How Parents Respond to Risk and Opportunity in Moderate to High Risk Neighborhoods

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The MacArthur Network on Successful Adolescent Development in High Risk Settings is an interdisciplinary team of scholars organized by the MacArthur Foundation to facilitate the generation of collaborative, interdisciplinary research on the links between the contexts of adolescent development and the course of adolescent development. The Philadelphia Family Management Study is one of the projects designed by this group. It has four primary objectives: (1) to explore how families try to manage their children's experiences in order to promote positive and minimize negative outcomes, (2) to investigate how the neighborhoods they live in affect this management process, (3) to explore how parent, family, and child characteristics affect parents' management strategies, and (4) to investigate whether management strategies affect the course of adolescent development. We are particularly interested in how different family practices shield adolescents from the dangers of their immediate environments and contribute to their successful transition into adulthood.

Psychologists and family sociologists have generally acted as if direct techniques of socialization -- one-on-one encounters between parents and their children-- constitute the most powerful mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of values and competencies. It is clear, however, that parents, when they are able to, also try to organize and arrange their children's social environments in order to promote opportunities, to expose their children to particular experiences and value systems, and to restrict dangers and exposure to undesirable influences. Consider, for example, the amount of attention some parents give to the choice of child care during early childhood, to picking a place to live in order to ensure desirable schools and appropriate playmates for their children, and to selecting appropriate out-of-school activities for their children. These actions suggest that parents think it is important to try to influence their children's extra-familial environments. But how parents perceive, organize, and manage their children's world both inside and outside of the household has received relatively little attention by students of socialization. The Philadelphia Family Management Study focuses on this aspect of family influence.

It is easy to imagine how parents, especially middle-class, psychologically healthy parents, attempt to engineer the outside world to their children's advantage. This management task, however, is likely to be much more difficult for parents with fewer financial and psychological resources. Parents with more limited resources often face fewer choices and more constraints in managing their children's extra-familial experiences. These families also often live in neighborhoods with

relatively few positive opportunities for their children. Their neighborhoods may also expose their children to relatively high levels of risky experiences and problematic role models. Thus, even though it is likely to be harder for these parents to influence their children's extra-familial experiences, the paucity of neighborhood resources, particularly when accompanied by high levels of risk, is likely to increase the importance of parents' ability to effectively manage their children's experiences. How disadvantaged parents in high-risk neighborhoods manage these experiences should have important consequences for their children's chances of escaping poverty and making a " successful" transition into adulthood.

The Philadelphia Study was initiated to examine this proposition. It's several subcomponents are outlined in Figure 1. Briefly, these subcomponents include two major goals: (1) investigating how neighborhood characteristics, such as social organization, availability of resources, neighborhood cohesion, etc., influence the strategies families use to manage their children's experiences; and (2) investigating how characteristics of the parents and the children themselves affect both the strategies parents think are appropriate to use and the strategies they are actually successful at implementing. We intend to conduct a second wave of data collection on these same families in order to investigate the longer term impact of family management strategies on the course of adolescent development.

Methods

For reasons of cost and convenience, the Philadelphia Family Management Study was nested into an existing study of four large areas of Philadelphia. Using the same sampling frame in the two studies afforded tremendous cost savings by avoiding a separate household screening to locate eligible families. Moreover, the overlap of the two studies will enable us to pool data across studies to construct aggregate measures of neighborhood characteristics. While not a random sample of Philadelphia neighborhoods, the targeted communities constitute a diverse and broad representation of inner-city Philadelphia. The sample was largely restricted to the less affluent neighborhoods, excluding middle and upper-middle class areas of the city. The most impoverished section of North Philadelphia were also excluded. Finally, in order to maximize the comparisons between whites and African-Americans, the sampling frame also underrepresented other ethnic minority groups.

The general sampling frame is summarized in Figure 2. Within each of the four broad catchment areas, a sample of census tracts was identified. Within this designated subset of census tracts, up to four block groups were randomly selected, which provided the sample units that would be screened for eligible families. Using a reverse telephone directory, an enumeration was made by phone of all households with listed phone numbers. These households were called to identify those with youth between the ages of 11 and 15. In order to include families with no phones or unlisted numbers, a 10 percent sample of households without listed phones was drawn and screened in person by interviewers. Of the 598 children in the appropriate age range, completed interview were obtained from 489 families (82 percent of eligible households).

In each household, we interviewed the primary caregiver, typically the mother, and a target adolescent between ages 11 and 15. If more than one child between the ages of 11 and 15 resided in the household, we randomly selected one as the target adolescent. Both the caregiver and the target child were interviewed and given a self-administered questionnaire to complete while the interviewer was at the house. When an older sibling was present, he or she was also asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire and information was collected from the primary caregiver about both children.

Reflecting the interdisciplinary interests of our research team, the interviews and questionnaires solicited a wide range of information from both children and parents on the community, the family, and the individual. The theoretical framework guiding the creation of specific indicators is illustrated in Figure 3. Table 1 summarizes the general categories of constructs and indicates from whom, and by which instrument, data for each construct were collected. 1980 census data have also been appended to each household file. 1990 census data will be appended to each household file as soon as they are available at the level needed for integration into a household file data set. Information from school records and from other public agency records, as well as a second full wave of data from the adolescents and their primary caregiver will be collected in the future. Given the focus of this paper, two components of our study need more extensive description: defining the neighborhoods and conceptualizing and measuring family management.

Defining the neighborhood.

There is no accepted standard way of identifying geographical or social boundaries. Most investigators have used census tracks as a proxy for neighborhoods. But census tracts do not necessarily conform very well to the social groupings we refer to as neighborhoods. For example, in 1980, Philadelphia developed a list of the city's neighborhoods by asking community residents to designate the boundaries of their neighborhood. These community boundaries did not coincide very well with the census tract designations. So how were we to designate our neighborhoods? We asked the adults in our study to provide the name of their neighborhood. Fortunately, we found good consensus on the neighborhood name in the majority of the communities where our respondents lived. In addition, in these neighborhoods, the consensus closely matched the "official" designations identified by the 1980 city survey. However, in other areas many respondents were unaware of the "official" designation of their community. After considering several alternatives for classifying households into neighborhoods, we decided to use the census boundaries as a starting point and then to expand them to include residents who lived in the immediate proximity, the majority of whom considered themselves to be residents in the neighborhood to which they were assigned. Using this procedures, we classified all but 49 of our households to one of 17 neighborhoods.

Table 2 summarized the 1980 census characteristics for these 17 neighborhoods with regard to poverty level, race and proportion of families headed by a female. Not surprisingly, the white neighborhoods are generally less poor and have a higher proportion of two parent households. As can also be seen in Table 2, the economic status of the neighborhoods are related to the other indicators of neighborhood characteristics that we had derived from the caregiver interviews. The strength of these relationships is shown in the correlation matrix on Table 3. Residents in neighborhoods with relatively low levels of poverty reported more youth programs and services inside their community. They were also less likely to report that crime, drugs, and violence were a major problem in their neighborhood and more likely to believe that their children had good future educational and job opportunities. Finally, these parents also reported higher levels of neighborhood social climate (measured in terms of social cohesion and trust between neighbors). Given the close association between economic level of the neighborhood and the social organization and opportunity structures, it is hard to disentangle these effects. Thus, we have classified our neighborhoods into three groupings that represent general contextual differences encompassing both economic and social features of the neighborhoods. It should be noted that only one of the black neighborhoods is a member of

the most positive grouping category. We have also looked at differences in management styles across all 17 neighborhoods.

Conceptualizing and measuring family management strategies

In preparation for this study, Furstenberg conducted an ethnographic study of a small number of families in five Philadelphia neighborhoods similar to the neighborhoods we planned to use in the survey study. The field workers talked with the families about their perceptions of their neighborhoods and about the ways they tried to manage their children's in- and out-of-home experiences. The field workers found skilled and resourceful parents in all five neighborhoods. Many of the parents were discontent with the resources available for their children and were worried about the risks their children faced in their neighborhood. Many also distrusted their neighbors and felt they could not rely on these neighbors to either watch their children or work with them to create a more positive social environment for the children within the neighborhood. Several wanted to move out but were unable to due so because of limited financial resources. Instead, the more resourceful parents adopted very individualized styles of family management. At the extreme, some parents resorted to a "lock-up" strategy, confining their children to the household unless the children were intensively chaperoned. But even in the most disorganized and high risk neighborhoods, some parents were able to locate safe niches within their neighborhood for their children and were able to take advantage of resources outside their neighborhood to provide their children with growth promoting experiences. In contrast, parents in more socially organized neighborhoods seemed to be able to rely more on neighborhood resources to help them manage their children's experiences. Such neighborhoods often had organized activities available for adolescents; these parents also trusted their neighbors to help monitor and socialize their children.

Based on these observation, Furstenberg (1990) suggested a close associations between neighborhood characteristics and family management strategies. He summarized his hypotheses in the conceptual model illustrated in Figure 4 . According to this analysis, parents' strategies are related to the cohesiveness of the neighborhood, the presence of dangers, and the availability of resources. These characteristics influence the extent to which parents are willing to share, or delegate, responsibility for their children with their community. The more willing they are to share this responsibility, the more they rely on community resources in managing their children's out-of-home social

environment. The less willing they are to share this responsibility, the more likely they are to rely on individualized management strategies that either focus on within home strategies or out-of-community strategies. Based on this analysis, we included indicators of within-home, within-community, and out-of-community management strategies.

The characteristics of the neighborhood also seemed to influence the focus of parents' management attention. In high risk, low cohesive neighborhoods, parents seemed to be primarily concerned with protecting their children from the dangers and negative influences in the neighborhood. In contrast, in more cohesive neighborhoods, resourceful parents focused more attention on providing their children with growth promoting opportunities. Thus, we included indictors of both promotive and preventive strategies.

Finally, evidence from more traditional family socialization work and from organizational theory suggests several other important distinctions in family management categories. First, it is important to take into account whether the strategies are proactive or reactive. Good business managers are able to anticipate the future and to take a proactive stance toward managing for the future. The same should be true for effective family management. But to be able to adopt a proactive management style, parent need to have long term goals in mind, need to believe that opportunities exist and are obtainable, need to have a "lay-person's theory" of effective parent management, and need to have sufficient financial, social, and psychological "capital" to implement this theory. Neighborhood characteristics certainly ought to affect the likelihood of any specific parent having each of these resources. Therefore, we included indicators of each of these resources, as well as, whether the management strategies were reactive or proactive.

Second, in terms of adolescent outcomes, it is important to assess exactly what the goals are and how the management strategies are implemented. For example, it ought to matter whether the parents goals are child-centered or adult-centered and whether the goals are specific or general, targeted or diffuse. Similarly, it ought to matter whether the management strategies are implemented in a controlling, restrictive manner or in a manner that provides developmentally appropriate support for adolescent autonomy. And it ought to matter whether the strategies are implemented in a systematic and predictable manner or in an erratic manner. Finally, it ought to matter whether the strategies are implemented in the context of a socially supportive, psychologically healthy parent-child relationship. Although these hypotheses are not

central to this paper, we have tried to develop a coding system that will capture some of these distinctions and we have included a variety of indicators of the hypothesized moderating variables.

Table 4 summarizes the dimension of management strategies we have tried to assess. The specific management measures discussed in this paper are summarized in Tables 5 to 6. These two tables are organized around two distinctions: promotive versus preventive strategies and quantitative versus qualitative measures. Two types of quantitative measures are reported: (a) frequency counts of specific activities or management strategies (e.g., the number of organized activities in which the child participates, along with whether the child's participation is due to the child's or the parent's initiative and whether the activity takes place in or out of the neighborhood); and (b) scales based on parents' reports of the frequency with which they use various management strategies to either promote their children's talent development or to prevent the things they worry about happening to their child from happening.

The qualitative measures are based on open-ended responses to questions asking parents what strategies they are using to either help their child development his/her talents/skills or prevent bad things from happening to their child. These responses were coded at a micro-level that stayed as close to the responses as possible. These micro-codes were then aggregated into the conceptual categories listed on the tables. Inter-rater agreement for both steps was quite high (90% or better). All disagreements were discussed and a satisfactory resolution was reached in all cases.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We have just begun our analyses. In this section, we summarize these preliminary findings. Table 7 summarizes the basic descriptive findings collapsed across all neighborhoods. For the quantitative measures, we present the percentage of parents who indicate that they do not use the strategy at all, the percentage who indicate that they use the strategy only some of the time, and the percentage who indicate that they use the strategy a lot. For the frequency counts, this break-down consists of the following responses: no organized activities, 1-2 organized activities, and more than 2 organized activities. For the qualitative measures, the percentage of families in which either the child or the parent indicates that the parent uses this management strategy are listed

under the present category, all others are listed under the absent category.

Two general patterns are clear. First, parents tend to use less active strategies relatively more than they use more active management strategies, particularly with regard to preventive strategies. Look, for example, at the patterns associated with child involvement in organized activities. Although most of the adolescents are involved in one or more organized after school programs, this involvement is more likely to have resulted from the child's initiative than from the parents'. A similar pattern emerged on the quantitative scales: Although about 50% of the parents report sometimes enrolling their child in programs outside the home and sometimes working with child at home, less than 20% report using these active strategies on a regular and frequent basis. In contrast, 45% of the parents report using verbal encouragement on a frequent basis.

This pattern is even more striking for the preventive strategies. Look, for example, at the qualitative preventive strategies. 84% of the parents report using some form of minimal verbal discouragement. In contrast, only a third try to work with the child at home and only 9% report using anything like the "lock-up" strategies uncovered in Furstenberg's ethnographic study.

Second, parents do report trying to use programs outside of the home as both a promotive and a preventive strategy. As we shall report later, the extent to which they reported the use of this strategy varied neighborhood.

Next we tested whether the use of these various management strategies varied as a function of the caregiver's race, income, marital status and education and of the target child's sex. Very few of these effects were significant. The only differences not likely to be chance findings were related to family income and parent's education. The extent of children's involvement in organized activities was linearly related to both of these demographic characteristics in the expected direction: higher levels of income and education were associated with more parent initiated involvement for the child in organized activities ($p < .001$).

Neighborhood Type Differences

To assess neighborhood differences, we first divided the neighborhoods into three groups as described earlier. We then used chi-squared analyses to test for an association between neighborhood type and the distribution of frequency of the use of various management techniques. The results are summarized in Tables 8 and 9.

Table 8 presents the percentage of parents who use a particular management strategy with high frequency in each of the three neighborhood types. Type 1 are the poorest neighborhoods with the least positive social climate; Type 3 neighborhoods are the most affluent neighborhoods with the most positive social climate; Type 2 neighborhoods fall between these two. Two patterns emerge for promotive strategies. Children in more affluent neighborhoods participate in more organized activities. This is particularly true for child initiated activities. Since this difference characterizes both within-neighborhood and out-of-neighborhood activities, the difference is likely to reflect both the availability of organized activities within the neighborhood and the availability of a means of transportation to activities outside of the neighborhood. This difference could also reflect the role higher income plays in allowing these parents to pay for their children's enrollment in organized activities. In addition, perhaps because there are fewer dangers and more programs for youth available in these neighborhoods, parents Type 3 neighborhoods appear more willing to let their child select activities for themselves.

The importance of the availability of activities within one's neighborhood is suggested by the results for parents in Type 2 neighborhoods. Although these parents were no more likely than parents in Type 1 neighborhoods to rely primarily on out-of-neighborhood programs, they were more likely than Type 1 parents to rely primarily on in-neighborhood programs. In fact, they were just as likely to rely on in-neighborhood programs as parents in Type 3 neighborhoods. Interestingly, Type 2 neighborhoods have more youth service programs and fewer perceived dangers than Type 1 neighborhoods (see Table 2), perhaps making it easier for these parents to use within-neighborhood programs as a socialization aid in raising their adolescents.

The pattern for working with the child home is also intriguing. This strategy is used most by parents in Type 2 neighborhoods; and it is a strategy used with relatively equal frequency by parents in Type 1 and Type 3 neighborhoods, most likely for different reasons. Perhaps parents

The results are illustrated on Table 10. Each column is a particular management strategy. The first set of seven columns are preventive strategies; the second set of seven columns are promotive strategies. A dictionary for the abbreviated indicators is included at the bottom of the table. Each row is a particular neighborhood. The "L"s and "H"s indicate whether the parents in that neighborhood fell 10 percentage points below or above the population median for that particular management strategy. We have included only those 10 neighborhoods that yielded an interpretable pattern. The other 7 neighborhoods evidenced a random pattern across the various family management strategies. We have grouped the 10 neighborhoods into the following four loose conceptual categories: Promotive focused neighborhoods, dual focused neighborhoods, prevention focused neighborhoods, and disengaged neighborhoods.

Several things are worth noting about these results. First, there was a disengaged neighborhood in each of the three neighborhood types discussed earlier. Whether the reasons for disengagement differ across these three neighborhoods is an important question for future analyses.

Second, both of the neighborhoods with a primary focus on promotive strategies were from the most affluent group of neighborhoods and neither of the neighborhoods with a primary focus on preventative strategies were from the most affluent group of neighborhoods.

Third, none of the high poverty neighborhoods were highly involved in promotive strategies, either as their primary focus or in conjunction with a high use of preventative strategies.

Within Neighborhood Variation

There was a great deal of within neighborhood variation in the use of all of our management strategies. As would be predicted by our general theoretical orientation, individual parents and families are likely to respond quite differently to neighborhood influences. The individuals may see their neighborhoods differently; they may have different information about resources both within and outside their neighborhood; and they certainly have different within-family resources and constraints. The most interesting issues for future analyses will be assessing the relative effectiveness of different types of strategies in different neighborhoods and determining the within-family mediators of different strategy use in similar neighborhoods.

in Type 2 neighborhoods are under less emotional stress than parents in Type 1 neighborhoods and thus have the psychological energy to use this relatively inexpensive management strategy. In contrast, parents in Type 3 neighborhoods are relatively more affluent and live in less risky neighborhoods; consequently they may have both the financial and neighborhood resources available to delegate more of their children's management to external agents.

In contrast to the out-of-home strategies used by parents in neighborhood Types 2 and 3, parents in the least affluent neighborhoods rely more heavily on verbal encouragement as a means to promote their children's talents and skills than parents in the other two neighborhood types.

There are fewer differences across neighborhood type in the preventive strategies used with high frequency. Only one yielded a significant chi-squared: frequent use of controlling strategies. Contrary to what we had expected, we did not find a neighborhood difference in the frequent use of strategies linked to the "lock-up" style of child management.

Table 9 displays the percentage of parents in each neighborhood type that made little or no use of each of the management strategies. The pattern of results is consistent with the results reported above for the high frequency use category.

Neighborhood Differences

It became clear in the course of doing these analyses, that there is considerable neighborhood variation within each of the three neighborhood types. To explore this variation in a systematic fashion, we tested for neighborhood differences on all of our family management indicators. Since the number of cells is quite large (18) and the number of families within each cell is often quite small (as low as 10-15 in several of the neighborhoods), obtaining statistically significant differences is difficult. In addition, we were primarily interested at this point in identifying interpretable patterns of differences between neighborhoods across the whole set of management indicators. To explore this possibility, we classified each neighborhood in terms of whether the percentage of families in the neighborhood who reported using a particular strategy was either 10 percentage points above or below the population median for each management indicator and then looked for consistent, interpretable patterns across all indicators.

Figure 1

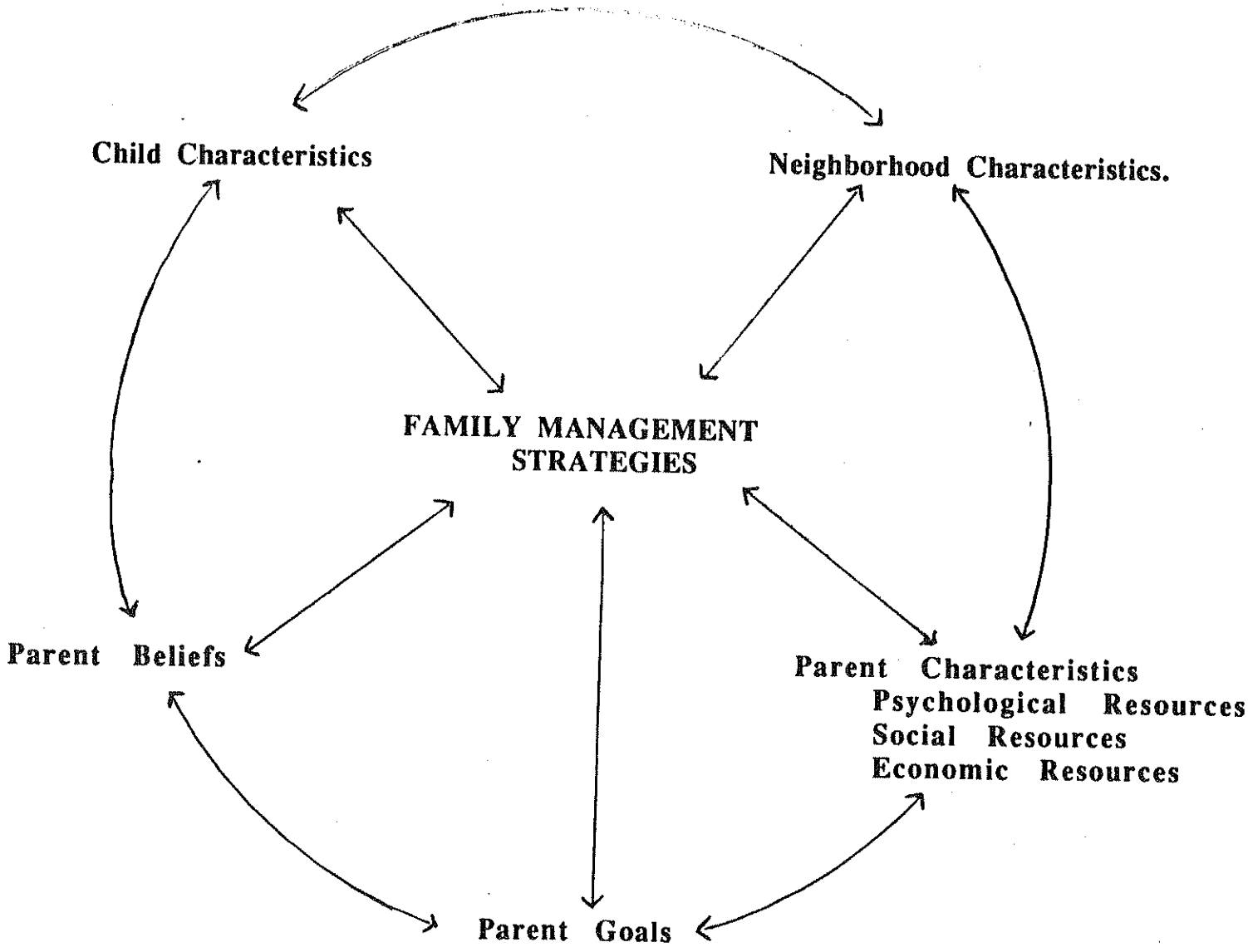
Child Characteristics
Neighborhood Characteristics.
FAMILY MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES
Parent Beliefs
Parent Characteristics
Psychological Resources
Social Resources
Economic Resources
Parent Goals

Figure 2

RESEARCH DESIGN OF PHILADELPHIA MANAGEMENT STUDY

- Random Sample of Four Areas of Philadelphia
- Within Each Area a Dense Sample of Randomly Selected Census Tracts (65 in all)
- Sample Has Been Geo-coded to 48 Neighborhoods of which 17 Will Have Sufficient Cases for Inter-Neighborhood Comparison

SAMPLING SCHEDULE

<u>Sample Base</u>

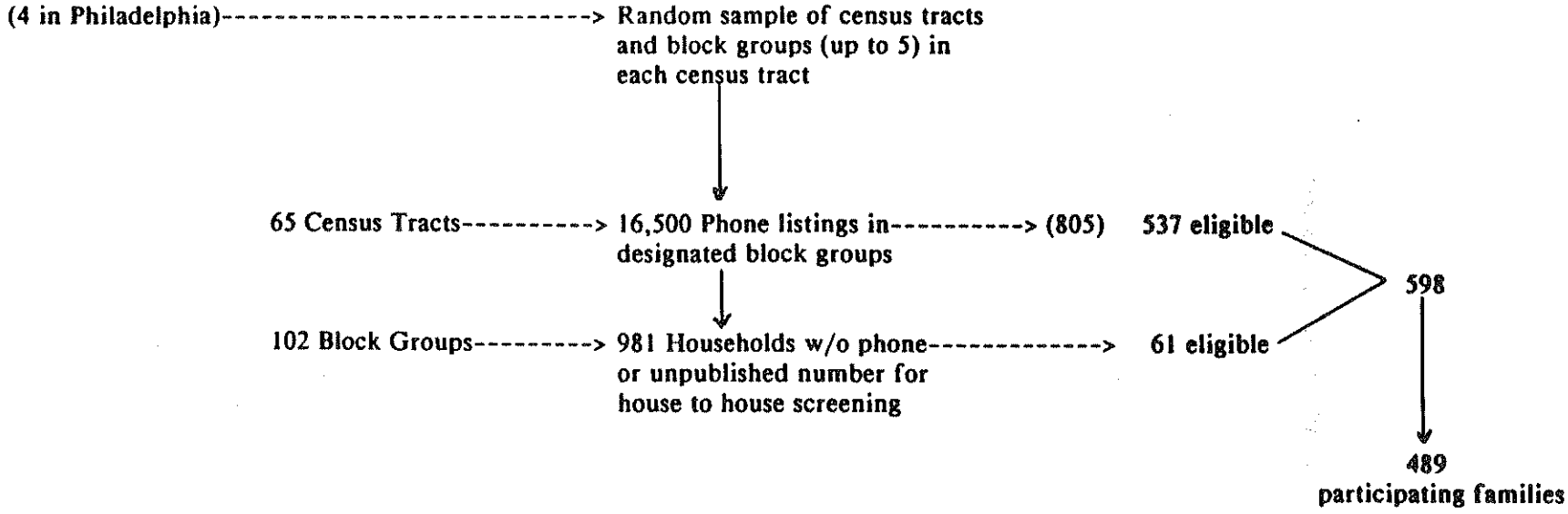

Figure 3

FAMILY MANAGEMENT MODEL

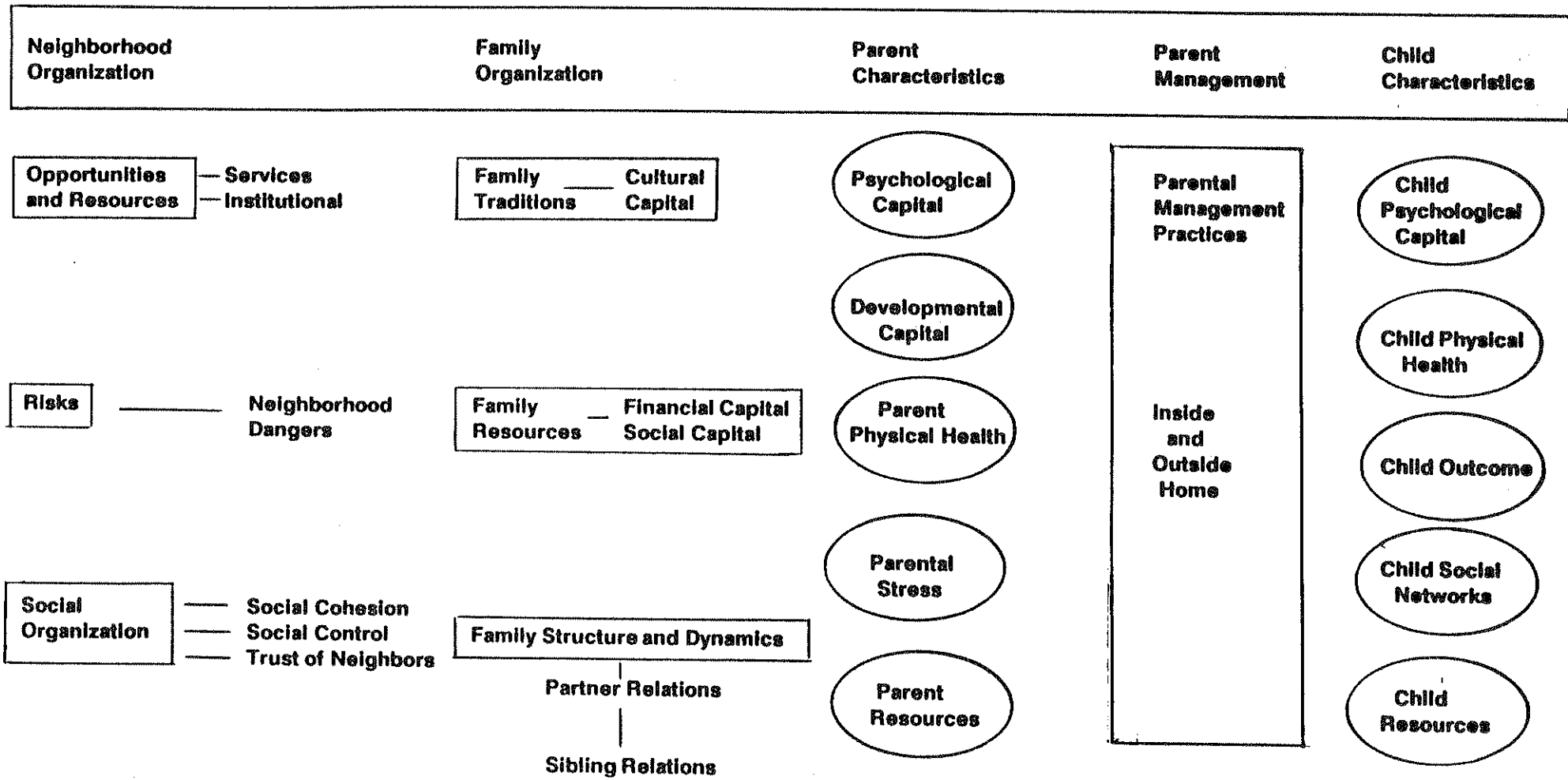

Figure 4. Neighborhood Organization & Family Management: A Conceptual Schedule

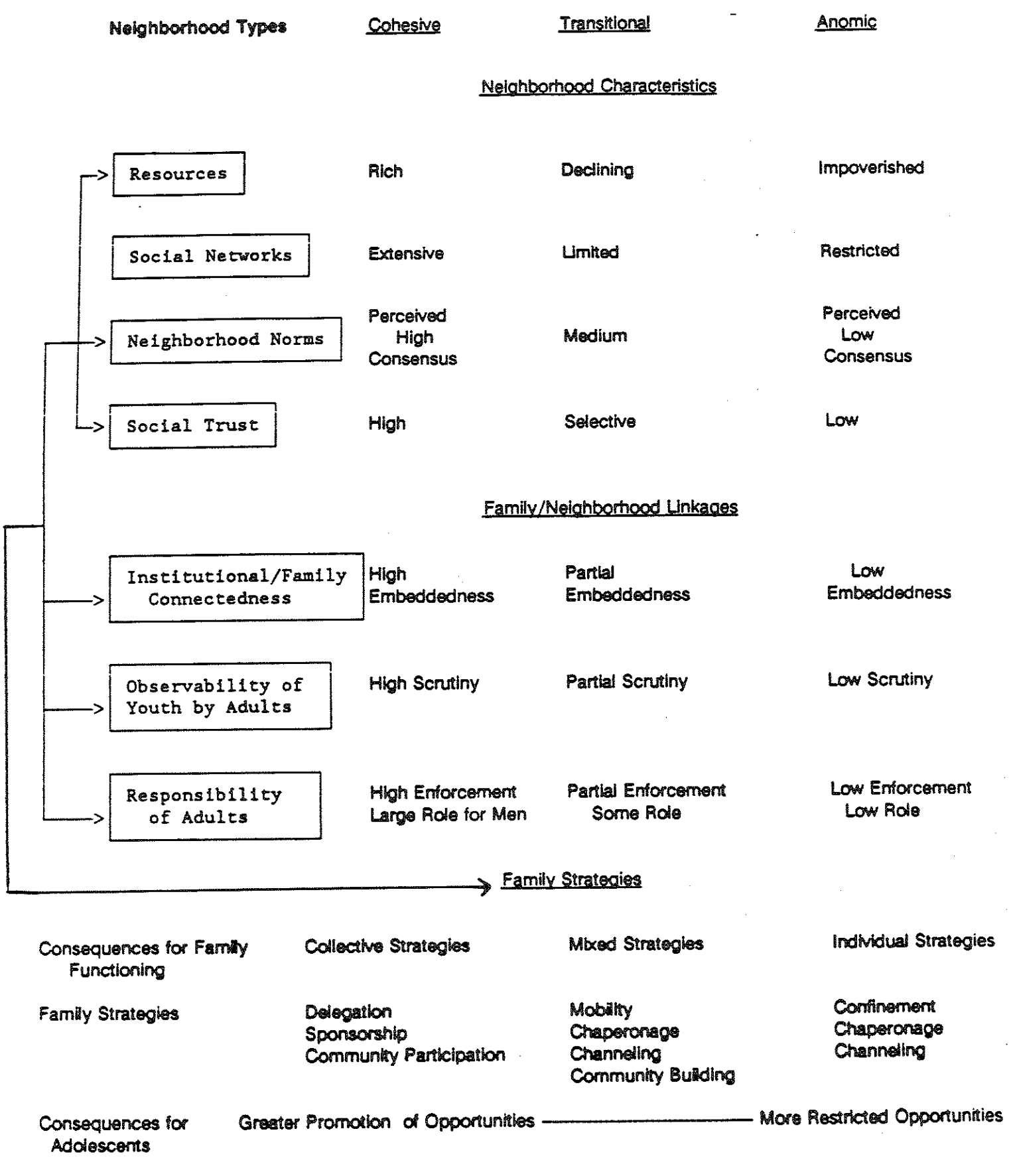

Table 1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN
THE PHILADELPHIA FAMILY MANAGEMENT STUDY

	Parent	Target Child	Older Sibling
Description of Neighborhood	I/SA	I/SA	--
Perceived Dangers & Opportunities for Target Child	SA	SA	SA
Social Networks Demographic and Economic Information	I	I	--
Family Management & Parenting Practices	SA/PI	I	SA
Family Relations	SA/PI	I	SA
Values, Attitudes, Self-descriptions	SA	SA	SA
Religious & Ethnic Identity	I	I	--
Pro-social & Anti-social Behaviors	I	I	SA

I = In-person Interviews
SA = Self-administered Questionnaires

Table 2

Classification	Neighborhoods	% Poverty	% Black	% Female Headed	mean Climate score	mean Services score	mean Danger score	mean Opportunity score
High Poverty	Olde Kensington	46.8	20.3	41.4	2.6	1.6	2.2	2.5
	SWCC	38.1	95.6	59.4	2.7	1.6	2.5	2.8
	Point Breeze	32.4	83.6	53.2	2.7	1.8	2.6	2.8
	SENE	31.6	15.7	39.0	1.5	1.5	2.2	2.4
	Upper SW	31.1	91.7	41.4	2.6	1.6	2.1	2.7
	Haddington	32.1	97.8	58.2	2.7	1.7	2.5	2.8
Mid Poverty	SW Germantown	24.3	62.2	42:3	2.7	1.7	2.1	2.5
	New Kensington	23.6	0	20.6	2.7	1.8	1.4	2.7
	Carrol Park	21.8	96.0	40.4	2.7	1.6	2.3	2.8
	Richmond	23.2	0	24.4	3.0	1.7	1.2	2.6
	Gray's Ferry	22.7	26.7	20.4	2.8	1.8	1.8	2.8
	Cobbs Creek	21.2	96.0	43.2	2.8	1.7	1.8	2.9
Low Poverty	Queen Village*	28.5	31.0	50.3	3.0	1.8	0.7	3.8
	Wharton	17.6	2.8	20.5	3.0	1.7	0.8	3.3
	Fishtown	16.6	0	23.6	2.8	1.9	1.2	2.8
	Port Richmond	11.7	0	20.6	3.2	1.9	0.1	3.6
	West Oak Lane	13.1	89.5	27.9	2.9	1.8	1.2	3.2

Note: Demographic characteristics of neighborhoods are based on 1980 census reports

* Rapid gentrification between 1980 and 1990 in this neighborhood

Table 3

Association between demographic composition and neighborhood characteristics

	Percent Poor	Percent Black	Percent Female-Headed	Climate	Safety	Resources
percent poor	1.00					
percent black	0.23	1.00				
percent female-headed	0.68	0.71	1.00			
neighborhood climate	-0.62	-0.33	-0.43	1.00		
neighbrohood safety	-0.69	-0.63	-0.67	0.84	1.00	
neighborhood resources	-0.68	0.26	-0.40	0.69	0.65	1.00
opportunities for youth	-0.46	0.08	-0.10	0.80	0.72	0.63

Table 4

DIMENSIONS OF PARENT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Preventive	Promotive
Proactive	Reactive
In House	Out of House
In Community	Out of Community
Restrictive	Non-restrictive
Controlling	Supportive of Autonomy
Adult Centered	Child Centered
Collective	Individualistic
Targeted	Diffuse
Goal: High Specificity	Low Specificity
Planful	Non-planful
Short term	Long term

Intensity

Frequency

Affective Tone

Nature of Goal Itself

TABLE 5
Description of Measures of Family Management

Promotive Strategies

Quantitative Measures:

Indicators of Activity Involvement:

1. Count of number of organized activities the child participates in (such as afternoon recreation programs, tutoring programs, church activities, sports programs, etc.)

Both parent and child reports were collected

2. Count of number of organized activities the child participates in for which the parent initiated the involvement.

Both parent and child reports were collected

3. Count of number of organized activities the child participates in for which the child initiated the involvement.

Only parent reports are reported

4. Out of neighborhood activity involvement. Count of number of organized activities the child participates in that are located outside the neighborhood.

Only parent reports are reported

5. In neighborhood activity involvement. Count of number of organized activities the child participates in that are located inside the neighborhood.

Only parent reports are reported

TABLE 5 CONTINUED
Description of Measures of Family Management

Promotive Strategies

Quantitative Measures:

Indicators of what parents are doing to promote their children's talents:

1. Verbal Encouragement: Reported frequency of use of the following strategies: alpha coefficient = .73

Point out how it will help in the future

Point out how it helped a relative get ahead

Discuss how to get better at it

Point out what will happen if don't get better at this talent

2. Enroll in programs outside the home: Reported frequency of use of the following strategies: alpha coefficient = .68

Found out about programs that could help child get better

Signed child up for classes or programs

Taken child to program

Arranged for someone else to take child to program

3. Work with child at home: Reported frequency of use of the following strategies: alpha coefficient = .67

Made sure child practices at home

Done activity with child

TABLE 5 CONTINUED
Description of Measures of Family Management

Promotive Strategies

Qualitative Measures:

Parents first asked if child has a particular talent or skill that s/he is good at and then parents asked what they are doing to help their child get better at this talent or skill. Up to three responses were coded. Open-ended answers coded into multiple categories that were later collapsed into four superordinate categories:

Nothing

Encourage: Includes responses like
- Talked to child
- Told child talent was important
- Told child talent could help
- Pointed out consequences of not doing well
- Pointed out how skill had helped friend or relative get ahead

Sign-up for Programs Outside Home: Includes responses like
- Found out about program
- Signed up for program
- Gave lessons to child
- Took child to programs
- Transferred child to better school/special school

Coach/Work with Child at Home: Includes responses like
- Coached child
- Did activity with child
- Worked with child

TABLE 6
Description of Measures of Family Management

Preventive Strategies

Quantitative Measures:

Indicators of what parents are doing to prevent bad things from happening to their children:

1. Proactive Involvement: Reported frequency of use of the following strategies: alpha coefficient = .56

    Point out how dangers have destroyed lives of others

    Get child involved in good activities in the neighborhood

    Get child involved in good activities outside of the neighborhood

2. Control: Reported frequency of use of the following strategies: alpha coefficient = .50

    Punish child for doing things that lead to problems

    Keep home as much as possible

    Make sure you know the friends the child is with

    Keep child away from dangers

Indicator of Confinement

1. Frequency count of items asking the following questions:

    Does child have regular time to come home on school nights?
    Count number who say doesn't go out at night

    Does child have regular time to come home on weekend nights?
    Count number who say doesn't go out at night

    Where does child go after school?
    Count number who say comes home and is supervised

TABLE 6 CONTINUED
Description of Measures of Family Management

Preventive Strategies

Qualitative Measures:

Parents first asked what kinds of things they worry about happening to this child and then asked what they are doing to prevent these things from happening to child. Up to three responses coded. Open-ended answers coded into multiple categories that were later collapsed into five superordinate categories:

Minimal Verbal Encouagement: Includes responses like
- Talk to child
- Encourage child to do better
- Provide positive role model

Work with Child at Home: Includes responses like
- Spend time with child
- Keep child busy
- Monitor child's home work
- Teach child to use good judgement
- Enforce rules

Enroll Child in Programs Outside Home: Includes response like
- Send to church
- Involve child in activities outside home
- Provide transportation to get child to good programs

Restrict: Includes responses like
- Restrict child's activities
- Take child out of situation
- Ground child
- Attempt to sever child's friendships
- Keep at home as much as possible

Speak to Other Adults: Includes responses like
- Contact other parents to keep lookout for child
- Speak to child's teachers
- Complain to appropriate authorities

TABLE 7
Frequencies of Various Promotive and Preventive Strategies

Promotive Strategies - Quantitative Measures:	Not at all	Minimal	More
Number of organized activities P got child into[1]	50%	22%	28%
Number of organized activities child got self into[1]	41%	24%	35%
Number of organized activities P got child into[4]	41%	37%	22%
Number of organized activities child is in[1]	35%	41%	24%
Number of organized activities child is in[4]	41%	37%	22%
Verbal encouragement[2]	10%	46%	45%
Enroll in programs outside home[2]	29%	52%	19%
Work with child at home[2]	36%	50%	14%

Promotive Strategies - Qualitative Measures	Absent	Present
Nothing[3]	87%	13%
Encourage[3]	66%	34%
Sign-up for programs outside home[3]	57%	43%
Coach/work with child[3]	72%	28%

TABLE 7 CONTINUED

Preventive Strategies - Quantitative Measures	None	Minimal	More
Proactive Involvement[2]	23%	31%	46%
Control[2]	37%	47%	16%

Preventive Strategies - Qualitative Measures	Absent	Present
Minimal verbal discouragement[3]	16%	84%
Work with child at home[3]	64%	36%
Enroll in programs outside home[3]	56%	44%
Restrict, confine to house[3]	91%	9%
Speak to other adults[3]	83%	16%

[1]Frequency count, parent reports

[2]Responses on three point scale: Almost never, sometimes, very often

[3]Mention in open-ended response by either parent or child

[4]Frequency count, child reports

TABLE 8
Frequencies of Maximal Response in Three Neighborhood Types

Promotive Strategies - Quantitative Measures:	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
Number of organized activities P got child into[1]	26%	31%	26%
Number of organized activities child got self into[1]*	31%	31%	49%
Number of organized activities P got child into[4]*	30%	40%	38%
Number of organized activities child is in[4]	30%	34%	36%
Number of organized activities child is in that are primarily outside neighborhood[1]*	06%	07%	15%
Number of organized activities child is in that are primarily inside neighborhood[1]	08%	16%	14%
Verbal encouragement[2]*	54%	41%	35%
Enroll in programs outside home[2]	21%	20%	17%
Work with child at home[2]	13%	34%	16%

TABLE 8 CONTINUED

Promotive Strategies - Qualitative Measures			
Encourage[3]	33%	36%	34%
Sign-up for programs outside home[3]*	37%	46%	49%
Coach/work with child[3]	28%	28%	26%
Preventive Strategies - Quantitative Measures			
Proactive Involvement[2]	49%	48%	40%
Control[2]	18%	17%	11%
Confinement[1]	16%	10%	13%
Preventive Strategies - Qualitative Measures			
Minimal verbal discouragement[3]	85%	84%	80%
Work with child at home[3]	33%	40%	41%
Enroll in programs outside home[3]	42%	52%	37%
Restrict, confine to house[3]	09%	10%	07%
Speak to other adults[3]	17%	17%	16%

*Neighborhood differences significant at $p < .05$
[1]Frequency count, parent reports
[2]Responses on three point scale: Almost never, sometimes, v. often
[3]Mention in open-ended response by either parent or child
[4]Frequency count, child reports

TABLE 9
Frequencies of None or Very Low Response in Three Neighborhood Types

Promotive Strategies - Quantitative Measures:	**Type 1**	**Type 2**	**Type 3**
Number of organized activities P got child into[1]	50%	51%	49%
Number of organized activities child got self into[1]*	45%	43%	31%
Number of organized activities P got child into[4]*	30%	26%	16%
Number of organized activities child is in[1]*	41%	36%	22%
Number of organized activities child is in[4]	15%	16%	11%
Verbal encouragement[2]*	06%	12%	11%
Enroll in programs outside home[2]	28%	29%	31%
Work with child at home[2]	34%	35%	40%
Promotive Strategies - Qualitative Measures			
Encourage[3]	67%	64%	66%
Sign-up for programs outside home[3]*	63%	54%	51%
Coach/work with child[3]	72%	72%	74%

TABLE 9 CONTINUED

Preventive Strategies - Quantitative Measures			
Proactive Involvement[2]	24%	18%	32%
Control[2]*	30%	39%	46%
Confinement[1]	84%	90%	87%
Preventive Strategies - Qualitative Measures			
Minimal verbal discouragement[3]	15%	17%	20%
Work with child at home[3]	67%	60%	59%
Enroll in programs outside home[3]	58%	48%	63%
Restrict, confine to house[3]	92%	90%	93%
Speak to other adults[3]	83%	83%	84%

*Neighborhood differences significant at $p < .05$

[1]Frequency count, parent reports

[2]Responses on three point scale: Almost never, sometimes, very often

[3]Mention in open-ended response by either parent or child

[4]Frequency count, child reports

TABLE 10

Characteristics of Family Management in Selected Neighborhoods

Nborhood		Family Management Characteristics												
		WK WH	SCH	RES	CTRL	OP	PRO	SPO	ENC	TLH	CCH	ACT	CI ACT	PI ACT	OP
PROMOTIVE FOCUSED NBS															
ort Richmond	6 Type 3	L	H	L	L		L	H		H	H	L	H		
Westark Lane	18 Type 5			H					H	H	L		H	H	
HIGH DUAL FOCUSED NBS															
rays Ferry	8 Type 2	H	H			H	H	H	H		L	H	H	H	H
Queen Village	3 Type 3	H	H		L			L	H		L	H		H	H
Carroll Park	12 Type 2			H		H		L			H			H	

Characteristics of Family Management in Selected Neighborhoods

Nborhood		Family Management Characteristics												
		WK WH	SCH	RES	CTRL	OP	PRO	SPO	ENC	TLH	CCH	ACT	CI ACT	PI ACT	OP
	DISENGAGED:														
Fishtown	5 Type 3	L				L	L			L	L		H	L	L
int Breeze	10 Type 1			L		L				L	L				L
w ermantown	15 Type 2	L		L	L	L		L	L		L	L		L	
	PREVENT FOCUSED NBS														
ichmond	7 Type 2	H	H			H			L	L	L			L	
pper SW	11 Type 1		L	H	H		H			L					

WK WH = WORK WITH AT HOME; **SCH** = REGULAR SCHEDULES AT HOME; **RES** = RESTRICTIVE IN HOME; **CTRL** = CONTROL IN HOME; **OP** = PUT IN PROGRAMS OUT OF HOME; **PRO** = PUT IN POSITIVE ACTIVITY IN AND OUT OF HOME; **SPO**= SPEAK WITH OTHER ADULTS OUT OF HOME
ENC = MINIMAL ENCOURAGEMENT; **TLH** = CHILD'S REPORT OF PARENT HELP TO GET BETTER AT TALENT; **CCH** = COACH OR WORK WITH AT HOME; **ACT** = TOTAL CHILD ACTIVITY INVOLVEMENT; **CI ACT** = CHILD INITIATED ACTIVITY INVOLVEMENT; **PI ACT** = PARENT INITIATED CHILD ACTIVITY INVOLVEMENT; **OP**= SIGN CHILD UP FOR ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES