ceballo et al., 2001).

I found the association between the Latina girls' family level socioeconomic status and their exposure to violence was non-significant. Thus, I cannot argue that a lower socioeconomic status posed a risk for the girls in my sample to be exposed to community violence. Previous research has found an association between poverty and neighborhood level disadvantage which, in turn, has been linked to urban adolescents' exposure to violence (Gershoff & Aber, 2004; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). My dissertation did not include neighborhood level factors other than crime/danger. To understand how socioeconomic status indirectly influences the urban Latina girls' well-being, further research needs to be conducted that includes a variety of neighborhood level factors (such as institutional and program resources for youth, after school programs, educational and work opportunities, and so forth).

Although I did not find the girls' socioeconomic status directly and/or indirectly influenced their mental health symptoms, I found that the girls' socioeconomic status did significantly and positively predict the girls' sense of ethnic identity. Because most studies that have examined urban minority adolescents' ethnic identity development have not focused on this relation (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999), it is difficult to explain why the Latina girls who reported a higher socioeconomic status showed a greater sense of ethnic identity. Perhaps this relation is due to the girls' parents' marital status since my indicator for the girls' socioeconomic level was based on their parents' employment status. I considered Latina girls who had two parents who worked full-time as showing a higher socioeconomic level than those girls who reported only one parent as working full-time. Further research must include the Latina girls' family level income along with their reports of their parents' marital status to understand how their socioeconomic status and parents' marital status independently and relatively influence the girls' sense of ethnic identity. Perhaps Latina girls who live with two parents are socialized more strongly about their ethnic background and, therefore, show greater ethnic identity than Latina girls who live with a single parent? This idea supports my finding with the mothers' quantitative data that married mothers were less likely to be acculturated. It may be that Latina mothers who are married feel that marriage is part of their Latino cultural beliefs and values and they transmit this belief onto their daughters? I will examine this interesting question in future research.

My dissertation showed the girls' perceptions of their mothers' affection were strongly linked to their mental health symptoms. This supports previous research that indicates perceived maternal affection is a strong predictor of adolescents' internalizing

mental health symptoms (Galambos et al., 2003; George & Bloom, 1997). Furthermore, my findings expand the parenting-adolescent literature by showing the George and Bloom (1997) construct of affection was a reliable and valid measure for most of the urban Latina girls in my in-depth interview sample.

Surprisingly, my findings do not support previous research on the positive relation between parental affection and adolescent ethnic identity. These studies consisted of samples of mostly European American, Jewish American, African American, and Mexican American youth (Davey et al., 2003; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Perhaps the association does not apply to urban Latina girls? This question must be explored with further research.

My findings on the lack of internal consistency among the girls' reports with the George and Bloom (1997) control subscale provides evidence for prior research on the effects of parental control that has indicated that control should be conceptualized as two separate dimensions, one is behavioral control (defined here as "regulation of the child's behavior through firm and consistent discipline", Galambos et al., 2003, p. 578) and the other is psychological control (defined here as "control of the child's behavior through psychological means such as love withdrawal and guilt induction", Galambos et al., 2003, p. 578). Although George and Bloom (1997) consider their construct of control to tap into parents' behaviors of monitoring their children by setting specific limits on their activities away from home, one could argue that their subscale items for control seem to represent more than one factor or construct which perhaps includes Galambos' et al., (2003) notion of psychological control. Indeed, two of their items include the term "worry" (e.g., "I

worry that my child cannot take care of her/himself" and "I worry about my child when s/he is away").

Studies that have examined the effects of psychological control on adolescents' mental health tend to view psychological control as an intrusive, manipulative parenting practice that can interfere with an adolescent's psychological and emotional development (Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). Research has found a significant positive relation between psychological control and adolescents' internalizing symptoms such as depression and anxiety (Silk et al., 2003). More research is necessary to determine whether the George and Bloom (1997) construct of control consisted of one or more factors. Future research should also include other measures of perceived control to explore how psychological control and behavioral control independently influence Latina girls' functioning.

My dissertation project extends previous research findings on the detrimental effects of exposure to community violence and the beneficial influence of maternal affection on adolescents' mental health symptoms while also supporting the use of innovative and mixed methods. Most studies use the individual as the unit of analysis which provides a single viewpoint and analytic framework. In comparison, I examined the concordance between the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' affection and found that concordance between the girls and their mothers on the mothers' affection was significantly related to the girls' sense of ethnic group involvement (more concordance was associated with less group involvement). This finding seemed counterintuitive. Perhaps the Latina girls in my sample who disagreed with their mothers' affection felt more motivated to become involved with their ethnic group? This

strange finding may be due to measurement error (such as the little to no variation in many of the mothers' ratings of the affection items) or another unknown factor and merits further analysis.

More research needs to be conducted using a variety of constructs to examine the effects of Latina girl-mother concordance on girl outcomes. This research would allow us to determine whether the notion of Latinos having a collectivistic, or inter-dependent, orientation (Harrison et al., 1990; Vázquez García et al., 2000) is beneficial for Latina girls and their families. Future studies with Latinos and other ethnic groups that value collectivity should consider the level of concordance, or agreement, between the adolescents and their parents.

My dissertation builds on research of Latino family practices/values (Vázquez García et al., 2000). Although my qualitative in-depth interviews did not explicitly elicit the girls and mothers to talk about situations in their lives that involved *respeto, avoidance of conflict with family members, familism, strict gender roles*, or *discouragement of child's independence,* these notions and codes spontaneously emerged during the interviews. All the Latina mothers and girls who participated in the in-depth interviews used at least two Latino family practices/values in their responses. This signifies that these family practices/values that were developed with other Latinos applied to my sample of urban Latina girls and mothers. My qualitative results also show that American family practices/values (Harrison et al, 1990) were important to the girls and their mothers. The majority of the girls and their mothers mentioned at least one American family practice/value (most of the girls used two: desiring independence from family and discussed at least one instance of conflict with their mothers). These findings

suggest that research in the United States with ethnic minority groups should consider the groups' ethnic family values along with American ones. No matter how strongly an ethnic group feels about their ethnic family values, they are exposed to mainstream American practices/values and may feel inclined to adopt them.

In addition, my dissertation supports theorists' claims (Garza & Gallegos, 1985; Vázquez García et al., 2000) that differences in demographic and social factors can be tied to variations amongst Latinos. I found strong evidence for intragroup variations in the associations among factors and outcomes both for the girl and mother samples (e.g., differences in socioeconomic, immigrant, generational, and marital status were linked to variations in the girl and mother outcomes). This shows that the Latina girls and their mothers were not homogenous groups.

The use of the qualitative, in-depth interview data provided an excellent tool to thoroughly understand my quantitative findings. By using a discourse analytic framework, I was able to explore how the girls' and mothers' personal meanings converged or diverged with the definitions of the constructs I used in my quantitative analyses (for example maternal affection and neighborhood crime/danger). Additionally, the qualitative analyses allowed the emergence of unexpected themes and concepts. Along with respeto, gender roles, and neighborhood danger, the mothers' national origin and immigration to the U.S played an important role in how they viewed their parenting of their daughters. (Of the 15 individual mothers who participated in the qualitative interviews, 13 were born outside of the U.S). The majority of the mothers described feeling that the U.S was very different from their country of origin, a more dangerous and

tempting place for their adolescent daughters in which they had to use a high level of control to prevent their daughters from getting hurt or engaging in risky behaviors.

Although the qualitative findings show that George and Bloom's (1997) conceptualization of affection was valid for a majority of the Latina girls in my in-depth interview sample, they suggest that affection and especially control need to be considered in a more complex and flexible manner. Both the mothers and daughters described how the mothers' control and affection changed as a function of the daughters' age, employment status, home (whether she lived at home or had moved away for college), and/or parent status (if the girl had a child). Moreover, I found that the mothers and daughters viewed parenting as collaborative and reciprocal; affection and control were practiced not only by the mothers for their daughters' sake, but also by the daughters for their mothers'. The positions of daughter and mother would shift in that the mothers would express a desire for their daughters' acceptance and assurance of their behavior. This may explain why many of the mothers described wanting or being their daughter's friend. This finding supports the notion that concordance, or a mutual understanding between the mothers and daughters, can be an important factor in Latina mother-daughter relationships.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

Theoretical and Methodological Implications

My dissertation research supports many theorists' contentions that we must first test constructs developed with mainstream, European American middle class adolescents and families with minority samples before assuming that they are generalizable and applicable (Allen & Mitchell, 1998; Fisher et al., 1998; McLoyd, 1998). I found with the girl data that some of the concepts I drew upon from previous, mainstream studies were internally consistent and functioned in the same direction as shown in other research. My findings imply that research with urban Latina girls can use the concepts of immigrant, generational status, family socioeconomic level, exposure to violence (Richters & Saltzman, 1990), perceived maternal affection (George and Bloom, 1997) and anxiety and depression (C-DISC Development Group, 2000). However, I recommend first pilot testing these scale-based constructs and conducting reliability assessments before assuming they are reliable measures with all Latina girls. My findings indicate that the George and Bloom (1997) construct of perceived maternal control was not a reliable or valid measure. This construct especially requires further testing with a larger sample of urban Latina girls.

In comparison to the girls, I did not find that many of the constructs from previous research applied to my sample of mothers. For example, most of the mothers in the qualitative sample did not independently generate descriptions of their control and affection as conceptualized by George and Bloom (1997). These findings imply that the George and Bloom (1997) constructs probably did not fit within the mothers' personal understandings. However, further research must be conducted with a larger sample of

urban Latina mothers to understand if and how there is a lack of convergence between the George and Bloom (1997) definitions for the constructs and the mothers' own definitions of affection and control.

Applied Implications

Aside from theoretical and research implications, my dissertation has several, important applied ramifications for social and mental health programs and policies designed to help Latina girls and their mothers. First, such programs must include the girls' family members especially their mothers or parents. As I found, the girls' perceptions of their mothers' affection had a significant positive effect on the girls' mental health symptoms. Social workers or mental health service providers should conduct counseling sessions with both the girls and their mothers to assist them in understanding each other and how they both feel about the mothers' parenting. These sessions should also help the mothers to realize that their parenting might be based on being afraid because they perceive the U.S or their local environment as unfamiliar and dangerous.

Second, programs with Latina girls should use a bicultural approach in which Latino national histories and family practices/values such as familism and respeto, along with American values, such as independence, are equally treated as important cultural frames of reference or orientations. I found in the qualitative interviews that the girls felt a tension between their two cultural orientations (of identifying and feeling close with their families while longing for, or being, independent). I think service providers should not negate one cultural orientation at the expense of the other but rather help Latina girls negotiate between the two by teaching critical thinking skills (e.g., to formulate thoughts

such as “There are some things I like about being Latina and there are some things I like being an American”).

Third, interventions aimed at urban Latina girls need to consider the structural and ecological factors (such as exposure to violence) that pose an increased risk for girls to develop negative outcomes. I found that exposure to violence had an extremely detrimental effect on the girls’ mental health. However, this problem cannot be fixed at the individual, girl level. Policymakers need to focus on the structural factors that are the precursors and systemic to the perpetuation of community violence such as neighborhood level disadvantage, segregation, and discrimination. This implication is outside the scope of my dissertation, but merits further consideration.

LIMITATIONS OF DISSERTATION RESEARCH

There are certain areas in my dissertation research that limit the extendibility of my findings, specifically: design issues, generalizability, statistical problems, and measurement error. I review each of these limitations in the following sections.

Design Issues

As mentioned previously, my dissertation research involved secondary analyses of data already collected from a study of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP). This study had two parts (an evaluation when the children were in elementary school and an adolescent follow up) and aimed to evaluate the short-and long-term effects of RCCP on participants' social, emotional, and academic development. My sample of Latina girls (n = 200) and mothers (n = 101) comes from the larger RCCP study. Therefore, I was limited in sample size and did not have enough girls and mothers across the various Latina subgroups to make valid subgroup comparisons. Because I used already collected data, I could not design the sample criteria to include more Latina girls and mothers and equal representation amongst the Latina subgroups. The low number of girls and mothers of Mexican, Central American, and South American descent prevented testing of my theoretical assumption that the girls' and mothers' distinct national origins *did not* play a role in differences among the girl and mother outcomes. I argued that grouping the girls and their mothers into a pan-Latino sample was valid because in areas such as New York City there is frequent contact of Latinos from various national origins and there were issues that unite the various subgroups (such as use or knowledge of the Spanish language and immigration rights). I did examine differences among the girls and

mothers due to their immigrant and generational status, however, in future studies I need to explore if and how variations in national origins influence factors and outcomes.

Another limiting design issue involves the cross-sectional nature of my dissertation research. This study included the girls' mental health symptoms collected at two time points (during their middle childhood and adolescence) but the majority of my variables were drawn from the girls' adolescence. Thus, my study did not use a complete longitudinal design and I cannot explain my results in a casual manner. It is unknown whether the directions of my associations in the SEM models are accurate (perhaps there is reverse causation or another, unknown variable is causing both the independent and dependent variables). While I controlled for confounds by linking the girls' age and middle childhood mental health scores to their current adolescent outcomes and by connecting several of the mothers' demographic and social factors, still I can not argue that any the relations I found to be significant are casual.

Generalizability

My study is limited in that I focused on a sample of urban Latina girls and their mothers. Although my sample was statistically adjusted to be representative of the population in New York City of Latina girls and their mothers, my findings should not be applied to Latina girls and their mothers who live in rural or suburban areas. Moreover, my findings are not generalizable to Latino boys or non-Latino youth.

Statistical Problems

As mentioned earlier, my sample of Latina girls and their mothers was small. Although I was able to conduct all of my planned SEM analyses, a larger sample size would have given me more power to detect significant associations among the girl and

mother factors and outcomes that I did not find in this study. In addition, a larger sample size would have allowed me to conduct a SEM analysis of a model that included all of the girl and mother macro-and micro-level factors and outcomes. My study was limited because to perform such an analysis I would have to drop 50% of the girls (I had scale-based maternal data for only 50%, or 101, of the girls).

Moreover, such an analysis would require an increase in the number of variables in the SEM model which would raise the degrees of freedom and decrease the number of free parameters. With the sample size of 101 and an augment to the number of variables, it is highly unlikely that this model would converge. Moreover, as I found with the concordance analyses there were little to no significant correlations among the mothers' and girls' reports. An integrated mother and girl SEM model entails correlating the items from multi-raters of the same method or measure. Perhaps with a larger sample I would find more significant correlations among the girl and mother items. This assumption requires further testing.

Furthermore, because of small sample size I was unable to conduct multi-level modeling statistical analyses. Such an analytic framework would have allowed me to test for moderation and nested effects. In order to analyze the how the Latina girls were nested within their families and how their families were nested within neighborhoods I would have needed to conduct multi-level modeling. With future research I hope to work with a larger sample of Latina girls and their mothers so I can explore moderation, the influence of nested factors on the girl and mother outcomes, and an integrated mother and girl SEM model.

Measurement Error

The method I used for coding my qualitative interviews needs to be evaluated. As of yet, I have not conducted an inter-rater reliability check of the codes I used in my qualitative analyses because this requires translating to English from Spanish the majority of the mother in-depth interviews and hiring someone to conduct a blind reliability check.

Another limitation in my dissertation involves the wording of the George and Bloom (1997) items for affection and control. While the girls were asked to report on their parents the mothers were reporting on their daughters. All the girls in my sample claimed that their mothers were actively a part of their lives (98.5% said that their mother or female caregiver such as a grandmother, stepmother, aunt, or older sister was one of two people they felt were the most responsible for their care and emotional needs). Given these findings, I assumed that when the girls rated their parents they were thinking about their mothers or both their mothers and fathers. However, the results from my analyses of the concordance between the girls' and their mothers' perceptions are somewhat susceptible because there was a mismatch in the wording of the George and Bloom (1997) subscale items. This may explain why the correlations between the girls and their mothers for most of the George and Bloom (1997) items were non-significant.

The lack of significant findings on the analyses I conducted examining the effects of concordance between the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' parenting practices may also be due to the mothers' experiencing strong social desirability to appear as "good mothers" (e.g., "I am happy when I am with my child", "I worry about my child when she is away"). Although all the mothers in my sample were told of the confidential nature of their reports, it could be that many mothers did not want the

interviewer to judge them as ineffective parents. Or perhaps the mothers sincerely felt that all of the items applied to them. I found little to no variation among the mothers' responses for many of the items, particularly among the immigrant mothers. Further research needs to be conducted in which the social desirability among the mothers' reports is controlled or lessened.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

My dissertation research presents an important, initial step in understanding urban Latina adolescent development. Although my study addresses several key areas, many questions remain, such as: What factors influenced the mothers' affection? Did the mothers' sense of neighborhood collective efficacy significantly influence other parenting practices, such as monitoring or use of lax punishment?

These outstanding questions indicate that more research needs to be conducted with urban Latina girls and their mothers. Researchers should pilot test constructs developed from mainstream European American parents with Latina mothers and parents before including them in large scale studies. In addition, future research should examine how other parenting factors such as monitoring and attachment influence the Latina girl outcomes.

As indicated previously, future research should examine how the factors in my dissertation may have *moderated* the associations I found among the girl and mother outcomes. Perhaps maternal control or affection moderates the impact of exposure to violence on the girl outcomes. Another interesting question is whether the girls' level of ethnic identity moderates the association between the maternal parenting practices and the girl outcomes.

In addition to pilot testing constructs with more urban Latina mothers and girls, quantitative research with urban Latina samples should include an acculturation scale that is based on factors that go beyond language preference. Given my qualitative results, studies with Latina girls also need to include a bicultural orientation scale or an

acculturation/enculturation scale to examine how levels of biculturalism, acculturalism, and enculturalism and influence the girl outcomes.

Future research should also consider using a dyadic unit of analysis to explore how concordance impacts *mother outcomes*. My qualitative findings indicated that concordance or harmony between the mothers and daughters was important not only for the girls, but for the mothers as well. Most of the mothers mentioned wanting their daughters' approval or assurance that they were being good mothers (i.e., wanting their daughter to view them as a friend could signify a desire to be seen as an equal). This is an incredibly interesting finding that requires further analysis.

In summary, I plan to design a future study that builds upon the findings of my dissertation and addresses its limitations. In particular, I would work with a larger sample of urban Latina girls and their mothers that included an equal distribution of the various Latino national subgroups (e.g., Puerto Rican, Dominican, Mexican, and so forth) to analyze intragroup differences based on national background. Also, a larger sample would allow me to conduct multi-level modeling to test for moderation and nesting/cluster effects which could lead to finding significant links between neighborhood danger and the girl factors.

In addition, along with the George and Bloom (1997) affection subscale, I would use other parenting measures that tap into the girls' and mothers' perceptions of the mothers' behavioral control, psychological control, and monitoring. Using the qualitative findings, I would pilot test a scale-based measure of affection that included bidirectional or reciprocal items (for example with girls: "I enjoy when my mother talks to me about

her problems", and for mothers: "My daughter comforts me when I have problems or difficulties").

To minimize the potential social desirability the mothers' may feel to appear as "good mothers" I would include an observational study with a subsample of mothers and daughters to examine their dyadic interactions (this could consist of an analysis of their body language, eye contact, conversation, and other observational criteria).

Moreover, in a future study with urban Latina mothers and girls I would include scale-based measures of acculturation/enculturation that focused on more characteristics than language preference (such as food and media likes/dislikes) to examine how the mothers' and *girls*' level of acculturation/enculturation influenced the mother and girl outcomes. Drawing on my qualitative findings about the girls' and mothers' use of Latino and American family practices/values I could add to established acculturation/enculturation scales items related to familism, avoidance of conflict with significant others, respeto, independence from family, and so forth.

In addition, I would explore how the macro-and micro-level factors I used my dissertation research impacted positive girl and mother outcomes (such as prosocial behaviors, social competence, academic and future aspirations).

In Conclusion

My dissertation formulated and tested conceptual models that linked various theoretical frameworks and research approaches. It presented a comprehensive examination of the risk and protective factors in the lives of urban Latina girls and their mothers. I found that the macro-levels factor of immigration influenced the micro-level factors of Latino cultural beliefs, mothers' level of acculturation, and maternal affection,

which, in turn, affected the girls' mental health. In addition, I found that the macro-level factor of exposure to community violence had a negative impact on the girls' symptoms of depression. My study supports the developmental-ecological-contextual theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Lerner, 1989) and shows the need to use a variety of methodologies and conceptual frameworks. Developmental research must go beyond traditional approaches by increasing the representation of understudied groups (such as Latina girls), testing the reliability and validity of previously developed constructs, and formulating culturally relevant theories. Only then can we understand the factors involved to create educational and social policies that indeed improve the lives of Latina girls and their mothers.

APPENDIX 1

In-depth Interview Questions for the Girls:

1) What are your parents like? Particularly your mother? Probes: how does she usually punish you when you do something she feels is wrong? Does she let you go out with your friends alone? Why or Why not?
2) What does your mother think about you?
3) How has her opinion of you changed over time? Probes: Do you think she thinks of you differently than when you were younger, say in elementary school?
4) Has she changed the way she treats you now compared to when you were in elementary school? How has she changed from a year ago? Did you/do you still get along with her? Can you give me an example?
5) How does your mother treat you differently from your sibling? Brother? Sister? Can you give me an example?
6) How does being a member of your ethnic group affect the way your mother treats you?
7) Has your mother talked to you about how she was brought up? Do you think she wants to raise you the same way? Can you tell me some stories you know about when she was growing up in {*insert participant's mother's country/neighborhood of origin*}?
8) Were her parents strict with her? How about with her brothers or other siblings? Can you give me an example?
9) Do you think your mother is trying to raise you the same way she was raised or differently? How so?
10) How do you think your being {*insert participant's ethnicity}* has affected your relationship with your mother? Or the way she treats you?
11) Do you think that mothers from different ethnic groups treat their daughters in a way that is different from how your mother treats you?
12) What are some things your mother does that you like? Dislike?
13) How do you think you will raise your own daughter? The same or differently than your parents/mother?

For the mothers, in English:

1) How were you raised? Probes: How did your parents discipline you? Do you think that their way of treating you was the same or different than other parents in your community {*insert the name of the mother's hometown*}? Give me some examples.
2) How would you describe your relationship with your daughter?
3) How have you changed the way you are raising your children/your daughter from the way your parents raised you? Can you give me some examples?
4) Do you feel that you are raising your children differently depending upon their age and/or gender? *If applicable*: do you treat your son(s) differently than your daughter? Do you treat your other daughters differently than [*insert daughter's name}*? Why? Can you give me some examples?
5) What advice would you give to a mother with a teenage daughter the same age as {*insert participant's daughter's name}* who has just moved here to New York City?

** The translation into Spanish for the Spanish-speaking mothers of the project was approved by the WIRB in Jan. 2002.

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Table 1

Internal consistency of the SPI subscales used during girls' middle childhood and cross-time correlations for girl depression and anxiety symptoms from middle childhood to adolescence (SPI with C-DISC IV).

	Internal Reliabilities		Cross-subscale Correlation	Cross-time Correlations	
Subscale Group	Depression	Anxiety	Depression with Anxiety	Childhood with Adolescent Depression	Childhood with Adolescent Anxiety
Entire Sample[a]	.76	.74	.45**	.13**	.17**
Latina Girls[b]	.79	.73	.53**	-.06	.04
Immigrants[c]	.79	.84	.80***	-.01	-.12
First Generation[d]	.71	.67	.74***	.04	-.00
Second Generation[e]	.72	.82	.45**	.00	.03

[a]$N = 908$. [b]$n = 200$. [c]$n = 38$. [d]$n = 90$. [e]$n = 73$

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

Table 2

Descriptive information for all girl quantitative scales.

	Entire Sample[a]		Latina Girls[b]		Immigrants[c]		1st Gen[d]		2nd Gen[e]	
Scale	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
SPI										
Anxiety	1.31	.28	1.37	.29	1.42	.29	1.45	.31	1.26	.22
Depression	1.49	.27	1.50	.26	1.45	.28	1.52	.25	1.52	.25
Neighborhood Violence										
Violent crime	4.55	2.49	4.09	2.18	4.43	2.00	4.10	2.18	3.89	2.27
Youth arrests	10.36	5.30	10.16	4.82	10.93	4.12	10.49	5.12	9.38	4.84
Substantiated cases of child maltreatment	2.64	1.60	2.27	1.45	2.61	1.43	2.30	1.57	2.06	1.32
Number of youth deaths	0.68	0.29	0.71	0.33	0.68	0.27	0.77	0.38	0.65	0.29
CDISC-IV										
Anxiety	4.30	2.45	5.06	2.46	4.49	2.46	5.18	2.36	5.26	2.54
Depression	8.27	4.61	9.23	4.73	7.82	4.83	9.97	4.67	9.31	4.62

[a]*N* = 708 (excludes Latina girls in my simple). [b]*n = 200*. [c]*n* = 38. [d]*n* = 90. [e]*n* = 73.

Table 2 - continued

Descriptive information for all girl quantitative scales.

	Entire Sample[a]		Latina Girls[b]		Immigrants[c]		1st Gen[d]		2nd Gen[e]	
Scale	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Ethnic Identity										
Ethnic Group Esteem	3.50	0.48	3.62	0.43	3.65	0.49	3.62	0.42	3.60	0.40
Exploration of Ethnic Group	2.57	0.74	2.61	0.74	2.78	0.64	2.62	0.77	2.50	0.75
Group Involvement	3.11	0.86	3.24	0.89	3.43	0.79	3.20	0.85	3.17	0.97
Exposure to Violence										
Witnessing	5.33	2.51	4.57	2.37	3.78	2.15	4.54	2.41	5.06	2.35
Victimization	2.77	2.08	2.00	1.77	1.51	1.42	1.79	1.59	2.49	2.00
Colorado Parental Scale										
Affection	3.28	0.65	3.35	0.72	3.42	0.63	3.38	0.75	3.28	0.74
Control	2.80	0.63	3.11	0.55	3.15	0.49	3.18	0.59	3.01	0.56

[a]$N = 708$ (excludes Latina girls in my sample). [b]$n = 200$. [c]$n = 38$. [d]$n = 90$. [e]$n = 73$.

Table 3

Correlation matrix with girl scale-based factors for entire sample of Latina girls[b] .

	Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Girl Age	1.00							
2	Family level Socioeconomic Status	-0.16*	1.00						
3	Immigrant Status	0.14	0.14	1.00					
4	1st Generation American	-0.36**	-0.03	-0.49**	1.00				
5	2nd Generation American	0.22**	-0.10	-0.47**	-0.54**	1.00			
6	Middle Childhood Anxiety Symptoms	-0.24	-0.07	0.05	0.27*	-0.31*	1.00		
7	Middle Childhood Depression Symptoms	-0.27*	-0.03	-0.10	0.09	-0.01	0.53**	1.00	
8	Neighborhood level - Violent crime	0.08	0.10	0.08	-0.02	-0.05	-0.06	-0.10	1.00
9	Neighborhood level - Youth arrests	0.06	0.13	0.06	0.03	-0.09	-0.08	-0.03	0.91**
10	Neighborhood level - Child Abuse cases	0.06	0.13	0.14	-0.02	-0.12	-0.07	-0.11	0.95**
11	Neighborhood level - Number of youth deaths	-0.11	-0.01	-0.03	0.19*	-0.16*	0.07	0.16	0.43**
12	Adolescent Anxiety Symptoms	-0.11	-0.02	-0.27**	0.15*	0.11	0.04	-0.02	-0.09
13	Adolescent Depression Symptoms	0.00	0.05	-0.17*	0.17*	-0.01	-0.05	-0.06	-0.07
14	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Esteem	0.13	0.21**	0.12	-0.08	-0.03	0.18	-0.09	0.15*
15	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Exploration	-0.04	0.26**	0.20**	-0.06	-0.13	0.21	0.09	0.13
16	Ethnic Identity - Group Involvement	0.20**	0.14*	0.04	-0.03	-0.01	0.07	-0.06	-0.05
17	Exposure to Violence – Witnessing	0.08	-0.08	-0.12	-0.07	0.19**	-0.11	-0.14	0.05
18	Exposure to Violence - Victimization	0.04	-0.07	-0.14	-0.16*	0.30**	-0.13	0.02	0.04
19	Perceived Parenting - Affection	-0.02	0.05	0.17*	-0.02	-0.14	-0.02	-0.13	0.09
20	Perceived Parenting - Control	-0.06	0.13	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.16	0.23*	0.00

[b] *n = 200*

Table 3 – continued

	Factor	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Girl Age								
2	Family Socioeconomic Status								
3	Immigrant Status								
4	1st Generation American								
5	2nd Generation American								
6	Middle Childhood Anxiety Symptoms								
7	Middle Childhood Depression Symptoms								
8	Neighborhood level - Violent crime								
9	Neighborhood level - Youth arrests	1.00							
10	Neighborhood level - Child Abuse cases	0.88**	1.00						
11	Neighborhood level - Number of youth deaths	0.35**	0.48**	1.00					
12	Adolescent Anxiety Symptoms	-0.06	-0.12	-0.19**	1.00				
13	Adolescent Depression Symptoms	-0.05	-0.09	-0.02	0.63**	1.00			
14	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Esteem	0.17*	0.15*	-0.02	-0.06	0.06	1.00		
15	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Exploration	0.17*	0.09	0.00	-0.01	0.15*	0.49**	1.00	
16	Ethnic Identity - Group Involvement	-0.04	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.34**	0.29**	1.00
17	Exposure to Violence - Witnessing	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.14	0.34**	0.13	0.27**	0.04
18	Exposure to Violence - Victimization	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.11	0.40**	0.17*	0.28**	0.04
19	Perceived Parenting - Affection	0.11	0.11	0.07	-0.34**	-0.31**	0.10	0.07	-0.03
20	Perceived Parenting - Control	0.04	-0.03	-0.15*	0.10	0.07	0.15*	0.21**	-0.09

Table 3 – continued

	Factor	17	18	19	20
1	Girl Age				
2	Family Socioeconomic Status				
3	Immigrant Status				
4	1st Generation American				
5	2nd Generation American				
6	Middle Childhood Anxiety Symptoms				
7	Middle Childhood Depression Symptoms				
8	Neighborhood level - Violent crime				
9	Neighborhood level - Youth arrests				
10	Neighborhood level - Child Abuse cases				
11	Neighborhood level - Number of youth deaths				
12	Adolescent Anxiety Symptoms				
13	Adolescent Depression Symptoms				
14	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Esteem				
15	Ethnic Identity - Ethnic Group Exploration				
16	Ethnic Identity - Group Involvement				
17	Exposure to Violence - Witnessing	1.00			
18	Exposure to Violence - Victimization	0.64**	1.00		
19	Perceived Parenting - Affection	-0.14	-0.13	1.00	
20	Perceived Parenting - Control	-0.16*	0.06	0.26**	1.00

Note. Correlations are based on weighted data (adjusted for sampling bias). *$p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 4
Internal consistency of the C-DISC-IV subscales used during girls' adolescence.

	Internal Reliabilities		Cross-subscale Correlation
Subscale Group	Depression symptoms	Anxiety symptoms	Depression with Anxiety symptoms
Entire Sample[a]	.83	.62	.57**
Latina Girls[b]	.83	.62	.63**
Immigrants[c]	.85	.66	.70**
First Generation[d]	.82	.59	.51**
Second Generation[e]	.81	.62	.54**

[a]$N = 908$. [b]$n = 200$. [c]$n = 38$. [d]$n = 90$. [e]$n = 73$

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

Table 5

Internal consistency of the Ethnic Identity subscales used during girls' adolescence.

	Internal Reliabilities		Cross-subscale Correlations			
Subscale	Group Esteem	Explore	Group Involve[f]	Group Esteem with Explore	Group Esteem with Involve	Explore with Involve
Entire Sample[a]	.70	.71	.27*	.44**	.31**	.38**
Latina Girls[b]	.71	.73	.34**	.49**	.34**	.29**
Immigrants[c]	.82	.59	.40**	.36*	.49**	.15
First Generation[d]	.68	.75	.27*	.47**	.33**	.36**
Second Generation[e]	.65	.76	.38**	.55**	.52**	.54**

[a]N = 908. [b]n = 200. [c]n = 38. [d]n = 90. [e]n = 73. [f]These numbers represent Pearson correlations because there are only two items in this subscale.

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

Table 6

Internal consistency of the Survey of Exposure to Community Violence subscales used during girls' adolescence.

	Internal Reliabilities		Cross-subscale Correlation
Subscale	Witnessing	Victimization	Witnessing with Victimization
Entire Sample[a]	.76	.69	.73***
Latina Girls[b]	.73	.62	.64**
Immigrants[c]	.69	.53	.60**
First Generation[d]	.74	.55	.69***
Second Generation[e]	.71	.66	.63***

[a]N = 908. [b]n = 200. [c]n = 38. [d]n = 90. [e]n = 73

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

Table 7

Internal consistency of the girls' responses to the Colorado Parental Child-Rearing subscales used during their adolescence.

	Internal Reliabilities		Cross-subscale Correlation
Subscale	Affection	Control	Affection with Control
Entire Sample[a]	.81	.56	.40***
Latina Girls[b]	.86	.51	.26**
Immigrants[c]	.79	.47	.17
First Generation[d]	.87	.55	.27*
Second Generation[e]	.87	.49	.25*

[a]N = 908. [b]n = 200. [c]n = 38. [d]n = 90. [e]n = 73

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

Table 8

Descriptive information for all mother quantitative scales.

	Entire Sample[a]		Latina Moms[b]		Immigrants[c]		Born in US[d]	
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Colorado Parental Child-Rearing Scale								
Affection	3.73	.39	3.73	.47	3.72	.52	3.74	.39
Control	2.95	.74	3.40	.63	3.48	.59	3.29	.68
Collective Efficacy								
Informal Social Control	3.57	1.00	3.47	1.15	3.59	1.22	3.29	1.01
Social Cohesion	3.41	.60	3.30	.61	3.35	.57	3.24	.65
Reciprocated Exchange	2.80	0.97	2.65	.99	2.76	1.00	2.51	.97

[a]N = 414 (excludes mothers in my sample). [b]n = 101. [c]n = 59. [d]n = 42.

Table 9

Correlation matrix with mother scale-based variables for entire sample of Latina mothers[b] .

	Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Immigrant Status	1.00									
2	Socioeconomic Status	-0.31**	1.00								
3	Acculturation Level	-0.52**	0.46**	1.00							
4	Marital Status	0.16	-0.20*	-0.46**	1.00						
5	Neighborhood level - Violent crime	-0.14	0.13	0.22*	-0.26**	1.00					
6	Neighborhood level - Youth arrests	-0.08	0.08	0.17	-0.26**	0.93**	1.00				
7	Neighborhood level - Child Abuse cases	-0.08	0.13	0.19*	-0.24*	0.97**	0.91**	1.00			
8	Neighborhood level - Number of youth deaths	0.07	0.16	0.17	-0.28**	0.49**	0.35**	0.53**	1.00		
9	Collective Efficacy - Social Cohesion	-0.04	-0.22*	-0.23*	0.07	-0.01	-0.00	0.05	-0.14	1.00	

Table 9 - continued

	Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
10	Collective Efficacy - Reciprocated Exchange	0.02	-0.37**	-0.32**	0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.05	-0.09	0.67**	1.00			
11	Collective Efficacy - Informal Social Control	0.01	-0.10	-0.14	0.05	0.00	-0.01	-0.00	0.27**	0.12	0.02	1.00		
12	Maternal Affection	-0.13	0.00	0.08	0.09	0.19*	0.18	0.14	-0.02	0.16	0.12	0.12	1.00	
13	Maternal Control	0.09	-0.40**	-0.45**	0.47**	0.01	0.03	0.02	-0.12	0.17	0.28**	0.00	0.21*	1.00

[b]n = 101.

Note. Correlations are based on weighted data that adjusted for sampling bias. *$p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Table 10

Internal consistency of the mothers' responses to the Collective Efficacy subscales.

	Internal Reliabilities			Cross-subscale Correlations		
Subscale	Social Control	Social Cohesion	Recipro Exchange	Social Control with Social Cohesion	Recipro Exchange with Social Cohesion	Social Control with Recipro Exchange
Entire Sample[a]	.82	.84	.82	.23**	.57**	.22**
Latina moms[b]	.87	.85	.84	.12	.67**	.02
Immigrants[c]	.88	.82	.85	.04	.69**	-.18
Born in the U.S.[d]	.84	.87	.83	.28	.65**	.42**

[a]N = 414. [b]n = 101. [c]n = 59. [d]n = 42.

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

Table 11

Results of simultaneously estimated paths from a structural equation model regressing the girl outcomes on neighborhood danger, exposure to violence, perceived affection, immigration/generation status, family level socio-economic status and previous mental health.

				Adolescent Outcomes		
Predicting Variables (rows predict columns)	Neigh Danger	Exp Vio	Affect	Ethnic Id[c]	Dep[c]	Anx[c]
Mid-childhood depression					-.05	
Mid-childhood anxiety						-.02
Age				.12	.05	-.08
Immigrant[a]	.10	-.29	.20*	.30**	.08	-.17
First generation American[b]	.03	-.31*	.08	.19	.31**	.04
Family level SES	.10	-.05	.02	.34**	.12	.02
Neighborhood danger		.09	.08			
Exposure to violence				.45**	.47***	.07
Perceived affection		-.11		.10	-.25**	-.30**

Note: Standardized coefficients are displayed. CFI = .99, RMSEA= .02 (CI ranged .01 and .05), $\chi^2(78, N = 200) = 86.47$, $p = .24$.

Table 11 - continued

[a]For the immigrant status variable, immigrants were the reference group.

[b]First generation girls were the reference group (e.g., first generation vs. non-first generation).

[c]The dependent variables were correlated as follows: depression with anxiety $r = .47$***, depression with ethnic identity $r = -.01$, and anxiety with ethnic identity $r = -.02$.

*$p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. + $p < .10$.

Table 12

Pearson correlations between mothers' and daughters' ratings for each item in the George and Bloom (1997) subscale of affection (five items).

Parenting Scale Item	Entire Sample[a]	Immigrants[b]	1st Gen[c]	2nd Gen[d]
My parents are affectionate with me/I am affectionate with my child.	.15	-.14	.12	.17
My parents enjoy talking things over with me/I enjoy talking things over with my child.	.22*	.10	.10	.33*
My parents comfort me and help me when I have troubles/I comfort and help my child when s/he has troubles.	.06	-[e]	-.03	.15
My parents are very happy when they are with me/I am very happy when I am with my child.	.14	-[e]	.24	.02
My parents smile at me very often/I smile at my child very often.	.06	.09	-.01	.12

[a]n = 101. [b]n = 25. [c]n = 38. [d]n = 38. [e] Could not be computed because all of the immigrant mothers rated this item "Very True". *$p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Table 13

Mean level differences between the girls' and mothers' item scores for affection subscale.

Item	Girl Mean	Girl SD	Mom Mean	Mom SD	T-value & DF
My parents are affectionate with me/I am affectionate with my child.	3.33	.89	3.54	.83	-1.89 (97)
My parents enjoy talking things over with me/I enjoy talking things over with my child.	3.24	.97	3.71	.66	-4.43*** (98)
My parents comfort me and help me when I have troubles/I comfort and help my child when s/he has troubles.	3.41	.90	3.82	.50	-3.98*** (98)
My parents are very happy when they are with me/I am very happy when I am with my child.	3.57	.67	3.88	.41	-4.22*** (98)
My parents smile at me very often/ I smile at my child very often.	3.14	1.00	3.67	.64	-4.53*** (97)

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

Table 14

Coding scheme used to analyze the qualitative data.

Grouping variables

Interviewee's Position (daughter vs. mother).

Global Category: Latino family practices/values

Operational definitions for the following codes based on Andrade (1980), Triandies et al. (1982), and Vázquez García et al. (2000).

1. Familism - the strong identification, loyalty, attachment, and solidarity of individuals with their families. I coded involvement with extended family members (e.g., cousins, aunts, uncles, etc) as part of familism.

2. Avoidance of conflict with significant family members.

3. Respeto - a value and behavior that serves in the preservation of generational and gender role boundaries in families, moderating how individual family members interact based on age and sex.

4. Discouragement of independence.

5. Strict gender roles

Global Category: American family practices/values

Codes:

1. Absence of strict gender roles (operational definition from O'Reilly, 1985).

2. Independence from family, which included descriptions such as "mature", "adult", "responsible", "make my own decisions", and so forth (operational definition from Harrison et al., 1990).

Table 14 - continued

3. Conflict with family members; desire to be individualistic (operational definition from Harrison et al., 1990).

Global Category: Control

Codes:

1. Traditional definition of control – "The extent to which parents take an active role in monitoring the behavior of their children and in setting specific limits on their activities away from home" (George & Bloom, 1997. p.65).

2. Participants' definitions of control.

Global Category: Affection

Codes:

1. Traditional definition of affection – "The extent to which parents express affection and acceptance of their children, enjoy them, and help, support, and praise them" (George & Bloom, 1997, p. 65).

2. Participants' definition of affection.

Global Category: Neighborhood

Codes:

1. General depiction of neighborhood.

2. Link between neighborhood and parenting.

Table 15

Percentages of girls and mothers who used words or utterances by codes.

Code	Percentage of Girls	Percentage of Mothers
Familism	89%	33%
Avoidance of conflict with parent or daughter	80%	53%
Respeto	33%	47%
Discouragement of girls' independence	39%	40%
Strict gender roles	44%	67%
Absence of strict gender roles	56%	60%
Independence from family	94%	47%
Conflict with mother or daughter	77%	47%
Traditional definition of control	22%	27%
Participants' personal definition of control	100%	100%
Traditional definition of affection	50%	27%
Participants' personal definition of affection	94%	100%
General depiction of neighborhood	100%	0%
Link between neighborhood and mothers' parenting	28%	53%
Emerging code: Immigration the U.S., national origins	0%	67%

Figure 1. Girl theoretical model of associations among family level socioeconomic status, girls' immigration/generational status, neighborhood context, violence exposure, maternal parenting practices, and girls' symptoms of depression, anxiety, and ethnic identity.

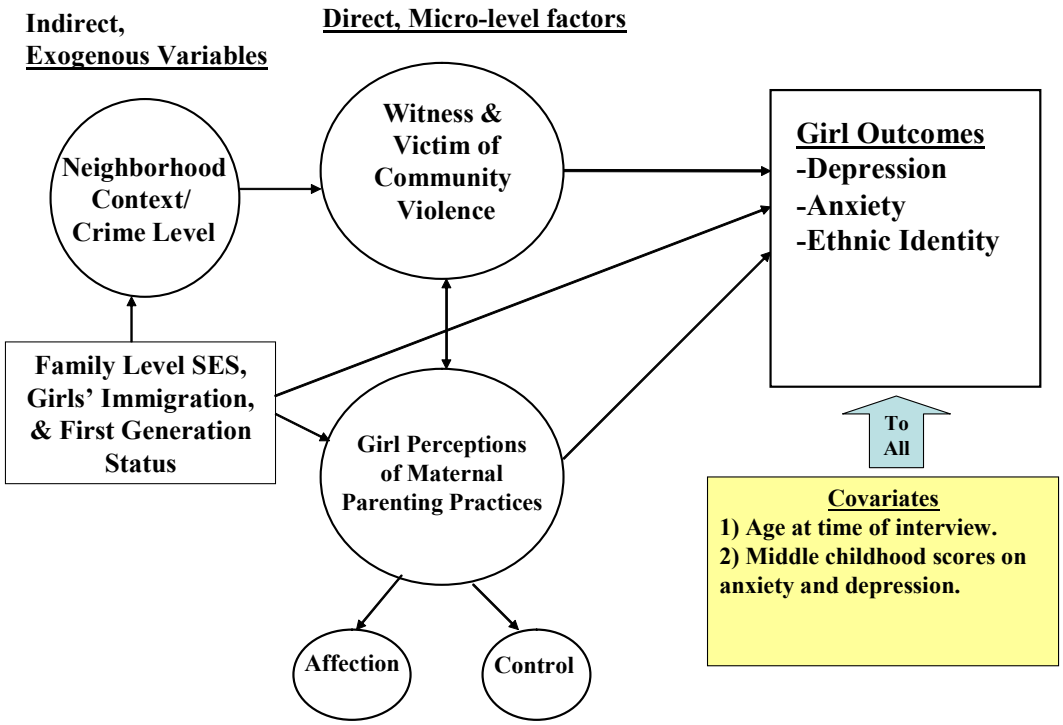

Figure 2. Mother theoretical model of associations among socioeconomic status, immigrant, level of acculturation, neighborhood danger, maternal perceptions of neighborhood collective efficacy, and maternal control.

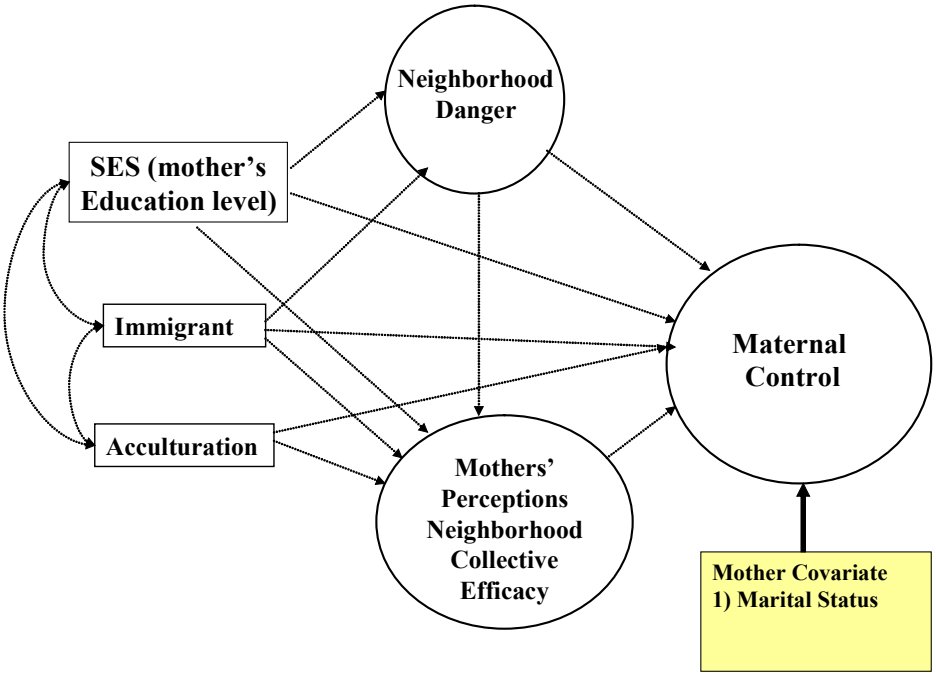

Figure 3. Top ten violent events reported by the Latina girls.

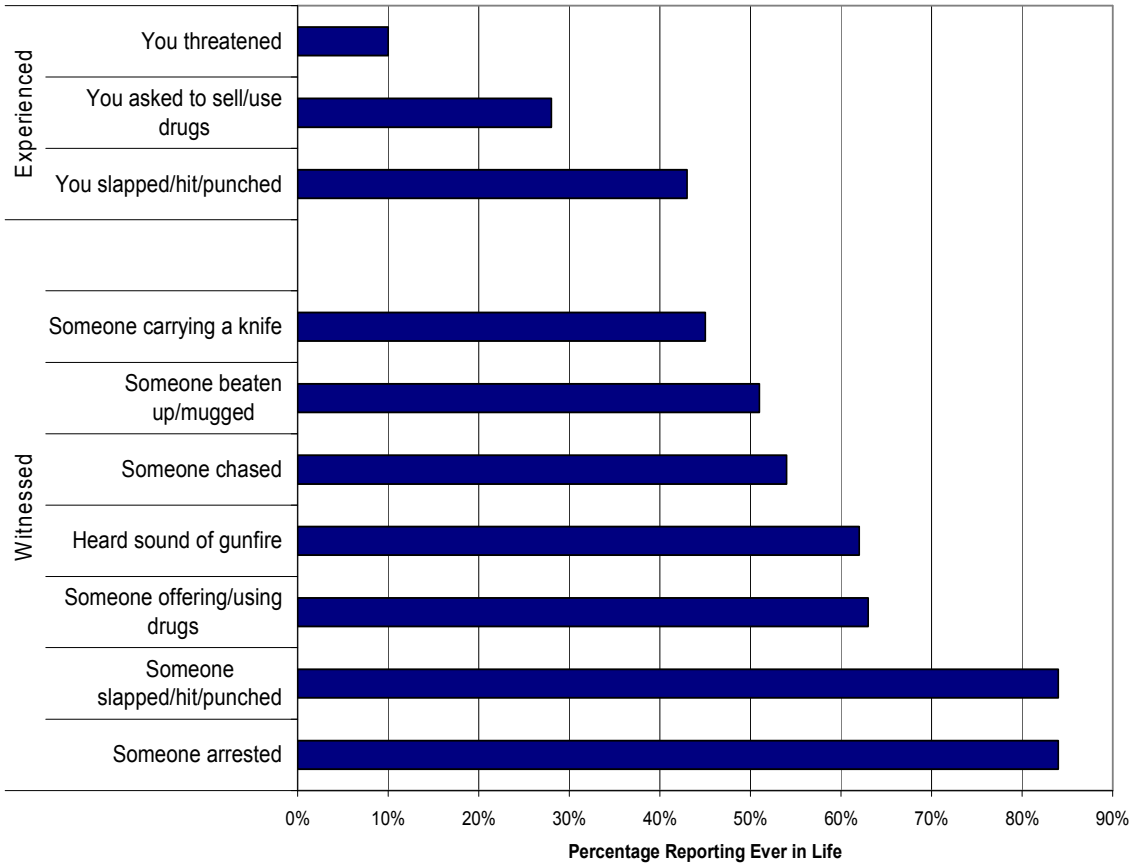

Figure 4. Girl model with standardized parameter estimates representing associations among family level socioeconomic status, girls' immigration/generational status, neighborhood context, violence exposure, perceived maternal affection, and girls' symptoms of depression, anxiety, and ethnic identity. Only significant pathways are shown.

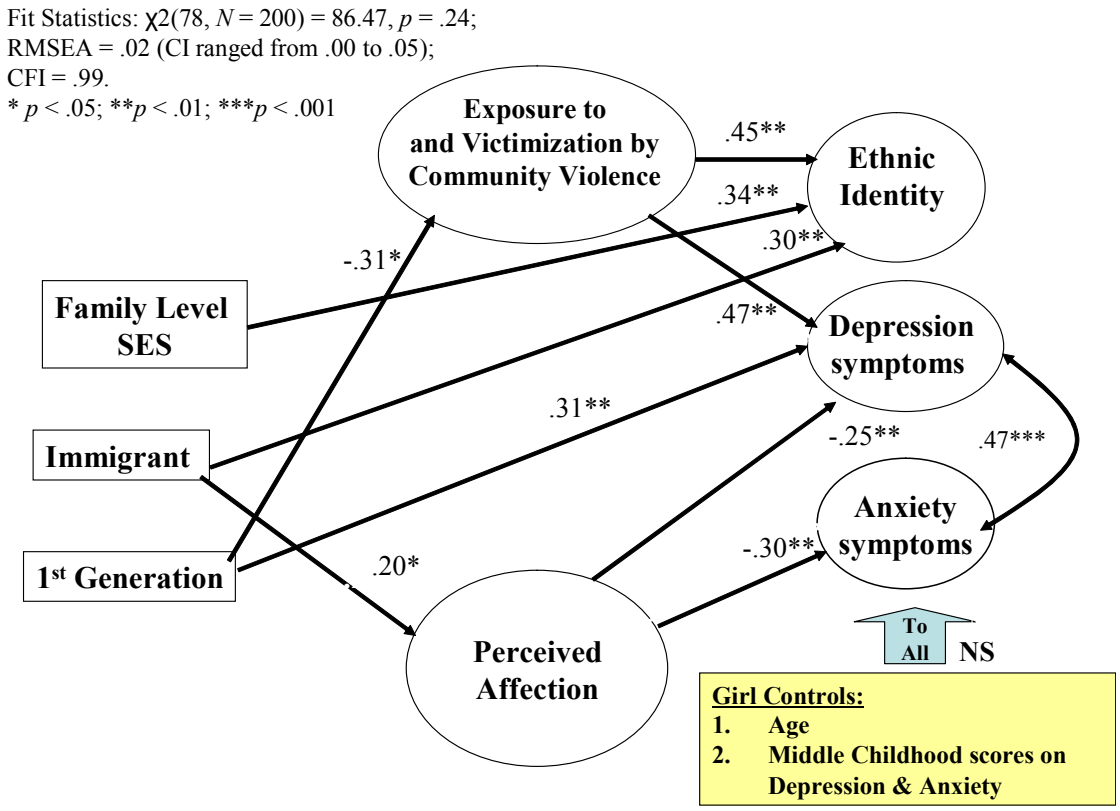

Figure 5. Mother model with standardized parameter estimates representing relations among mothers' SES, immigrant status, acculturation, neighborhood danger, collective efficacy, and the mother outcome of controlling parenting behavior.

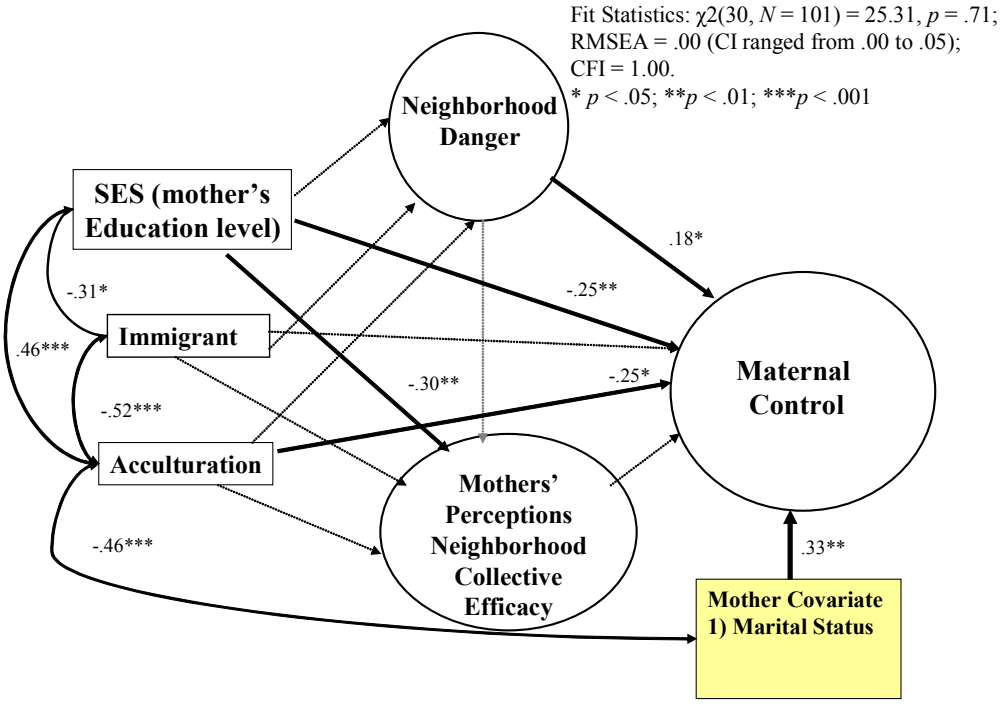

Figure 6. Mother model with standardized parameter estimates representing relations among mothers' SES, immigrant status, acculturation, neighborhood danger, collective efficacy, and the mother outcome of affection.