The Protective Effect of Community Organization on Distress in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods: Considering the Latino Experience in Chicago

by

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ABSTRACT

Psychological distress occurs at disproportionate rates among minority groups and individuals with lower socioeconomic status. This dissertation focuses on the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and distress among Latinos, the formal and informal organizations that mediate the direct and indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress in this population, and the differences of social stress processes based on aspects of Latino social status, linguistic acculturation status, and the percentage of residents in the neighborhood that identify as Latino. This dissertation focuses its investigation on Latinos living in Chicago, specifically asking: In a metropolitan city, can the presence of formal and informal community organizations protect Latinos living in disadvantage neighborhoods from experiencing psychological distress? The findings demonstrate an indirect association between disadvantage and distress though objective disorganization and perception of disorganization. Both the density of community centers and block watch had an indirect protective effect, mediating the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress, but did not decrease the indirect effect of disadvantage on distress through objective or perceptions of disorganization. The results of this dissertation suggest that changes to a neighborhood's environment may decrease population rates of distress in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Keywords: Latinos, psychological distress, neighborhood disorganization, formal organization, informal organization, social stress process

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At its core, the goal of social work practice and research is to enhance the quality of life and wellbeing of marginalized populations. Wellbeing can be compromised by a diversity of factors, such as the loss of a loved one, abuse, disease, discrimination, violence or unemployment, all of which may be impacted by an individual's social status and the neighborhoods in which he or she lives (Pearlin, 1999). In social work, such threats to wellbeing become the targets of intervention and prevention; however, the impacts of social statuses or the context in which they occur are rarely examined. In the fields of sociology, criminal justice, and public health, researchers have begun to examine how the neighborhood in which an individual resides affects a variety of outcomes, including crime, substance use, unemployment, obesity, and mental health (Skogan, 1989; Saelens, et al., 2012; Lambert, Brown, Phillps, & Ialongo, 2004; Garcilazo & Spiezia, 2007; Vega, Ang, Rodriguez, & Finch, 2011). Within the ecological framework and based on the social stress process outlined by Pearlin (1999), this dissertation aims to examine the relationship between the neighborhood context and psychological distress, and how social status, namely ethnicity, may modify the relationships.

Problem and Significance

Psychological distress has been conceptualized as the unpleasant subjective state or the absence of well-being, a feeling that is often labeled anxiety or depression in clinical settings (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Although studies have shown that wellbeing is not the polar opposite of distress, wellbeing is significantly compromised in the

presence of psychological distress (Ruini et al., 2003). While typically discussed in the context of "mental health disorders," distress can also manifest at the subclinical level in reaction to the chronic and acute stressors that are disproportionally experienced by economically and racially marginalized populations (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Within the framework of social stress theory, psychological distress occurs when the stressors in an individual's environment surpass his or her resources for coping (Perlin, 1989). In addition to being a concern simply because distress impacts an individual's quality of life, psychological distress is also problematic because it can lead to disruptions in relationships, loss of productivity, and negative consequences for the children in the care of a distressed adult (Satcher, 2000; Barry & Jinkins, 2007; Jane-Llopis et al., 2005). On the other hand, positive mental health or wellbeing is crucial in the maintenance of interpersonal relationships, better physical health, improved recovery from illness, and improved quality of life. Wellbeing also decreases harmful health behaviors like smoking and drinking alcohol (Pressman & Cohen, 2005). Although most applied research in this area has focused on the detection and treatment of psychological distress, increasing attention is being paid to the prevention of distress and the promotion of wellbeing (Huppert, 2009; McLaughlin, 2011; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003; Friedli, 2009).

A prevention approach to psychological distress focuses on identifying and acting on the social determinants of distress. One of the most crucial social determinates of distress is poverty (Yu & Williams, 1999). People living in poverty have consistently reported higher rates of distress, a disparity which occurs on a gradient (Kessler et al., 1994). Although the dynamics that maintain these disparities are complex, the neighborhood has been identified as one of the critical underlying social determinants

(Mair, Roux, & Galea, 2008). Living in a disadvantaged neighborhood can impact distress by introducing chronic stressors, such as violence, stigma, environmental toxins, and barriers to upward mobility that exceed an individual's ability to cope (Benson, Fox, DeMaris, & VanWyk, 2003; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Boardman et al., 2009; Turney et al., 2006). Neighborhood disorganization has been used to conceptualize many of the chronic stressors that occur in neighborhoods (Sampson, 2012) and studies have found that this concept is associated with distress (Ross, 2000). Despite the challenges that arise in disadvantaged neighborhoods, some populations do not experience disproportionate rates of distress, leaving us to question what resources may be mitigating these relationships (Escobar, 1998).

Purpose of this Study

This dissertation examines three issues: 1) the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and psychological distress, 2) if the relationship between disadvantage and distress is dependent on the presence of neighborhood risk factors, such as disorganization, and 3) whether the presence of both formal and informal community organizations in the neighborhood mediates the disproportionally high levels of distress in socially and economically isolated neighborhoods.

This dissertation more specifically focuses on: 1) the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and distress among Latinos (a population that defies the social gradient of health), 2) if, for Latinos, the relationship between disadvantage and distress is dependent on the presence of and perception of disorganization, 3) if formal and informal community-based organizations mediate the direct and indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress in this population, and 4) if these social stress

processes differ, based on aspects of Latino social status which are prevalent in this minority group; namely, linguistic acculturation status and the percentage of individuals in the neighborhood that identify as Latino.

Research Questions/Hypotheses

Although the relationship between an individual's residence and psychological distress has been established, and self-efficacy and social support have been suggested as mediators of this relationship on the individual level, little has been done to test neighborhood-level interventions that may interrupt the processes that impact this relationship at the population level. Interventions that promote wellbeing and reduce distress in neighborhoods on a population level which experiences disproportionately high rates of distress may help address disparities that are observed in individuals of differing socio-economic status and racial groups. This dissertation seeks to investigate the following questions:

1) In a metropolitan area, can the presence of formal and informal community organizations protect Latinos living in disadvantage neighborhoods from experiencing psychological distress?

2) Does the mediating effect of formal and informal organizations differ according to the level of linguistic acculturation and the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood?

To address these questions, the following hypothesis will be tested (the direction of structural pathways of indirect relationships will be hypothesized in more detail in Chapter 3):

H1) Neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with higher rates of psychological distress.

H2) Neighborhood disadvantage will be indirectly associated with psychological distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization.

H3) The density of formal organizations (churches, community centers, block watches and block homes) will mediate the direct and indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress.

H4) Individuals' reports of informal organization (neighborhood exchange and control) will mediate the direct and indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress.

H5) The mediating effect of both formal and informal organizations will differ by linguistic acculturation status.

H6) The mediating effect of both formal and informal organizations will differ by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood.

Contextual Parameters of Study

To address these research questions and hypotheses, data collected from 2001 to 2003 in the city of Chicago was used. This study was restricted to Latinos in the sample, those who identified as Mexican, Mexican American/Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, South American, and other Latino/Hispanic. Latinos lived in 205 of the 364 neighborhood clusters in the city of Chicago during the time this data was collected.

Chicago is an intensely segregated city with 87% of all census tracks in the city between 1980 and 1990 being considered racially/ethnically segregated, a trend that has

been stable through 2010 (Sandoval, 2011). Traditionally these divisions have been between White and Black American; however, the migration of Latinos into the Chicago area have resulted in transitioning neighborhoods, sometimes referred to as the invasion-succession model (Lee & Wood, 1991). The migration resulted in Latino census tracks that were slightly more integrated in the 1980s; however, the 2000s saw increased diversity in the African American census tacks compared to those that were primarily Latino (Sandoval, 2011). This decline in diversity in the Latino census tracks found by Sandoval (2011) is counter to spatial assimilation theories which state that as new immigrants assimilate and become upwardly mobile, they will move out of dense ethnic enclaves that are typically more disadvantaged and into more diverse neighborhoods (Clark, 2009).

Mexican immigration to Chicago started early in the 20th century while Puerto Ricans started migrating in the 1940s (Ramíez, 2011). During the time (2001-2003) that the data analyzed in this study was collected, Chicago was experiencing a rapid influx of immigrants, including a large number of Mexican Americans. In 2000, there were 628,903 foreign-born individuals living in the city of Chicago, comprising 17.5% of the total population, 46% of which had entered the US during the previous ten years, and 64% of which were not US citizens; the majority of which were Latino (US Census, 2000). In the same year, Chicago received the second largest number of immigrants, trailing only Los Angeles (Koval & Fidel, 2006). Overall, in 2000, Chicago had the second largest Mexican American community and the third largest Latino community in the US (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005). Additionally, Chicago experienced the largest percentage of growth in the Mexican American population than any other city in the US

from 1990 to 2000. In 2000, 1.4 million individuals in the Chicago area spoke Spanish (Koval & Fidel, 2006).

The early settlement of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago were dictated by location of employment; subsequently, housing discrimination and the formation of district enclaves quickly formed (Betancur, 1996; De Genova & Ramos-Zayas, 2003). In reaction, the marginalization that Latinos experienced in Chicago necessitated the development of their own community resources (Ramíez, 2011). In the 1940s, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans shared the same neighborhoods; however, during the 1950s and 60s, these ethnic populations began settling in neighborhoods that were distinctly their own (Betancur, 1996). More recently, because of the rapid influx of Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican neighborhoods are once again mixed, with Puerto Ricans no longer the majority in any one neighborhood (De Genova & Ramos-Zayas, 2003). In 2000, Chicago had 126 barrios (50% or more Latino) and 97 hyper-barrios (75% or more Latino) (Sandoval & Jennings, 2012). Several identifiable Latino areas included a contiguous set of community areas comprising the Lower West Side, South Lawndale and— below the south branch of the Chicago River and the Stevenson expressway— Bridgeport, McKinley Park, Brighton Park, New City, and Gage Park. Another principal area of Latino residence was the set of Near Northwest Side community areas, including West Town, Humboldt Park, Logan Square, Hermosa, and Belmont Cragin (Paral, 2006). At the time of the study, traditional Mexican enclaves, such as Pilsen and Little Village, situated west from Chicago's south side, were expanding (Koval & Fidel, 2006).

The Latino community in Chicago had a history of strong formal organization and civic action dating back to the 1960s (Ramíez, 2011). As early as the 1920s, Mexican

Catholic Churches were established in south Chicago (Ramíez, 2011). During this same time, Latino immigrants were interacting with settlements houses, including Hull House, located in the near west side and served as centers for the creation of mutual aid groups, such as the Mexican Mothers Club (Ganz & Strobel, 2004; Kerr, 1979). In the late 1920s and 30s, ethnic organizations were founded and located in south Chicago (Arredondo, 2008).

In the 1960s, Pilsen became the heart of the city's Mexican community and the Chicano movement in Chicago (Ramíez, 2011). At this time, the social service center, Casa Aztlán, located in Pilsen, became the hub for a community meeting place which housed adult education classes, art studios, and health clinics (Ramíez, 2011). The formation of Casa Aztlán was followed by the creation of Centro de Acción Social Autónomo, Centro de la Causa, Hogar de Niños, Mujeres Latinas en Acción, Latino You and the Asociación Pro Derechos Obreros (Parra, 2004). Politically, most of these organizations focused on advocating for immigrant rights, but like Casa Aztlán, frequently provided services and cultural activities.

In the 1980s, Latino activists in Chicago focused on gaining representation in political offices with some success; gaining city council seats in two primarily Latino wards (Cordova, 1999). Activities in the 1980s and 90s resulted in the creation of even more organizations, some primarily advocacy-oriented, including Refugee Rights and the Latino Policy Forum, some that focused on services, including Casa Romero, the Erie Neighborhood House, and the Instituto del Progresso Latino, and even more combined these functions creating hybrid organizations, including the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, the Albany Park Community Center and the Centro sin Fronteras (Pallares, 2010). In

addition to these organizations, hometown organizations grew during this time and churches historically central in Latino communities were both politically active and provided social services to recent immigrants (Davis, Martinez, & Warner, 2010; Bada, 2010). Aided by these organizational infrastructures, the Latino community was politically active in the three years before the study took place. In September 1999, organized by the organization mentioned above, ten thousand people marched from Daly Plaza to Federal Plaza in Chicago (Pallares, 2010). In 2000, the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights held town hall meetings and collected thousands of signatures on petitions for amnesty (Pallares, 2010). At this same time, coalitions were being built among organizations and groups of immigrants; second generation youth were being formed in Pilsen and Humboldt Park to discuss social and political issues in the community (Pallares, 2010). In short, the Latino communities in Chicago, over the past century have built a rich network of institutions within their neighborhoods; a fact that is central to this research.

Limitations

Like many studies, this research has some limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings: 1) Data used in the study was collected over a decade ago, threatening the studies' generalizability to current context. 2) Although several data sources were used and the causal ordering or relationships can be argued, the data is essentially cross-sectional, limiting any definitive causal claims. 3) The lack of specificity in the measures of formal organization leaves room for a wide variation of intuitions to exist, for example, under a construct of "community center."

Definition of Terms

Latino: Individuals who trace their origin or decent to Mexico, Puerto Rico, Central and South American, and other Spanish speaking cultures.

Distress: The unpleasant subjective state or the absence of well-being, a feeling that is often labeled as anxiety or depression in clinical settings.

Neighborhood Disadvantage: The presence of a number of community-level stressors, such as poverty, unemployment or under-employment, and limited resources.

Neighborhood Disorganization: A neighborhood absent of a system or order, often characterized by visual cues of crime, public substance use, disruption of social ties, conflict, incivility in social interactions, and lack of control in public spaces (garbage and litter).

Formal organization: A social system organized around specific goals and governed by fixed, explicit, and enforced rules of intra-organizational procedures and structures.

Informal organization: Consists of a dynamic set of personal relationships, social networks, communities of common interest, and emotional sources of motivation. The informal organization evolves organically and spontaneously in response to changes in the work environment, the flux of people through its porous boundaries, and the complex social dynamic of its members.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Etiology and Known Correlates of Psychological Distress

Operating within the context of social stress theory, this review identifies some of the major social determinants and known correlates of psychological distress, as well as resiliency and protective factors against distress on both the individual and neighborhood level. Because psychological distress has frequently been discussed within the framework of anxiety and depression, an examination of this literature will be included as well.

Over the past forty years of research, seven patterns of negative or positive correlation with psychological distress have emerged:

1) There is an inverse relationship between distress and socioeconomic status (Kessler, 1979; Lewis, et al., 1998).
2) Minority status is associated with higher rates of distress (Kessler & Cleary, 1980).
3) Married people are less distressed than all other groups (Bachrach, 1975; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983).
4) Individuals with dependent children living in the home are more distressed.
5) Women are more distressed than men (Weissman & Klerman, 1977).
6) The more unwanted change or loss there is in an individual's life, the more distress.
7) Younger people are more anxious and depress than middle-aged individuals (Ross & Mirowsky, 2003).

The difference in rates of distress between high-income and low-income individuals dwarfs the next largest disparity, which is the disproportion between men and women (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003).

Socio-economic Status and Psychological Distress

During the past fifty years of mental health epidemiology, an inverse relationship has consistently been found between socio-economic status (SES) and psychological distress (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960; Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958; Srole et al., 1962; Kessler et al., 1994; US Dept of Health and Human Services, 2001; Dohrenwend, 1973). For example, between 2005 and 2007, 17.6 % of individuals making less than $20,000 a year reported experiencing severe psychological distress, as compared to 8% of those who earned $75,000 or more (SAMHA, 2010). Socio-economically disadvantaged individuals also report the highest rates of depression (Aneshensel, 2009).

Many researchers have attributed this large gap in distress rates between individuals at different income levels to social drift. The theory of social drift claims that individuals who have more mental health challenges are not able to make a decent living and are therefore more likely to have low incomes (Eaton, 1980). However, others have attributed the relationship between income and distress to the higher rates of social stressors encountered by individuals experiencing disadvantage (Kessler, 1979), and still others have claimed that the disparity is due to unequal access to mental health care.

Although it has clearly been established that individuals of lower SES receive mental health services less frequently due to a variety of barriers (Chow, Jaffee, & Snowden, 2003), disparities remain, even in countries that have universal health care and fewer barriers to services (Adler et al., 1994). It has been argued that the uneven

distribution of stressors account for the differential rates in distress by class (Markush & Favero, 1974); however, some evidence shows that individuals with lower income are also more responsive to stressors because of the accumulation of both chronic and acute stressors (Dohrenwend, 1973). One of the key sources of stress, economic hardship has been found to account for a significant portion of the differences in rates of distress by income. The struggle to pay bills and take care of basic needs leads to elevated levels of distress (Pearlin et al., 1981; Ross & Van Willingen, 1997).

In one of the classic studies in this area, Kessler (1979) examined the relationship between socio-economic status and stressful life events and found that individuals in the lowest socio-economic bracket experience more stressors and report more distress as a result of their experiences. Kessler's study demonstrated that when holding the number of stressors constant, individuals in the lower fifth of the economic stratum experienced less severe distress; however, overall their rates of severe distress were much higher. Kessler (1979) concluded that the resilience of individuals in the lowest stratum was canceled out by their exposure to more stressors, lending considerable support to a social stress theory of disparities. In fact, differential rates of chronic stress that impact psychological distress are one of the most important moderating factors between SES and a variety of health outcomes (Baum, Garofalo, & Yali, 1999).

Race and Psychological Distress

Disparities in rates of distress have been observed between Whites and nonWhite minority groups, although these findings are less consistent and more complex than the correlations between SES and psychological distress. For example, studies indicate that racial differences in rates of psychological distress can be explained, in part, by differing

socio-economic status, linguistic acculturation, discrimination, and cultural differences in resources to cope with stressors (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Kessler & Neighbors, 1986; Zhag et al., 2011; Byrd, 2012). For example, rates of psychological distress among African Americans are higher (Williams & Harris-Reid, 1999; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991) which some argue can be explained by group differences in socio-economic status (Warheit, Holzer & Schwab, 1973) and concentrated poverty (Schulz et al., 2000); conditions that have been perpetuated by social and economic oppression. In a study attempting to tease out the effects of race and class, Kessler and Neighbors (1986) argued that the relationship between race and class is interactive with racial disparities among low-income individuals being even more pronounced than those found in the upper stratum. They concluded that studies which have shown that the effect of race disappears when controlling for income, suppress the effect of race (Kessler & Neighbors, 1986).

Kessler (1979) examined the relationship between stressors and rates of psychological distress between Whites and non-Whites. His findings indicated that non-Whites exhibited higher rates of distress than Whites and that this statistically significant relationship is explained by more reported stressors from non-Whites. However, Kessler also found that non-Whites reported more resilience to stress, yet although similar to individuals with low SES, this strength did not seem to diminish the disparity in extreme distress due to the elevated number of stressors. Since Kessler's study in the late 1970s, disproportionate levels of stress in racial minorities have been repeatedly confirmed (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003), as a relationship that is compounded by the stress associated with racist encounters (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Nazroo, 2003; Thompson, 2002). Most studies examining the

relationship between discrimination/racism and psychological distress have focused on African Americans; however, recent studies indicate that the same relationship holds true for Latinos in the US (Torres, Moore, & Ysnaga, 2011).

Distress Among Latinos

The rate of psychological distress among Latino is more difficult to pinpoint due to their heterogeneity and different acculturation statuses. Some recent studies indicate immigration is a risk factor due to acculturation stress (e.g., Bratter & Eschbach, 2005); however, other studies indicate immigrants are protected from distress by strong familial and community support (Vegs et al., 1998; Escobar, Nervi, & Gara, 2000). Some research has demonstrated that Mexican Americans have higher rates of distress than Whites or African Americans (Frerichs, Anchensel, & Clark, 1981; Vernon & Roberts, 1982), while other studies show that Mexican Americans report similar levels (Roberts, 1980; Burnam et al., 1983) and lower levels of psychological distress when compared to non-Latino Whites (Mirowsky & Ross, 1980). Levels of acculturation, country of origin, and generational status differences make Latino experiences in America diverse, and generalizations about rates of distress across categories potentially misleading.

One of the important findings across a variety of health outcomes is that new immigrants, despite lower SES and the stress associated with immigration, have better health, a phenomena labeled the *Latino health paradox* (Lee, 2009; Eschbach et al., 2004; Richarson & Piepho, 2000; Homa, Mannino, & Lara, 2000). This dynamic is also found for psychological distress, with Mexicans born in the US exhibiting higher rates of distress than those born in Mexico (Escobar, Nervi, & Gara, 2000; Burnam, et al., 1987). One explanation for these outcomes is that new immigrants maintain strong familial ties

that act as a protective factor against stress (Vega et al., 1991). However, a recent study has shown that recent immigrants generally report less accumulated stress compared to their White counterparts, while US-born Latinos report stress experiences comparable to African Americans (Sternthal, Slopen, & Williams, 2011). The differences among US-born and foreign-born Latinos stress experiences were most apparent in the areas of:

- Acute life events (US-born = 27%, Foreign-born = 8%)
- Life discrimination (US-born = 27%, Foreign- born =3%)
- Financial (US-born =22%, Foreign-born =12%)
- Community (US-born = 22%, Foreign-born = 15%)

Foreign-born Latinos did, however, report more stress in early life and in employment. All of these stress experiences were positively associated with depressive symptoms and accounted for the positive association between American-born Latinos and depression. Stress did not seem to have an effect on the consistently negative relationship between being foreign-born and depression, which could be a product of less stress experiences or the presence of protective factors that have been hypothesized to be present among foreign-born Latinos (Sternthal, Slopen, & Williams, 2011). This study serves as an excellent example of the potential drivers of the Latino health paradox and the differences that appear when populations typically lumped together under the label Hispanic/Latino are examined separately.

Acculturation, or an individual's level of adaptation of the host culture, has also been cited as a factor in the Latino paradox, with the acculturation into American culture being a risk for increased psychological distress. Higher rates of acculturation among Latinos are related to the adoption of negative behaviors, such as substance use (Vega &

Amaro, 1994); however, the adoption of these behaviors may be a function of SES, specifically upward or downward mobility. Downwardly mobile Latinos are impacted by the neighborhoods in which they live, as well as the mounting frustration they face due to the barriers that they and their parents experience as a minority in the US (Portes & Zou, 1993). These dynamics may be impacting the intersection of poverty and minority status, resulting in compounded disadvantage and therefore higher rates of distress (Kessler & Neighbors, 1986). In fact, the rates of depression among Latinos are more associated with gender and SES than with acculturation or ethnic identity alone (Cuellar & Roberts, 1997; Canabal & Quiles, 1995). However, as in the case of African Americans, economic discrimination in the form of restricted opportunities is difficult to separate from disadvantage and therefore may present an interactive relationship, rather than an additive one.

As with any other ethnic group, Latino experiences are often gendered, with males and females having different outcomes as a result of gender roles. This trend holds true for psychological distress. Female Latinos have been found to have higher rates of distress than both their male counterparts and non-minority females--a relationship that has been attributed to gender roles and statuses (Koss-Chioino, 1999). In fact, the gender gap in rates of depression is larger for Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican, than non-Latino Whites (Torres Stone, Rivera, & Berdahl, 2004).

Discussing disparities in psychological distress among Latinos is also complex due to the large heterogeneity among them. In a study comparing the rates of depression and distress among Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans reported the highest level of distress and depression. Cuban Americans had the

lowest levels, with Mexican Americans falling between Puerto Ricans and Cubans (but below the rate of non-Latino Whites in the population) (Narrow et al., 1990; Moscicki et al., 1989).

However, more recent studies indicate that both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans report more psychological distress (Ecalante, del Rincón, & Mulorow, 2000; Lopez & Stanton-Slazar, 2001), with Mexicans more likely to report depression (González, Haan, & Hinton, 2001; Bratter & Eschbach, 2005) and Puerto Ricans more likely to report distress. Nativity has a differential impact of Puerto Rican and Mexican American, with first generation status being protective for Mexican immigrants, but a risk factor for Puerto Ricans (Torres Stone, et al., 2004).

These findings indicate that variation between groups of individuals which have been traditional lumped together under the umbrella of "Hispanic" or "Latino" is one of the primary reasons for inconsistent findings. The inability to get adequate sample sizes to analyze each group separately, coupled with an inattention to acculturation status and a lack of attention to experiences of racial discrimination, may also explain the variation in rates of distress among Latino samples (Williams & Harris-Reid, 1999).

Marital Status and Psychological Distress

Married individuals are able to cope better with stress, due to increased social support and a decrease in the experience of stressors (Kessler, 1979). However, marriage is only a protective factor when the relationship between husband and wife is equitable and supportive and there is little economic stress (Umberson & Williams, 1999). Marriage generally increases feelings of wellbeing; however, if the relationship is not

equitable, marriage can also decrease feelings of wellbeing (Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006).

Gender and Psychological Distress

Another common source of psychological distress is role strain, which has been cited as the driver in the disproportions of distress found in women when compared to men (Lanza di Scalea et al., 2012). Once again, researchers find that income is a mediator in the relationship between gender and psychological distress. Women who work outside the home and have a partner that shares responsibilities within the household have the least distress. Whereas, women who have primary responsibility for the household and feel forced to work because of economic hardships have the most distress (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003; Robinson, 1980).

Parenting and Psychological Distress

Having children is a risk factor for increased psychological distress when: 1) the addition of a child increases economic hardship, 2) there is decreased support from one's spouse, 3) there is inequality in child care responsibilities, and 4) there is tension between work and family (Gove & Geerken, 1977; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983; Major, Kline, & Ehrhart, 2002). Women with children report lower rates of wellbeing (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004); however, women with children over the age of sixteen and living out of the house, report higher levels of psychological wellbeing (Huppert, 2009). The impact of having a child is most detrimental for single or divorced mothers who have higher rates of psychological distress (Kendel, Davies, & Raveis, 1985).

Unwanted Life Events, Trauma, and Psychological Distress

Another important determinant of distress is unwanted life events or trauma. There is a relationship between exposure to traumatic events in childhood and distress in adulthood (Wheaton, 1994). Previous traumatic events affect current distress by evoking memories tied to negative emotional experiences (Brewin, Dalgleish, & Joseph, 1996). In addition, certain unwanted life events can have long lasting effects on distress, especially when they are unforeseen or are life threatening (Pearlin, 1980; Shrout et al., 1989). Trauma is also related to distress when it challenges an individual's established role, as in the loss of a spouse or child (Brewin, Dalgleish, & Joseph, 1996).

Although not directly linked to lower socioeconomic status, studies have shown that individuals at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum report experiencing more acute stressors (Kessler, 1979). It has also been argued that it is extremely difficult to determine where acute stressors end and where chronic stressors begin. As an example, Pearlin (1999) points out that home foreclosure may be considered an unwanted life event, but it could be indicative of a much longer, chronic process stemming from the overall stressor of economic hardship.

The Spatial Dynamics of Observed Disparities in Psychological Distress

Despite attempts to diminish disparities, differences in the observed rates of psychological distress by race, class, and gender remain (SAMHSA, 2010; Patel et al., 2010). In 2006, when the Federal Collaborative for Health Disparities Research (FCHDR) met to decide which of the 165 disparities identified should be targeted, mental health was listed in the top four, along with obesity, co-morbidities, and the built environment (Safran et al., 2009). Although some determinants of distress are clearly

found within the individual, as discussed previously, the unequal distribution of psychological distress in the population strongly suggests that social and environmental factors influence the manifestation of these feelings (Aneshensel & Phelan, 1999; Patel et al., 2010; Baum, Garofalo, & Yali, 1999).

The concentration of higher rates of distress in neighborhoods leads us to consider, not only the economic and racial distribution of distress, but the spatial distribution as well (Jargowsky, 1997; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). While the concentration of poverty improved in the 1990s, a new study released by the Brookings Institute in November of 2011 reported that concentrated poverty is again on the rise (Kneebone, Nadeau, & Berube, 2011). Additionally, while formal neighborhood segregation among White and African Americans was outlawed in the 1960s, several studies have found that racial segregation in neighborhoods continues to exist (Massey & Denton, 1993). When no longer maintained by law, ethnic enclaves develop in response to structural barriers to mobility, socio-economic opportunity, and resident choice (Sampson, 2012). This is true for Latinos, as well as recent immigrants, who frequently live in neighborhoods with other immigrants (Lee, 2009). From 1980 to 2010, the number of Latino neighborhoods (50% or more Latino) grew 232%; consequently, concentrated disadvantage was more likely to be found in the hyper-barrios or in neighborhoods with a 75% or higher Latino population (Sandoval & Jennings, 2012). The combination of disproportionally high rates of psychological distress among individuals who live in poverty within minority groups and the concentration of individuals with similar socio-economic and ethnic profiles who live in neighborhoods suggests that neighborhood dynamics may play a role in disparities in rates of distress (Patel, et al., 2010).

Neighborhood Disadvantage and Psychological Distress

Although the research cited above seems to indicate that individual-level economic hardship is the major driver of disparities in psychological distress, concentrated disadvantage has also been shown to have an impact on these outcomes (Ross, 2000; Wilson, 1987). Frequently referred to as upstream social determinates of distress (Braveman, Egerter & Williams, 2011), living in a disadvantaged neighborhood (defined as 30-40% of the population living below the poverty level) has consistently been associated with psychological distress beyond that of individual socio-economic status (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). More specifically, Dupere & Perkins (2007) found that census blocks accounted for 10.8% of the variation in wellbeing and 5.2% of the variation in anxiety when controlling for individual economic circumstance. This is consistent with previous studies which found that 5-10% of psychological outcomes were accounted for at the neighborhood level (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). This relationship has been attributed to the chronic stressors, such as higher rates of crime, abandoned buildings, public drug and alcohol use, and a lack of access to services that arise when an individual lives in a disadvantaged neighborhood (Mair, Roux, & Galea, 2008). These conditions, traditionally called *disorder* or *disorganization*, were originally observed by Charles Booth in England in one of the first studies to map the living conditions of the poor. This terminology has been questioned due to its stigmatizing connotations, but has endured in sociological studies of the urban environment (Sampson, 2012). Disorganization has been found to be essential in understanding the relationship between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress. Ross (2000) found that neighborhood disorder, characterized by general signs of crime (i.e., graffiti, broken

windows, noise), fully mediated the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress.

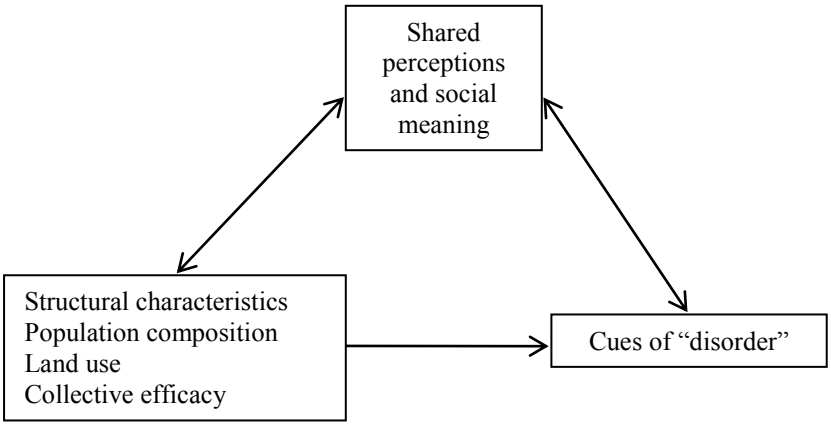
Disorganization may serve as a crucial mediator for two reasons: 1) it is an indication of the presence of crime, and 2) it communicates to residents a stigmatized narrative about the places where they live. In the criminal justice literature, a clear relationship has been established between the signs and symbols and the disorganization and crime, leading some to claim that one causes the other (Sampson & Groves, 1989). This theory of causation has led to the creation of "broken windows" policing, a strategy that cracks down on small violations (such as littering) with the belief that the elimination of signs of disorganization will lead to the elimination of major crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Subsequent studies have shown that the relationship between these two constructs is not necessarily causal, but spurious (Sampson, 2012). Signs and symbols of disorganization (such as graffiti or needles) are evidence of criminal behavior, both minor (such as defacing property) and major (such as gang violence). Not only does disorganization serve as a sign and symbol of criminal behavior, it communicates to its residents that they are living in a neighborhood that is on the low end of the social stratification spectrum (Sampson, 2012). Signs and symbols of disorganization are daily reminders of narratives that have been constructed about what it means to live in certain areas and the norms that prevail in these places. The perpetuation of this narrative, the label of "disorganization" becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, generating conditions that reinforce the stigma, discourage economic development, and maintain the concentration of disadvantage (Sampson, 2012).

In the discussion of neighborhood disorganization, a distinction is made between objective disorganization, the signs and symbols observed by individuals living outside of the neighborhood, and the perception of disorganization by individuals living in the neighborhood (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Unlike the objective observation of disorganization, perceptions of disorganization require the viewer to see the sign and symbol and then cognitively record it as a problem (Sampson, 2012). Between the two perceptions of disorganization is the measurement most consistently used in neighborhood research because it is easily measured in survey designs (Mair et al., 2009).

An individual's perception of disorganization has been criticized because individual perceptions may be impacted by emotional states, such as depression, thus compromising the causal ordering of the relationships found (Roundtree & Land, 1996). While objective observations of disorganization are thought to be more rigorous because they capture independent neighborhood variables, they have been challenging to collect. Systematic social observations (SSO) have been advanced as a rigorous method for collecting objective data about the neighborhood environment (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). In SSOs, researchers walk or drive through city streets noting the signs and symbols of disorganization, such as graffiti, littered areas with trash and condoms, abandoned cars, and broken windows, for example (Taylor et al., 1985). Although SSOs have been advanced as a method to address the methodological challenges of relying solely on perceptions, it has been argued that it is the perceptions of disorganization, rather than solely the presence of signs and symbols that are important in behavior and psychological outcomes (Ross, 2000). Perceptions of neighborhood disorganization measure both the potential presence of signs and symbols and the interpretation of these

into meaning and narrative (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). To illustrate this dynamic, Sampson (2012) offers the following model:

Figure 1. Sampson's Model of Disorganization (Sampson, 2012, p.129)



The shared meaning created, based on signs and symbols can include the norms of behavior within the space and the meaning attached to the place by the larger society. The later may be especially important when discussing the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and distress.

The investigation of neighborhood effects on distress is not new; it dates back to the classic neighborhood studies initiated by the Chicago School of Sociology at the turn of the 19th century (Sampson, 2012). The Chicago school argued that structural factors of the neighborhood, specifically low SES, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility, impacted a variety of individual outcomes (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Within this sociological tradition, Faris and Dunham (1939), in one of the first studies to examine the spatial distribution of mental health disorders in neighborhoods, established a relationship between hospitalization for mental health disorders and where an individual lived prior to being admitted. They attributed this relationship to the lack of social infrastructure in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which they hypothesized added to the existing impact of

individual-level characteristics. Although Faris and Dunham (1939) relied on hospitalization rates and were unable to control for individual-level factors, this study was the first to make the connection between the environment and psychological outcomes, laying the groundwork for subsequent studies.

In addressing the key flaws of early sociological studies, recent research has been able to differentiate the impact of neighborhood effects and individual characteristics on psychological distress in the general population (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996; Burke, et al., 2009; Silver, et al., 2002; Truong & Ma, 2006; Galea, et al., 2007; Roh, et al., 2011; Beard, et al., 2009; Cutrona et al., 2000; Christie-Mizell et al., 2003). These newer studies have found a consistent relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress, controlling for individual-level determinants of distress. In a review of studies that examined the relationship between neighborhood characteristics and depressive symptoms, 37 of the 45 studies found significant associations between the two (Mair, et al., 2009).

More specifically, Silver, Mulvey, and Swanson (2002) found that when controlling for a variety of individual-level characteristics, a positive association remained between neighborhood disadvantage and depression. In this study, neighborhood disadvantage was measured using nine tract-level items collected by the US Census Bureau as part of the annual American Community Survey. These items included: the percentage of individuals living below the poverty line, the percentage of husband and wife households, the percentage of households with children that are female-headed, the percentage of households on public assistance, the adult unemployment rate, the percentage of households with a median income below $30,000,

the percentage of individuals in an executive or managerial job, the percentage of units that are rentals, and the percentage of individuals over the age of five who did not live in the same address five years earlier. Because all these variables were highly correlated, Silver, Mulvey, and Swanson (2002) conducted a factor analysis and found two distinct factors: neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood residential stability.

In a similar study, Mirowsky and Ross (2003) took the investigation further, testing the hypothesis that individuals living in disadvantaged neighborhoods experience higher levels of distress due to the adoption of unhealthy behaviors prevalent in the neighborhood, such as drinking and using drugs. They found that while there was a correlation between substance use and distress, this relationship did not account for the association between neighborhood disadvantage and depression. The neighborhood effect persisted even when accounting for individual behavior.

Similar to Silver et al., (2002), Mirowsky and Ross (2003) examined a variety of indicators drawn from the US census to measure neighborhood disadvantage, including: the percentage of adults with a high school degree, the percentage of individuals over the age of twenty-four with a college degree, the mean household income, the unemployment rate, the percentage of residents that are owner-occupied, the percentage of households headed by a female, the percentage of households headed by a female raising a dependent child, the percentage of the tract that identified as African American, and the percentage of other minority groups. Unlike Silver et al., (2003) Ross and Mirowsky selected the variables most highly correlated with depression and tested if individual disadvantage accounted for the relationship--if it did not, the measure was retained. They found that the percentage of individuals living below the poverty line and the percentage of mother-only

households represented aspects of neighborhood disadvantages that were related to distress. They then created an index by averaging the two measures of neighborhood disadvantage.

Although both of these studies indicated a relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress, they were cross-sectional, limiting their ability to establish a causal relationship. Using a longitudinal design to address these limitations, Wheaton and Clarke (2003) found that, not only did neighborhood factors impact distress; there were also cross-level interactions between individual social status and neighborhood poverty. This cross-level interaction indicated that adolescents, whose parents had less than a high school education, had higher rates of distress than those whose parents had a college degree, when both were living in a disadvantaged neighborhood. Differential rates of socio-economic status (SES) on the individual level contributed to the differential vulnerability of neighborhood-level stressors, which resulted in aggregate disadvantages. Gender also interacts with the environment, with neighborhood rates of unemployment impacting the drinking problems of men and the rates of depression for women (Van Praag et al., 2009). This research established a relationship between neighborhood characteristics and psychological distresses beyond individual-level factors, and further explored how individual-level characteristics may interact with the neighborhood to create compounded disadvantage.

The findings of one of the most methodologically sophisticated studies examining the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress further support the causal relationship (Leventhal & Dupere, 2011). In the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) study, families in five U.S. cities, living in public housing with 40%

poverty rates or higher, were randomly selected and given vouchers to move to areas with less density of poverty (i.e., 10% or lower). This quasi-experimental design allowed researchers to control for selection bias by constructing a control group, which allowed the researchers to isolate the effects of the neighborhood. Results showed a consistent and rather large improvement in rates of depression and anxiety among adults in the experimental group when compared with the control group (Kling et al., 2007). Although moving into a low poverty neighborhood had an impact on mental health outcomes, it did not improve economic wellbeing, further demonstrating the independent effect of the neighborhood environment beyond that of economic hardship (Sanbonmatsu, et al., 2012).

A note should be made about the measurement of neighborhood social and physical environments. In their review of studies examining the relationship between neighborhood environments and depression, Mair et al. (2009) found variation in measurement with 16 using census-driven measures, 14 using participant self-report, 10 including both census measures and self-report, and only three utilizing objective outside raters. Results seems to indicate that measures of the build environment collected using objective outside raters have a more consistent relationship to depression as compared to other structural characteristics, such as the socio-economic deprivation; however, the authors note that only few studies have used this methodology (Mair et al., 2009). In the studies that have included some combination of objective measures regarding the built environment (perceptions of the neighborhood and structural measures, such as census data, for example) most have treated such variables as independent of each other,

subsequently failing to examine their interrelationship (Mair, Diex, Roux, & Morenoff, 2010; Wheaton & Clarke, 2002).

These concepts may be highly correlated, however, some research has suggested that they are separate constructs and in fact, one mediates the other (Ross, 2000). In one of the first studies to combine these constructs into a cohesive model, Shultz and colleagues (2013) tested the mediating effect of both objective disorganization and perception of disorganization on the relationship between structural disadvantages and biological cumulative risk. Their results indicated that both mediated the relationship independently and in combination. In a study directly testing the relationship between perception of the neighborhood environment and objective disorganization, objective disorganization was found to predict perceptions of disorganization; however, the racial and economic makeup of the neighborhood was a more significant predictor of perception (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004). While Whites perceived more disorder than African Americans, overall the effect of the percentage of African Americans in the neighborhood on perception did not differ by the race of the observer. African Americans perceived the same amount of disorder as Whites in predominantly African American neighborhoods. This was also true for Latinos who perceived similar rates of disorganization as Whites when neighborhood populations were 25% African American. They perceived significantly more than Whites when neighborhood populations reached 75% African American. This relationship was not tested for primarily Latino neighborhoods. In this study, Sampson & Raudenbush (2004) attributed these relationships to implicit bias through which objective signs of disorder are filtered to form perceptions. Despite the role of racial and ethnic heterogeneity in the perception of

disorganization, very few studies have examined how the racial and ethnic composition may impact minority psychological distress (Mair et al., 2009).

Neighborhoods and Latino's Psychological Distress

Early urban sociologists in the Chicago school combined neighborhood socio-economic status, racial heterogeneity, and mobility to predict disorganization (Sampson, 2012). Although the vast majority of neighborhood research has focused on the Black/White dichotomy, it has been suggested that ethnic enclaves may be protective for Latinos, both recent immigrants and native born (Alba & Nee, 1997). While protective effects are clear for health outcomes, the results are less clear for mental health, with some studies providing evidence that neighborhood disadvantage still negatively impacts Latinos' psychological distress when living in ethnic neighborhoods (Hill & Angel, 2005; Bamaca, Umana-Taylor, Shin, & Alforo, 2005). Yet other studies suggest that the concentration of Latinos in neighborhoods mediate the relationship between living in disadvantaged neighborhoods and distress (Eschbach et al., 2004; LeClere, Rogers, & Peters, 1997). Directly testing this hypothesis, Lee (2009) found that living in dense ethnic enclaves was related to more depressive symptoms and anxiety among Mexican Americans living in Chicago, after controlling for individual level factors. These findings could be explained by the relationship between the racial makeup of a neighborhood and the resident's perception of disorganization (Sampson, 2012). This relationship may, however, vary by acculturation status. Studies have shown that recent immigrants are more likely to live in ethnic enclaves; a relationship that decreases over time and varies with educational attainment (Bartel, 1989). However, if Latinos continue to live in ethnic

enclaves as they acculturate, this may signify a failure to achieve upward mobility, causing frustration and distress (Rumbaut, 1994).

Many neighborhood studies include racial concentration in their definition of neighborhood disadvantage and control for it in their model; however, few expressly test the interaction of race and income. Even fewer studies include sufficient samples of Latinos in their analysis to make a conclusion about neighborhood dynamics in Latino ethnic enclaves. One notable exception is Aneshensel and Sucoff's (1996) study of neighborhood effects on adolescent psychological distress in LA. This study not only had a sizable number of Latinos, it also predicted the relationship between neighborhood and distress, based on neighborhood typologies created using both neighborhood SES and racial makeup. In this study, researchers found that living in high poverty (median income: 15.6 -17.4, percent poverty: 30.1-37.8) Latino and African American neighborhoods positively predicted adolescents' perception of ambient hazards, defined as potential dangers, including: safety, drive-by shootings, gang activity, property damage, drug use, etc., when compared to a working class (median income: 21.2-35.6, percent poverty: 8.9-22.1) primarily Latino neighborhood. They also found that living in a high poverty neighborhood which was primarily Latino was protective against reports of depression, as compared to primarily Latino working-class neighborhoods, after controlling for the youths' perceptions of ambient hazards and social cohesion. Because Latino immigrants tend to settle in ethnic enclaves and the intersection of race and socio-economic status impact rates of distress, the lack or research in this area indicates a significant gap in the literature.

Resiliency and Protective Factors Against Psychological Distress

Across individual and family-level determinants of distress, there are two common factors that drive the manifestation of distress: a stressor and the inability to overcome that stressor. Wheaton (1983) argued that being able to cope with stressors requires a feeling of power to change the circumstances and a certain amount of cognitive flexibility to evaluate possible solutions. Mirowsky and Ross (2003), in alignment with Seeman (1959), posited that having a sense of control over one's life has the largest impact on protecting an individual from psychological distress when experiencing stressors (Wheaton, 1983; Pearlin et al., 1981; Benassi, Sweeney, & Dufour, 1988). The same was found for wellbeing. In both experimental and observational research, the identification and pursuit of goals has been consistently identified as a cause of subjective wellbeing (Kasser & Ryan, 1999; Sheldon & Kasser, 1998; Sheldon & Elliot, 1999).

It follows that a personal sense of control or agency has been consistently positively associated with higher socio-economic status (Pearlin & Schooler 1978). Kessler and Cleary (1980) also claimed that intra-psychic characteristics, such as feelings of self-efficacy and empowerment are a crucial mediator in the relationship between SES and distress. This construct has taken on several different names: mastery (Pearlin et al., 1981), personal autonomy (Seeman & Seeman, 1983), a sense of personal efficacy (Downey & Moen, 1987; Gecas, 1989), and instrumentalism (Wheaton, 1980), along with the opposites of fatalism (Wheaton, 1980) and perceived helplessness. Although understood as a key mediator, impacting a sense of mastery over individual-level and family-level stressors may be possible with individual-level intervention, but feeling in control of environmental stressors may be more difficult.

The other important mediator between SES and distress identified by Kessler and Cleary (1980) is social resources. In the literature, a consistent inverse relationship has been found between social support and distress (Andrews, Tennant, Hewson, & Vaillant, 1978; Henderson et al., 1978; Lin, Simwone, Ensel, & Kuo, 1979). Brown and Harris (1978) found strong evidence for the mediating effect of social support on the relationship between poverty and depression; the effect of poverty was significantly reduced when isolation was controlled for. Again, it follows that individuals at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum have less access to social supports (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1970). While most studies examining the buffering relationship of social support on distress have been conducted using cross-sectional surveys, opening the findings up to issues with time ordering, Holahna and Moos (1981) demonstrated the effect of changes in social support, controlling for initial levels of psychological distress. The known relationships between individual-level stressors and coping mechanisms and psychological distress help us understand how concentrated disadvantage may compound these relationships.

Protective Factors Within the Neighborhood Context

Generally, the mechanisms that have been tested and found to mediate the relationships between neighborhood disadvantages and distress parallel those found at the individual- and family-levels and can function at both the individual and neighborhood level. On the individual level, the protective effect of subjective feelings of power and social support against the manifestation of psychological distress when living in disadvantaged neighborhoods has gained empirical support (Ross, Mirowsky, & Pribesh, 2001). Individuals who have social support networks and feel they are able to control

their own life may not be as vulnerable to distress when living in a disadvantaged neighborhood, as those who do not. In the presence of feelings of power or social support, the connection between living in an environment perceived to be unsafe and distress is diminished (Booth, Ayers, & Marsiglia, 2012). However, these individual-level protective factors may not operate the same way across different types of neighborhoods (Dupréré & Perkins, 2007; Shinn & Toohey, 2003). In 2000, Elliot tested the relationship between SES and depression, controlling for an individual's sense of control and social support. He found that an individual's sense of control mediated the relationship for individuals living in low-income neighborhoods, but not those living in high-income neighborhoods and that social support mediated the relationship for individuals living in high-income neighborhoods, but not those living in low-income neighborhoods (Elliot, 2000). These findings suggest that different protective processes may be at work in high and low-income neighborhoods.

Not only has individual efficacy been shown to mediate the relationship between neighborhood stressor and distress, neighborhood collective efficacy has been likened to individual efficacy on the neighborhood level. Similar to individual efficacy, collective efficacy refers to a group's belief that they can act to address a problem within a given context, in this case the neighborhood (Sampson, 2012). In one classic study that illustrated this dynamic, Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) found that differentials in reported levels of collective efficacy predicted differing rates of crime in demographically similar neighborhoods. Applied to the study of distress, higher rates of collective efficacy was associated with low rates of depression among older adults (Ahern & Galea, 2011). Communities with assets, such as trust, reciprocity, tolerance,

and participation (all factors that contribute to collective efficacy) may be more resilient as a whole in the face of challenges and adversity (Friedli, 2009).

The impact of social ties, the neighborhood-level equivalent of social support, on crime and overall wellbeing have, however, had mixed findings. This may be due to the fact that social networks do not inherently promote pro-social behavior or provide support (Wilson, 1996). This determination was illustrated in a study that found informal ties are more beneficial in high-income White neighborhoods where they are coupled with more formal institutions, but negatively impact wellbeing in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Caughy, et al., 2003; Latkin & Curry, 2003; Warner & Rountree, 1997; Wen, Cagney, & Christakis, 2005). Wilson (1996) explained that restricting informal connections in neighborhoods that have high rates of criminal behavior might be protective in the absence of formal institutions that foster positive interactions (Altschuler, Somkin, & Adler, 2004). In fact, within the neighborhood context, dense networks such as gangs might arise to address issues of disorganization and while asserting order, perpetuate crime. In these cases, dense social networks may be at odds with collective efficacy or social control (Pattillo-McCoy, 1998). It is for this reason that weak social ties rather than strong ones have been asserted as the most protective within the neighborhood context (Granovetter, 1973). The theory of collective efficacy even claims that weak ties are essential to the maintenance of social control. The execution of collective efficacy requires mutual trust that is built over repeated interactions and the observation of interactions with others. It is these interactions, however brief, that facilitate the creation of shared social norms (Sampson, 2012). The transmission of these norms does not require strong social ties, but can be communicated through weak ties in

public spaces. Similar to self-efficacy and social support, collective efficacy and social ties potentially explain the difference between communities that fare better in economically distressed situations and those that do not.

Based on these findings, it appears that living in a disadvantaged neighborhood impacts the presence or absence of coping resources on both the individual and neighborhood level, indicating that social support and agency do not function as unidirectional mediators (Kessler & Cleary, 1980). Ross and colleagues (2001) have labeled this phenomenon *the amplification of threat* and identified individual feelings of powerlessness and mistrust as the driving forces behind the cycle that leads to decreases in collective efficacy and social ties and increases in disorganization and distress. In this example, disadvantaged neighborhoods that are characterized as disorganized communicate to individuals that they are not safe and have no control over their environment. Based on this perception, individuals become socially isolated by staying indoors and avoiding contact with neighbors; subsequently decreasing social cohesion and collective efficacy, all of which further threatens safety and disorganization, thus reinforcing their beliefs and behaviors (Massey & Denton, 1993). As discussed previously, individual feelings of powerlessness may also encourage the formation of social ties that provide feelings of self efficacy (i.e., gang involvement), but ultimately decrease collective efficacy and increase disorganization. In either scenario, increased or decreased social ties, the perception of threat ultimately diminishes coping resources, amplifying the effect of disorganization on distress (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003).

Neighborhood Effects, Protective Factors, and Latinos

In addition to the mediating effect of social support and agency varying by neighborhood, the buffering effect of social support may be even more relevant among individuals from cultures with a more collectivist orientation (Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2001). To test the mechanism at work, Rios and Colleagues (2012) examined the mediating effect of individual social support on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress among Latinos, finding that although living in a primarily Latino neighborhood was protective against psychological distress, this relationship was mediated by neighborhood social support. This finding was supported in a study that examined the impact of having a front porch among the elderly living in Little Havana, a primarily Cuban community in Miami (Brown et al., 2009). They found that having a front porch was significantly related to higher levels of social support and that social support mediated the relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress. Interestingly, large front windows negatively predicted social support, which the authors hypothesized is because windows allow individuals to observe the neighborhood without stepping outside into spaces that may foster social interaction. This study not only supported the mediating effect of social support, but also the role of the neighborhood in fostering social support among Latinos. No studies have been conducted examining the mediating effect of self-efficacy among Latinos living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The evidence regarding neighborhood exchange and collective efficacy among Latinos will be discussed in a following section. Overall, support has accumulated for the mediating effect of social support and mastery on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress on both the individual and

neighborhood level in the relationship between place of residents and distress, but these effects appear to differ by level of disadvantage, suggesting that they may also differ according to the racial/ethnic makeup of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood-Level Intervention and Psychological Distress

Despite the well-established connection between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and the increased risk of experiencing psychological distress and our increasing understanding of possible mediators, community-level interventions have only recently begun to be considered as an avenue for addressing disparities in rates of psychological distress (Snowden, 2005). Although the amount of variation in distress and wellbeing accounted for at the neighborhood level is less than individual-level factors, living in a stressful environment may limit the impact of individual-level interventions on some of the drivers of disparities. Therefore, a community-level approach to prevention of disparities in rates of psychological distress within disadvantaged neighborhoods should be considered (Huppert, 2009).

The theory of neighborhood disorganization has been heavily criticized for being deficit-based, and for failing to recognize the organization that exists within neighborhoods classically labeled as disorganized (Reiss, 1986). Although some of the seminal studies that highlighted the organization present in disadvantaged neighborhoods pointed to organized crime, an institution that may not facilitate protection against distress, they suggest the existence of an underlying social structure within neighborhoods thought to be "disorganized" by outside observers (Whyte, 1943). In the 1950s and 60s, ethnographic studies in disadvantaged neighborhoods and ethnic enclaves found that dense social networks and neighborhood identities remained strong (Gans,

1962; Jacobs, 1961). A more recent study found that the density of childcare centers did not decrease in high-poverty neighborhoods and that the center's ability to provide access to a variety of resources was not undermined (Small, Jacobs, & Massengill, 2008; Small & Stark, 2005). The authors claim that these findings counteract de-institutionalization theories which claim that concentrated poverty undermines organizations and their ability to leverage resources. From a social work perspective, investigating the strengths in neighborhood research not only validates the dignity and worth of all populations, but also presents an avenue for mitigating the stressors that impact distress in these neighborhoods.

Both formal organization, institution, and informal organization, social ties have been most frequently discussed within the framework of social capital. Social capital has been defined as a social organization which facilitates the sharing of resources or "coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p. 36). Although originally put forward as a community-level measure, social capital has been recast as an individual characteristic, a shift that has been attributed to limits in measurement (Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999). Despite this common misconception, "social capital is lodged not in individuals, but within the structure of social organization" (Coleman 1990, p. 302). The relationship between levels of social capital and psychological distress are mixed, which may indicate: 1) a mechanism that has both a positive and negative impact on distress, and 2) the difficultly in reaching a consensus on the definitions and measurement of this construct (Mitchel & LaGory, 2002). The lack of studies measuring aspects of social capital at the neighborhood level, as well as the lack

of consistency in definition and measurement, warrants a more focused investigation of the very broad concept of social capital.

Formal Community Organization and Psychological Distress

The presence of community organization in a neighborhood may generate social capital and collective efficacy, serving as a natural antidote to disorganization and potentially mediating the relationship between disadvantage and distress. Before the possible relationship between community organization and distress can be discussed, a framework for understanding organization within the neighborhood context is needed. Swaroop & Morenoff (2006) outlined a typology of community organization that includes both formal and informal organizing. Formal community organization as defined by Swaroop & Morenoff (2006) consists of two forms: instrumental groups (organized to make improvements to the neighborhood) and expressive groups (formed to increase social ties and interaction). Instrumental formal organizations include neighborhood watches, block groups or tenant associations, and local political organizations; expressive formal organizations include religious groups, ethnic or nationality groups, and civic groups. These are considered formal organizations because they have a structure outside of the participants that dictates activities and processes and are sustained regardless of participant involvement. Although there is considerable variation in the level of structure in formal organizations, some structure does exist.

In one of the only studies that directly tested the relationship between a community's level of participation in neighborhood organizations and anxiety and wellbeing, Dupréré & Perkins (2007) collected data on several aspects of ecological environment, including the neighborhood's overall rate of participation in a variety of

organizations. Due to the dynamic nature of neighborhoods, they created categories of neighborhood and used those categories to predict well-being. Their results were mixed, dependent on the level of disorder or stressors in the neighborhood. In their study, they found that higher rates of participation in formal organizations had a significant positive impact on wellbeing; participation in formal organizations, however, clustered in the more advantaged neighborhoods. Because no category was created that included high levels of participation and high levels of poverty, it was impossible to determine if the rate of participation in formal organization had the same effect in disadvantaged neighborhoods. In the same study, the anonymous block-type, characterized as having the lowest level of formal and informal ties and moderately high levels of neighborhood stressors, was significantly positively related to wellbeing and negatively related to anxiety. Dupréré and Perkins (2007) concluded that for blocks where stressors were average, higher rates of participation in a community organization were protective, but in higher stress neighborhoods, isolation seemed to be more protective.

Dupréré and Perkins (2007) made significant strides in examining the relationship between the rates of participating in community organizations and distress/wellbeing; however, their study had several limitations. Although it was published in 2007, it utilized data collected in the 1980s, rendering the findings potentially outdated. Secondly, there were almost no Latinos in the sample, with only 1.7% of the sample reporting that they were a race other than African American or White. This study did not account for a block-type that had high levels of disadvantage and high levels of formal social cohesion. Consequently, the effect of formal organizations in this group could not be assessed, due perhaps to the fact that no high-poverty neighborhood in the study had formal

organization or possibly that the use of cluster analysis removed the variation that existed. This study also did not account for the type of organizations the residents participated in, as churches/synagogues, community centers, youth organizations, local political or issue-oriented groups, or neighborhood improvement associations were treated the same when, in fact, their impact on the outcome may have been very different.

Another notable example of a study testing the impact of a community development on the residents' levels of distress was conducted in Portland, OR. In this study, Semenza, March, and Bontempo (2007) began by identifying neighborhoods ready to implement the proposed intervention and recruiting residents in an asset-mapping project. Through a local non-profit, they engaged citizens, city officials, existing neighborhood associations, and builders in a project to design and implement an environmentally friendly gathering space. All households within a two-block radius of each community's project-site were included in the sampling frame for pre and post surveys. A significant improvement in residents' sense of community, social capital, and depression were observed from pre to post test, regardless of their level of participation in the project. This study directly tested the impact of living in a community that was experiencing a community development project, and found that improvements had an effect on mental health.

Another study assessed the impact of organizations on adolescent psychological distress and found that for White and Latino adolescents, neighborhood interactions were negatively associated with distress, and for African American youth, participating in extra-curricular actives was positively related to distress (Hull, et al., 2008). Living in a disadvantaged neighborhood moderated the relationship between participation in extra-

curricular activities and distress among African Americans. More specifically, for African American youth living in a disadvantaged neighborhood, non-sport extra-curricular activities were protective against distress, while they were a risk factor for youth living in a neighborhood with average rates of disadvantage.

When predicting wellbeing, it was found that participating in extra-curricular and religious activities had a positive impact on Latino youth, participating in religious activities was protective for White youth, and having employment predicted wellbeing in African American youth. Again, the effect of employment on African American youth was moderated by neighborhood disadvantage, with the effect of employment on youth being moderately protective in disadvantaged neighborhoods and almost negligible in neighborhoods with the average rate of disadvantage. While this study did not include adults, the protective effect of being engaged in the community for White and Latino youth, as well as the protective effect of extra-curricular activities and employment for African American youth living in disadvantaged neighborhoods, lends support to the hypothesis that community involvement may protect individuals living in disadvantaged neighborhoods from experiencing distress. By focusing on participation in institutions rather than simply focusing on the presence of institutions in a given neighborhood, this study was testing an individual's process rather than a neighborhood one--conceptually two distinct processes (Sampson, 2012).

These three studies indicate that neighborhood development and involvement may impact distress and wellbeing, and that these outcomes may differ by race and the socio-economic makeup of the community. Little is known about the relationship between the density of formal organizations in Latino neighborhoods and distress, but some studies

have outlined the role of formal organization in Latino neighborhoods in Chicago in mobilizing Latinos for political action. These studies have highlighted the role of hometown associations and churches in maintaining social networks and facilitating the integration of recent immigrants (Bada, 2010; Davis, Martinez, & Warner, 2010). Hometown organizations were established to pool resources for funding capital projects in the communities that they migrated from. More recently, hometown organizations have become social and organizational hubs in Latino communities (Bada, 2010). Studies have shown that participation in civic organizations with others from their sending community decreases with the number of years an individual lives in the US, with only twelve recent arrivals participating, and only five of the Latinos who had lived in the US for more than twenty years participating (Waldinger, 2007). Another study found that being a part of a hometown organization was correlated with participation in other civic institutions with 70% of members reporting that they also participated in four or more other Chicago-based community organizations (Ready, Knight, & Chung, 2006). In fact, 53% of foreign-born Latinos participated in civic organizations compared to 37% of US-born Latinos (Bada, 2010). In addition to hometown associations, churches in Latino neighborhoods have taken on a political role and actively provide services to recent immigrants (Davis, Martinez, & Warner, 2010). It has been suggested that these institutions influence where recent immigrants choose to settle (Davis, Martines, & Warner, 2010). The strength of these institutions in Latino communities in Chicago, in conjunction with the reported evidence regarding neighborhood-level interventions in disadvantaged neighborhoods, suggest that formal organization may mediate the

relationship between disadvantage and distress for Latinos; however, this needs to be empirically tested.

Informal Community Organization and Psychological Distress

In addition to formal community organizing, informal community organization has also been identified as a possible mediator of the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage, anxiety, and depression (Ahern & Galea, 2011). The construct of informal community organizing encompasses activities that residents do to collectively meet their needs and solve neighborhood problems outside of a formal organizing structure (block associations or neighborhood watches, for example). Although formal and informal organizations are related and may, in fact, influence each other bi-directionally, they are distinct aspects of a neighborhood; one does not rely on the existence of the other (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Unger & Wanderman, 1982). Aspects of informal community organization mirror mediators found at the individual level, such as social support and mastery, but are in fact, community-level processes. Similar to the domains identified in formal organizing, Swaroop & Morenoff (2006) define two types of informal organization: expressive and instrumental. Informal instrumental community organizations include working together to take action outside of a formal organization (also labeled informal social control) and expressive informal organizing is defined as doing favors for neighbors, watching neighbors' property, asking neighbors for advice, attending social gatherings with neighbors, and visiting with neighbors--a group of behaviors that has been termed *neighborhood exchange*.

Informal Social Control and Psychological Distress

Sampson and colleagues (1997) found that informal social control can be measure reliably at the neighborhood level and that neighborhood poverty, neighborhood racial makeup, and residential stability all account for the variation found in the measure. Informal social control at the neighborhood level appears to have an impact on the outcomes of individuals that live in that neighborhood, but less is known about its impact on psychological distress. In one of the only studies that measured collective efficacy (a construct that includes a measure of social control) at the neighborhood level (by aggregating responses), individuals living in a neighborhood with high efficacy had lower levels of depression, while individuals living in neighborhoods with lower levels of efficacy had higher levels of depression (Ahern & Galea, 2011). Additionally, neighborhood-level collective efficacy was related to lower levels of depression for older adults even when controlling for individual-level collective efficacy. Although this study begins to test the effects of neighborhood-level collective efficacy on mental health outcomes, the researcher's combined measures of social control and social cohesion make it unclear if neighborhood social control was driving the effect (Ahern & Galea, 2011). Additionally, controlling for individual-level efficacy, after using these reports to create the aggregate measure, may have dampened the effect of collective efficacy for younger adults.

Collective efficacy theory put forward by Sampson (2012) hypothesizes that immigrant communities will have lower levels of collective efficacy due to the transient nature of the population. However, this has not been empirically tested and runs contrary to the cultural norms of many immigrant groups. The relationships between collective

efficacy and distress have been confirmed for Latinos. In their study, Vega and colleagues, (2011) found a negative relationship between collective efficacy at the neighborhood level (measured as a composite of social control and social cohesion) and depression (Vega, Ang, Rodriguez, & Finch, 2011). When a cross-level interaction was tested between the length of stay in the US and collective efficacy, neighborhood-level collective efficacy was only protective for Latinos that had been in the country for more than 15 years. The researchers stated that they used collective efficacy as a proxy for social control, although three items on the social control scale were combined with six items on a social cohesion scale, thereby weakening the ability to draw conclusions due to imprecise measurement. Although studies have found that there is a consistently negative relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and collective efficacy, including neighborhood control, this is not the case in Latin America. In Colombia and Brazil, higher rates of collective efficacy have been found in poor neighborhoods in reaction to threats of violence (Sampson, 2012), a situation that might be similar in Mexico, which impacts immigrant communities in the US.

Neighborhood Exchange and Psychological Distress

Informal social control is facilitated though social ties and a system of friendship and kinship networks (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). Although individual-level social support has been shown to be a mediator of relationships between neighborhood disadvantage and distress, less is known about neighborhood-level social support, also termed *neighborhood exchange*. In many neighborhood studies, social exchange has also been called *neighboring behavior*. "Neighboring" involves the exchange of personal/emotional, functional/instrumental, or informational forms of support that can

involve activities, such as borrowing or lending tools, informal visiting, or asking for help (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980; Weiss, 1982). Economically and racially homogeneous neighborhoods have been found to have higher rates of neighboring behaviors (Farrell, Adbry, & Coulomble, 2004) and neighboring behavior is more common for women and those who are members of a group or association (Prezza et al., 2001). In a study examining the mediating effect of neighboring on the relationship between neighborhood stability and wellbeing, an indirect effect was observed through the individual's sense of community (Farrell, Aubry, & Coulombe, 2004). In another study, neighborhood physical deterioration was negatively associated with social contact, social contact was positively related to social capital, and social capital was inversely related to depressive symptoms (Kruger, Reishel, & Gee, 2007). This study seems to lend support to the idea that neighborhood exchange mediates the relationship between neighborhood disadvantages and distress; however, the measures for social support and social capital were only one and two items respectively. Social capital was measured by asking a respondent the degree to which people in their neighborhood could be trusted and were willing to help their neighbors. These measures do not capture the full extent of neighborhood exchange as proposed by Swaroop & Morenoff (2006), and no research has been conducted examining these relationships for Latinos.

Contribution to Social Work Research

In 2012, William Julian Wilson argued that research examining neighborhood effects is poised to start designing and testing community-level interventions that will impact a wide variety of disparities observed in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Taking a strengths perspective, social workers can contribute to this inquiry by examining the

effects of organizations that already exist within the community. In their book, *In the Barrios,* Moore and Pinderhughes (1993) observed that in poor, urban neighborhoods where Latinos were the majority, residents seem to have been able to contain the negative effects of living in disadvantaged neighborhoods--a circumstance the authors have identified as a subject that warrants further research. Despite this dynamic, most of the research that has examined the interaction of race and neighborhood effects has focused on the Black/White binary, with a singular focus solely on risk with few exceptions (i.e., Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996; Vega et al., 2011) and with little attention being paid to Latinos or the potential strengths present in neighborhoods. Although a significant body of literature has established regarding the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and psychological distress, little is known about the possible impact of community-level organizations and how these effects might differ for Latinos. Some of the coping or buffering mechanisms, especially social processes, may differ among cultural groups (based on linguistic acculturation) and the ethnic makeup of the community (based on traditional cultural norms and values). It is important to examine how collective norms, which dictate social interactions and the protective effect of community organizations, differ for Latinos based on their experience as a minority group in the US, and the cultural norms, both of which are impacted by individual and neighborhood social status. To address these gaps in the literature, this research addresses the questions: In a metropolitan city, can the presence of formal and informal community organizations protect Latinos living in disadvantage neighborhoods from experiencing psychological distress? Does the mediating effect of formal and informal organizations

differ according to level linguistic acculturation and the racial makeup of the neighborhood?

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Ecological Systems Framework

Ecological systems theory, also termed *the life model*, is one of the cornerstones of social work practice and research. Originating in the biological sciences, ecological systems theory seeks to understand human behavior and its outcomes within the context of social and physical environments (Germain, 1981). This theory focuses on: 1) the interactions between an individual and his/her environment, as he/she strives to adapt and fit into established systems, and 2) the interdependence of various levels of an ecological system (Gitterman, 2009; Payne, 2005). In this theory, the "environment" is conceived of as *nested structures*: the micro-system (family, close friends), nested within the exo-system (school, church, social networks, etc.), nested within the meso-system (neighborhoods, communities, government entities), all of which are encased within the macro-system (cultural ideas, beliefs, histories, traditions) (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Ecological systems theory essentially posits that individuals are influenced by all levels of their ecological system (family, community, culture, church) and in order for an individual to flourish, a balance between systems must be achieved. Bronfenbrenner (1977) elaborated on the theme of adaptation when he defined ecological systems theory as "the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation, throughout the lifespan, between a growing human organism and the changing immediate environment" (p. 514). Within this theory, individuals are conceptualized as dynamic actors, constantly adapting to a changing environment in an attempt to maintain equilibrium between needs and resources (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). When faced with a stressor, an individual

must assess the stressor and then decide the best course of action for coping, or he/she must adjust to meet new demands in his/her ecological system (Payne, 2005). Individuals cope by changing aspects of themselves, their environment, or some combination of the two, in order to improve the "fit" between themselves and their environment (Payne, 2005; Gitterman, 2009). Payne (2005) identified several coping resources, including: 1) relatedness or an individual's ability to form attachments, 2) efficacy or an individual's confidence in his/her ability to cope, 3) competence or an individual's belief that he/she has the resources needed to cope, and 4) self-direction or an individual's feeling of having control over his/her life. In order to adapt within this framework, not only must resources be present, but an individual must believe that they can utilize those resources to re-achieve equilibrium in a given context.

Within the ecological framework, distress occurs when people are unable to adapt to the conditions of their ecological system in a way that meets their needs (Gitterman, 2009). For example, disharmony between an individual and his/her environment may occur when the individual struggles to maintain his/her safety, establish healthy relationships, locate adequate social supports, establish a positive self-concept, or obtain financial resources to provide for his/her children. This type of disharmony or conflict requires an individual to adapt in order to re-establish balance. Sometimes the adaptation is positive and promotes well-being and at other times, the adaptation is negative "although relieving immediate tensions" with long-term consequences, such as substance abuse, incarceration, or family strain (Saleebey, 2004). Psychological distress arises when an individual is unable to re-establish equilibrium or adapts in a way that relives

immediate stress, but results in more imbalances in the future (i.e., substance abuse, illegal activity).

This orientation leads the social work researcher and practitioner to assess individual strengths and challenges in multiple roles as they interact with multiple systems. While the profession seeks to understand an individual as they interact on multiple levels, the site of social work interventions continue to primarily take place at the individual level. Even when the ecological framework is invoked to discuss psychological distress, it is usually to modify how an individual is interacting within a given system, rather than attempting to modify the system itself. This may be due to the fact that the framework provides little insight into the specific mechanisms through which mezzo- and macro- level structures interact with individuals to impact distress. The ecological framework clearly states that the context within which individuals live impacts their wellbeing and that distress arises when the environment does not meet their needs and/or they do not have the resources to address the disparity. Consequently, this dynamic provides the argument for focusing on neighborhoods as a unit of analysis. In order to inform specific hypotheses, Pearlin's stress process model (within the larger context of social stress theory) is utilized to understand the etiology of psychological distress and the role of the neighborhood in this complex dynamic. Before social stress theory is discussed in detail, other classic theories used to explain the etiology of distress will be discussed and a rational will be provided for the selection of social stress as the underlying framework for understanding the disparities in rates of psychological distress.

Brief Overview of Theories: The Etiology of Psychological Distress

Generally, theories of the etiology and possible treatment of psychological distress from the medical and psychological fields focus on internal processes. In psychology, these processes are subconscious, cognitive, and/or behavioral; in the medical field, they are physical. Each theory begins with an understanding of human behavior, an explanation of how human behavior can become abnormal, and the interventions that stem from the arguments put forth in their understanding of human behavior. This section will address some of the major theories used in social work research and practice.

Psychodynamic

Freud's theories of distress examine a developmental approach, positing the idea that adult mental health disturbances are a result of repressed desires or the failure to achieve developmental tasks (Peterson, 1999). Freud (1930) argued that civilized society demands that humans repress their animal urges for sex and aggression and that those individuals learn to do so in childhood with varying degrees of success. Psychological distress results when natural desires are either uncontrolled or repressed from conscious thought. Freud argued that past repressions have a significant influence on present psychological states. The prescription for practice that flows from this theory is psychoanalysis; a process by which the therapist helps the client uncover and unblock repressed desires, thereby defusing psychological tension (Thurschwell, 2000).

A modern Freud would most likely argue that the neighborhood where an individual lives is irrelevant and that disparities in distress by class and minority status are a result of self-selection, based on the individual's ability or inability to control their

desires and function successfully in society. A modern Freud may also argue that parenting practices within these classes do not allow for individuals to successfully achieve developmental tasks. Although, Freud can be credited with radically shifting the mental illness conversation from biological to psychological origins, he has been critiqued for his singular focus on patients from middle- to upper-middle class populations, his lack of empirical evidence supporting his treatment approach, his failure in treating women, and his relentless focus on past, rather than present circumstances (Thurschwell, 2000). The majority of subsequent theories put forth in the psychological field are variations on the themes that Freud established in the early part of the 20th century (Peterson, 1999).

Cognitive Behavioral Theories

Originally discussed as distinct approaches to the treatment of psychological distress, cognitive behavioral therapy has been synthesized into one of the dominant modalities in social work practice. This treatment approach stems from the underlying theory that an individual is constantly interpreting the world and responding in a way that achieves pleasure and minimizes pain (Peterson, 1999). Conceptual schemas are created to maintain established beliefs and in response, behaviors arise, which are maintained if they achieve a desired outcome (Mischel, Ebbesen, & Zeiss, 1973). Similar to the bidirectional interaction that creates feedback loops within the ecological systems theory, cognitive behavioral theory posits that individuals are constantly engaging and adjusting their behavior based on the responses from their environment. This theory is useful in understanding how behaviors and cognitions, such as social isolation and mistrust, arise among individuals living in neighborhoods with high rates of crime. It is also useful in

understanding how one's interpretation of their neighborhood may create narratives that impact identity and distress.

The typical interventions when operating from a cognitive behavioral perspective are to identify cognitive distortions (beliefs that are untrue and perpetuated to maintain an established mind-set) and work to change them (Beck et al., 1979). Although this has been shown to be effective when working with various sources of distress, it is inappropriate in situations where the distressing belief is a true reflection of reality (Peterson, 1999). When an individual lives in an unsafe environment, identifying his/her belief that they are unsafe as a distortion and suggesting that the protective behavior (isolation or mistrust, which arises from that belief) must be changed, may put the individual in danger. An individual's interpretation of his/her environment may, in fact, reflect objective reality; consequently identifying the interpretation as a distortion may be unethical and disempowering. Cognitive behavioral theories are relevant to the discussion of neighborhood effects on distress and wellbeing and are embedded in the ecological systems framework and social stress process. However, using this orientation in isolation inadequately addresses structural determinates of distress, which may lead to interventions that cannot mitigate external sources of distress, such as living in a neighborhood with high rates of crime and limited opportunities for economic advancement. However, addressing how those external structures impact an individual's beliefs about his/her self may foster resources that help him/her address the external sources of distress.

The Medical Model

Biological theories of psychological distress have re-emerged as a result of twin studies that have convincingly demonstrated a genetic propensity toward mental illness, and the success of psychoactive pharmaceutical treatments (Chua & McKenna, 1995). Biological theories look to chemistry, biology, and genetics in explaining psychological distress. Biological theories argue that distress is caused by excess or depleted amounts of chemicals in the brain. The primary evidence for these theories is based on a medication's success in impacting the chemical imbalance; however, uneven reactions to pharmaceutical treatments have called these theories into question (Schwartz, 1999). While twin studies have lent support to the genetic causes of depression, they also have been critiqued for their inability to demarcate genetic and environmental factors (Kendler, Lyons, & Tesuang, 1999).

If biology is the primary driver of distress, the primary explanation for disparities in rates by class and race is found in social drift theory (this will be discussed in more detail in the next paragraph). However, the dynamic considered most likely is one that supports an interaction between genes and environment, in which individuals with a genetic propensity are more likely to experience distress when faced with environmental stressors (Scarr & McCartney, 1983). A strictly biological explanation of distress and wellbeing lends itself to biological determinism and ignores the sociopolitical forces that impact psychological distress (Schwartz, 1999).

A Sociological Perspective

Beliefs about the etiology of psychological distress and whether it is innate in individuals or created and driven by one’s environment or some combination of both,

shapes researchers' and practitioners' theories of change and intervention focus. Although both psychological and biological theories regarding etiology of distress are considered important as they may explain various aspects of the manifestation of distress, they do not adequately address the social forces that drive disparities. Increasingly, it is recognized that it is not an either/or paradigm, but rather an interplay between the two. Rose (1985) articulated the dynamic interchange between our genes and the environment, claiming that genes determine who among a group of people will get sick when exposed to stressors. Environmental factors, such as neighborhoods and work environments, account for much of the differential rates of exposure to stress among different groups of people, thus also accounting for disparities in distress despite similar genetic predisposition across populations. Consequently, it follows that only small impacts can be made in addressing health disparities if they are continue to be addressed solely on an individual level. Rose concludes that in order to make real change in health disparities, the environment must be considered and acted upon. For this reason, we turn to sociological theories.

The primary counter-argument to the social causation of distress (specifically disparities in rates of psychological distress among differing socio-economic stratum) is social drift. The argument is that individuals who experience mental health challenges, as a result of any of the theories discussed above, move down the economic ladder as a result of economic hardship. Economic hardship is a result of distress that manifests within an individual independent of external factors, rather than as a response to external circumstances. This drift into a lower socioeconomic stratum is the explanation for higher rates of distress among economically disadvantaged individuals who are living in certain

neighborhoods. This idea of selecting into a neighborhood (moving to lower SES neighborhoods based on experiences or attributes that occurred before the move) has been a major criticism of neighborhood research, threatening the validity of causal claims of neighborhood effect

To directly address this question, in his most recent book, Sampson (2012) tested the argument of social drift and found no support for the social drift theory. Based on his empirical study of the movement of people in and out of neighborhoods, he argues that existing neighborhood structures and race, rather than depression, predicted movement into a disadvantage neighborhood over time. Additionally, the vast majority of individuals remained in economically similar neighborhoods over time, with only 2% of Whites, 12% of Blacks, and 10% of Latinos *drifting* into disadvantaged neighborhoods. Depression did not significantly predict this movement (Sampson, 2012). The empirical evidence refutes the social drift explanation of disparities in rates of distress by neighborhoods, leading us to look for other explanations for the uneven distributions. Lastly, the epistemological foundation of critical theory leads to a selection of a theory that includes structural determinates, or factors outside of individuals, which impact disparities in psychological distress.

Within the field of sociology, social stress theory and structural stain theory have been put forward as alternatives to biological and psychological explanations regarding the etiology of psychological distress. Structural strain theory is relevant and should be considered briefly. Structural stain theory argues that individuals experience distress when they encounter barriers to achieving culturally sanctioned goals, such as socioeconomic status and education. Many structural barriers, such as poor education and

lack of job opportunities are present in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Although these dynamics can certainly be observed, structural strain theory has been criticized for being unable to make the explicit connection between larger structures and individual psychological distress (Thoits, 1999). This theory does not provide explanation for the mechanism at work in individuals' lives (Thoits, 1999). This dissertation does not dispute structural strain theory and in fact, attempts to take a structural approach to the prevention of disparities in psychological distress; rather it looks to social stress theory in order to understand the mechanisms at work in neighborhoods that may mitigate the relationship between the environment and distress.

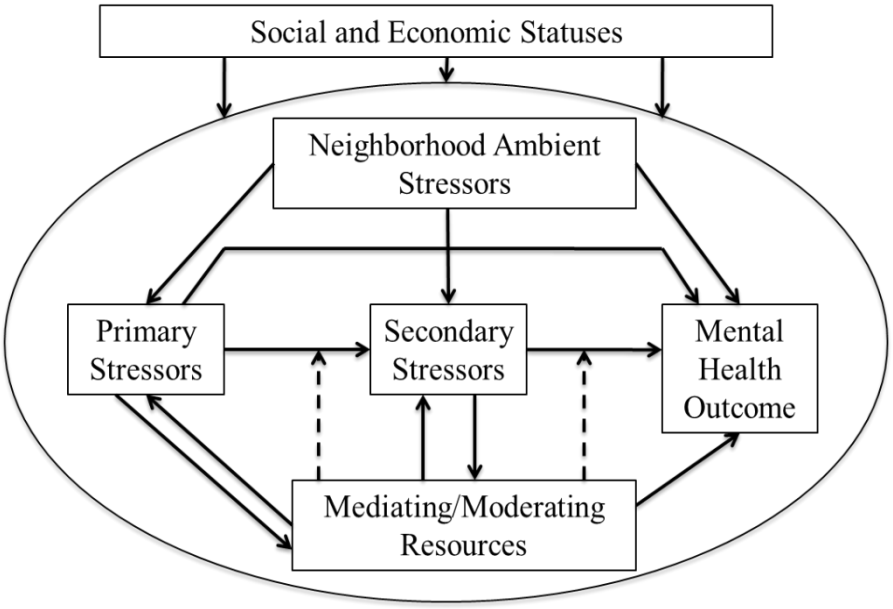
Social Stress Theory/Stress Process Model

Social stress theory guides the hypotheses regarding the etiology of psychological distress and possible avenues for preventing its occurrence. Social stress theory works under the assumption that distress arises in a predictable way across populations that have been commonly socialized and are pursing shared values and commitments. Rather than examining the rare or abnormal, the goal of social stress theory is to understand how "difficult and threatening circumstances confronted by collectivities possessing similar social and economic attributes" may impact distress (Pearlin, 1989). It does not conceptualize distress as an abnormal reaction to normal circumstance, as is often the case in psychiatry, but rather as a typical response to commonly experienced stressful life circumstances.

This theory classically defines stress as a state of arousal resulting either from the presence of socio-environmental demands that challenge the ordinary adaptive abilities of the individual or from the absence of means to obtain something wanted or needed

(Aneshensel, 1992; Pearlin, 1989). Stress is, therefore, an internal response to an external situation or stressor (Aneshensel, 1992). Social stress theory argues that in the absence of adequate coping mechanisms, stress disrupts an individual's psychic equilibrium, causing distress and inhibiting wellbeing (Utsey, Giesrecht, Hook & Stanard, 2008). Similar to the ecological framework, social stress theory rests on the assumption that the many factors which can potentially impact an individual's wellbeing are inter-related. Some of these factors include social status, the context in which the individual's activities take place, his/her exposure to stressors, and the resources that he/she enlists to cope (Pearlin, 1999). One result of the interconnectedness of these factors is that a modification in one can result in a modification in others further down the causal chain. In an attempt to synthesize these complex relationships, Pearlin (1999) put forward the following model:

Figure 2. Social Stress Model as proposed by Pearlin (1999, p. 398)



Pearlin suggested that because the social stress process is complex and highly variable, the social stress model is simply a general orienting framework designed to aid researchers who want to investigate the relationships between the social and economic aspects of life, health, and wellbeing. Each segment of this model will be discussed in turn.

In this theory, social statuses, socioeconomic class, gender, race, and ethnicity dictate where individuals are placed in the larger social system. These statuses are organized on a hierarchy that inherently outlines the possession of power, privilege, and prestige in society (Pearlin, 1999). The impact of these statuses is pervasive and has been described as the fundamental cause of the inequalities in health outcomes (Link & Phelan, 1995). While the impact of status can never be evaded, the salience of that status and its impact on stress varies by context. For example, an African American adolescent who attended school in a primarily African American school may not be aware of his status within the school context until he goes to a college in a different city where he is part of the minority. Because status assignations are constant, and in most cases unable to be changed, these statuses become an important part of an individual's identity. Social status impacts every aspect of the social stress process, dictating exposure to stressors, the resources available to cope, and ultimately the experience of distress (Pearlin, 1999).

One of the reasons that social statuses are so influential is due to the consequences of the inequalities which are created in a stratified system that pervades every aspect of an individual’s lived experience. This is the case because social statuses shape the context in which social action and experience take place. One of the most important of these contexts is the neighborhood because of its tendency towards homogeneity (Pearlin,

1999). Because individuals of similar social statues, including minority status, cluster in certain neighborhoods, it is suggested that they experience similar stressors and have similar buffering/coping resources (Pearlin, 1999). Neighborhoods are not just spaces where demographically similar individuals experience similar stressors, but rather the concentration of disadvantages gives rise to stressors greater than those experienced by individuals in isolation (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996). Stressors that occur in neighborhoods as a result of concentrated disadvantage have been identified as "ambient" because they occur in the environment and surround the individual persistently (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996).

Within the definition of stressor, an important distinction has been made between two types: acute and chronic. The acute stressors are often termed life events (Aneshensel, 1992; Thoits, 1983), while chronic stressors can be defined as stress that continues "abnormally" and last for a significant amount of time, either because it is continuous, episodic, or poses a threat that cannot be easily changed (Baum, Garofalo & Yali, 1999). Baum, Garofalo, & Yali (1999) suggest that these are the stressors that exist in the background and are "embedded in the living or working environments" (p.132). Although conceptually clear, in real life, the demarcation between chronic stressors and acute stressors is fuzzy (Pearlin, 1999). For instance, experiencing foreclosure and losing one's home could be considered an acute stressor, yet it exists within the larger context as a financial strain, which is usually experienced as a chronic stressor. In the discussion of both acute and chronic stressors, it should be pointed out that these are normal stressors that happen to normal people, and cause distress with the absence of necessary coping mechanisms (Pearlin, 1989).

In addition to the distinction between acute and chronic stressors, a distinction is also made between primary and secondary stressors. Social stress theory posits that stressors are rarely an isolated event; for every initial stressor, there may be several secondary stressors that arise as the individual reacts to the initial stressor (Elliott, 2000). Stressors are therefore interrelated, with one most likely impacting another, causing stressors to accumulate in the absence of coping resources (Pearlin, 1999). For example, the loss of employment can be considered a primary stressor and accompanying secondary stressors may include marital instability, financial insecurity, a lost sense of purpose, or diminished confidence. According to social stress theory, different experiences of secondary stressors may explain why two people who experience the same primary stressor have different levels of overall distresses (Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2003). The differential impact of a primary stressor based on a secondary stressor can also be seen within the neighborhood context, where some individuals living in the same neighborhood may adjust to an unsafe environment by becoming gang-involved (an association that claims to provide protection), while others may choose to attend local law enforcement meetings partnering with the police to address crime in the area. The secondary stressor of gang involvement or the coping response of becoming involved in community action may dictate whether an individual experiences distress as a result of the unsafe environment, a response which may explain differential outcomes. In another example, Ross and Mirowsky, (2009) found that feelings of powerlessness mediated the relationship between neighborhood disorder, suggesting that feelings of powerlessness is the secondary stressor and that the prevention of feelings of powerlessness in the face of neighborhood disadvantage may prevent psychological distress.

Although the relationship between stress and distress/wellbeing is well established, less is known about coping mechanisms that mediate the relationship (Utsey, Giesrecht, Hook, & Stanard, 2008). Social stress theorists have argued that intervening factors can mitigate three aspects of a stress experience, the underlying source of the stress, the primary stressor or the secondary stressor (Ensel & Lin, 1991). Pearlin and Schooler (1978) hypothesized that when resources are mobilized to react on stress, they are used to: 1) reduce or modify the problem causing the stress and distress, 2) alter the meaning of the stressor so that it is no longer stressful, and 3) enable the individual to manage his/her level of emotional response. These are considered buffering and/or coping theories. It has also been argued that resources act to strengthen an individual with or without the presence of a stressor; these are called distress-deterring theories--the key distinction being that they do not need to be triggered by a distressing event.

Ensel and Lin (1991) attempted to integrate the stress coping and deterring/buffering perspectives by identifying six possible processes by which stress and resources interact to impact distress (three coping and three deterring): 1) a resource deterioration model, in which stressors decrease resources and partially mediate the relationship between stress and distress, 2) a counteractive model, in which stressors strengthen resources and mediate the relationship between stress and distress, 3) a buffering model, in which resources moderate the relationship between stressors and distress, 4) an independent model, in which stressors do not impact resources; however, the stressors and resources both impact distress, 5) a stress-suppressing model, in which resources decrease stressor and distress, and 6) a stress-conditioning model, in which stress moderates the relationship between resources and distress. This research tested one

coping model--the counteractive model, and one deterring model--the stress-suppressing model.

Within the ecological framework, this dissertation identified neighborhoods as an important aspect of an individual's environment that may warrant social workers attention. Due to a lack of specificity in this theory, social stress theory was employed to guide selection of constructs and the specific hypothesized relationship between these constructs. This theory is particularly salient because it highlights the importance of context and identifies neighborhoods as one of the primary mechanisms through which social status impact psychological distress, this dissertation examines the role of neighborhoods in the manifestation of psychological distress by identifying primary and secondary stressors and possible neighborhood level mediating resources.

Hypotheses

Based on social stress theory and drawing from Sampson's model of disorganization, this dissertation defines objective disorganization, the presence of signs and symbols of disorganization in the environment, as a primary stressor and the perception of the disorganization as the secondary stressor (see Figure 3 for the conceptual model and Figure 4 and 5 for specific hypotheses). Although these two concepts may seem to be measuring the same stressor, the relationship between objective disorganization and distress is dependent on the observation and interpretation of those signs and symbols in their environment. In the absence of perceptional cues, the stressor may not be internalized, and consequently result in distress. After testing the relationship between the primary stressor, the secondary stressor and distress, this research tested the mediating effect of the presences of both formal and informal community organization on

the direct relationship between disadvantage and distress and the indirect relationship through the primary (objective disorganization) and secondary stressors (perceptions of disorganization). Both effective and instrumental organizations, as outlined by Swaroop & Morenoff (2006), were tested as they were hypothesized to parallel self-efficacy (power) and social support, both micro-level mediators of the relationship between disadvantage and distress. Lastly, the moderating effect of social statuses (see Figure 1) that have been shown in previous literature to be associated with Latinos rates of psychological distress, namely linguistic acculturation and the ethnic make up the neighborhood were investigated.

Figure 3. Conceptual Model

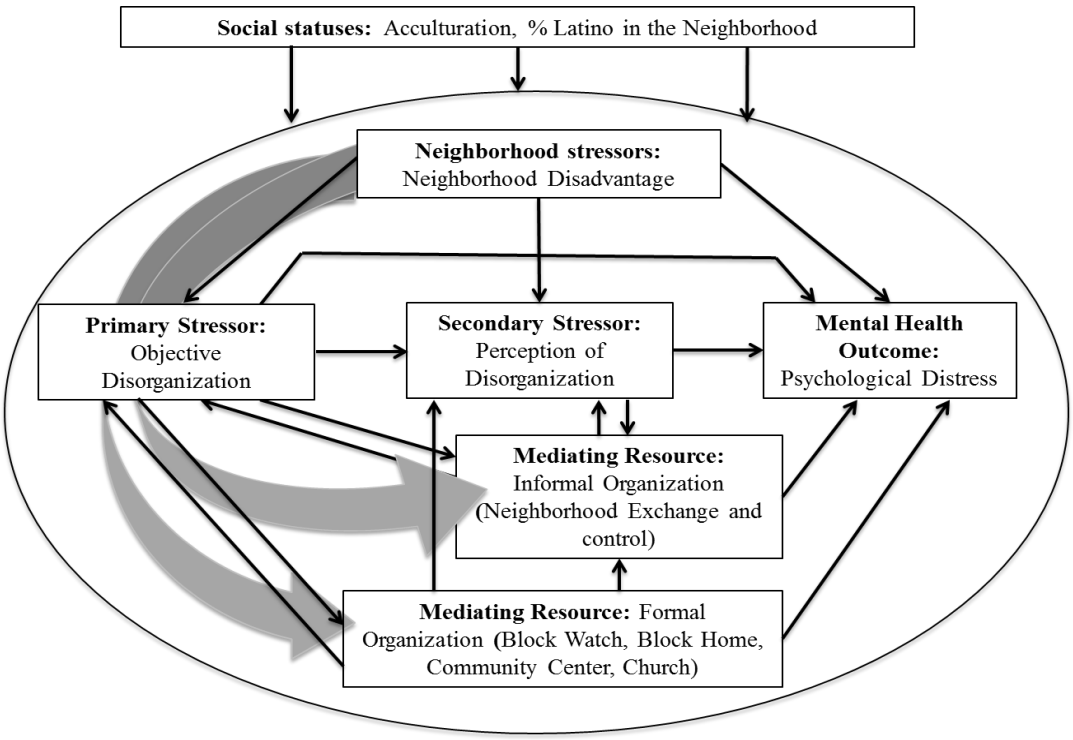
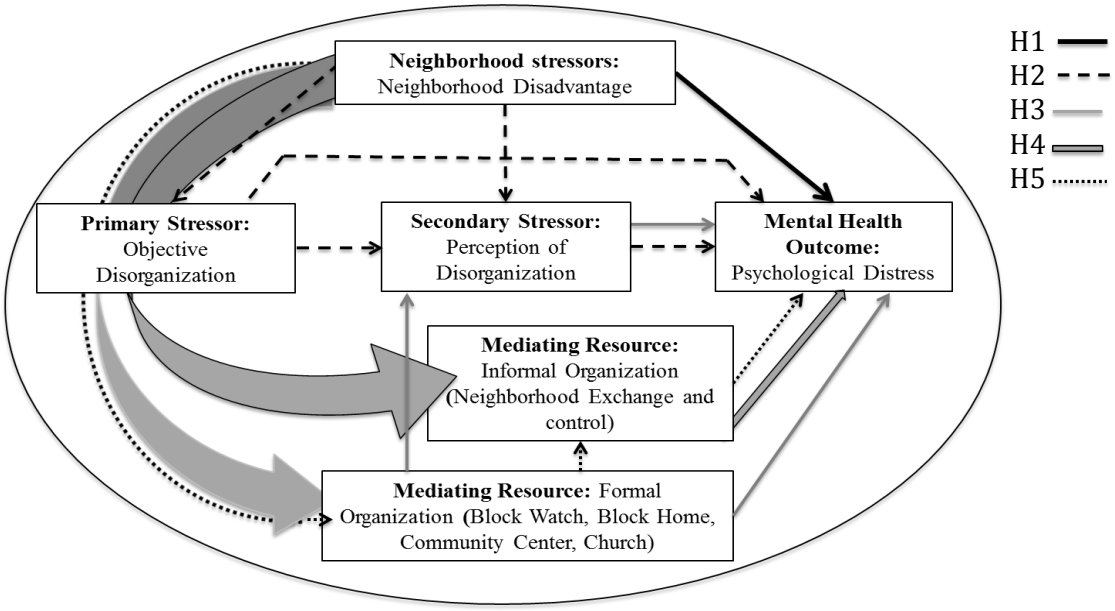


Figure 4. Direct Effect and Mediation



H1) For Latinos, neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with higher rates of psychological distress.

H2) For Latinos, neighborhood disadvantage will be indirectly associated with psychological distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that:

a) Neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with objective disorganization.

b) Neighborhood disadvantage is positively associated with perceptions of disorganization.

c) Objective disorganization will be positively associated with individuals' perceptions of disorganization.

d) Objective disorganization will be positively associated with psychological distress.

e) Perceptions of disorganization will be positively psychological distress.

H3) For Latinos, the density of churches, community centers, block watches, and block homes will mediate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress and the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that:

a) Disadvantage will be positively related to a higher density of formal organizations.
b) The density of formal organizations will be negatively related to psychological distress.
c) The density of formal organizations will be negatively related to perceptions of disorganization.
d) The above relationships will decrease or make non-significant the direct and indirect relationships between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress.

H4) For Latinos, individuals' reports of neighborhood exchange and control will mediate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress and the indirect relationship between disadvantage on distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that:

a) Disadvantage will be positively related to perceptions of informal organization.
b) The perception of informal organization will be negatively related to distress

c) The above relationships will decrease or make non-significant the direct and indirect relationships between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress.

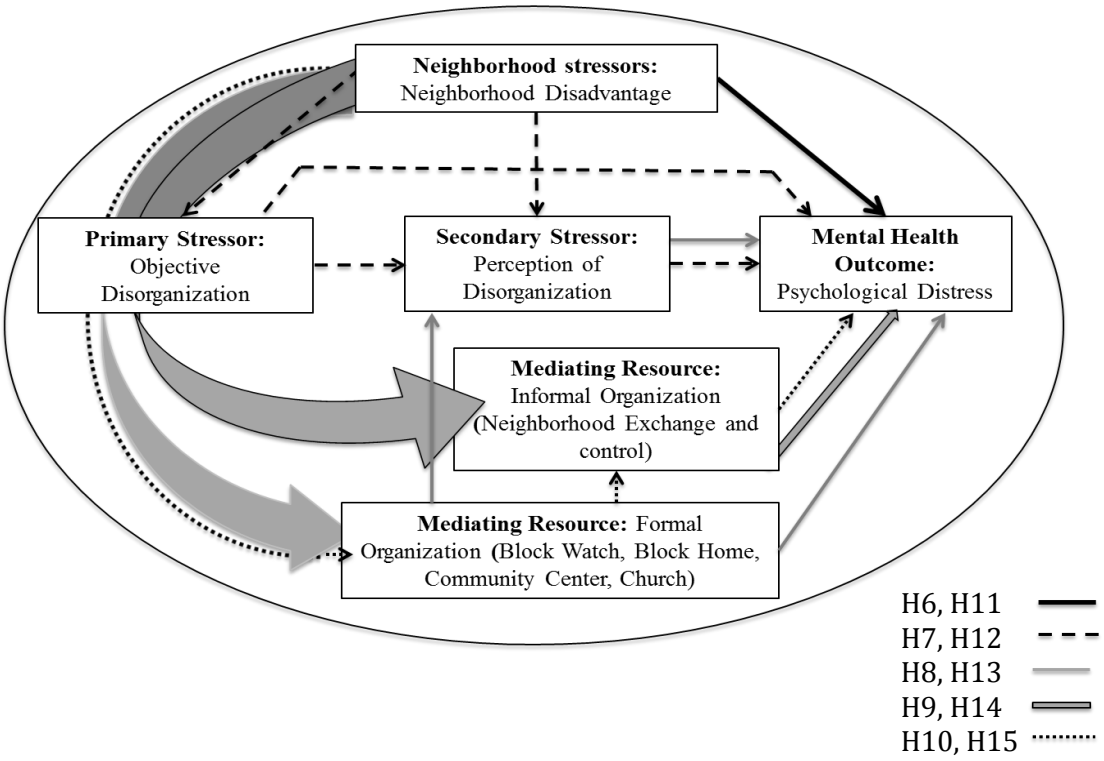
H5) For Latinos, the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be mediated by the relationship between formal and informal organization, such that:

a) Disadvantage is positively related to formal organization.

b) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization.

c) Informal organization is negatively related to distress.

Figure 5. Linguistic Acculturation and Percent of Latino Moderation Hypothesis



Linguistic Acculturation Status

H6) For Latinos, the direct relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that the relationship is stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.

H7) For Latinos, the indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation such that:

a) The relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization will be stronger for low acculturated individuals.
b) The relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.
c) The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress will be stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.

H8) For Latinos, the mediating effect of the density of formal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that:

a) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and the density of neighborhood organizations will be stronger in the neighborhood where less acculturated individuals live.
b) The negative relationship between the density of formal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for low acculturated Latinos.

H9) For Latinos, the mediating effect of perception of informal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that:

a) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of informal neighborhood organization will be stronger in the neighborhood where less acculturated individuals live.
b) The negative relationship between the perception of informal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for low acculturated Latinos.

H10) For Latinos, the indirect effect of formal and informal organization on the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be moderated by linguistic acculturation status, such that:

a) Disadvantage is more strongly positively related to formal organization for low acculturated Latinos.
b) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization for low acculturated Latinos.
c) Informal organization is negatively related to distress for low acculturated Latinos.

Percentage of Latinos Living in the Neighborhood

H11) For Latinos, the direct relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that the relationship is stronger for neighborhood that are 50% or less Latino.

H12) For Latinos, the indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

d) The relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization will be stronger in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.

e) The relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.

f) The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.

H13) For Latinos, the mediating effect of density of formal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

d) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and the density of neighborhood organizations will be stronger in the neighborhood with 50% or more Latinos.

e) The negative relationship between the density of formal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino.

f) The negative relationship between the density of formal organizations and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino.

H14) For Latinos, the mediating effect of perception of informal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

a) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of informal neighborhood organization will be stronger for individuals living in neighborhood that are 50% or more Latino.
b) The negative relationship between the perception informal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for individuals living in neighborhood where 50% or more of the population are Latinos.

H15) For Latinos, the indirect effect of formal and informal organization on the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

a) Disadvantage is more strongly positively related to formal organization for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.
b) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.
c) Informal organization is negatively related to distress for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.

Sample

These hypotheses were tested using the Chicago Community Adult Health Study (CCAHS), conducted between 2001 and 2003. This study was selected because it is one of the only studies to date that has collected comprehensive neighborhood data in every

neighborhood within a major metropolitan city. The data collected in this study was cross sectional. The community surveys were conducted through in-person interviews with a stratified, multi-stage probability sample of 3,105 individuals in 343 neighborhood clusters, aged 18 and over, and living in the city of Chicago, with a response rate of 72%. Neighborhood types based on racial and socioeconomic makeup were stratified. A total of 25.8% of the total sample identified as Latino (N= 802); 64% of which identify as Mexican or Mexican American, 17% identify as Puerto Rican and 19% as other Hispanic/Latino. 43.7% of the sample was female. On average the respondents had 1.33 children living in the home; on average they were "somewhat satisfied" with their financial situation. They had a mean age of 37.65. On average respondents had completed 10.5 years of education and 49% reported being married. Of the 654 respondents who answered questions about income, the average household income was $33,538 annually.

In addition to individual surveys, systematic social observations took place in virtually all (1664 of 1672) blocks in which survey respondents were sampled. Two trained observers walked each block twice, first observing the four sides of the block itself and then observing the adjacent blocks (King, 2012). Cars also circled the block recording video and blocks were randomly selected and checked for validity against the video recording. Systematic social observations (SSO) have been found to be a valid measure of neighborhood environments (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). When the systematic social observations completed in this study were compared with aerial photography, significant constancy was found in the coding of land-use types (King, 2012).

Measures

The Chicago Community Adult Health Survey (CCAHS) is a community survey that asked residents questions about their feelings of distress, perception of disorganization, informal social control, informal neighborhood exchanges, and level of linguistic acculturation. Additionally, the density of signs and symbols of disorganization, block watches, block homes, churches and community centers were recorded in systematic social observations.

Neighborhood. Neighborhood was defined as neighborhood clusters. Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls created neighborhood clusters in 1997, using a cluster analysis to group like-tracts and consider SES, ethnic makeup, housing density, and ecologically valid boundaries (Raundenbush & Sampson, 1999). In the study used to create the cluster, respondents were asked how large their neighborhood was and on average respondents reported 30 blocks, which was consistent with the neighborhood clusters constructed to measure neighborhood effects.

Table 1

Summary of Measures Used by Source and Level of Measurement

	Level of Measurement	
	Neighborhood	Individual
Individual self-report (Survey)	*Informal social control (instrumental) *Informal Neighborhood exchange (expressive) *Perceptions of Disorganization	***Psychological Distress** *Controls
Observed (SSO and US census)	*Disadvantage (2000 census) *Racial makeup(2000 census) *Formal organization (SOS) *Objective Disorganization	NA

Note. Bold indicates dependent variables

In this sample, 343 neighborhood clusters consisting of one or more contiguous census tracts were created by aggregating 865 census tracts. Although these clusters were created within the confines of census boundaries and were not constructed based on resident's perceptions, they provide a more ecologically valid alternative to relying solely on census tracts.

Neighborhood disadvantage. This factor was measured using the 2000 census data and the same schema employed by Silver et al., (2002), including the percentage of individuals living below the poverty line, the percentage of husband and wife households, the percentage of households with children that are female-headed, the percentage of households on public assistance, the adult unemployment rate, the percentage of households with a median income below $30,000, the percentage of individuals in an executive or managerial job, the percent of units that are owner occupied and the percent of individuals over the age of five who did not live in the same address five years earlier. Rather than census tracks, the unit of analysis was neighborhood clusters.

Distress. This factor was measured using the 11-item Center for Epidemiological Studies scale (CES-D) (Radloff, 1977). Residents were asked after each statement, "please indicate how often you felt the following way during the past week: 1) I felt depressed, 2) I felt that everything I did was an effort, 3) My sleep was restless, 4) I was happy, 5) I felt lonely, 6) People were unfriendly, 7) I enjoyed my life, 8) I did not feel like eating, my appetite was poor, 9) I felt sad, 10) I felt that people disliked me, 11) I could not get "going." Possible responses ranged from **never** (1) to **most of the time** (4).

Objective disorganization. This factor was measured by the percentage of block faces in a neighborhood cluster that were observed as having: 1) an abandoned car, 2)

empty beer or liquor bottles in the street, yard, or ally, 3) condoms on the sidewalk, in gutters, or on the street, 4) needles, syringes, or drug related paraphernalia on the sidewalk, in the gutter, or on the street, 5) Discarded cigarette/cigar butts or packages on the sidewalk or in the gutters, 6) Garbage, litter, or broken glass in the streets or on the sidewalk, 7) gang graffiti on buildings, 8) other graffiti on buildings, 9) graffiti painted over.

Perceptions of disorganization. This factor was measured by asking survey respondents: 1) How much broken glass or trash on the sidewalks and streets do you see? 2) How much graffiti do you see on the buildings and walls in your neighborhood? 3) How many vacant or deserted houses or storefronts do you see in your neighborhood? 4) How often do you see people drinking in public spaces in your neighborhood? 5) How often do you see unsupervised children hanging out on the street corners in your neighborhood? Possible answers ranged from (4) **a lot** to (1) **none**.

Formal organization. This factor was measured by the presences of both instrumental and expressive formal organizations as defined by Swaroop and Morenoff (2006). Instrumental organizations were measured using percentage of blocks in a neighborhood cluster observed as having: 1) a block home or safe haven, and 2) a neighborhood or crime watch observed in systematic social observations (SSO). Expressive formal organization was measured using the percentage of block faces observed in the SSO as having: 1) a religious center or church, and 2) a community center. The percentage of block's having evidence of each institution was conceptualized as the density of the institution in that neighborhood cluster.

Informal organization. This factor was measured using two 5-item scales, informal social control (α =. 81) (Sampson, 1997) and neighborhood exchange (α =. 80) (Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006). The first measure of informal organization captured informal neighborhood exchange by asking the following questions:

1) Approximately how often do you and the people in your neighborhood do favors for each other? Favors mean such things as watching each other‘s children, helping with shopping, lending garden or house tools, and other small acts of kindness.

2) When a neighbor is not home or is on vacation, how often do you and the other neighbors watch over his/her property?

3) How often do you and the other people in the neighborhood ask each other for advice about personal things, such as child rearing or job openings?

4) How often do you and the people in the neighborhood have parties or other get-togethers where other people in the neighborhood are invited?

5) How often do you and the other people in the neighborhood visit with one another in each other‘s home or on the street?

Possible responses ranged from **often** (4) to **never** (1). Although the reliability of this measure of the neighborhood level has been found to be .65, in previous studies 10% of its variation occurred within neighborhoods (Sampson, Morenoff & Earls, 1999).

The second measure of informal organization captured informal social control by asking participants to respond to vignettes. Vignettes were used so that respondents were reacting to universal situations across neighborhood environments, allowing for the assessment of the concept of collective efficacy within the context of the neighborhood (Sampson, 2012). The five survey items asked residents the following questions:

1) If a group of neighborhood children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?

2) If some children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?

3) If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely is it that a neighbor would scold that child?

4) If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten or threatened, how likely is it that your neighbors would break it up?

5) Because of city budget cuts, suppose the library or fire station closest to your home was going to be closed by the city. How likely is it that neighborhood residents would organize to try and keep the fire station or library open?"

Possible responses range from **very likely** (4) to **very unlikely** (1). Sampson (1997) tested the reliability of three of these items (those regarding children) as a measure of neighborhood process and found it has an aggregate reliably of .81, which they concluded successfully measured between neighborhood differences.

Linguistic Acculturation. This factor was measured using a measure of linguistic acculturation. Despite the conceptual limitations, linguistic-based measures have been useful in identifying English language proficiency as a predictive factor for low acculturative stress, especially for Latino immigrants (Lueck & Wilson, 2011). Language is a significant aspect of acculturation because language fluency is pertinent in cross-cultural communication. Previous research has indicated that language usage (measured by asking participants, "In your home, do you speak…?" and "With your friends, do you speak…?") explains the variance in levels of acculturation and is therefore an acceptable

brief measure (Unger et. al., 2007). To measure linguistic acculturation, residents were informed: “Now I have a few questions about how people use English and Spanish” and asked: 1) In general, which of these two languages do you read and speak? 2) What language do you usually speak at home? 3) In which language(s) do you usually think? 4) What languages do you usually speak with your friends? Possible responses ranged from **only Spanish** (1) to **only English** (5). In order to create three categories to facilitate a multi-group analysis, a mean score was created. Individuals whose mean was below two, indicating that they primary communicated in Spanish, were coded at low acculturated; individuals whose mean score fell between two and four were put in the bi-cultural category, and individuals whose mean score was greater than four were considered highly acculturated.

Percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. This factor was measured using the 2000 census data. All neighborhood clusters with 50% or less of the population identifying as Latino were coded as 0 and all neighborhood clusters with 50% or more Latinos were coded at 1.

Control Variables

Financial satisfaction. This variable was measured using a single question: “How satisfied are you with your family’s current financial situation?" with responses ranging from (5) **not at all satisfied** to (1) **completely satisfied**.

Children. This variable was measured by asking the respondent: “Is there anyone else, seventeen years or younger who lives here? Yes or no.” Respondents were then asked follow-up questions about their relationship to the child and the age of the child.

The variable used to control for children was a raw count of the number of children living in the home at the time of the survey.

Marriage. This variable was measured by asking the respondent: “Are you currently married, separated, divorced, or widowed?” Possible responses included all of the ones given plus never married. Additionally, respondents were asked: “Are you currently living with another adult as a partner in an intimate relationship?” Possible responses were **yes** (1) or **no** (0).

Age. This variable was measured by asking the respondents their date of birth. Age was then calculated by the authors of the survey.

Gender. This variable was measured by interviewer observation with male and female being the only two response options.

Traumatic events. This variable was measured by asking: "In your lifetime have you ever: 1) Been divorced, 2) Been widowed, 3) Experienced the death of a(your) child, 4) Been the victim of a serious physical attack or assault, 5) Had a life threatening illness/accident, yourself, spouse, or child?" Possible responses were yes or no. The items were then summed creating a single item ranging from 1 to 5.

Analysis Strategy

Cross-tabs of linguistic acculturation status, country of origin, generational status and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood were conducted to examine the demographic makeup of each group and assess if linguistic acculturation status was adequately corresponding with country of origin and generational status. Using ArcGIS, the neighborhoods where the study participants resided were mapped in order to examine the spatial distribution of all Latinos in the sample, as well as each of the groups that are

being compared. The mean and standard deviations of all variables and the means of all scales were calculated for the full sample by linguistic acculturation status and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. Analysis of Variance (ANOVAs) were run to test if there were statistically significant mean differences by linguistic acculturation status; T-tests were run to test for statistically significant mean differences based on the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. Variance component models were run on the sum score of psychological distress and every item in the distress scale separately; interclass correlations (ICCs) were calculated to determine if multi-level models were indicated.

Exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) were run using a geomin rotation to test the adequacy of the measurement model in the full sample. EFA extracted observed factors without specifying the number or how they may load prior to the analysis (Wang & Wang, 2012). When more than a one factor model was indicated, measures that did not load on the primary factor or cross-loaded across factors were excluded. In situations where two factors seemed to have similar properties, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted and one group of items was selected based on face validity, theory, and the optimal factor structure. To assess the optimal factor structure, both the Egian values and factor loading were considered. Once a one-factor solution with adequate factor loading and model fit was achieved, CFAs were run in the full sample and with each subgroup to validate the model fit achieved in the EFA analysis. After items were selected, all latent variables consisted of at least three observed variables (Velicer, 1998). After measurement models were determined, a correlations matrix of all observed

variables was constructed. No items had correlations greater than .85 as recommended by Kline (2011).

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was selected to model both the mediating and moderating relationships hypothesized as it accounts for the measurement error of latent constructs leading to more reliable estimates, effectively deals with multi-collinearity, and is able to test both direct and indirect effects (Wang & Wang, 2012). To test the proposed meditation and moderation hypotheses, structural equations models were estimated using MPlus (statistical software designed to estimate structural equation models). Structural equation modeling and mediation hypothesis imply causal relationships. Because the data that was used was cross sectional in nature, causation was not able to be directly tested. However, structural equation modeling and mediation was an appropriate analytic strategy despite the use of cross-sectional data because the census data used to measure disadvantage was collected in 2000, prior to the collection of the (CCAHS) data in 2001 and 2002. Additionally, community organizations, while measured at the same time as psychological distress, represent and are arguably a constant feature of the neighborhood. Psychological distress was measured by asking the resident to recall how he/she felt during the previous seven days. Based on the nature of the measurement the presences of the community organization occurred prior to the experience of distress in the previous seven days. Additionally, Sampson (2012) found that perceptions of disorganization were stable over time with a .80 correlation between 1995 and 2002, a correlation ten times stronger than that between concurrent objective disorganization and perceptions. The consistencies in neighborhoods over time lend considerable support to the causal ordering, that subjective disorganization came before

the individual experienced distress in the previous seven days. The relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and disorganization is a little less clear with evidence suggesting that this is a mutually reinforcing feedback loop, with higher rates of perceptions and disorganization arguably inhibiting individuals and businesses from moving in. However, disadvantage was also found to be highly stable overtime with a .76 correlation between neighborhood poverty in 1960 and 2000. Because of the inability to hypothesize causal ordering in the relationship between formal organization, objective disorganization and in the relationship between informal organization, and perceptions of disorganization, these pathways were modeled as bi-directional correlations rather than causal pathways.

Despite the multi-level nature of the data, the lack of significant ICC in rates of distress when aggregated did not necessitate the use of multi-level models. In the specified model, neighborhood-level variables are predicting the between-cluster variation in perceptions of disorganization, which then predicts the within-cluster variation of distress. When the relationship between a variable measured at the neighborhood level is regressed directly on distress, the items are explaining the neighborhoods mean.

SEM models were estimated using Maximum Likelihood (ML) estimation and all missing data was imputed using Full Information Maximum Likelihood estimation (FIML). Maximum Likelihood estimation was selected because it provides unbiased estimates and estimates that are consistent across sample sizes. It is efficient and provides the chi square statistic to test overall model fit. ML has also been found to be more insensitive to variations in kurtosis and sample size than other estimation procedures,

generating stable estimates under these conditions (Olsson, Foss, Troye & Howell, 2000). FIML uses every piece of information in the observed data to impute missing values, which is more efficient and less bias than traditional approaches (Wothke, 2000). The model fit test assesses the degree to which the model's estimated variance/covariance matrix differs from the observed variance/covariance matrix (Bentler, 1990). If there is no statistically significant difference, then the model supports the hypothesized relationships and the parameter estimates can be interpreted (Wang & Wang, 2012). To evaluate the statistical significance of the models, the following tests of the model fit are reported: the model chi-square (χ^2); the normed chi-square (χ^2/df); comparative fix index (CFI); Tucker-Lewis index (TLI); and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). A significant χ^2 ($p<.05$) indicates a poor fitting model because the χ^2 tests the null hypothesis that the model fits the analyzed covariance matrix. However important to understanding model fit, the chi-square is sensitive to large (>200) sample sizes and may mistakenly indicate a poor fitting model (Kline, 2011). This sensitivity to large sample sizes is minimized by using the normed chi-square (χ^2/df). A model with a χ^2/df ratio of 3.0 or less has a good fit; however, a ratio of 5.0 is considered an acceptable fit (Greeno et al., 2007). Furthermore, models that have a CFI and TLI greater than .90 indicate a good fit (Bentler, 1990; Julian, McKenry, Gavazzi, & Law, 1999) with a CFI and TLI above .95 indicating a very good fitting model (Wang & Wang, 2012). For the RMSEA, 0 = perfect fit, <.05= close fit, .05-.08= fair fit, .08-.10 = mediocre fit and <.10 =poor fit (Wang & Wang, 2012). To test the hypothesized relationships in the SEM framework, a base model was estimated first testing the relationships between disadvantage, disorganization, and distress. A full model was then estimated, excluding paths that were

not statistically significant in the base model. Mediation was assessed by observing the indirect paths in each model and also the change in direct and indirect paths from the base model when no formal or informal organization variables were included the full model.

In order to test for moderation by level of linguistic acculturation and percentage of Latinos, multi-group models were run and the differences were tested in hypothesized direct and indirect paths. To facilitate multi-group analysis, a respondent's level of linguistic acculturation, and the percentage of Latinos living in each neighborhood, it was necessary to convert into categorical variables. Based on Moore and Pinderhughes's (1993) definition of Latino neighborhoods (50% or more Latino) and the mean percentage of Latinos in the population at 57%, 50% Latino was chosen as the cut point. For linguistic acculturation, three categories were created to maintain the substantive distinction between low-acculturated, bi-cultural, and highly acculturated individuals. Before multi-group SEM could be estimated, multi-group CFA were conducted to ensure measurement invariance across groups (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000).

It was necessary to ensure that the same theoretical concepts were being measured in all groups before making substantive comparisons across groups. This was done by conducting a series of nested tests that tested for: 1) configural invariance (model 1), 2) weak measurement invariance (model 2), 3) strong measurement invariance (model 3), and 4) strict measurement invariance (model 4) (Widaman & Reise, 1997).

Configural measurement invariance (model 1) is defined as the same number of factors and the same pattern of fixed and freed factors across groups without equality restrictions placed on any parameters (Wang & Wang, 2012). This condition must be met before subsequent tests can be performed. This is done by estimating CFAs separately for

each group and determining a good fitting model for each that includes the same items and specified factor loading. Once this is completed, this model is integrated into a multi-group CFA framework and subsequent tests are executed. Weak measurement invariance or metric invariance (model 2) is defined as invariance in factor loading across groups. When invariance in factor loadings is demonstrated, the underlying latent construct is measured in the same way across groups. Strong measurement invariance or scalar invariance (model 3) indicates that both groups have the same factor structure and item intercepts across groups. If these are measurement variant, it means that one of the groups responds systematically higher or lower to at least one of the items measured. The test of strict measurement invariance (model 4) requires factor lading invariance, item intercept invariance, and error variance invariance. This is a very stringent test that most disciplines do not require (Wang & Wang, 2011). In fact, it has been generally agreed that weak measurement invariance or metric invariance is sufficient to continue to test the invariance in the structural part of the model because it indicates that the item is measuring the same construct across groups (Steinmetz et al., 2009). When weak measurement invariance is not detected, parameters can be freed across groups and partial measurement invariance can be tested (Byrne et al., 1989). Bryne and colleagues (1989) argued that at least two items must be invariant to ensure the meaningfulness of comparisons across groups--an argument that was later demonstrated empirically (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998). Measurement invariance is determined in series of nested tests that restrict parameter estimates and then compared with the current model with the one subsequent using a chi square difference test (Wang & Wang, 2011). When the model's chi square difference test is not significant, then invariance is detected. A

significant chi square test indicates a significant difference between the current test and the previous test and the variance between groups. Measurement invariance or partial measurement invariance is a pre-request for testing structural invariance and when achieved, it can be used to assess differences in theoretical constructs across groups (Wang & Wang, 2012).

After weak measurement invariance or partial weak invariance was established, models for each group were estimated separately to achieve the optimal model fit and then combined and estimated in a multi-group framework. Using multi-group analysis, the statistical difference in structural paths or moderation hypothesis was tested. To test the moderation of both direct and indirect paths, the MODEL TEST command was used and a significant Wald test indicated model variance or a significant difference between structural pathways across groups (Wang & Wang, 2012).

Structural equation modeling was used to test the social stress process conceptual model outlined by Pearlin (1999). Objective disorganization and perceptions of organization were identified as primary and secondary stressors and formal an informal organization were identified as mediating resources. In order to test the moderating effect of social statuses, in this case linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, multi-group analyses were used. Before all SEM models were estimated, each observed variable was tested for mean differences across groups and measurement models were estimated to ensure a good model fit.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Overview of Process

In order to answer the research questions: "1) In a metropolitan city, can the presence of formal and informal community organizations protect Latinos living in disadvantage neighborhoods from experiencing psychological distress? 2) Does the mediating effect of formal and informal organizations differ according to level linguistic acculturation and the racial make-up of the neighborhood?" a detailed examination of the sample was conducted by linguistic acculturation status and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, including mapping the geographical distribution of the sample in the city of Chicago.

Mean differences were tested on each observed variable which were used to construct the latent factors used to test the hypothesized model. These mean differences not only provide information about the distribution of the construct in each subgroup, but also aid in the interpretation of significant moderation effects of the structural pathways in the models. The interclass correlations of distress across neighborhoods were assessed to determine if two-level or single-level model was indicated. Measurement models were then estimated to ensure the optimal factor structure before they were used to test the hypothesized model. Measurement invariance tests where then estimated to ensure that the factor structures were consistent across groups. Structural equation models were then

estimated to test the mediating hypothesis and multi-group analysis was conducted to test the moderating effect of linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood.

Description of the Sample

After categories were created, 49.88% of the sample reported primary speaking Spanish (low acculturated), 29.68% of the sample reported speaking both English and Spanish equally (bi-cultural), and 20.45% of the sample reported primarily speaking English (highly acculturated) (see Table 2). When an individual's generational status and country of origin was examined by linguistic acculturation status, almost all 95% low acculturated individuals were also first generation.

Bi-cultural individuals were primarily first generation immigrants, 47.90% and second 46.64%, while highly acculturated Latinos were primarily second generation immigrants, 45.73% or other 43.90%. The majority of low acculturated Latinos were Mexican American, 77.50%, while both bi-cultural and highly acculturated individuals' countries of origin were more evenly split. Of those who reported being bi-cultural, 56.73% reported originating from Mexico, 28.15% reported that their country of origin is Puerto Rico, and the other 15.13% reported something other than these two. Of those who reported being highly acculturated, 53.05% reported originating from Mexico, 25.00% reported that their country of origin is Puerto Rico and the other 21.95% reported something other than these two.

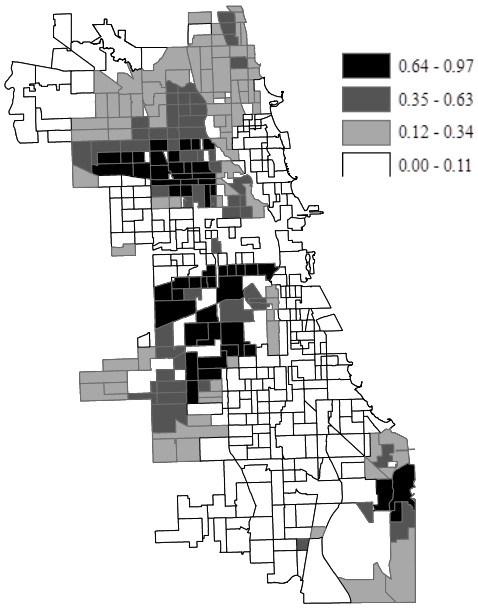
Table 2

Description of the Sample

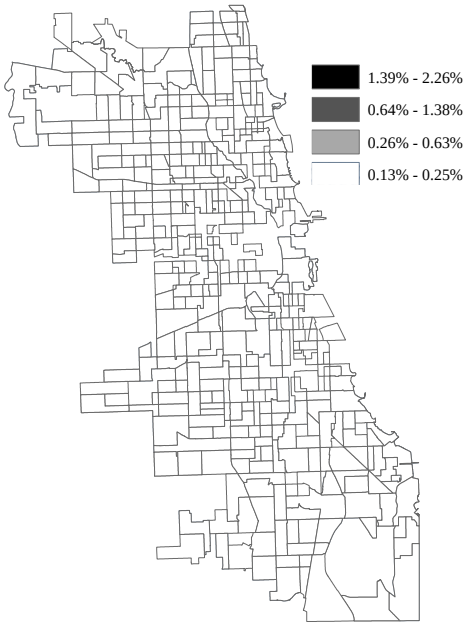
	Total sample	Linguistic Acculturation			% Latino	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802	N=400	N=238	N=164	N=281	N=521
			%			
Linguistic Acculturation						
Low	49.88	-	-	-	39.86	55.28
Bi-cultural	29.68	-	-	-	30.25	29.37
High	20.45	-	-	-	29.89	15.36
% Latino						
50% or less	35.04	28.00	35.71	51.22	-	-
50% or more	64.96	72.00	64.29	48.78	-	-
Generational Status						
First	63.72	95.00	47.90	10.37	54.09	68.91
Second	25.06	3.75	46.64	45.73	27.76	23.61
Other	11.22	1.25	5.46	43.90	18.15	7.49
Country of origin						
Mexican	66.33	77.50	56.73	53.05	53.74	73.13
Puerto Rican	18.33	9.75	28.15	25.00	18.86	18.04
Other Latino	15.34	12.75	15.13	21.95	27.40	8.83

Figure 6. The Distribution of Latinos in Chicago

% Latino living in the NC



Latinos in the Sample



When considering the full sample, 64.96% of Latinos lived in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino and 35.04% lived in a neighborhood that was 50% or less Latino. A higher percentage of those who lived in a neighborhood that was 50% or more Latino reported being low acculturated, 55.28%, first generation 68.91%, and Mexican 73.13%. However, 39.86% of respondents who lived in neighborhoods that are 50% or less Latino were low acculturated, 54.09% were first generation, and 53.74% were from Mexico. Neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos had higher rates of individuals with higher levels of linguistic acculturation, second and third generations and other Latinos than those with higher concentrations of Latinos.

When looking at the maps (see Figure 6, 7 and 8), the distribution of Latino respondents in neighborhood clusters mirrors the distribution of Latinos in the US census.

While there is some overlap, low acculturated Latinos are more densely clustered in neighborhoods that have a higher concentration of Latinos overall.

Means and Mean Differences of All Measures across Groups

On average, participants in the sample were 37.65 years old (see Table 3). This significantly differed by linguistic acculturation status with low acculturated individuals being slightly older, 40.51, and bi-cultural slightly younger, 34.46 ($F(2,799)=17.35$, $p<.00$). The difference in age by percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood was not statistically significant. On average, individuals in the sample reported .60 life events, or less than 1. This also differed across level of linguistic acculturation with less acculturated (M=.51) reporting less live events than highly acculturated individuals (M=.80) ($F(2,799)=7.35$, $p<.00$). Again, this did not differ by the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. The mean number of children in the household was 1.33 in the entire sample. And again, this also differed significantly by linguistic acculturation status ($F(2,799)=5.62$, $p<.01$) with low acculturated individuals having more children in the home compared to more highly acculturated. This did not differ significantly by neighborhood.

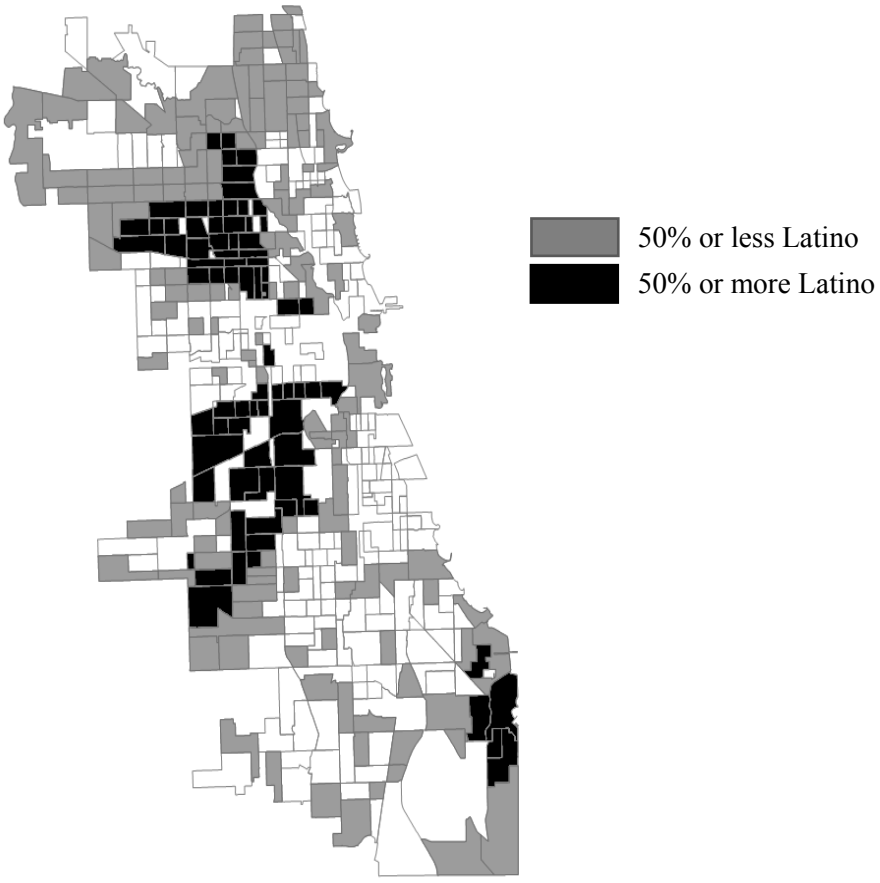
On average, 49% of the sample reported being married and this differed significantly by linguistic acculturation status ($F(2,799)=5.62$, $p<.01$), but not by neighborhood. On average, participants reported being somewhat satisfied with their financial situation, which differed by linguistic acculturation status ($F(2,799)=3.20$, $p<.05$), but not by the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. Of the sample, 43% were male and did not significantly differ by group.

Figure 7. The Distribution of Latinos of Different Linguistic Acculturation Status in Chicago



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Figure 8. The Distribution 50% or Less or 50% or More Latino Neighborhoods in Chicago



On average, 26% of block faces in a neighborhood cluster had a church, 77% had evidence of a block watch, 9% had evidence of a community center, and 10% had evidence of a block home. The distribution of the density of these resources differed across neighborhood clusters (see Appendix A1). The density of churches significantly differed in the neighborhood clusters where low acculturated, bi-cultural, and high acculturated Latino were living ($F(2,799)=4.82$, $p<.01$). The density of community centers ($F(2,799)=3.19$, $p<.05$) and block homes ($F(2,799)=5.12$, $p<.01$) in clusters also significantly differed by the linguistic acculturation status, but block watches did not

($F(2,799)=2.60$, $p=.08$). The mean density of churches ($t=-2.16$, $df=800$, $p<.05$), community centers ($t=-4.89$, $df=800$, $p<.00$), block homes ($t=-5.60$, $df=800$, $p<.00$), and block watches ($t=-6.13$, $df=800$, $p<.00$), significantly differed by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, with neighborhood clusters of more than 50% having a higher density on average of all four types of resources.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Observed Variables in the Model: Formal Organization and Control

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802 NC= 206	N=400 NC=141	N=238 NC=122	N=164 NC=120	N=281 NC=133	N=521 NC=73
				Mean(SD)		
Formal organization						
Churches	.26(.01)	.27(.01)	.23(.01)	.30(.02)	.24(.01)	.28(.01)
Block Watches	.77(.01)	.79(.01)	.75(.02)	.73(.02)	.69(.02)	.81(.01)
Community Centers	.09(.01)	.10(.01)	.10(.01)	.07(.01)	.05(.01)	.11(.01)
Block home	.10(.01)	.12(.01)	.09(.01)	.07(.01)	.05(.01)	.13(.01)
Controls						
Age	37.65(.50)	40.51(.70)	34.46(.87)	35.33(1.04)	38.65(.89)	37.11(.59)
Life Events	.60(.03)	.51(.04)	.63(.05)	.80(.08)	.63(.05)	.58(.04)
Children	1.33(.05)	1.47(.07)	1.26(.08)	1.07(.11)	1.22(.08)	1.38(.06)
Married	.49(.02)	.63(.02)	.42(.03)	.26(.03)	.47(.03)	.50(.02)
Financial Dissatisfaction	2.97(.04)	2.92(.05)	2.92(.07)	3.17(.10)	2.99(.07)	2.97(.05)

On average, respondents had a distress mean score of 1.81, meaning that they reported having experienced any of the items between 1-**never** and 2-**hardly ever** in the previous week (see Table 4). This can be compared to Whites with an average of 1.79

and Blacks with an average of 1.95. The individuals' mean score on depression differed significantly by linguistic acculturation status ($F(2,799)=10.84$, $p<.00$) with less acculturated individuals reporting less distress than their White counterparts and highly acculturated Latinos reporting rates of distress higher than the African Americans in the sample.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of All Distress Items by Group

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802 NC= 206	N=400 NC=141	N=238 NC=122	N=164 NC=120	N=281 NC=133	N=521 NC=73
				Mean(SD)		
Distress (Mean)	1.81(.02)	1.71(.03)	1.84(.04)	1.97(.04)	1.83(.04)	1.79(.03)
I felt depressed	2.09(.04)	2.06(.05)	2.07(.06)	2.19(.08)	2.07(.06)	2.10(.04)
I felt that everything was an effort	2.14(.04)	1.86(.05)	2.33(.07)	2.55(.08)	2.24(.07)	2.08(.05)
My sleep was restless	2.13(.04)	1.98(.06)	2.18(.07)	2.43(.08)	2.20(.07)	2.09(.05)
I was happy(R)	1.42(.04)	1.40(.04)	1.42(.04)	1.46(.06)	1.47(.05)	1.39(.03)
I felt lonely	1.83(.04)	1.73(.05)	1.91(.07)	1.95(.08)	1.88(.06)	1.80(.04)
People were unfriendly	1.80(.03)	1.74(.05)	1.82(.06)	1.93(.07)	1.81(.06)	1.79(.04)
I enjoyed life (R)	1.35(.02)	1.38(.04)	1.32(.04)	1.34(.05)	1.31(.04)	1.38(.03)
I did not feel like eating	1.80(.03)	1.71(.05)	1.84(.06)	1.96(.08)	1.85(.06)	1.77(.04)
I felt sad	2.02(.04)	1.93(.05)	2.07(.06)	2.16(.08)	2.05(.06)	2.00(.04)
I felt people disliked me	1.60(.03)	1.56(.04)	1.61(.06)	1.65(.06)	1.51(.05)	1.64(.04)
I could not get 'going'	1.69(.03)	1.54(.04)	1.73(.06)	2.02(.07)	1.75(.06)	1.66(.04)

Rates of distress did not significantly differ by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. When tested separately, some items significantly differed: "I felt everything was an effort" ($F(2,799)=34.55$, $p<.00$); "My sleep was restless" ($F(2,799)=9.81$, $p<.00$); "I felt lonely" ($F(2,799)=4.13$, $p<.05$); "I did not feel like eating"

($F(2,799)=4.25$, $p<.05$); "I felt sad" ($F(2,799)=3.80$, $p<.02$), and "I could not get going" ($F(2,799)=17.27$, $p<.00$), while all others did not.

On average, individuals in the sample had a mean perception of disorganization score of 2.31, meaning they perceived between **a little** (2) and **some** (3) disorganization. This significantly differed by linguistic acculturations status ($F(2,799)=8.01$, $p<.00$) with low acculturated individual perceiving less disorganization.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Perception of Disorganization Items

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802	N=400	N=238	N=164	N=281	N=521
				Mean(SD)		
Perception of disorganization (Mean)	2.31(.03)	2.24(.04)	2.31(.05)	2.52(.06)	2.05(.05)	2.46(.03)
Broken glass or trash	2.52(.04)	2.47(.05)	2.49(.06)	2.69(.07)	2.18(.06)	2.70(.04)
Graffiti	2.52(.04)	1.95(.05)	2.18(.06)	2.36(.08)	1.76(.05)	2.29(.04)
Vacant or deserted houses	1.72(.03)	1.61(.04)	1.68(.06)	2.03(.08)	1.72(.06)	1.72(.06)
Drinking in public	2.49(.04)	2.51(.06)	2.38(.07)	2.60(.09)	2.12(.07)	2.69(.05)
Unsupervised children	2.74(.04)	2.62(.05)	2.80(.07)	2.93(.08)	2.45(.07)	2.90(.05)

On average, the sample lives in neighborhood clusters where 40% of the total population are married, 10% are unemployed, 21% have jobs in management, 20% of individuals are living below the poverty line, 7% are on public assistance, 17% of the households are female headed, 54% of the population has lived in the same house for five years, 42% of households earn less than $30,000 a year, and 42% of residents are owner occupied.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Disadvantage Items

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802	N=400	N=238	N=164	N=281	N=521
	NC= 206	NC=141	NC=122	NC=120	NC=133	NC=73
	Mean(SD)					
Disadvantage						
% married	.46(.00)	.46(.00)	.47(.00)	.42(.01)	.42(.01)	.47(.00)
% unemployment	.10(.00)	.10(.00)	.10(.00)	.11(.00)	.10(.00)	.10(.00)
% management	.21(.00)	.19(.01)	.21(.01)	.23(.01)	.29(.01)	.16(.00)
% individual poverty	.20(.00)	.21(.00)	.19(.01)	.21(.01)	.17(.01)	.22(.00)
% public assistance	.07(.00)	.07(.00)	.07(.00)	.08(.00)	.06(.00)	.07(.00)
% female headed household	.17(.00)	.16(.00)	.16(.01)	.20(.01)	.18(.01)	.16(.00)
% live for 5 years	.54(.00)	.54(.00)	.54(.01)	.56(.01)	.54(.01)	.54(.00)
% income under $30,000	.42(.00)	.43(.01)	.41(.01)	.43(.01)	.39(.01)	.44(.00)
% owner occupied	.42(.01)	.40(.01)	.43(.01)	.44(.02)	.47(.01)	.39(.01)

The mean of the rates of all of these items are significantly different for individual's with different linguistic acculturation status: % married (F(2,799)=20.27, p<.00), % unemployed (F(2,799)=6.18, p<.00), % management (F(2,799)=11.17, p<.00), % individual poverty (F(2,799)=4.73, p<.01), % public assistance (F(2,799)=5.73, p<.01), % female headed household (F(2,799)=13.78, p<.00), % lived in the same house for five year (F(2,799)=4.77, p<.01), % owner occupied (F(2,799)=4.46, p<.01). Most are also significantly different by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood: % married (t=-8.77, df=800, p<.00), % unemployed (t=-2.07, df=800, p<.05), % management (t=18.52, df=800, p<.00), % individual poverty (t=-7.47, df=800, p<.00), % public assistance (t=-3.04, df=800, p<.01), % female headed household (t=2.85, df=800,

p<.01), % owner occupied (*t*=5.93, *df*=800, p<.00) % earning below $30,000 (*t*=-7.31, *df*=800, p<.00).

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations of Objective Disorganization Items

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802 NC= 206	N=400 NC=141	N=238 NC=122	N=164 NC=120	N=281 NC=133	N=521 NC=73
	Mean(SD)					
Objective disorganization						
Abandon car	.04(.00)	.04(.00)	.03(.00)	.03(.00)	.03(.00)	.04(.00)
Empty beer	.54(.01)	.57(.01)	.49(.02)	.53(.02)	.40(.02)	.61(.01)
Condom	.04(.00)	.05(.00)	.05(.01)	.04(.01)	.03(.00)	.05(.00)
Needles	.12(.01)	.13(.01)	.10(.01)	.10(.02)	.07(.01)	.14(.01)
Cigarettes	.95(.00)	.94(.01)	.95(.01)	.95(.01)	.92(.01)	.96(.00)
Garbage	2.56(.02)	2.62(.02)	2.50(.03)	2.49(.04)	2.32(.02)	2.69(.02)
Vacant lot	.16(.01)	.15(.01)	.13(.01)	.20(.01)	.12(.01)	.18(.01)
Gang graffiti	.23(.01)	.26(.01)	.21(.02)	.20(.02)	.13(.01)	.29(.01)
Other graffiti	.25(.01)	.28(.01)	.22(.01)	.28(.01)	.22(.01)	.27(.01)
Graffiti painted over	.37(.01)	.40(.01)	.35(.02)	.31(.02)	.22(.01)	.45(.01)

On average, individuals in the sample live in neighborhoods where 4% of block faces have abandoned cars, 54% have broken beer bottles, 4% have evidence of condoms, 12% have needles or drug paraphernalia, and 95% have cigarette butts, the mean number of pieces of garbage per block face are 2.56, 16% of block faces have vacant lots, 23% of block faces have some form of gang graffiti, 25% have evidence of other forms of graffiti, and 37% have evidence of graffiti that's been painted over. Mean differences in the density of empty beer bottles ($F(2,799)=5.01$, $p<.00$), vacant lots ($F(2,801)=10.81$, $p<.00$), gang graffiti ($F(2,799)=4.85$, $p<.00$), other graffiti ($F(2,799)=3.77$, $p<.02$), and

graffiti painted over (F(2,799)=6.38, p<.00) were found by linguistic acculturation status. All items significantly differed by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood with neighborhoods of more than 50% Latinos having higher rates of objective disorganization: abandon cars (t=-2.54, df=800, p<.05), empty beer bottles (t=-9.67, df=800, p<.00), condoms (t=-3.84, df=800, p<.00), needles (t=-4.55, df=800, p<.00), cigarettes (t=-6.22, df=800, p<.00), garbage (t=-11.15, df=800, p<.00), vacant lot (t=-4.84, df=800, p<.00), gang graffiti(t=-8.75, df=800, p<.00), other graffiti (t=-3.09, df=800, p<.00), and graffiti painted over (t=-11.49, df=800, p<.00).

Table 8

Mean and Standard Deviations of Neighborhood Control

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802 NC= 206	N=400 NC=141	N=238 NC=122	N=164 NC=120	N=281 NC=133	N=521 NC=73
	Mean(SD)					
Control (mean)	3.02(.03)	3.07(.04)	3.00(.04)	2.93(.06)	3.14(.04)	2.96(.03)
Children skipped school	2.82(.04)	2.91(.05)	2.76(.07)	2.72(.09)	3.00(.06)	2.73(.05)
Children spray painting	3.31(.03)	3.27(.05)	3.42(.05)	3.26(.07)	3.46(.05)	3.23(.04)
Child showing disrespect	2.79(.04)	2.94(.05)	2.67(.06)	2.60(.08)	2.83(.06)	2.76(.04)
Fight in front of house	2.85(.04)	2.81(.06)	2.88(.07)	2.91(.09)	3.03(.06)	2.75(.05)
If a library was taken	3.33(.03)	3.45(.04)	3.25(.06)	3.25(.06)	3.39(.05)	3.30(.04)

On average, the total sample reported 3.02 on the neighborhood control measure meaning that that their neighbors were "likely" to intervene in the given scenario. The mean score marginally differed by level of linguistic acculturation (F(2,787)=2.45, p=.09), and significantly differed by the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood

(*t*=3.35, *df*=788, p<.00). The mean of individuals' responses to children skipping school (*F*(2,753)=2.41, *p*=.09), and children spray painting (*F*(2,777)=2.41, *p*=.09), marginally differed by linguistic acculturation. The mean of individuals' responses to children showing disrespect (*F*(2,763)=9.15, *p*<.00), and a library being taken away (*F*(2,768)=8.83, *p*=.00), significantly differed by linguistic acculturation. The mean of individuals' responses to children skipping school (*t*=3.38, *df*=754, *p*<.00), spray painting (*t*=3.40, *df*=778, *p*<.00), and having a fight in front of the house (*t*=3.45, *df*=800, *p*<.00) significantly differed by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood.

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations of Neighborhood Exchange by Group

	Total sample	**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
		Low	Bi-cultural	High	50% or less	50% or more
	N=802	N=400	N=238	N=164	N=281	N=521
	Mean(SD)					
Exchange (mean)	2.43(.03)	2.39(.04)	2.49(.05)	2.45(.06)	2.43(.05)	2.43(.03)
Do favors for each other	2.70(.03)	2.72(.05)	2.71(.06)	2.63(.08)	2.68(.06)	2.71(.04)
Watch over property	2.74(.04)	2.66(.06)	2.78(.08)	2.88(.09)	2.81(.07)	2.71(.05)
Ask each other's advice	2.22(.04)	2.23(.06)	2.28(.07)	2.13(.08)	2.24(.07)	2.22(.05)
Have parties	2.14(.04)	2.07(.05)	2.22(.06)	2.21(.09)	2.13(.06)	2.15(.04)
Visit each other	2.37(.04)	2.31(.05)	2.43(.07)	2.44(.08)	2.35(.06)	2.38(.05)

On average, individuals reported 2.43 on the neighborhood exchange measure meaning that they reported their neighbors did the given activity between (2) **rarely** and (3) **sometimes.** The mean and the individual items did not significantly differ by level of linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood.

Assessing Between Neighborhood Cluster Variation in Rates of Distress

Table 10

Interclass Correlations of All Distress Items by Group

	All	Low	Bi	High	Less 50%	More 50%
Depressed	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00
Everything an effort	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Sleep restless	0.02	0.10**	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.03
Sad	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.07	0.00	0.03
Lonely	0.00	0.00	0.12*	0.06	0.00	0.00
Could not get 'going'	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.13*	0.00
Eating	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.08	0.12*	0.00
Happy	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Enjoy	0.02†	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.02
Unfriendly	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.12	0.02	0.03†
Dislike	0.02	0.11**	0.01	0.00	0.10*	0.03
Mean Total	0.00	0.04	0.07	0.00	0.01	0.00

When variance component multi-level models were run in the regression framework and interclass correlations were calculated, no significant differences between neighborhoods were found in the mean distress score in the full sample, by level of linguistic acculturation and by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood (for a visual representation of the distribution, see Appendix B). When this analysis was conducted for each item in the distress scale, significant differences between neighborhoods were found among low acculturated and bi-cultural individuals, as well as in neighborhoods with less than 50% of the population being Latino. For low acculturated Latinos, 10% of the variation in reports of "restless sleep" and 11% of the variation in responses of how often a person "felt people disliked me" were found to occur between neighborhoods rather than within. For bi-cultural individuals, 12% of the variation in

reports of "feeling lonely" occurred between neighborhoods rather than within. For individuals living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino, 13% of the variation in responses to "I could not get going," 12% of the variation in the responses to "I did not feel like eating," and 10% of the responses in "I felt people disliked me" occurred between neighborhoods. Despite significant ICCs in some groups, on some items the lack of significant ICC's on the mean score across all groups indicate that multi-level modeling is not a necessary analytic strategy.

Constructing Measurement Models

When an EFA was conducted with items from the CESD, a three-factor solution was indicted as the best fitting model (χ^2= 63.24(25), RMSEA= .04, CFI = .99 TLI= .97) with one-factor and two-factor solutions demonstrating a good model fit (see Table 18). The eigenvalues suggested a two-factor solution was sufficient with the one-factor solution having an eigenvalue of 4.75, a two-factor solution having an eigenvalue of 1.06, and the 3-factor solutions eigenvalue dropping below 1 at .91. In the one-factor solution, all factors loaded above the .40 cut point. Because the CESD is a validated scale, it was decided to keep the one-factor solution. Subsequent CFA's demonstrated model fit across all groups when some items error terms were allowed to correlate (see Table 11). When measure invariance was tested, the CESD demonstrated weak measurement invariance across levels of linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, satisfying the minimum requirements for comparisons across groups (see Appendix D1).

When an EFA was conducted with the five items that make up the perceptions of disorganization measure, a one-factor solution was found to be the best fitting model

(χ^2= 13.25(5), RMSEA= .05, CFI = .99 TLI= .99). This was also reflected in the eigenvalues: 2.89 for a one-factor solution and .68 for a two-factor solution. In the EFA, all factor loadings fell well above the .40 cut point. When CFA were estimated for the full sample and each subgroup, the measure continued to demonstrate a good model fit and acceptable factor loadings (see Table 12). When measurement invariance was tested, perceptions of disorganization were found to have weak measurement invariance for all levels of linguistic acculturation, but was variant in 50% or less and 50% or more in Latino neighborhoods. When items 2) graffiti and 3) vacant or deserted houses were freed to vary across groups, measurement invariance was achieved. This retained three fixed factors, allowing the measures to be compared across groups in subsequent tests.

When an EFA was conducted for all possible disadvantage items, a four-factor solution demonstrated the best model fit (χ^2= 60.61(6), RMSEA= .11, CFI = .99 TLI= .95), although the four-factor solution still had poor fitting chi-square statistics and RMSEA (see Appendix C2). To improve the model fit, the percentage of management and the percentage of individuals who had lived in the same house for five years were excluded (see Appendix C3). These items were selected because they did not load on the first-factor solution and continued to either not load or cross load in subsequent factor solutions.

Table 11.

CFA of Distress Measurement Model by Group with Correlations

	All Latinos		**Linguistic Acculturation**			**% Latino**	
			Low	Bi	High	50% or	50% or
N	801		400	238	164	281	521
Full model fit							
χ^2(df)	268.66(4	113.71(42)	57.81(.40)	56.01(41)	52.67(42)	62.23(38)	55.16(41)
RMSEA	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.03
CFI	0.92	0.98	0.99	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.99
TLI	0.90	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.96	0.99
I felt depressed (1)	0.71	0.71	0.77	0.73	0.75	0.70	0.71
Everything was an effort (2)	0.54	0.54	0.48	0.49	0.35	0.48	0.56
My sleep was restless (3)	0.57	0.57	0.59	0.60	0.52	0.56	0.60
I was happy (R) (4)	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.51	0.57	0.50	0.52
I felt lonely (5)	0.69	0.69	0.68	0.69	0.64	0.65	0.70
People were unfriendly (6)	0.50	0.47	0.49	0.50	0.41	0.41	0.52
I enjoyed life (R) (7)	0.50	0.48	0.52	0.52	0.50	0.55	0.49
I did not feel like eating (8)	0.57	0.57	0.56	0.57	0.47	0.56	0.58
I felt sad (9)	0.81	0.81	0.83	0.79	0.76	0.82	0.82
I felt people disliked me (10)	0.59	0.58	0.63	0.64	0.49	0.57	0.60
I could not get 'going'(11)	0.69	0.69	0.73	0.75	0.61	0.63	0.71
Correlations							
6 and 10		X	X	X	X	X	X
4 and 7		X	X	X	X	X	X
1 with 2			X				
2 with 3			X				
1 with 9				X			
3 with 9						X	
4 with 10						X	
7 with 10						X	
10 with 11						X	
11 with 1							X

Table 12

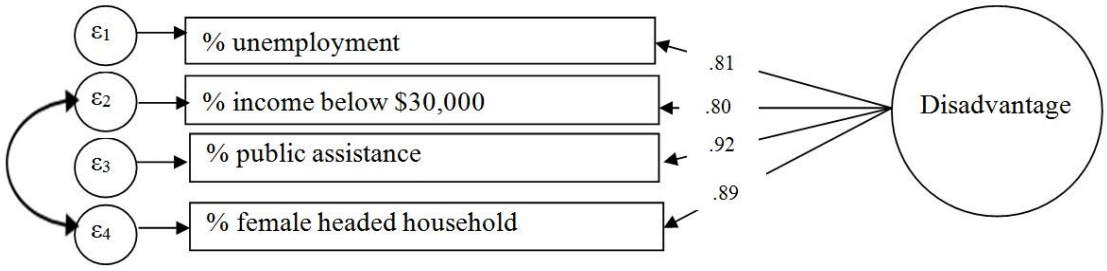
CFA of Subjective Disorganization by Group

	All Latinos	Linguistic Acculturation			% Latino	
		Low	Bi	High	50% or less	50% or more
N	801	398	238	164	280	520
Full model fit						
χ^2 (df)	11.04(5)	5.46(5)	7.20(5)	5.98(5)	4.48(5)	7.99(5)
RMSEA	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.03
CFI	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	1.00
TLI	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.99	1.00	0.99
Broken glass or trash	0.76	0.74	0.80	0.76	0.79	0.72
Graffiti	0.71	0.70	0.76	0.67	0.66	0.72
Vacant or deserted houses	0.55	0.52	0.59	0.53	0.65	0.53
Drinking in public	0.77	0.75	0.79	0.84	0.80	0.73
Unsupervised children	0.63	0.59	0.66	0.68	0.66	0.59

When the EFA was re-run, the eigenvalue value indicated that the one-factor solution had the best model fit, 4.71; however, when model fit statistics were examined, the one-factor solution model fit statistics were unacceptable (χ^2= 1528(14), RMSEA= .37, CFI = .73 TLI= .60) and the two (χ^2= 484.93(8), RMSEA= .27, CFI = .92 TLI= .78) and the three-factor solution did not offer substantial improvements (χ^2= 85.97(3), RMSEA= .19, CFI = .99 TLI= .90). To further improve model fit, the percentage of married and the percentage of owner occupied were cut, based on the factor loading on the second factor in the three-factor solution. Although the eigenvalues suggested that a one-factor solution had the best model fit, the model fit statistics suggested that the two-factor solution was optimal (see Appendix C4). The first factor in the first-factor solution was selected and CFAs were run for the full sample for each group. CFAs indicated a

good fitting model for the full sample and in all groups with all factor loadings falling well above the .40 cut point (see Figure 9 and Table 13). When measurement invariance was tested, the final measure was found to have weak invariance among linguistic acculturations groups; however, its factor structure was significantly variant between the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. When the percentage of labor unemployment and the percentage of female-headed households were allowed to vary between groups, partial weak invariance was achieved. Two factors remained invariant across groups, meeting the minimum requirements for continuing with a multi-group analysis (see Appendix D1).

Figure 9. CFA: Disadvantage Full Sample



$\chi^2(df)$=.31(1), RMSEA= .00, CFI = 1.00 TLI= 1.00

When the EFA was run using all possible items in the objective disorganization scale, the eigenvalues indicted that a three-factor solution was the best fitting model, but the model fit statistics were not actable until the four-factor solution (χ^2=33.13(11), RMSEA= .05, CFI = .97 TLI= .90). The first two factors were pulled out and tested in a CFA framework: 1) abandoned cars, condoms, needles, vacant lots, other graffiti, and 2) empty beer bottles, gang graffiti, and painted over graffiti.

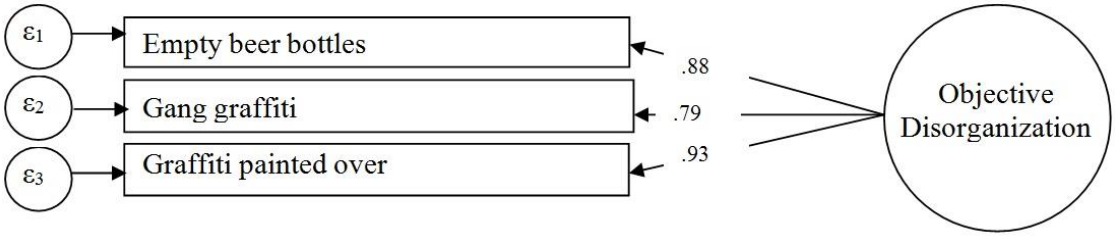
Table 13

CFA Disadvantage for All Groups

	Linguistic Acculturation			**% Latino**	
	Low	Bi	High	50% or less	50% or more
N	400	238	164	281	521
Full model fit					
χ^2(df)	3.22(2)	1.19(1)	1.39(1)	2.99(2)	0.00(0)
RMSEA	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.00
CFI	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
TLI	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01
% unemployment(1)	0.77	0.78	0.93	0.94	0.61
% income below $30,000 (2)	0.77	0.85	0.88	0.87	0.79
% public assistance(3)	0.93	0.87	0.95	0.96	0.81
% female headed household(4)	0.81	0.92	0.95	0.95	0.70
Correlations					
2 and 4		X			
1 and 4					X
3 and 2			X		
4 and 3					X

The second factor was selected because it had more face validity and more variation in the population (see Table 7) and demonstrated a better model fit. Although the model fit statistics are not able to provide decisive information about the model fit, factor loadings loaded above .60 in all populations (see Figure 10 and Table 14). The measure was invariant across linguistic acculturation groups, but was significantly variant in neighborhoods with differing ethnic makeup (see Appendix D1). When "empty beer bottles" was freed, measurement invariance was achieved, achieving the minimum of two fixed factors, allowing the constructs to be compared across groups (see Appendix D2).

Figure 10. CFA: Objective Disorder Full Sample



$\chi^2(df)$=.00(0), RMSEA= .00, CFI = 1.00 TLI= 1.00

When an EFA was run for neighborhood control, a one-factor solution was indicated and the model demonstrated a good model fit (χ^2=12.31(5), RMSEA= .04, CFI = .99 TLI= .98). When CFAs were run, the full scale demonstrated a good model fit in all subgroups (see Table 15). The measures were shown to be invariant across neighborhoods with differing ethnic makeup, but were variant across differing levels of linguistic acculturation (see Appendix D1).

Table 14

CFA of Objective Disorganization by Group

	Linguistic Acculturation			**% Latino**	
	Low	Bi	High	50% or less	50% or more
N	400	238	164	280	520
Full model fit					
$\chi^2(df)$	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)
RMSEA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
CFI	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
TLI	1.01	1.01	1.01	1.01	1.01
Empty beer bottles	0.92	0.90	0.75	0.85	0.89
Gang graffiti	0.80	0.82	0.71	0.61	0.82
Graffiti painted over	0.94	0.94	0.90	0.83	0.94

The measure was found to be invariant across acculturation groups when "children skipping school" and "children spray painting" were freed (see Appendix D2). This maintained three fixed factors across groups, meeting the minimum requirements necessary to move forward with a multi-group analysis.

Table 15

CFA Control by Group

	Linguistic Acculturation			**% Latino**	
	Low	Bi	High	50% or less	50% or more
N	391	236	163	280	516
Full model fit					
χ^2 (df)	11.65(5)	5.65(5)	7.93(5)	5.59(5)	9.91(5)
RMSEA	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.04
CFI	0.98	1.00	0.98	1.00	0.99
TLI	0.97	1.00	0.97	1.00	0.98
Children skipping school	0.55	0.75	0.67	0.77	0.69
Children spray painting	0.73	0.68	0.62	0.60	0.63
Child showing disrespect	0.74	0.66	0.67	0.67	0.75
Fight in front of house	0.53	0.60	0.64	0.54	0.60
If a library was taken	0.53	0.62	0.58	0.65	0.67

When an EFA was run for neighborhood exchange, the one-factor solution did not exhibit an acceptable model fit (χ^2(df)=71.27(5), RMSEA= .13, CFI = .94 TLI= .88); however the two- factor solution did (χ^2(df)=1.11(1), RMSEA= .01, CFI = 1.00 TLI= 1.00). It was decided that the first factor would be used in the analysis. This factor demonstrated a good model fit across groups (see Table 16) and was found to be measurement invariant across both levels of linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood (see Appendix D1).

Table 16

Neighborhood Exchange CFA by Group

	Latino	Linguistic Acculturation			% Latino	
		Low	Bi	High	50% or less	50% or more
N	801	394	238	164	280	512
Full model fit						
χ^2 (df)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)
RMSEA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
CFI	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
TLI	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Do favors for each other	0.78	0.71	0.89	0.83	0.66	0.68
Watch neighbor's property	0.67	0.70	0.64	0.63	0.72	0.70
Asked each other advice	0.67	0.75	0.61	0.57	0.65	0.64

After measurement models were complete, correlations between all neighborhood level (see Appendix E1) and individual level (see Appendix E2) measures were calculated. No correlation exceeded the .85, the recommended cut point.

Test of H1 and H2

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H1) For Latinos, neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with higher rates of psychological distress.

H2) For Latinos, neighborhood disadvantage will be indirectly associated with psychological distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that

f) Neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with objective disorganization.

g) Neighborhood disadvantage will be positively associated with perceptions of disorganization.

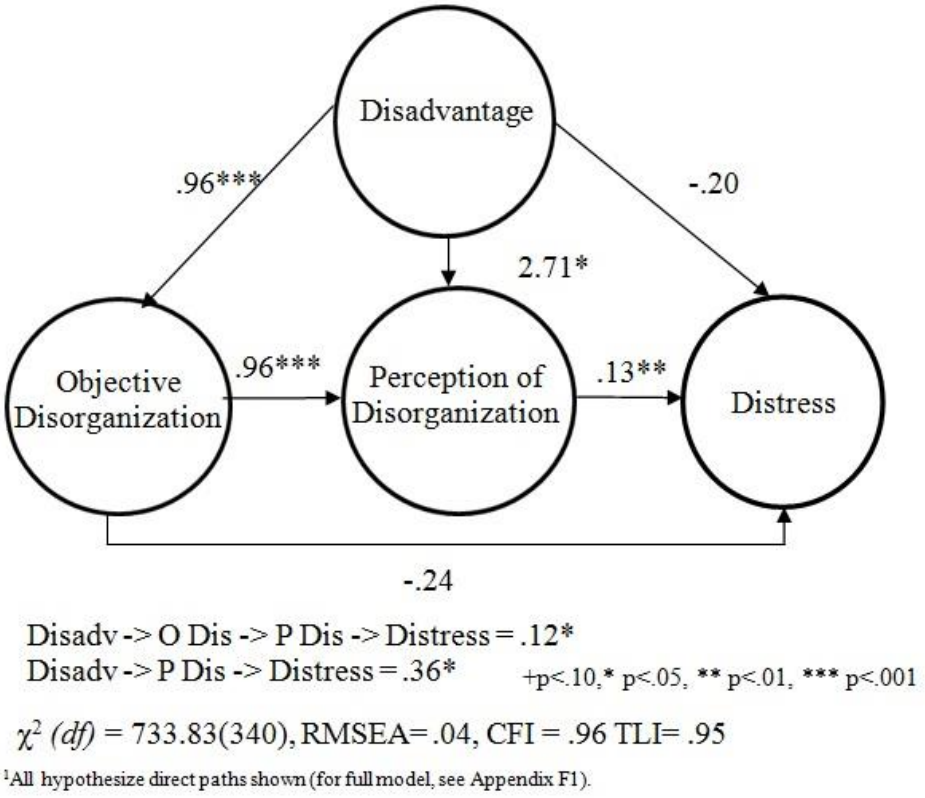
h) Objective disorganization will be positively associated with individuals' perceptions of disorganization.

i) Objective disorganization will be positively associated with psychological distress.

j) Perceptions of disorganization will be positively psychological distress.

Overall, the base model demonstrated an excellent model fit (see Figure 10 and Appendix A1). In the full sample, a significant relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress was demonstrated before the controls were added (*B(SE)*=.89(.34), *p*>. 01). However, no significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and rates of distress after controlling for gender, marriage, children, financial satisfaction, and life events when tested separately (*B(SE)*=.32(.31), *p*=. 32) and in the full base model (*B(SE)*=-.20(.32), *p*=.53). A positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*=.96(.08), *p*>.001).

Figure 11. Base Model Full Sample



For every one percentage increase in neighborhood disadvantage, we would expect a .57 percent increase in density of sign of disorganization. A positive relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=.96(.19), *p*>.001) (for full model, see Appendix F1). For every percent increase in the number of block faces in a neighborhood that exhibits signs of disorganization, we would expect a .96 increase in an individual's perception of disorganization. A significant positive association was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and perception of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 2.71(.36), *p*>.001). For every percentage increase in disadvantage, we would expect a 2.71 increase in perception of disorganization. A significant positive association was also found for the relationship between perception of

disorganization and distress (*B(SE)*=-.13(.05), *p*>.01). For every unit increase in an individual's perception of disorganization, a .13 increase in psychological distress was expected. No significant direct relationship was found between objective disorganization and distress (*B(SE)*=-.24(.18), *p*=.20). A positive indirect effect between disadvantage and distress was found through both objective and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.12(.05), *p*>.05) and subjective disorganization alone (*B(SE)*=-.36(.14), *p*>.05), indicating that objective and subjective disorganization mediate the relationship, increasing rates of distress.

Test of H3, H4, and H5

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H3) For Latinos, the density of churches, community centers, block watches, and block homes will mediate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress and the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that:

e) Disadvantage will be positively related to a higher density of formal organizations.

f) The density of formal organizations will be negatively related to psychological distress.

g) The density of formal organization will be negatively related to perceptions of disorganization.

h) The above relationships will decrease or make non-significant the direct and indirect relationships between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress.

H4) For Latinos, individual reports of neighborhood exchange and control will mediate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and psychological distress and the indirect relationship between disadvantage on distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, such that:

d) Disadvantage will be positively related to perceptions of informal organization.
e) The perception of informal organization will be negatively related to distress.
f) The above relationships will decrease or make non-significant the direct and indirect relationships between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress.

H5) For Latinos, the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be mediated by the relationship between formal and informal organization, such that:

d) Disadvantage is positively related to formal organization.
e) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization.
f) Informal organization is negatively related to distress.

The full hypothesized model demonstrated good model fit ($\chi^2(df)$= 1314.43(710), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .95 TLI= .94) (see Figure 11 and Appendix G1). When formal and informal community organizations were entered, a significant indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through the density of community houses in the neighborhood was detected (*B(SE)*=.16(.07), *p*>.05), indicating that community houses mediate the relationship. Additionally, a marginally significant indirect effect of neighborhood disadvantage on distress through the density of block watches was found

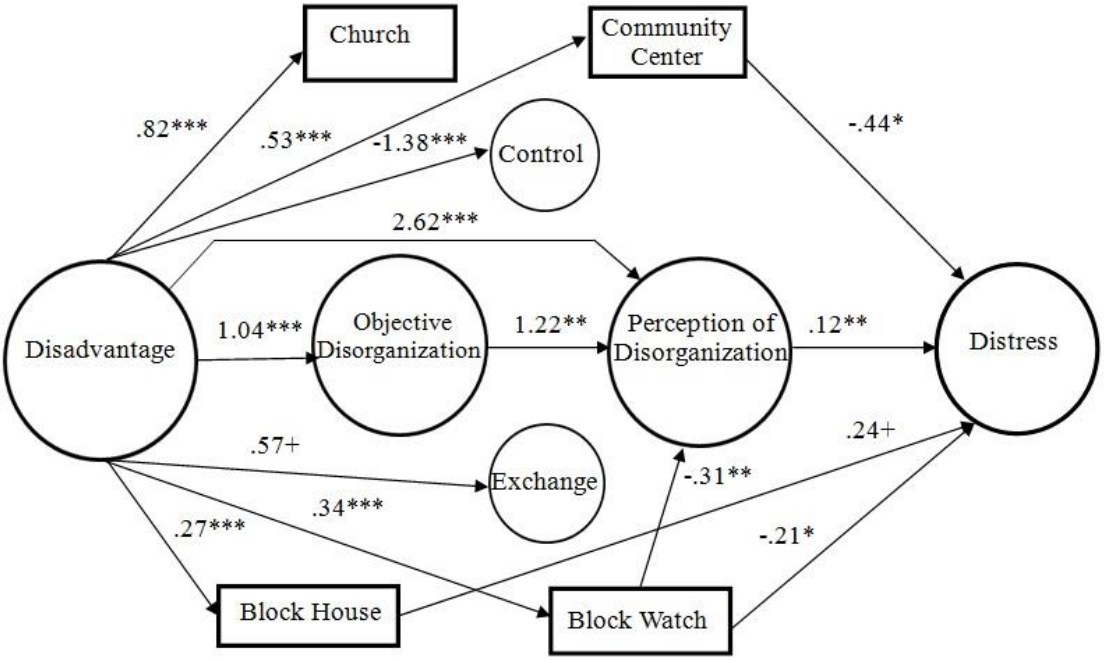
(*B(SE)*=-.07(.04), *p*=.06). A marginally significant indirect path was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through block watches and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.01(.01), *p*=.10). Although these indirect paths seem to mediate the relationship between disadvantage and distress, they did not diminish the indirect effect of disadvantage on distress through objective and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.15(.07), *p*> .05), and only slightly diminished the indirect relationship through subjective disorganization alone (*B(SE)*=.32(.13), *p*>.05).

Overall, the relationships found in the base model remained the same with a slight decrease in the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=2.62(.39), *p*>.00). Significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.82(.08), *p*>.00), community houses (*B(SE)*=.53(.05), *p*>.00), block homes (*B(SE)*=.27(.07), *p*>.00), and block watches (*B(SE)*=.34(.09), *p*>.00). As neighborhood disadvantage increased, so did the density of these resources in the neighborhood. A significant negative association was found between the density of block watches within the neighborhood and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.31(.12), *p*>.01). For every one percent increase in block homes, we would expect perceptions of disorganization to decrease .31. A direct negative relationship was also found between community centers (*B(SE)*=-.44(.17), *p*>.01) and distress and block watches (*B(SE)*=-.21(.10), *p*>.01) and distress. For every one percent increase in the density of community centers and block watches, we could expect .44 and .21 decrease in rates of distress respectively. A marginally significant positive association was found between block homes and distress (*B(SE)*=.24(.14), *p*=.08). A .24 increase in distress was expected for every one percent increase in the density of block homes. A

marginally significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.57(.33), *p*=.08). For every one percent increase in neighborhood disadvantage, there is a .57 increase in neighborhood exchange. A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-1.38(.31), *p*>.001). For every one percent increase in disadvantage, there is a 1.38 decrease in individuals' perceptions of neighborhood control. No significant relationships were found between informal community organization and distress or formal organization and informal community organization.

Significant negative associations were found between perceptions of neighborhood control and perceptions of neighborhood disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.14(.02), *p*>.001) and objective disorganization(*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.05), such that as control increases, perceptions of disorganization and objective disorganization decreases. A positive association was found between neighborhood exchange and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=.18(.03), *p*>.001). Positive associations were also found between objective disorganization and churches (*B(SE)*=.00(.00), *p*>.01), community centers (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.001), block watches (*B(SE)*=.02(.00), *p*>.001) and block homes (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.001).

Figure 12. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Full Sample (N=801)



Disadv -> O Dis -> P Dis -> Dist= .16*
Disadv -> P Dis -> Dist= .32*
Disadv -> Com Cent -> Dist= -.23*
Disadv -> Block Watch-> Dist= -.07+
Disadv -> Block Watch-> P Dis -> Dist= -.01+

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

χ^2 *(df)* = 1314.43(710), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .95 TLI= .94

[1]All hypothesize direct paths shown (for full model, see Appendix G1).

Test of H6 and H7

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H6) For Latinos, the direct relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that the relationship is stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.

H7) For Latinos, the indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that:

g) The relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization will be stronger for low acculturated individuals.

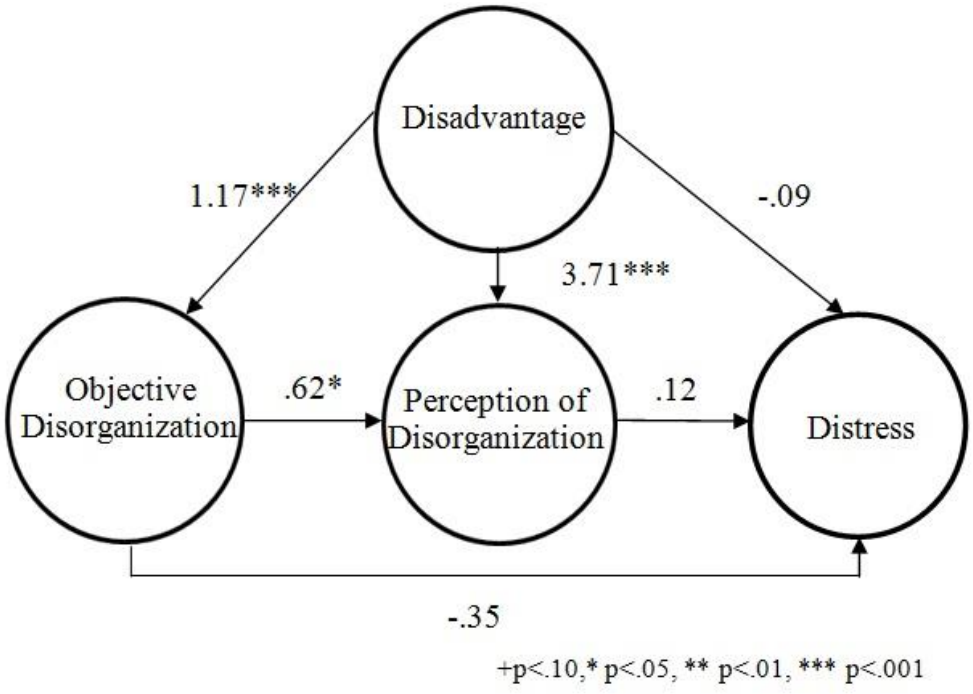
h) The relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.

i) The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress will be stronger for more highly acculturated individuals.

The base model had a very good model fit when run separately for low acculturated Latinos ($\chi^2(df)$= 500.81(343), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .96 TLI= .96), bi-cultural Latinos ($\chi^2(df)$= 449.34(343), RMSEA= .04, CFI = .96 TLI= .96), and a good model fit for highly acculturated Latinos ($\chi^2(df)$= 530.06(340), RMSEA= .06, CFI = .90 TLI= .88). Unlike in the full sample, no significant relationship is found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress before controlling for covariates for low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos; however, a significant relationship does exist between disadvantage and distress (*B(SE)*=2.01(.65), p>.01) among highly acculturated Latinos before controls are added. This relationship becomes non-significant after the addition of age, gender, life events, financial satisfaction, marriage, and children.

Overall, the multi-group model demonstrated a good model fit ($\chi^2(df)$= 1728.16(1105), RMSEA=.05, CFI=.93, TLI=.93) with the model fitting better for low acculturated (χ^2=570.21) (see Figure 11 and Appendix F2), bi-acculturated (χ2=490.22) (see Figure 13 and Appendix F2), and less well for highly acculturated (χ^2=667.73) (see Figure 14 and Appendix F2).

Figure 13. Base Model Multi-group Analysis Low Acculturated (N= 398)

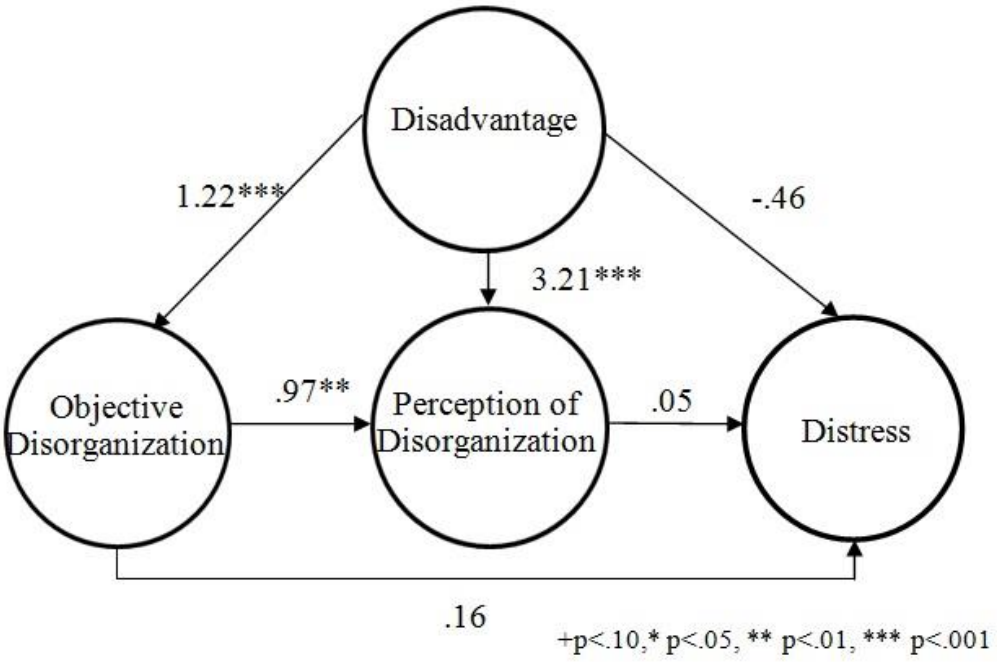


[1]All hypothesize direct paths shown (for full model, see Appendix F2).

Among low acculturated Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.17(.11), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage indicating a 1.19 % increase in the density of signs of disorganization. A positive significant relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .62(.26), *p*>.001) with every one percent increase in the density of signs of disorganization predicting a .64 increase in perceptions of disorganization. A significant relationship was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 3.71(.57), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disorganization predicting a 3.71 increase in perceptions of disorganization. No significant associations were found

between disadvantage and distress, subjective disorganization and distress, and objective disorganization and distress. Because the direct relationship between subjective disorganization and objective disorganization and distress are not significant, no significant indirect effects are present for low acculturated Latinos.

Figure 14. Base Model Multi-group Analysis Bi-cultural (N= 238)

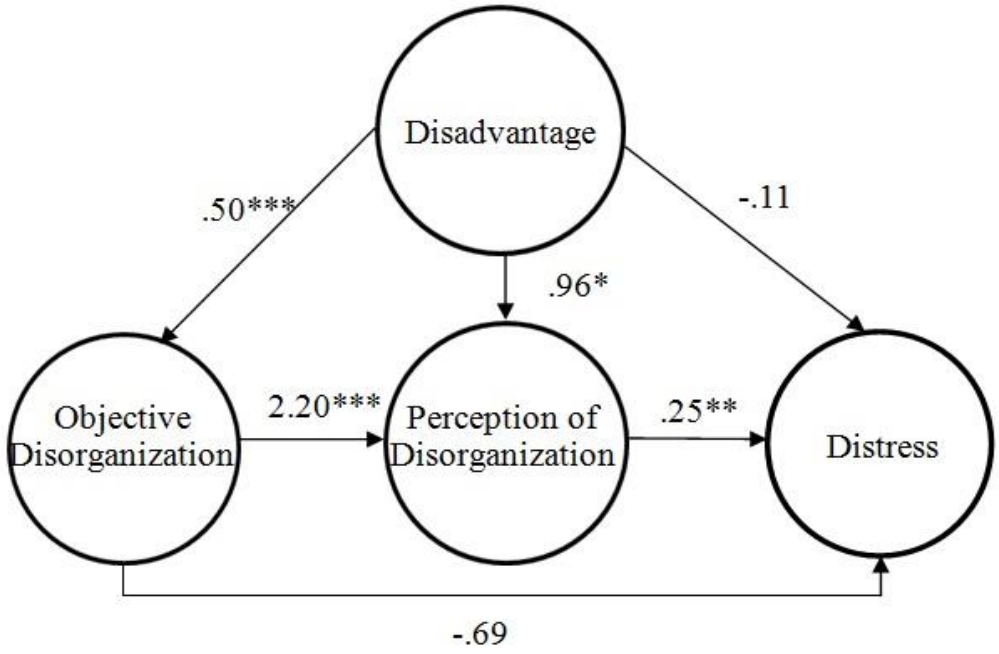


[1]All hypothesized direct paths shown (for full model, see Appendix F2).

Among bi-cultural Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.22(.13), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage indicating a 1.22 % increase in the density of signs of disorganization. A positive significant relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .97(.34), *p*>.001) with every one percent increase in the density of signs of disorganization predicting a .97 increase in perceptions of disorganizations. A significant relationship was also found

between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 3.21(.71), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disorganization predicting a 3.21 increase in perceptions of disorganization. No significant associations were found between disadvantage and distress, subjective disorganization and distress, and objective disorganization and distress. Because the direct relationship between subjective disorganization and objective disorganization and distress are not significant, no significant indirect effects are present for bi-cultural Latinos.

Figure 15. Base Model Multi-group Analysis High Acculturated (N=163)



[1]All hypothesize direct paths shown (for full model, see Appendix F2)

Among highly acculturated Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= .50(.09), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage indicating a .50% increase in the density of signs of disorganization. A positive significant relationship was also found

between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 2.20(.49), *p*>.001) with every one percent increase in the density of signs of disorganization predicting a 2.20 increase in perceptions of disorganizations. A significant relationship was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .96(.43), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disorganization predicting a .96 increase in perceptions of disorganization. A significant association was found between subjective disorganization and distress (*B(SE)*= .25(.49), *p*>.01), with every one-unit increase in subjective disorganization predicting a .25 increase in distress. No significant direct relationship was found between disadvantage and distress and objective disorganization and distress. A significant indirect relationship was found between disadvantage and distress through objective and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*= .28(.13), *p*>.05). A marginally significant indirect relationship was found between disadvantage to distress through perceptions of disorganizations (*B(SE)*= .24(.15), *p*=.07).

Linguistic acculturation moderates the direct effects in the base model when considered together (χ^2=51.79 df=12 p=.00). Linguistic acculturation significantly moderates the relationship between disadvantage and objective disorder (χ^2=32.11 df=2 p=.00). The relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization was stronger for low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos, compared to highly acculturated Latinos. Linguistic acculturation status also significantly moderates the relationship between objective disorganization and subjective disorganization (χ^2=8.45 df=2 p=.01), with the smallest relationship being found in low acculturated Latinos, the second largest among bi-cultural Latinos, and the largest among highly acculturated Latinos. Lastly, linguistic acculturation moderates the relationship between

disadvantage and subjective disorganization (χ^2=18.30 df=2 p=.00) with the largest relationship being found for low acculturated Latinos, the second largest for bi-cultural Latinos, and smallest for highly acculturated Latinos. Linguistic acculturation does not, however, moderate the relationship between subjective disorganization and distress (χ^2=2.92 df=2 p=.23), between objective disorganization and distress (χ^2=2.47 df=2 p=.29), and disadvantage and distress (χ2=.21 df=2 p=.90). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the indirect relationships in the base model (χ2=4.92 df=6 p=.55).

Test of H8, H9, and H10

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H8) For Latinos, the mediating effect of the density of formal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that:

c) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and the density of neighborhood organizations will be stronger in the neighborhood where less acculturated individuals live.

d) The negative relationship between the density of formal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for low acculturated Latinos.

e) The negative relationship between the density of formal organizations and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger for less acculturated Latinos.

H9) For Latinos, the mediating effect of perception of informal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by an individual's level of linguistic acculturation, such that:

c) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of informal neighborhood organization will be stronger in the neighborhood where less acculturated individuals live.

d) The negative relationship between the perception of informal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for low acculturated Latinos.

H10) For Latinos, the indirect effect of formal and informal organization on the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be moderated by linguistic acculturation status, such that:

g) Disadvantage is more strongly positively related to formal organization for low acculturated Latinos.

h) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization for low acculturated Latinos.

i) Informal organization is negatively related to distress for low acculturated Latinos.

When estimated separately, the model for low acculturated Latinos ($\chi^2(df)$= 997.99(705), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .95 TLI= .94), and bi-cultural Latinos ($\chi^2(df)$= 880.79(705), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .95 TLI= .95), demonstrated a very good fit. The model for highly acculturated Latinos did not demonstrate a good model fit ($\chi^2(df)$= 1086.98(727), RMSEA= .05, CFI = .85 TLI= .83). The multi-group model for linguistic acculturation has a good model fit (χ^2= 3260.63(2226), RMSEA= .04, CFI = .91 TLI= .91), with bi-cultural exhibiting the best model fit (χ^2=951.83) (see Figure 15 and

Appendix A4), followed by low acculturated (χ^2=1152.22) (see Figure 16 and Appendix A4) and high acculturated (χ2=1166.74) (see Figure 17 and Appendix A4).

For low acculturated Latinos, overall the relationships found in the base model remained the same with a slight decrease in the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=3.51(.39), *p*>.00). For low acculturated Latinos, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.18(.10), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage relating to a 1.18% increase in objective disorganization. In this group, significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.84(.13), *p*>.00), community houses (*B(SE)*=.68(.09), *p*>.00), block homes (*B(SE)*=.38(.12), *p*>.00), and block watches (*B(SE)*=.35(.14), *p*>.05), such that as neighborhood disadvantage increased, so did the density of these resources in the neighborhood. A marginally significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.86(.51), *p*=.10). For every one percent increase in neighborhood disadvantage, there was a .86 increase in neighborhood exchange. A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-1.03(.40), *p*>.05). For every one percent increase in disadvantage, there was a 1.03 decrease in an individual's perceptions of neighborhood control. For low acculturated Latinos, a significant negative relationship was found between the density of churches and perceptions of neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-.38(.16), *p*>.05) with every additional percent increase in the density of churches predicting a .38 decrease in perceptions of control. The same was found for the relationship between block watches and

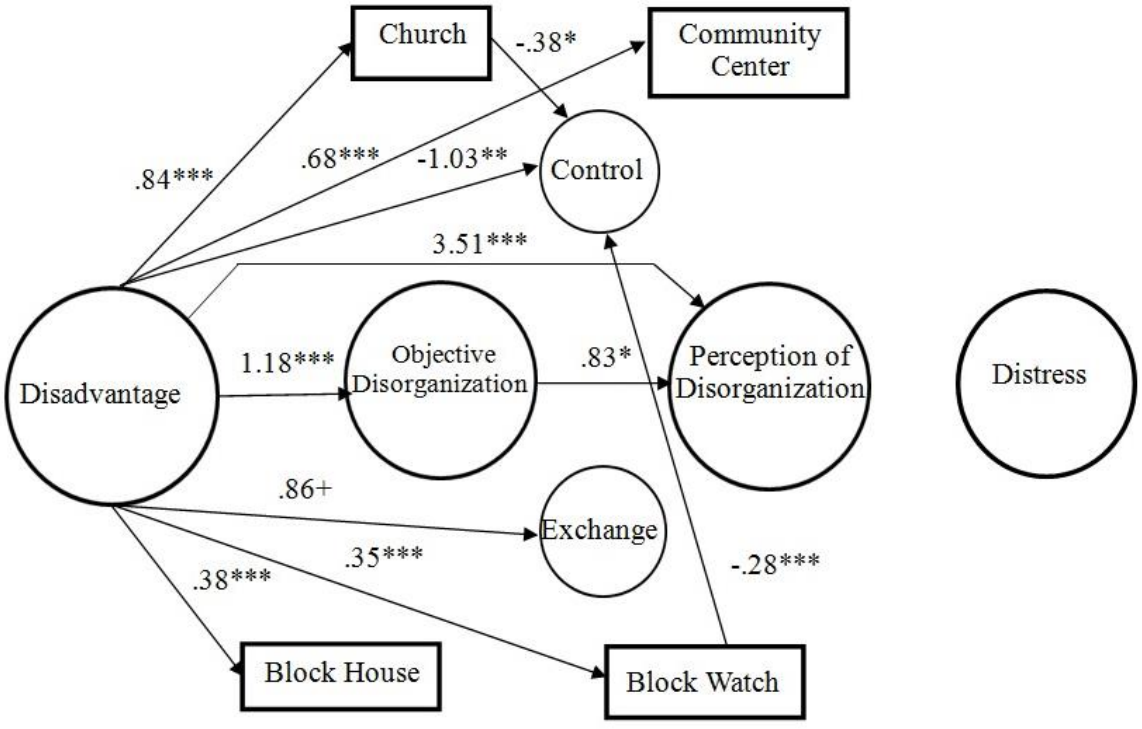
neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-.28(.12), *p*>.05) with every additional percentage increase in the density of block watches predicting a .28 decrease in neighborhood control. A significant negative relationship was also found between neighborhood control and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.07(.02), *p*>.01) and neighborhood control and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.01(.01), *p*>.01). For low acculturated Latinos, a positive relationship was also found between objective disorganization and community centers (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.00), block watches(*B(SE)*=-.02(.00), *p*>.01), and block homes (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.01). For low acculturated Latinos, no significant indirect effects moderated the relationship between disadvantage and distress.

For bi-cultural Latinos, overall the relationships found in the base model remained the same with a slight decrease in the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=2.96(.73), *p*>.00). For low acculturated Latinos, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.24(.13), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage relating to a 1.24% increase in objective disorganization. A significant direct relationship was found between objective disorganization and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=.96(.42), *p*>.05). For bi-cultural Latinos, significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.89(.14), *p*>.00), community houses (*B(SE)*=.57(.09), *p*>.00), block homes (*B(SE)*=.23(.12), *p*>.05), and block watches (*B(SE)*=.71(.19), *p*>.00), such that as neighborhood disadvantage increased, so did the density of these resources within the neighborhood. Additionally, there was a significant negative relationship between the density of community centers (*B(SE)*=-1.15(.36), *p*>.00), block watches(*B(SE)*=-.45(.17), *p*>.01),

and distress. For every one percent increase in the density of community centers, there was a 1.15 decrease in distress and for every one percent increase in block watches, there was a .45 decrease in distress. A marginally significant positive relationship was found between churches and distress (*B(SE)*=.46(.24), *p*=.05) and a statistically significant positive relationship was found between block homes and distress (*B(SE)*=.63(.28), *p*>.05). A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-1.81(.59), *p*>.05). For every one percent increase in disadvantage, we would expect a 1.81 decrease in an individual's perceptions of neighborhood control.

Figure 16. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Multi-group

Low Linguistic Acculturation (N=398)

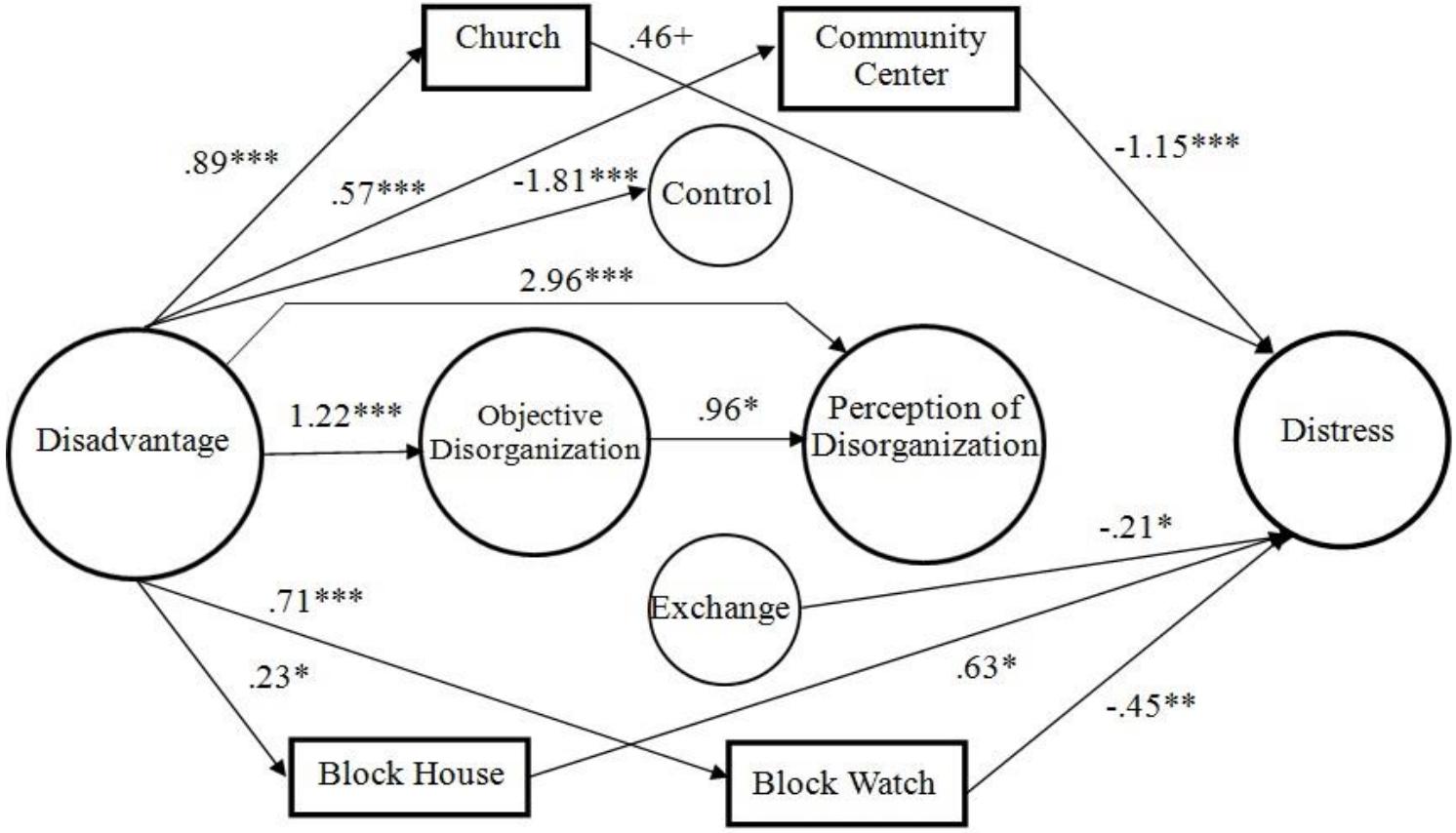


+p<.10,* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

[1]Statistically significant direct path shown (For full model see table G2)

For bi-cultural Latinos, a significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood exchange and distress (*B(SE)*=-.21(.09), *p*>.05) with every additional percent increase in perceptions of neighborhood exchange predicting a .21 decrease in distress. No significant relationships were found between formal community organization and informal community organization. A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood control and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.15(.04), *p*>.01). For bi-cultural Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood control and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.21(.05), *p*>.01). For bi-cultural Latinos, a positive relationship was also found between objective disorganization and churches (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.01), community centers (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.00), block watches (*B(SE)*=-.02(.00), *p*>.01), and block homes (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.01). For bi-cultural Latinos, a marginally significant indirect relationship was found between disadvantage and distress through churches (*B(SE)*=.41(.22), *p*=.06), such that there was a positive relationship between disadvantage and churches and a positive relationship between the density of churches and distress. Statistically significant mediation was also found through community centers (*B(SE)*=-.65(.23), *p*>.01); there was a positive relationship between disadvantage and the density of community centers and a negative relationship between the density of community centers and distress. Statistically significant mediation was also found through block watches (*B(SE)*=-.32(.15), *p*>.05); disadvantage was positively related to higher densities of block watches and block watches were negatively related to distress.

Figure 17. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Multi-group Bi-cultural (N= 238)



Disadv -> Church-> Distress= .41+
Disadv -> Com Cent -> Distress= -.65**
Disadv -> Block Watch-> Distress= -.32*

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

[1]Statistically significant direct path shown (For the full model see Appendix G2)

For highly acculturated Latinos, the overall relationships found in the base model remained the same; however, a decrease in the relationship between subjective disorganization and distress was observed (*B(SE)*=.12(.11), *p*=.18).

For highly acculturated Latinos, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= .57(.10), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage relating to a .57% increase in objective disorganization. A significant direct relationship was found between objective disorganization and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=2.47(.56), *p*>.00). Among highly acculturated Latinos, significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.54(.14), *p*>.00), community houses (*B(SE)*=.19(.08), *p*>.05), and non-significant relationships were found between disadvantage and block homes and block watches. A statistically significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-1.06(.59), *p*>.05). For highly acculturated Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.80(.54), *p*=.10). No significant relationships were found between formal community organization and informal community organization. A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood control and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.19(.05), *p*>.00). For highly acculturated Latinos, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood control and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.02(.01), *p*>.05). For highly acculturated Latinos, a significant relationship was found between community centers (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.05), block watches (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.00) and block homes (*B(SE)*=.01(.00), *p*>.01), and objective disorganization.

Although all indirect relationships were not significant when run separately, the sum of all indirect effects was statistically significant (*B(SE)*= .78(.39), $p<.05$); this was not the case for low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos.

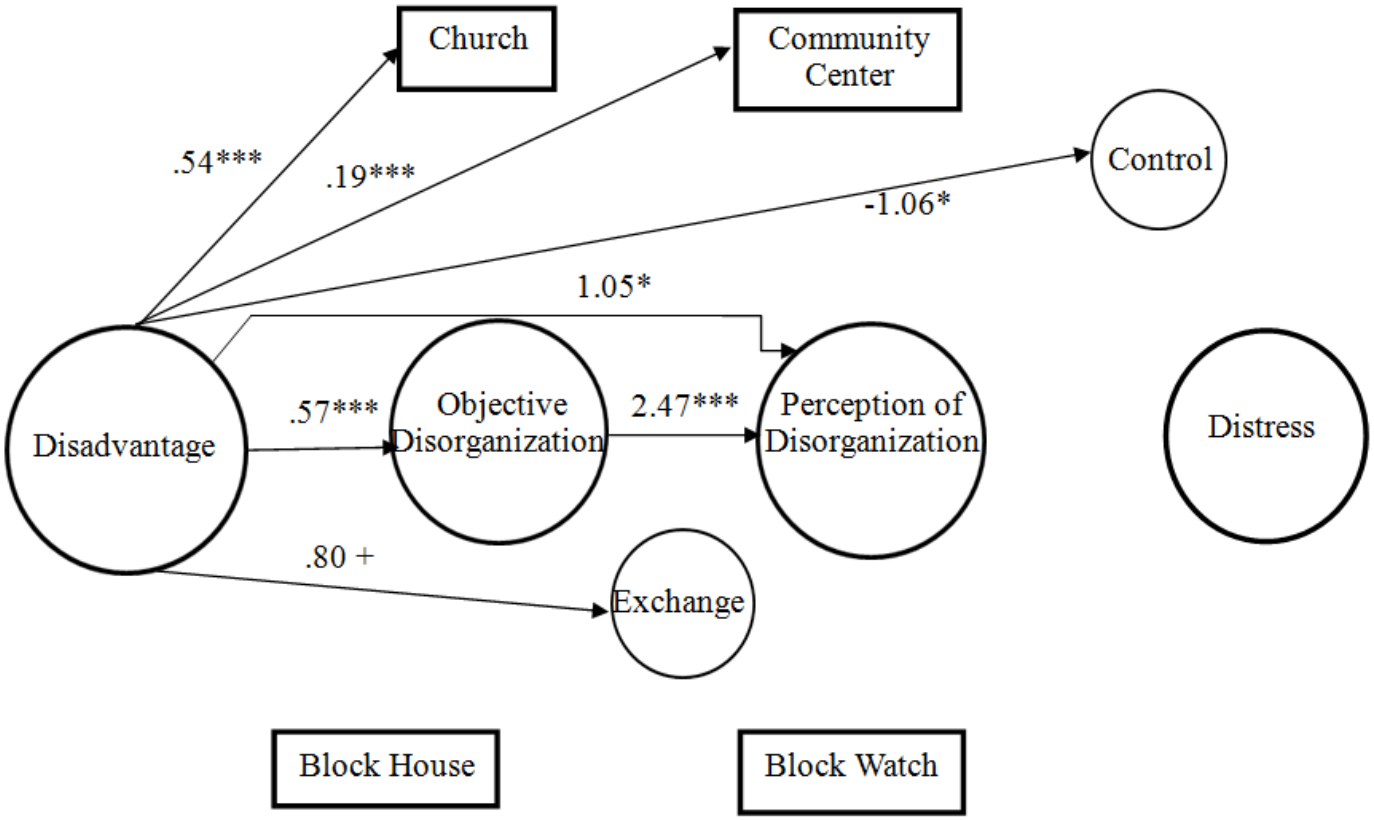
Linguistic acculturation moderated all direct effects when considered together (χ^2=138.97, df=74, p=.00). Linguistic acculturation moderates the relationship between disadvantage and objective disorder (χ^2=25.23, df=2, p=.00) and moderates the relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganizations (χ^2=6.99, df=2, p=.03). Linguistic acculturation moderates the relationship between disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (χ^2=12.04, df=2, p=.00). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between subjective disorganization and distress (χ^2=.10, df=2, p=.95). Linguistic acculturation also does not moderate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (χ^2=3.66, df=2, p=.16). Linguistic acculturation moderates the relationship between disadvantage and community houses (χ^2=20.77, df=2, p=.00), block watches (χ^2=8.10, df=2, p=.02), but does not moderate the relationship between disadvantage and block homes (χ^2=3.72, df=2, p=.16). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between churches (χ^2=1.00, df=2, p=.61), community centers (χ^2=.49, df=2, p=.78), block watches (χ^2=4.21, df=2, p=.12) and objective disorganization, but does significantly moderate the relationship between block homes (χ^2=7.22, df=2, p=.03) and objective disorganization. Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between churches (χ^2=.12, df=2, p=.94), community centers (χ^2=3.98, df=2, p=.14), block watches (χ^2=.02, df=2, p=.99) and block homes (χ^2=.96, df=2, p=.62) and subjective disorganization. Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between churches and distress (χ^2=3.98, df=2, p=.14), but

does marginally moderate the relationship between community houses and distress (χ^2=5.71, df=2, p=.06) and block homes and distress (χ^2=6.72, df=2, p=.03). Linguistic acculturation does not significantly moderate the relationship between block watches and distress (χ^2=3.82, df=2, p=.15). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (χ^2=1.43, df=2, p=.49) and objective disorganization and exchange (χ^2=3.14, df=2, p=.21).

Linguistic acculturation marginally moderates the relationship between neighborhood control and distress (χ^2=4.82, df=2, p=.09) and between neighborhood exchange and distress (χ^2=5.15, df=2, p=.08). Linguistic acculturation significantly moderates the relationship between perceptions of disorganization and neighborhood control (χ^2=7.57, df=2, p=.02), but does not moderate the relationship between perception of disorganization and neighborhood exchange (χ^2=1.86, df=2, p=.40). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between control and exchange (χ^2=3.18, df=2, p=.20). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between churches (χ^2=2.85, df=2, p=.24), community centers (χ^2=3.88, df=2, p=.14), block watches (χ^2=2.55, df=2, p=.28), and block homes (χ^2=3.61, df=2, p=.16) and neighborhood control. Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between churches (χ^2=1.71, df=2, p=.43), community centers (χ^2=.67, df=2, p=.71), block watches (χ^2=2.13, df=2, p=.35), and block homes (χ^2=.81, df=2, p=.67) and neighborhood exchange.

Linguistic acculturation moderates the mediating effect of community houses (χ^2=6.50, df=2, p=.04) on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress.

Figure 18. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Multi-group High Linguistic Acculturation (N=163)



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

[1]Statistically significant direct path shown (For full model Appendix G2)

Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization (χ^2=.34, df=2, p=.84). Linguistic acculturation also does not moderate the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through subjective disorganization (χ^2=.99, df=2, p=.60). The mediating effect of churches (χ^2=3.80, df=2, p=.15), block homes (χ^2=4.48, df=2, p=.11) and block watches (χ^2=4.26, df=2, p=.12) on the relationship between disadvantage and distress. Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the indirect relationship of churches (χ^2=.12 df=2, p=.94), community houses (χ^2=1.05, df=2, p=.59), block watches (χ^2=1.14, df=2, p=.56), and block homes (χ^2=.82, df=2, p=.66) on distress through perceptions of disorder. Linguistic acculturation does not moderated the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through (χ^2=3.98, df=2, p=.14) neighborhood control. Linguistic acculturation does not moderated the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress neighborhood exchange (χ^2=.42, df=2, p=.81). Linguistic acculturation does not moderated the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through churches (χ^2=.80, df=2, p=.67), community houses (χ^2=2.37, df=2, p=.31), block watches ($\chi^2\chi$2=1.16, df=2, p=.56), and block homes (χ^2=1.36, df=2, p=.51) and control. Linguistic acculturation does not moderated the indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through churches (χ^2=.47, df=2, p=.79), community houses (χ^2=.44, df=2, p=.80), block watches (χ^2=.44, df=2, p=.80), and block homes (χ^2=1.16, df=2, p=.56) and neighborhood control (χ^2=1.05, df=2, p=.59). Linguistic acculturation does not moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and neighborhood control (χ^2=.59, df=2, p=.74), but

does moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and exchange (χ^2=6.76, df=2, p=.03).

Test of H11 and H12

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H11) For Latinos, the direct relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that the relationship is stronger for neighborhoods that are 50% or less Latino.

H12) For Latinos, the indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be moderated by the percentages of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

a) The relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization will be stronger in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.
b) The relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.
c) The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos.

The base model had a very good model fit when run separately for individuals living in neighborhoods with less than 50% Latinos (χ^2(df)= 521.93(337), RMSEA= .04, CFI = .95 TLI= .94), and for individuals living in neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos (χ^2(df)= 506.36(337), RMSEA= .03, CFI = .97 TLI= .96). Unlike the full sample, no significant relationship is found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress before controlling for the covariates for individuals living in neighborhoods with more

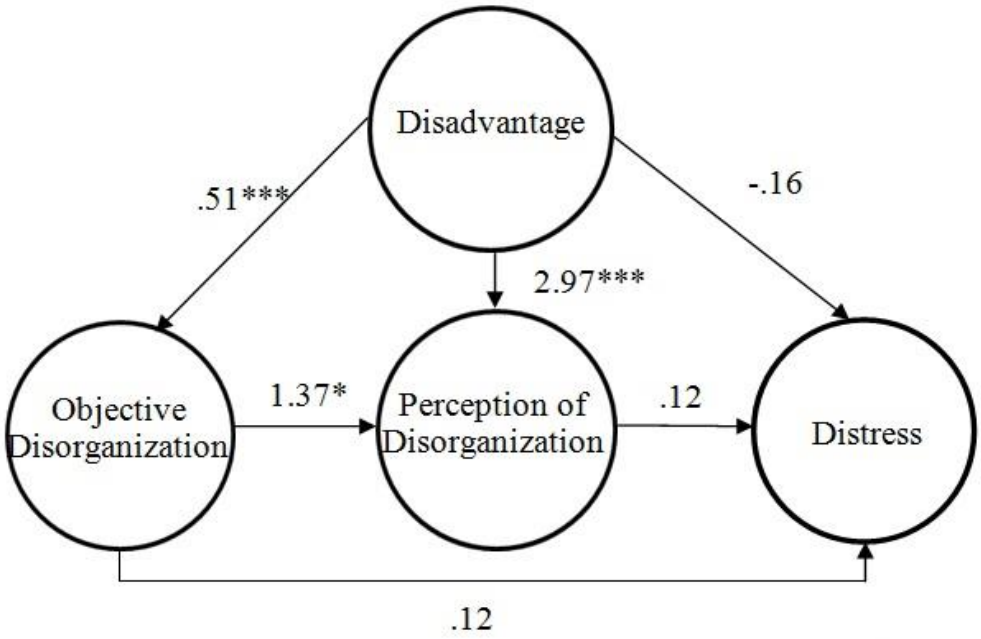
than 50% Latinos; however, a significant relationship does exist between disadvantage and distress (*B(SE)*=1.10(.65), *p*>.01) among Latinos living in neighborhoods that are less than 50% Latino before controls were added. The relationship become non-significant after the addition of age, gender, life events, financial satisfaction, marriage and children (*B(SE)*=.64(.42), *p*>.13).

Overall, the multi-group model demonstrated a good model fit (χ^2= 1181.18(707), RMSEA=.04, CFI=.95, TLI=.94) with the model fitting better for Latinos living in neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos (χ^2=564.43) (see Figure 18 and Appendix F3) and Latinos living in neighborhoods with less than 50% Latinos (χ^2=616.75) (see Figure 19 and Appendix F3).

Among Latinos living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= .51(.08), *p*>.001) with every percent increase in disadvantage indicating a .51 % increase in the density of signs of disorganization. A positive significant relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.37(.47), *p*>.01) with every one percent increase in the density of signs of disorganization predicting an 1.37 increase in perceptions of disorganizations. A significant relationship was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 2.97(.53), *p*>.00) with every percent increase in disorganization predicting a 2.97 increase in perceptions of disorganization. No significant associations were found between disadvantage and distress, subjective disorganization and distress, and objective disorganization and distress. Because the direct relationship between subjective disorganization and objective

disorganization and distress are not significant, no significant indirect effects are present for Latinos living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino.

Figure 19. Base Model Multi-group Analysis Less Than 50% (N= 281)



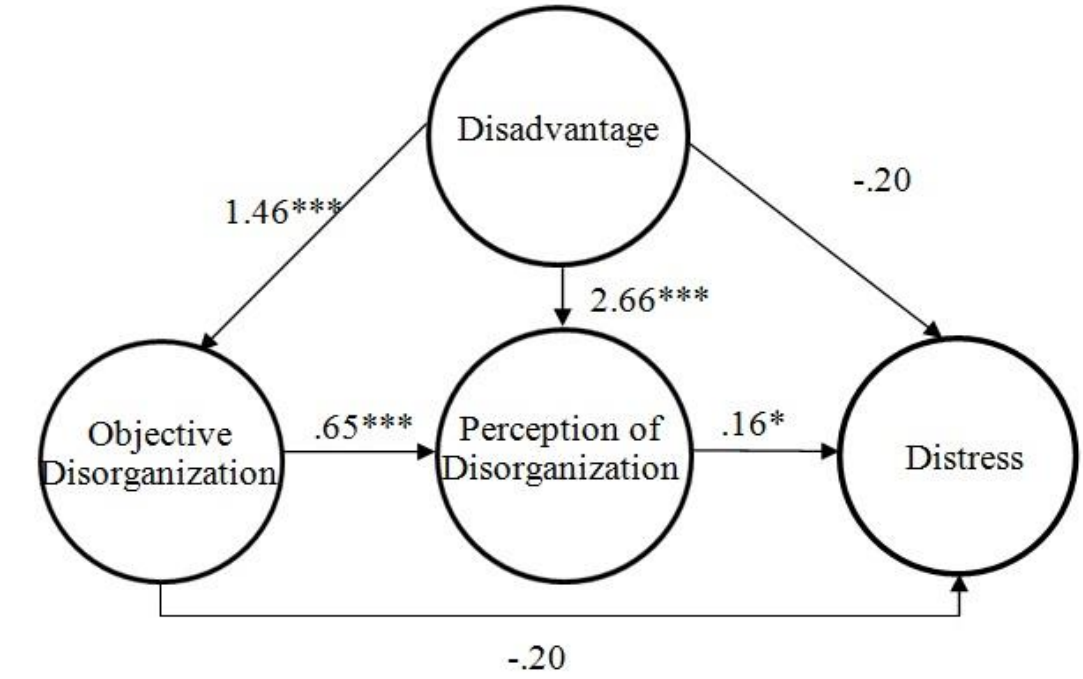
+p<.10,* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

[1]All hypothesize direct paths shown (for full model, see Appendix F3).

Among Latinos living in neighborhoods where the population is less than 50% Latino, a significant positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= 1.48(.14), *p*>.00) with every percent increase in disadvantage indicating a 1.48% increase in the density of signs of disorganization. A positive significant relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .65(.20), *p*>.00) with every one percent increase in the density of signs of disorganization predicting a .65 increase in perceptions of disorganizations. A significant relationship was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 2.66(.53), *p*>.00) with every percent increase in disorganization predicting a 2.66 increase in perceptions of

disorganization. A significant association was found between subjective disorganization and distress (*B(SE)*= .16(.05), *p*>.01), with every one unit increase in subjective disorganization predicting a .16 increase in distress. No significant direct relationship was found between disadvantage and distress and objective disorganization and distress. A significant indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective and subjective disorganization was found (*B(SE)*= .17(.08), *p*>.05) .

Figure 20. Base Model Multi-group Analysis More Than 50% (N= 521)



[1]All hypothesize direct paths shown (for full model, see AppendixF3)

A significant indirect relationship from disadvantage to distress through perceptions of disorganizations was also found (*B(SE)*= .43(.19), *p*>.05) for Latinos living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the population is Latino.

The percentage of Latinos significantly moderates the model direct relationships when considered together (χ^2=49.83 df=6, p=.00). When the indirect effects are considered together no significant moderation exists (χ^2=1.44, df=3, p=.70). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood moderates the relationship between disadvantage and objective disorder (χ^2 =40.60, df = 1, p=.00). The percentage of Latinos did not significantly moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and subjective disorganization (χ^2 =2.07, df = 1, p=.15). The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress is not moderated by the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood (χ^2=.16, df=1, p=.70). The percentage of Latinos also did not moderate the relationship between objective disorganization (χ^2=.10, df=1, p=.76) and disadvantage (χ^2=.55, df=1, p=.46) and distress. Lastly, the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood does not moderate the relationship between disadvantage and subjective disorganization (χ^2=.19, df=1, p=.66).

Test of H13, H14, and H15

The following models were estimated to test the following hypothesis:

H13) For Latinos, the mediating effect of the density of formal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

f) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and the density of neighborhood organizations will be stronger in the neighborhood with 50% or more Latinos.

g) The negative relationship between the density of formal neighborhood organizations and distress will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino.

h) The negative relationship between the density of formal organizations and perceptions of disorganization will be stronger individuals living in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino.

H14) For Latinos, the mediating effect of perception of informal organization on the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

c) The relationship between the neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of informal neighborhood organization will be stronger for individuals living in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino.

d) The negative relationship between the perceptions of informal neighborhood organization and distress will be stronger for individuals living in neighborhoods where 50% or more of the population are Latinos.

H15) For Latinos, the indirect effect of formal and informal organization on the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perception of disorganization will be moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, such that:

d) Disadvantage is more strongly positively related to formal organization for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.

e) Formal organization is positively related to informal organization for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.

f) Informal organization is negatively related to distress for neighborhoods with more than 50% Latinos.

When analyzed separately, the model with individuals living in neighborhoods that had less than 50% Latinos, the neighborhood had good model fit ($\chi^2(df)$=1085.77(707), RMSEA=.04, CFI=.91, TLI=.90) while the model with individuals living in neighborhoods with more than 50% of the population identifying as Latino demonstrated a very good model fit ($\chi^2(df)$=1055.91(707), RMSEA=.03, CFI=.95, TLI=.94). The overall model fit of the multi-group had a good fit ($\chi^2(df)$=2348.05 (1459), RMSEA=.04, CFI=.92, TLI=.91), with the contribution from each group to the $\chi 2$ statistic being equal; low Latino ($\chi 2$=1210.02) (see Figure 20 and Appendix A6) and high Latino (χ^2=1138.03) (see Figure 21 and Appendix A6).

For Latinos living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino, the overall relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization and between perceptions of disorganization are similar to those found in the base model. In the full model, the relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization becomes insignificant and the relationship between perception of disorganization and distress becomes significant (*B(SE)*=.17(.08), *p*>.05). For Latinos living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization (*B(SE)*= .64(.08), *p*>.00) with every percent increase in disadvantage relating to a .64% increase in objective disorganization. In this group, significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.66(.12), *p*>.00) and community houses (*B(SE)*=.18(.05), *p*>.00), but no relationship was found between

disadvantage, block homes, and block watches. A significant positive relationship was found between the density of block watches and the perception of disorganization (*B(SE)*=.37(.15), *p*>.05). A one percent increase in the density of block watches was related to a .37 increase in perceptions of disorganization. However, a negative relationship was found between the density of block watches and distress (*B(SE)*=-.36(.14), *p*>.01); as the density of block watches increases, distress decreases.

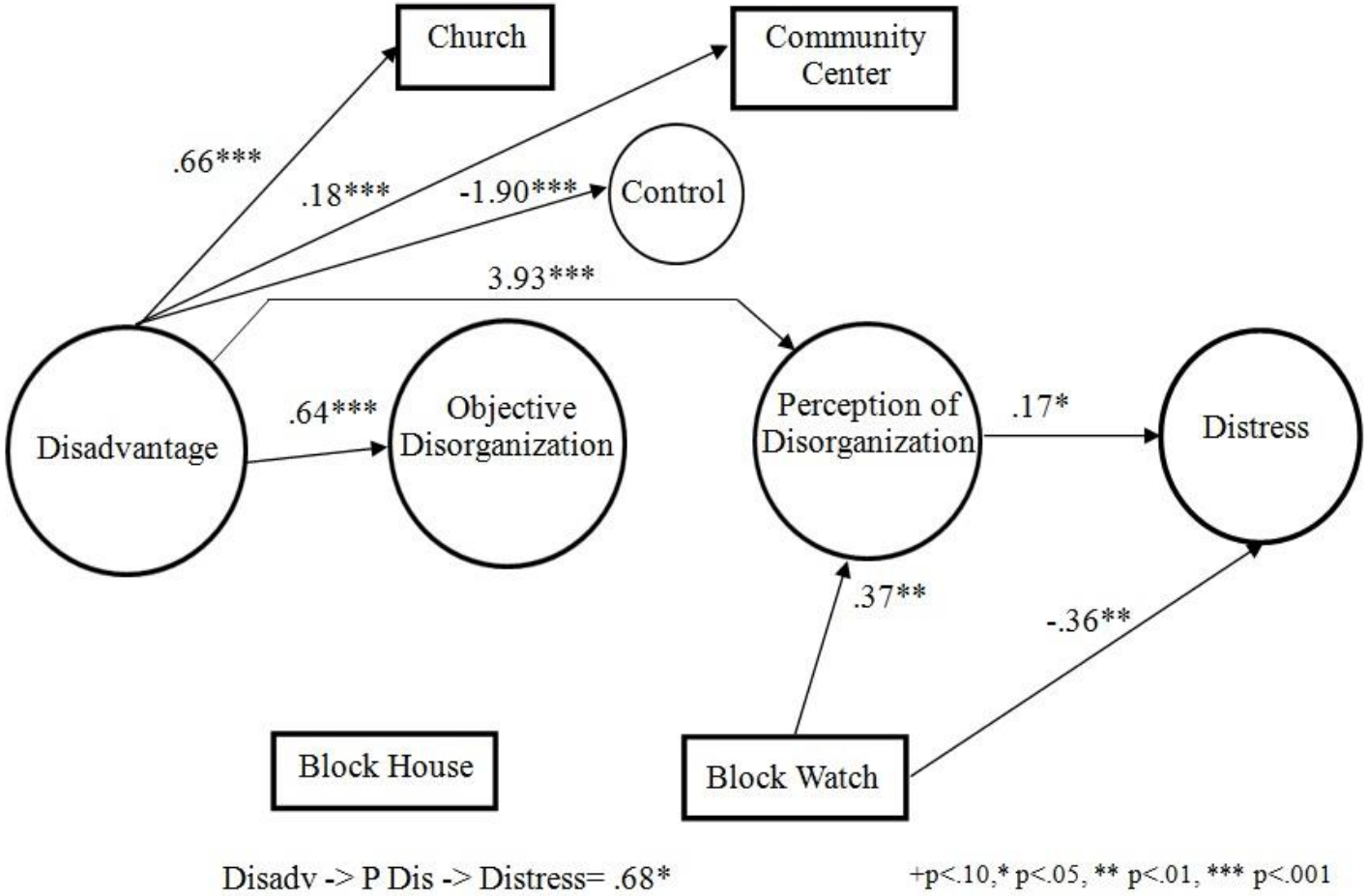
A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-1.90(.42), *p*>.00). For every one percent increase in disadvantage, a 1.90 decrease in individual's perceptions of neighborhood control was observed. No significant relationship was found between formal and informal community organization. In neighborhood where 50% or less of the population was Latino, a significant negative relationship was also found between neighborhood control and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.18(.04), *p*>.00). A negative relationship was found between community centers (*B(SE)*=-.00(.00), *p*>.01), block watches(*B(SE)*=-.02(.00), *p*>.00), and objective disorganization. For Latinos who live in neighborhoods that are less than 50% Latino, there is a significant indirect effect between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through perceptions of disorganizations (*B(SE)*=.68(.32), *p*>.05). When tested in a separate model, the sum of the indirect effects was significant (*B(SE)*=.62(.32), *p*>.05).

For Latinos living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the population was Latino, the relationships found in the base model were unchanged. For Latinos living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the population is Latino, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization

(*B(SE)*= 1.58(.14), *p*>.00) with every percent increase in disadvantage relating to a 1.58% increase in objective disorganization.

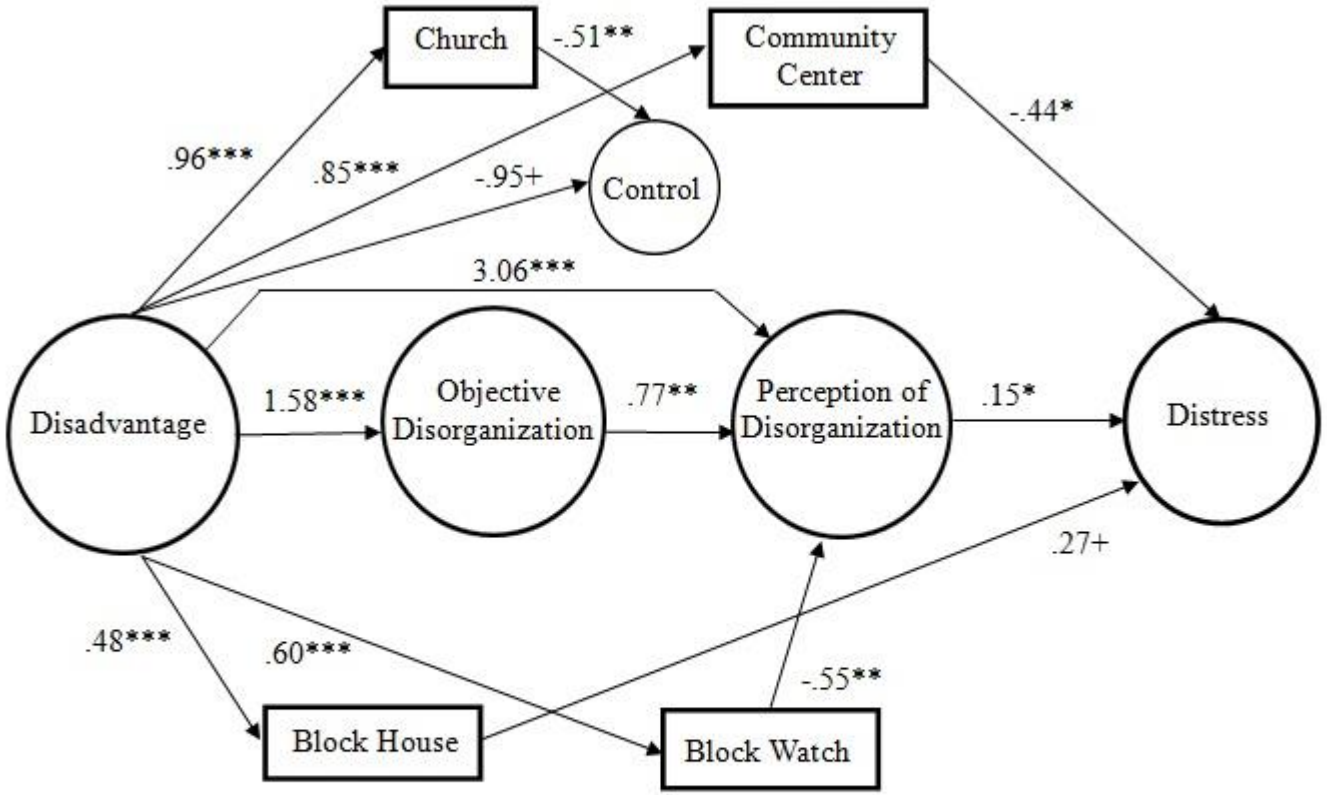
A significant positive relationship was also found between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .77(.23), *p*>.01), perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= .15(.06), *p*>.05), and distress and disadvantage, and perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*= 3.06(.63), *p*>.00). In this group, significant direct pathways were found between neighborhood disadvantage and churches (*B(SE)*=.96(.15), *p*>.00), community houses (*B(SE)*=.85(.10), *p*>.00), block watches (*B(SE)*=.60(.14), *p*>.00) and block homes (*B(SE)*=.48(.14), *p*>.00). A significant negative relationship was found between the density of block watches and the perception of disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.55(.15), *p*>.050), such that when there is a one percent increase in the density of block watches, we would expect a .55 increase in perceptions of disorganization. A negative relationship was found between the density of community centers and distress (*B(SE)*=-.44(.19), *p*>.05) and a marginally significant positive relationship was found between the density of block homes and distress (*B(SE)*=-.27(.15), *p*=.07). A marginally significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-.95(.52), *p*=.07). A significant negative relationship was found between the density of churches and neighborhood control (*B(SE)*=-.51(.17), *p*>.01). A significant negative relationship was also found between neighborhood control and subjective disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.13(.03), *p*>.00) and objective disorganization and neighborhood exchange (*B(SE)*=.01(.01), *p*>.05).

Figure 21. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Multi-group 50% or Less Latinos (N=281)



[1]Statistically significant direct path shown (For full model see Appendix G3)

Figure 22. Formal and Informal Organization Mediation Models Multi-group More Than 50% Latino (N= 518)



Disadv -> O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress= .18*
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress= .40*
Disadv -> Com Cent -> Distress= -.37*
Disadv -> Block Watch-> P Dis -> Distress= -.05+

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

[1]Statistically significant direct path shown (For full model see G3)

For Latinos living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the a population identifies as Latino, a positive relationship was found between objective disorganization and churches(*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.00), community centers (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.00), block watches (*B(SE)*=-.02(.00), *p*>.00), and block homes (*B(SE)*=-.01(.00), *p*>.00).Lastly, there was a direct relationship found between neighborhood exchange and control (*B(SE)*=-.18(.03), *p*>.00).

For Latinos who live in neighborhoods that have more than 50% Latinos, there was significant indirect relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through perceptions of disorganizations alone (*B(SE)*=.40(.19), *p*>.05) and through perceptions of disorganization and objective disorganization together (*B(SE)*=.18(.09), *p*>.05). An indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress mediated by the density of community centers was found (*B(SE)*=-.37(.17), *p*>.05). A marginally significant indirect pathway was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress mediated by the density of block watches and the perceptions of disorganization (*B(SE)*=-.37(.17), *p*=.07).

When all direct paths were tested, the percentage of Latinos significantly moderated the relationships (χ^2=178.31 df=37, p=.00). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood significantly moderated the relationship between living in a disadvantaged neighborhood and objective disorganization (χ^2=36.64, df=1, p=.00). The percentage of Latinos did not moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and subjective disorganization (χ^2=.26, df=1, p=.61) or disadvantage and subjective disorganization (χ^2=2.46, df=1, p=.12). The percentage of Latinos did not moderate the relationship between subjective disorganization and distress (χ^2=.05, df=1, p=.83). The

percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between disadvantage and neighborhood control (χ^2=2.08, df=1, p=.15). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between disadvantage and neighborhood exchange (χ^2=.09, df=1, p=.76). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and neighborhood control (χ^2=.00, df=1, p=.99). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and neighborhood exchanges (χ^2=5.02, df=1, p=.02). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between neighborhood control and distress (χ^2=.19, df=1, p=.66). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between neighborhood exchange and distress (χ^2=.00, df=1, p=.94). The relationship between perception disorganization and neighborhood control is not significantly moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=.09, df=1, p=.77). The relationship between perception disorganization and neighborhood exchange is not significantly moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=.31, df=1, p=.58). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood does not moderate the relationship between neighborhood control and exchange (χ^2=.01, df=1, p=.93). The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did not moderate the relationship between disadvantage and the density of churches in the neighborhood (χ^2=2.62, df=1, p=.11). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood did significantly moderate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and the density of community houses in the neighborhood cluster (χ^2=34.52, df=1, p=.00). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood also significantly moderated the relationship

between disadvantage and block watches (χ^2=11.97, df=1, p=.00), and block homes (χ^2=12.10, df=1, p=.00). The relationship between objective disorganization and church is moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=23.58, df=1, p=.00). The relationship between objective disorganization and community center is moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=45.04, df=1, p=.00). The relationship between objective disorganization and crime watch is not moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=.00, df=1, p=.98). The relationship between objective disorganization and block home is moderated by the percentage of Latinos (χ^2=38.07, df=1, p=.00). The relationship between subjective disorganization and the density of churches (χ^2=1.72, df=1, p=.20), community houses (χ^2=.20, df=1, p=.65), and block homes (χ^2=1.15, df=1, p=.28) did not differ by the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood. The relationship between subjective disorganization and block watches (χ^2=18.71, df=1, p=.00) was significantly moderated by the percentage of Latinos living the neighborhood. The relationship between churches (χ^2=.49, df=1, p=.48), community houses (χ^2=.00, df=1, p=.95), block watches (χ^2=2.36, df=1, p=.12) and block homes (χ^2=1.16, df=1, p=.28), and distress were not significantly moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood significantly moderated the relationship between church and neighborhood control (χ^2=7.79, df=1, p=.005), but did not moderate the relationship between community centers (χ^2=1.01, df=1, p=.31), block watches (χ^2=.26, df=1, p=.61), and block homes (χ^2=.02, df=1, p=.89), and neighborhood control. The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood does not moderate the relationship between churches (χ^2=.04, df=1, p=.84), community centers (χ^2=.04, df=1, p=.84), block watches (χ^2=.17, df=1, p=.68), and block homes (χ^2=.28, df=1, p=.60) and neighborhood exchange.

When considered together, the indirect paths were not moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood (χ^2=12.61, df=20, p=.89). The mediating effect of community centers on the relationship between disadvantage and distress is marginally moderated by the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood (χ^2=2.74, df=1, p=.10). The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood also marginally moderates the mediating effect of block homes between disadvantage and distress (χ^2=2.93, df=1, p=.09).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Overall this dissertation found a significant risk pathway between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, and a significant protective effect of the density of community centers in the full sample of Latinos. The findings in this dissertation point to structural differences in the density of both risk and protective factors within the neighborhoods in which Latinos live, depending on the individual's level of linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. A stronger positive relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and disorganization for low linguistically acculturated Latinos and individuals living in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino. Similarly, a stronger positive relationship was also found between neighborhood disadvantage and formal community organization in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino and in the neighborhoods where low acculturated Latinos were living. The findings also point to differences in the degree to which those risk and protective factors are related to psychological distress. Objective disorganization had a stronger relationship to perceptions of disorganization for highly linguistically acculturated Latinos, which in turn were positively related to distress. In this chapter, the evidence supporting the rejection or the failure to reject each hypothesis will be discussed, followed by a general discussion of the findings based on previous literature, the study's limitation, and future directions for research.

Hypotheses

The Full Sample

H1: The findings demonstrated no direct relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress after controlling for age, gender, financial satisfaction, children in the home, and life events. It is possible that the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and distress was confounded by financial satisfaction.

H2: A significant indirect relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, and through perceptions of disorganization alone. There was a positive relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization indicating neighborhoods with higher rates of poverty also had higher rates of signs and symbols of disorganization in their environment, in this case, beer bottles and gang graffiti. There was also a positive relationship between objective disorganization and individuals' perceptions of disorganization. This relationship was strong but not exact, indicating that there was variation in perceptions given the fact that the signs and symbols existed in the environment. In fact, when the mean score of perceptions of disorganization was correlated with each item used in the objective disorganization scale, the largest correlation was .38. When individual items were correlated based on the content of the question, the correlations were lower. Neighborhood disadvantage had a more substantial relationship with perceptions of disorganization than objective measures of disorganization. Interestingly, perceptions of disorganization rather than objective organization had an effect on distress.

There has been a significant amount of discussion in the literature about how to measure neighborhood disorganization with the majority of studies using perceptions of disorganization, mostly because it can be measured in survey research (Mair, et al., 2009). This has been heavily critiqued because it is threatened by causal ordering in cross-sectional designs. In these studies, when a relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress is found, it is possible that individuals who are distressed appraise their neighborhood more negatively rather than becoming more distressed as a result of disorganization in the environment. Others have argued that the subjective appraisal of the environment is crucial to the relationship between objective disorganization and distress because individuals must perceive the stressor in order to internalize it and have it manifest in distress. The findings in this study lend support to both. Perceptions of disorganization are positively related to both disadvantage and objective disorganization, demonstrating that there is a strong relationship between the objective environment and an individual's perception of it. However, it is the perception of disorganization that is related to distress rather than the presence itself. Interpreted within the context of social stress theory, the differential experience of perception based on the primary stressor may explain who in that neighborhood becomes distressed as a result of living there. Who perceives and who does not perceive signs and symbols of disorganization may be due to a variety of factors. It could be due to differential experiences of violence or crime (perpetrating or being a victim) that make them more alert to signs of crime and disorganization. It could be heterogeneity within the defined neighborhood, with some pockets having a concentration of objective signs of disorder and some residents in the given boundary not being exposed to that evidence. It could

also be due to differential interpretation. Interpretation could be due to the racial and ethnic makeup of the neighborhood as Sampson and Raundanbush (2004) suggest, or for first generation Latinos, it could be due to differential expectations based on previous experiences in their sending community, an interpretation that is very possible given the Latino population is primarily first generation.

Regardless of the interpretation, the indirect effect of disadvantage through objective disorganization and the perceptions of disorganization indicated primary and secondary stressors that may be modified to interrupt the stress process and prevent the manifestation of distress in disadvantaged neighborhoods. This indirect relationship establishes a path through which neighborhood disadvantage is related to distress in this population.

H3: A protective mediating effect was found through the density of block watches and community centers within the neighborhood, demonstrating what Lin and Ensel (1991) termed *the counteractive model of coping*. Disadvantage was positively related to a greater density of all formal organizations tested, but only block watches and community centers were negatively related to distress. These resources worked to counteract the deleterious effect of disadvantage on distress. Despite the presence of this counteractive effect, the indirect paths between disadvantage and distress were not diminished, indicating simultaneous risk and protective process. It should be noted that while all pathways were significant, the indirect pathway through block watches was only marginally so. The other mediating effect, discussed by Lin and Ensel (1991) as the stress suppressing effect, was also found in a marginally significant indirect pathway from neighborhood disadvantage through block watches, perceptions of disorganization on

distress. This demonstrated stress suppression with the density of block watches decreasing the perceptions of disorganization, the presence of block watches decreasing distress, and the relationship between perception of disorganization and distress remaining positive. Within the social stress framework, community centers, and to a lesser extent, block watches appear to be mediating the stress processes that occur at the neighborhood level for Latinos in Chicago. The significant indirect path through community centers may be capturing the role of hometown organization in Latino neighborhoods (Bada, 2010).

H4 & H5: No indirect relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through perceptions of neighborhood control or perceptions of neighborhood exchange. A significant negative relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and perceptions of control, with perceptions of control decreasing in more disadvantaged neighborhoods. A marginally significant positive direct pathway was found between neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood exchange with there being more neighborhood exchange in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Linguistic Acculturation Status

H6: There were no significant direct paths between disadvantage and distress for low acculturated Latinos, bi-cultural Latinos, and highly acculturated Latinos controlling for age, gender, financial satisfaction, children in the household, and marriage; therefore these relationships were not moderated by linguistic acculturation status.

H7: Among highly acculturated Latinos, a significant indirect relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, and a marginally significant relationship was found

between disadvantage and distress through perceptions of disorganization. These relationships were not present among low acculturated or bi-cultural Latinos. These findings lend partial support to the hypothesis: however, these differences were not significantly significant. When the direct pathways were examined in isolation, linguistic acculturation did moderate the direct paths between disadvantage and objective disorganization, between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization, and between disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization. The moderation of the relationship between disadvantage and objecting disorganization was in the hypothesized direction, with the relationship being stronger for low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos. The moderated relationship between disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization were not in the hypothesized direction, with low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos having a stronger relationship between disadvantage and perceptions of disorganization than highly acculturated Latinos. Low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos living in disadvantage neighborhoods were more likely to experience objective disorganization, but that was not as strongly related to the perception of disorganization for this population as it was for highly acculturated Latinos, supporting hypothesis H7c. The diminished relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization in low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos could be explained by the stronger relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and perception of disorganization. This could be due to more highly acculturated Latinos being more socialized to perceive signs of disorder within the neighborhood, such as gang graffiti being viewed as problematic.

Together all of these results point to differences in upstream social determinants of distress (Braveman, Egerter & Williams, 2011). This is exemplified by differential rates of objective disorganization in disadvantaged neighborhoods, as well as differential rates in perceptions of disorganization, given the objective presence in the neighborhood. When examining the mean differences in these measures, highly acculturated Latinos lived in neighborhoods where the density of signs of disorganization were lower, but the perceptions of disorganization in this group were higher. It should also be noted that highly acculturated Latinos were living in slightly more disadvantaged neighborhoods with higher rates of unemployment, public assistance, and female-headed households. Despite the lack of statistically significant moderation in the overall indirect effect, the fact that the indirect effects were present for highly acculturated Latinos and absent for low and bi-cultural Latinos suggests either that there are protective factors inhibiting the relationship or that highly acculturated Latinos may be more vulnerable in the presence of risk factors.

H8: Linguistic Acculturation moderated the indirect effect of community centers on the relationship between disadvantage and distress, such that the relationship was only significant for bi-cultural Latinos. In addition to the indirect paths that were moderated in the base model, linguistic acculturation moderated the relationship between disadvantage and community houses and block watches with the relationship being stronger for low acculturated and bi-cultural Latinos, as compared to highly acculturated Latinos, thus supporting hypothesis H8a. Linguistic acculturation also marginally moderated the relationship between community houses and distress and significantly moderated the relationship between block homes and distress, with both only being significantly related

to distress for bi-cultural Latinos, thus refuting hypothesis H8b. No significant moderation was found in the relationships between the density of formal organizations and the perceptions of disorganization, refuting hypothesis H8c. Interestingly, linguistic acculturation also significantly moderated the relationship between objective disorganizations and block homes with a stronger relationship being present in neighborhoods where low acculturated Latinos lived, versus that of highly acculturated Latinos.

The presence of significant moderation of the mediating effect of community centers on the relationship between disadvantage and distress by linguistic acculturation status again points to the possible role of hometown organization. It is interesting, however, that this relationship only exists for bi-cultural Latinos and not for low acculturated Latinos. It is possible that it is necessary to be able to navigate both the English world and the Spanish world to reap the benefit of these resources in their neighborhood. It is also possible that community houses buffer the risk of higher rates of distress that arises in the linguistic acculturation process and are simply not necessary due to already low rates of distress among low acculturated Latinos. Community centers may offer an alternative narrative in disadvantaged neighborhoods that includes the maintenance of cultural traditions which mitigate the risk of frustration that may occur in the linguistic acculturation process when individuals are not able to gain upward mobility. It is also possible that community centers may create a space where lose ties can be maintained that may otherwise be eroded in the linguistic acculturation process; although the insignificant relationship between community centers and neighborhood control or exchange refutes this explanation. Lastly, community centers may provide

services, such as after-school programs or daycare that may mitigate roles that may increase with linguistic acculturation.

The significant moderation of the relationship between block homes and distress by linguistic acculturations status was also interesting. In order to understand this finding, we must first understand the role of block homes in neighborhood. Block homes were placed in at-risk neighborhoods as part of the weed and seed program initiated by the federal government in 1991, a program that resulted in neighborhood sweeps and arrests (Garfield, 2010). As part of this initiative, neighborhoods were required to establish at least one and sometimes multiple block homes or "safe havens" which were used as sites to coordinate community policing efforts and provide the "seeds"(youth prevention programs, adult employment, and neighborhood beatification) (Dunworth et al., 1999). As part of this initiative, community meetings were held regularly at these sites. In these meetings, residents met with city officials and police officers to discuss issues regarding the neighborhood. Although one of the primary goals of this program was to have residents rebuild the relationships between the neighborhood residents and law enforcement, it was often seen as an assault on the community and the residents who engaged in the program were perceived as spies (King, 1994). Some have suggested that these perceptions may have been the result of the underfunding of "seed" programs and the fully supported implantation of the "weed" initiatives (Bynum et al., 1999). Services may be provided in block homes, but they also signify an aggressive policing effort to "weed" out crime, an activity that may have negative effects on distress (Bridenball & Jeselow, 2005).

H9: No indirect relationships between neighborhood disadvantage and distress through informal organization were found and therefore, no moderation was found, refuting the overall hypothesis. Linguistic acculturation did, however, moderate some of the direct pathways. Linguistic acculturation marginally moderated the relationship between neighborhood control and distress and marginally moderated the relationship between neighborhood exchange and distress with a significant pathway between exchange and control only being significant for bi-cultural Latinos and not in the other groups, partially supporting hypothesis H9b. It should be remembered that these are moderation effects are only marginally significant. Linguistic acculturation significantly moderated the relationship between objective disorganization and exchange with the positive relationship only being significant for highly acculturated Latinos. Linguistic acculturation also significantly moderated the relationship between perceptions of disorganization and neighborhood control. All groups had a negative relationship, but the relationship was stronger for bi-cultural and highly acculturated Latinos.

H10: As stated previously, linguistic acculturation moderated the relationship between disadvantage and community houses and block watches, supporting hypothesis H10a. However, formal organizations were only related to informal organization among low acculturated Latinos and in both cases negatively so; both the density of churches and the density of block homes predicted less neighborhood control, partially supporting hypothesis H10b. When moderation was tested, these relationships were not significantly different. Neighborhood exchange was negatively related to distress among bi-cultural Latinos, but not in any other group, again partially supporting hypothesis H10c. Again these relationships were not significantly moderated by gender.

Percentage of Latinos Living in the Neighborhood

H11: There were no significant direct paths between disadvantage and distress for Latinos living in neighborhoods that were 50% or less Latino or 50% or more Latino, controlling for age, gender, financial satisfaction, children in the household, and marriage; therefore, these relationships were not moderated by linguistic acculturation status.

H12: The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood does not moderate any of the indirect effect, refuting the main hypothesis, but it does significantly moderate the direct pathway between disadvantage and objective disorganization, supporting hypothesis H12e. This relationship was not, however, in the hypothesized direction with a stronger relationship being observed for neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos. There were differences in the strength of the relationship between objective disorganization and the perception of disorder in the hypothesized direction, with a stronger relationship being observed for individuals living in neighborhoods with less than 50% Latinos; however, the differences between these pathways were not statistically significant. The relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress were only significant for Latinos living in neighborhood where more than 50% of the population was Latino partially supporting hypothesis H12c; however, this difference was not statistically significant. Additionally, indirect effects between disadvantage and distress were observed for Latinos living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the population identified as Latino; again there were no statistically significant differences in these relationships.

H13: The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood marginally moderated the mediating effect of community centers and block homes on the relationship between

disadvantage and distress. Block homes or safe havens were found to be a risk factor and community centers were found to be protective in neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos, lending partial support to hypothesis H13. It should be noted that the relationship was only marginally significant.

The percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did significantly moderate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and the density of community centers, block watches and block homes with a higher density in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino, supporting hypothesis H13a. There were no significant differences in the relationship between formal organizations and distress; however, block watches were only protective in neighborhoods that were 50% or less Latino, community centers were only protective in neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos, and block homes were only a risk factor in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino. The relationship between subjective disorganization and block watches was moderated by percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, with the density of block watches increasing perceptions of disorganization in neighborhoods that were 50% or less Latino, and decreasing perceptions of disorganization in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino. Although not explicitly hypothesized, it should be noted that the relationship between objective disorganization and churches, community centers and block homes were also significantly moderated by the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood. In neighborhoods that were 50% or less Latino, there was a negative relationship between objective disorganization and churches and community centers; there was not a relationship between objective disorganization and block homes. In neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino, these relationships were significant and positive with more

objective disorganization being related to more churches, more community centers, and more block homes.

H14: There were no statistically significant indirect effects through informal organization and therefore no significant moderation was found. The percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood did moderate the relationship between objective disorganization and neighborhood exchange, such that it was significantly positively related for individuals living in 50% or more Latino neighborhoods.

H15: The indirect pathways between disadvantage and distress through both formal and informal organization were not significant and therefore not moderated by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. As discussed previously, the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood did significantly moderate the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and the density of community centers, block watches and block homes in the expected direction, lending partial support to hypothesis H15a. Hypothesis H15b was also partially supported with the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood significantly moderating the relationship between churches and neighborhood control. This relationship was only statistically significant among Latinos living in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population was Latino; however, it is in the opposite direction expected, with the higher density of churches being related to less neighborhood control.

Findings in Light of Previous Research

Rates of Distress

Consistent with the literature, when comparing populations in the data, Latinos exhibited rates of distress similar to their White counter parts. When examined by level

of linguistic acculturation, however, significant variation in rates of distress was observed. In the sample, low acculturated Latinos' rates of distress fell below the rates of Whites, but rates among highly acculturated Latinos were higher than African Americans (Escobar, Nervi & Gara, 2000; Burnam, et al., 1987). While the Latino health paradox seems to be present in the sample, further investigation of the distribution of distress across levels of financial satisfaction find that a gradient in rates of distress by socio-economic status (measured in this case by financial satisfaction) was also present, a finding that is consistent with previous research (Kessler et al., 1994); with the most dissatisfied having a distress mean score of 2.24, the next most 1.84, somewhat satisfied reported 1.81, very satisfied 1.61, and completely satisfied 1.57. It should be noted that although the incomes of bi-cultural and highly acculturated Latinos were higher ($31,000 a year), and lower for acculturated Latinos ($24,000 a year), their average level of financial dissatisfaction was also higher in the bi-cultural and highly acculturated groups. This should be interpreted with caution, due to almost 50% missing responses on the income item. Lastly, although the measure of stressful life events was crude compared to previous studies, low acculturated Latinos did report less life events, bi-cultural Latinos reported the second highest, and highly acculturated Latinos reported the highest rate of stressful life events; findings that are consistent with the previous literature (Sternthal, Slopen, & Williams, 2011). Taken together, the Latinos in the sample demonstrate evidence of the Latino health paradox, evidence of the social gradient in rates of psychological distress when dissatisfaction with financial status was considered rather than income, and evidence that highly acculturated Latinos report more stressful life events than their low acculturated and bi-cultural counterparts.

Examination of the interclass correlations (ICCs) in rates of distress showed no between-neighborhood differences among Latinos in the sample, which contradicts the fairly consistent .05 to .10 ICC found in previous studies. ICCs comparable with previous studies were found among Whites (.04) and Blacks (.05) in the sample (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). This further suggests the existence of protective factors among Latinos that may be mitigating the disparities seen between neighborhoods in other populations. It is interesting to note that for Latinos, some items in the distress scale did exhibit ICCs higher than those typically found in the literature. For low acculturated Latinos, 10% of the variation in restless sleep and 11% of the variation in feeling that people disliked them occurred between neighborhoods. For bi-cultural Latinos, 12% of the variation in feeling lonely occurred between neighborhoods, and for Latinos living in neighborhoods where the population was less than 50% Latino, 13% of the variation in the response to not being able to get going, 12% of the variation in not having an appetite, and 10% of the variation in feeling that people dislike them could be accounted for at the neighborhood level. Because significant between-neighborhood differences were not found in the mean score of distress among Latinos, a single level model was used to test the hypothesis. In this single level model, the relationship between neighborhood level variables (disadvantage, objective disorganization, and formal organizations) and individual level variables can be interpreted as neighborhood level structures, thus explaining the neighborhood cluster mean of the individual level measure. For example, the density of community centers significantly explains the variation in neighborhood cluster means of distress.

The Relationship between Disadvantage and Distress

The lack of a direct effect between living in a disadvantage neighborhood and distress among Latinos living in Chicago after controlling for the known correlates of distress is not consistent with the majority of studies testing the relationship (Mair, et al., 2009). When these studies were separated by method of measurement, 52% of the studies that examined the relationship between neighborhood SES and depression found support for the relationship while 68% that studied neighborhood social process, including disorganization, found support for the relationship (Mair, et al., 2009). When broken down even further, 90% of the studies that tested the relationship between perceptions of disorganization found evidence to support the hypothesis and 100% of those that used objective measures of the built environment also found support for the relationship (Mair, et al., 2009). In the only study in the review that restricted the sample to Mexican Americans, a significant relationship was found between neighborhood disadvantage and distress; however, the study did not control for stressful life events and used income rather than financial satisfaction (Ostir, et al. 2003).

The indirect mediating effect of objective disorganization and perception of disorganization lend support to the full mediating effect of perceptions of disorganization found by Ross (2000) in a Latino population. The lack of direct relationships in the population between disadvantage and distress suggests that disparities in rates of distress in neighborhoods may not exist in the absences of perceptions of disorganization. Although it could be argued that a respondent's psychological state impacted their perception of disorganization, the consistent significant relationship between both structural disadvantage and objective reports of disorganization in the neighborhood lend

considerable support to the argument that perceptions of disorganizations are substantially influenced by the condition of the neighborhood. The finding that both disadvantage and objective disorganization influenced perceptions lend support to Sampson and Raundenbush's (2004) findings that perceptions of disorganization are more effected by the economic composition of the neighborhood than by solely objective disorganization for Latinos. The finding that the relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress was only significant in neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos are contrary to studies that found Latino ethnic enclaves are protective (Alba & Nee, 1997) and in support of those that did not (Hill & Angel, 2005; Bamaca, Umana-Taylor, Shin & Alforo, 2005). However, the results that demonstrated the effect of perceptions of disorganization, which differed based on the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood, were not fully supported with no significant moderation found in the relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization for neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos and neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos. In fact, the strength of the relationship was weaker in high Latino neighborhoods; the overall mean score of perception of disorganization was statistically significantly higher. Combined, these findings run counter to Aneshensel and Sucoff's (1996) findings that adolescents who live in primarily Latino neighborhoods reported less ambient stressors, a measure equivalent to perceptions of disorganization. These contrary findings may be a result of cutting the percentage of Latinos at 50% rather than 75%, which is a more stringent cut point for characterizing a neighborhood as "primarily Latino." However, when the mean score of perception of disorganization was analyzed with the cut point at 75%, perception of disorganization was even higher, with a mean score of 2.64.

The finding that the relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress were only significant among highly acculturated Latinos is consistent with Portes & Zou's (1993) hypothesis that mounting frustration in the face of an inability to become upwardly mobile may impact outcomes in second generation Latinos. Even after controlling for individual levels of financial satisfaction, perceiving one's neighborhood as disorganized may be a daily reminder of one's inability to move, a frustration that may not be felt by recent immigrants who do not expect to be substantially upwardly mobile when they first arrive in the country. This could also be due to a lower proportion of highly acculturated Latinos living in neighborhoods that are 50% more Latino, although living in a dense ethnic enclave in this sample does not appear to be protective.

These findings could also indicate an underlying construct of higher rates of crime in the neighborhood (Sampson, 2012). While it may be true that higher rates of disorganization in disadvantage neighborhoods indicate that there are higher rates of crime, the lack of a direct relationship between objective disorganization and distress and the differential effect across levels of linguistic acculturation and percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood lend more credence to the hypothesis that it is the stigmatized narratives attached to the signs and symbols of disorganization that are underlying the relationships found. Crime may still play a role in that individuals who have been victimized by crime directly or indirectly in neighborhoods with high rates of disorganization may be more receptive to the signs and symbols of criminal elements. However, this does not explain the differences by linguistic acculturation status unless lower acculturated individuals are less likely to have direct contact with crime, a

hypotheses that would be supported by Portes & Zou's (1993) theory of segmented assimilation.

Another aspect of these findings that should be considered based on the literature is the possible reciprocal feedback loops present in the relationships between disadvantage, perceptions of disorganization, and objective disorganization (Sampson, 2012). Rather than a causal chain as hypothesized and modeled in this dissertation, perceptions of disorganization may lead to divestment in the community, creating a shortage of job opportunities and increasing the rates of crime; therefore increasing objective signs and symbols of disorganization. This understanding of these relationships does not necessarily challenge the validity of the findings, but rather adds nuances to the discussion as we consider where to intervene.

Formal Organization

This study found support for the mediating effect of the density of effective (community centers) and instrumental (block watches) community organizations within the neighborhood on the relationship between disadvantage and distress; however these relationships were not found in all populations and did not diminish the significant indirect relationships between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization. Contrary to previous research that found disadvantaged neighborhoods had a low density of organization, this study found that disadvantage was significantly positively related to a higher density of all of the formal organizations measured in all groups except for highly acculturated Latinos and neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos (Dupréré & Perkins, 2007). Even in these groups, significant positive relationships were found between disadvantage and churches

and community centers. The difference in the density of the organizations in these groups was reflected in the significant moderating effect of both the percentage of Latinos in the neighborhood (community centers, block watches, block homes, churches) and linguistic acculturation status (community centers and block watches). The relationship between disadvantage and the density of community houses was strongest for low acculturated Latinos and bi-cultural Latinos; findings that were consistent with the role of hometown associations in new immigrant communities (Bada, 2010). This pattern was confirmed when examining the strength of the relationship by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, with the relationship between disadvantage and the density of community centers being stronger for neighborhoods that have 50% or more Latinos living in the neighborhood. There was also a significant difference in the density of block watches by both linguistic acculturation status and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood; neighborhoods where bi-cultural Latinos lived and neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos having the strongest relationship between disadvantage and block watches. There was also a stronger relationship between disadvantage and the density of churches and block houses in neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos compared to neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos. The increased density of formal resources among low acculturated and highly acculturated Latinos may be one of the strengths that have led to the observed protective effect of Latino ethnic enclaves. Similar to the findings of Small & Stark (2005), these findings run counter to theories of de-institutionalization which state that poor neighborhoods will be resource poor, and also to theories of neighborhood disorder that have classically failed to consider the organizing features of disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The most consistent protective indirect pathway found was through community centers. Although community centers were characterized as an effective institution primarily serving the purpose of maintaining social ties, community centers in Latino communities, especially those associated with hometown associations, have historically been instrumental in organizing Latinos for collective action. Community centers in Latino neighborhoods could probably be more aptly characterized as a hybrid organization, one that maintains social ties through cultural activities and events, but is also politically active when necessary (Sampson, 2012). Because of the hybrid nature of the organization, it is difficult to say if these organizations are mirroring the protective effect of social support or self efficiency; in fact, they may be doing neither based on the non-significant relationship between the density of community houses on both neighborhood exchange and neighborhood control. These non-significant relationships may be due to an inadequate measurement of these constructs; it may also be due to different mechanisms at work. Community houses in Latinos' ethnic enclaves may be working to preserve a collective cultural identity that provides an alternative narrative to that of neighborhood disorganization. This interpretation is in line with Semenza, March, and Bontempo's (2007) findings that community art projects decreased the rate of depression within the entire neighborhood, and not just among participants. Community centers may also be providing essential resources that mitigate the stress of linguistic acculturation, such as English classes or afterschool programs. This is partially supported by Hull and colleagues' (2008) findings that participation in extra-curricular activities was protective for Latino youth. Both of these hypotheses are partially supported by the difference in the indirect effect of community centers in the sample, with a significant

indirect effect observed for bi-cultural Latinos and for Latinos living in neighborhoods that are more than 50% Latino.

The role of block watches and block homes, the two instrumental organizations measured, function differently--perhaps due to the policing element in both of these institutions (discussed previously). This is illustrated in the differences in the role of block homes in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos and those with 50% or more Latinos. In neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos, block watches are negatively related to distress but positively related to increased perception of disorganization. In neighborhoods where the population is 50% or more, Latino block watches are negatively related to perceptions of disorganization, creating a protective indirect effect. It is possible that the densities of block watches are negatively positively related to perceptions of disorder within neighborhoods with less than 50% Latinos because they were instituted in reaction to higher rates of crime. What is more likely, due to the significant difference between the groups, is that either the block watches are ineffective at decreasing the signs and symbols of disorder in neighborhoods where less than 50% of the population is Latino, or that ethnic makeup of the individuals participating in the block watch changes the effect of the intuition on perceptions of disorganization. If Latinos are watching out for other Latinos, they may be more effective at reducing disorganization, or they may perceive the presence of the block watches in such as way as to counteract their overall perception of disorganization in the neighborhood. These interpretations are partially supported by Sampson and Raundenbush's (2004) findings that the racial makeup of a neighborhood impacts perceptions in disorganization, albeit in the opposite direction with higher minority status acting as protection rather than risk.

The potential risk of enforcement-based interventions on distress among Latinos is further confirmed by positive relationship between block homes (an institution frequently utilized in community policing efforts) and distress in neighborhoods that are 50% or more Latino, and among bi-cultural Latinos. Generally, the density of block watches is protective, but similar to community houses, does not diminish the relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization. Block homes were shown to be a risk factor for distress, but only for bi-cultural Latinos and individuals living in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the population is Latino.

Informal Organization

No support was found for the mediating effect of both instrumental and effective informal organization on distress in disadvantage neighbors. Although perceptions of neighborhood exchange were protective against distress among bi-cultural Latinos, in lending partial support, the relationships found by Rios and Colleagues (2012) were found to be only marginally positively related to neighborhood disadvantage among low and highly acculturated Latinos. No difference was found in the relationships between neighborhood exchange and disadvantage by the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood, thus contradicting Farrell, Adbry & Coulomble's (2004) findings that economically and racially homogeneous neighborhoods have higher rates of neighborhood behaviors.

Consistent with Sampson's (2012) findings, neighborhood disadvantage was consistently negatively related to neighborhood control and no direct paths between neighborhood control and distress were found. These findings contradict previous

research which shows that collective efficacy was protective against depression among Latinos (Vega, Ang, Rodriguez, & Finch, 2011). Unlike this study, they measured collective efficacy with a measure that included neighborhood control and social cohesion. Very few significant relationships were found between formal organizations and informal and when they were negatively related (i.e., church and control in the low linguistic acculturation group).

Limitations

The results of this study should be interpreted with full knowledge of the study's limitations. Despite the difference in rates of distress by country of origin and generational status found in the literature, Latinos in this sample were not able to be examined by their country of origin due to a small sample of Puerto Rican and Latinos for other countries of origin. In order to compare these groups, all other counties would need to be collapsed into an "other" category that would be virtually meaningless when analyzed. Rather than examine individuals' country of origin, linguistic acculturation stats was selected as a meaningful representation of the heterogeneity found in the category "Latino." When examined by generational status, 95% of low linguistic acculturated Latinos were first generation. Although first generation Latinos were also captured in the bi-cultural category, only 10% of the first generation was highly acculturated, indicating that linguistic acculturation status served as a fairly good proxy for generational status. Despite these high correlations, the experiences of Puerto Rican migrants and Mexican immigrants may be very different, a difference that could not be examined with these data. This study is also limited by use of linguistic acculturation as a measure of acculturation. Although this measure has been highly correlated with other

measures of acculturation, (Lueck & Wilson, 2011; Unger et. al., 2007) it does not capture the dynamic bi-directional nature of the acculturation process. This study is also limited by power in some sub-groups, such as highly acculturated Latinos, rendering the study susceptible to type 2 errors. It is possible that the relationships found in other groups were not detected in this group due to the smaller sample size.

These finding are also limited by the use of cross-sectional data. Although the causal ordering hypothesis in this dissertation was supported by the data collection methods used and the nature of the constructs measured, this study was not able to test the dynamic feedback loops hypothesized by Sampson (2012). As discussed previously, perceptions of disorganization may cause neighborhood disadvantage, a relationship that could not be tested without longitudinal data. Some of the relationships demonstrated might also be spurious, for example, the relationships between neighborhood disadvantage, community centers, and perceptions of disorganization. These associations may be characterizing types of neighborhoods, rather than causal relationships, a limitation that could also be addressed by longitudinal data. Lastly, selection bias could not be conclusively ruled out because people who were already distressed may have chosen to live in more disorganized neighborhoods. Although this limitation is present in this study as it is most other studies of this kind (with one exception: MTO), Sampson (2012) has made a clear and convincing argument that selection bias in neighborhood studies is not necessarily a methodological limitation, but rather another aspect of the dynamic nature of neighborhoods. The fact that people select into a neighborhoods is an important factor to consider; however, in the case of this study, the lack of a pretest limits our ability to rule out social drift rather than social stress as the cause of elevated rates of

distress. Similarly, the use of cross-sectional data to test the relationship between perceptions of disorganization and distress challenges the causal ordering of these relationships. It is conceivable that people who are distress perceive their neighborhood to be more disorganized although two pieces of evidence challenge this: 1) subjective disorganization was significantly clustered in neighborhood (ICC=.27), whereas distress in this population was not, and 2) the relationship between objective disorganization and perceptions of disorganization was consistently significant.

This study was also limited by the uniform definition of community centers, churches, and block homes. Despite being interpreted as the same institution, their structure and function may differ widely impacting their ability to buffer the relationship between disadvantage and distress. This study is also limited by the age of the data. Because immigration enforcement and rhetoric became increasingly hostile during the last recession, findings may not apply to Latinos currently living in the US. Additionally, Latinos living in Chicago during the time of data collection may have been influenced by the history of civic action within the community and the political climate in Chicago at the time--factors that limit the generalizability of the findings to other cities. Poor model fit limited the ability to use the full scale of items, such as objective disorganization and neighborhood disadvantage, potentially changing the latent meaning of the construct. In the case of objective disorganization, the factor that included gang graffiti was used because of the prevalence of gangs in the perpetuation of crime in Chicago, but the exclusion of measures of vacant lots or drug paraphernalia may have changed the underlying structure of the data. Lastly, these findings may not be generalizable outside of the city of Chicago. Chicago is a very neighborhood-centric city with some of the most

segregated neighborhoods in the county. The segregation of African Americans and the transition of traditionally African American neighborhoods into primarily Latino neighborhoods may set up a unique dynamic within Chicago neighborhoods. The Latinos in Chicago, at the time of the study, may be different than those living in other metropolitan areas around the country. This may be especially true due to the relatively low number of children living in the household compared to rates among Latinos living in other parts of the country (Brindis, Driscoll, Biggs, & Valderrama, 2002).

Directions for Future Research

This study raises many questions and suggests several directions for future research. Given the significant indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through community centers, future research should begin to unpack how community centers are mitigating the relationship. Two of the possible explanations suggested could be empirically tested. Future research could examine if community centers are mitigating the stress experience for individuals living in a disadvantage neighborhood by providing resources, such as child care, which buffer the effect of other social stress processes. Future research could also examine the role of community resources in developing and maintaining alternative neighborhood narratives in disadvantaged communities. Historically, disorganization has been the dominating narrative in neighborhood research, a narrative that stigmatizes communities and ignores protective process that may be present. Increasingly, neighborhood research is incorporating the concept of *collective efficacy*, which can serve as a counter-narrative; however, rates of collective efficacy are consistently low in disadvantage neighborhoods. This dissertation suggests that other counter-narratives maybe present. More needs to be done to investigate the collective

narratives that are created within the neighborhood context and how those narratives impact identity and behavior, which ultimately may impact health outcomes. Based on this line of research, interventions can be created to change dominate narratives within neighborhoods, potentially mitigating the social stress encountered in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Similarly, the role of the perceptions of disorganization in perpetuating concentrated disadvantages warrants future research. If the narratives that are told about neighborhoods threaten their chance of attracting investment and jobs, addressing these narratives within the larger societal context may stop cycles of divestment that maintain concentrated disadvantage. The potential risk of law enforcement-based neighborhood interventions in neighborhoods with a high concentration of minority residents should be examined more closely. While policing-based interventions may effectively decrease crime rates, they may also disrupt relationships or impact the beliefs that residents have about their neighborhood.

Additionally, more needs to be known about how these types of neighborhood level interventions impact disadvantaged communities. The consistent relationship between disadvantage and neighborhood resources in Latino neighborhoods in Chicago raises questions about the protective factors present in other neighborhoods around the country. Are Latinos unique in the use of community centers or is this an institution that is present in other disadvantaged communities? The finding that individuals with differing levels of linguistic acculturation live in different types of neighborhoods raises questions about neighborhood selection, such as: As immigrants acculturate, do they move to different types of neighborhoods that introduce different stressors, but do not have similar protective factors? In order to tease out the differences in the neighborhood

experiences of Latino based on levels of acculturation, more comprehensive measures are needed to more adequately address the dynamic and often bi-directional process of acculturation. Rather than relying on linguistic measures, nuanced aspects of norms, values, acculturation stressors (including discrimination) and exposure to the dominant culture may help us understand how the process of the acculturation interacts with neighborhood process to impact distress and wellbeing. This study also raises questions about the measurement of neighborhood control and exchange in Latino neighborhoods. Future research on neighborhood effects would be significantly strengthened by the use of longitudinal data that allows for the testing of causal and reciprocal relationships. Generally, this dissertation lends support to the idea of neighborhood-level structures or interventions, but recognizes that much more needs to be known about how these mechanisms work.

Conclusions and Implications for Social Work

The findings in this dissertation lend support to several aspects of the social stress process hypothesized and Sampson's model of social disorganization; they also suggest areas where these theories are lacking and may be developed further (2012). The fairly consistent indirect relationship between disadvantage and distress through objective disorganization and the perceptions of disorganization support the hypotheses which these represent primary and secondary stressors within neighborhood environments that may impact rates of distress. Although the relationships between primary and secondary stressors proposed in Pearlin's social stress model are unidirectional and liner, Sampson conceptualizes bi-directional relationships between disadvantage and perception of disorganization and between perception and objective disorganization. Due to the nature

of the data, the iterative feedback loop could not be tested. The findings also lend to support to both the counteractive role and the deterring role of neighborhood-level resources, particularly the counteractive effect of the density of community centers and block watches and the deterring effect of block watches in some populations. These findings also support the hypothesis that these relationships are moderated by social status, in this case, linguistic acculturation status and the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. Although not all pathways were moderated by status, several statistically different relationships indicated that linguistic acculturation status and the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood do have a critical effect on how these protective factors operate in neighborhoods.

On the whole, Pearlin's theory provided a reasonable framework for understanding the stress process within the neighborhood context. It was limited, however, in the ability to provide guidance in some specific areas, suggesting a need for theory development pointing to theory that may need to be developed moving forward. The conceptualization of primary and secondary stressors was supported to some degree, but the theory does not indicate which primary and secondary stressors are the most important or how multiple stressors may interact simultaneously. When considering the role of neighborhood context, it might be necessary to consider how context impacts multiple stressors within multiple domains, all of which may be operating to impact an individual's level of distress. For example, it might be important to assess how city-level or state-level dynamics impact job availability or how the absence of resources for adequate public transportation limits access to education. The complexity of the economic relationships that impacts resource allocation and creates an environment in

which multiple stressors may interact to impact distress will be important to explore in future theory development. Understanding these macro dynamics may also provide insight into what is commonly referred to as selection bias in neighborhood research. By better understanding what drives neighborhood selection, we may develop a clearer understanding of the direction of these relationships: if neighborhood stressors impact distress or if individuals who are more distressed become downwardly mobile and thus concentrated in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Similar to the relationship between macro factors and stressors, the theory does not address differential vulnerability to those stressors based on more classical psychological factors such as personality type, history of abuse or violence, or medical conditions. Investigating the gene-environment interaction and the relationship between extended trauma and environmental sensitivity may also be important considerations to explore within the social stress process theory as these would better inform our understandings regarding the relationship between neighborhood environments and individual outcomes.

In addition to the failure of amply considering the complexity of the dynamics between stressors and other layers in an individual's ecological system, social stress theory also fails to account for the interactive relationship between stressors. As previously mentioned the correlations between stressors such as neighborhood disadvantage and objective disorganization are likely feedback loops rather than unidirectional relationships, with poverty leading greater disorganization and disorganization leading to neighborhood divestment and increased poverty. The possible bi-directional nature of these relationships has considerable implications, potentially dictating where and how to intervene at the neighborhood level to prevent distress. The

social stress theory could also be expanded by examining how racial bias interacts with systems to maintain poverty and the concentration of disadvantage. Saying that social status impacts all aspects of a stress process brings us closer to understanding the impact on distress but does little to explain why this is the case or how might be addressed on a structural level. The social stress theory also does not specify the mechanisms though which different social statuses impact distress or if the process differs based on the interaction of multiple identities. For example, Mexican Americans experiences of stresses process may differ from those of Puerto Ricans based on the experiences of immigration and the process of acculturation. By neglecting to consider all aspects of social status, especially the unique experiences of differing ethnic groups, social stress theory fails to provide insight into how social status impacts stress exposure and experiences. Overall the theory is able to effectively simplify the relationships between a few stressors and a few resources, but is not able to address the complexities of multiple interactive relationships across multiple layers of an individual's eco-system.

These finding have considerable implications for social work research and practice. In social work practice, psychological distress has been traditionally conceived as an individual problem that should be addressed at the individual level. This dissertation lends support to the hypotheses that some types of distress that occur in reaction to social stressors are experienced disproportionally across a population and therefore should be addressed at a population level. Disparities in rates of distress due to neighborhood stressors may be small when compared to individual-level factors, yet they constitute structural inequities that contribute to disparities in rates of distress in low SES and minority populations that are unjust and modifiable. In this dissertation, these

inequities were seen in the strength of the relationship between disadvantage and objective disorganization by linguistic acculturation and the percentage of Latinos living in the neighborhood. The findings demonstrated that low linguistically acculturated Latinos and Latinos living in dense ethnic enclaves were more likely to experience disorganization when living in a high poverty neighborhood, representing an inequity in their exposure to stressors based on social status. This differential exposure to stressors within the neighborhood environment based on social status indicates an inequity that results in higher rates of distress in the absence of resources. Despite accounting for a small amount of the variance in rates of distress, all the variance that is seen can be attributed to structural stratification that perpetuates health disparities. The neighborhood is a worthy site of investigation and intervention in social work research and practice because it is one of the arenas in which social structures perpetuate unjust outcomes for economically and socially marginalized populations.

Although this dissertation does not dispute the fact that individual risk factors, such as biology, history, and role strain, play a crucial role in the development of psychological distress, it does argue that those individual risk factors happen within the context of a neighborhood and that elements of that neighborhood may interact with individual risk to amplify or mitigate their effect. Although not expressly tested in this dissertation, the broader social stress theory suggests that the neighborhood context interacts with other typical points of social work intervention, such as the family and an individual's cognitive awareness and sense of self, potentially altering the function of these micro level points of intervention. The central role of perceptions of disorganization on the relationship between disadvantage and distress points to an important cognitive

process that links an individual to their environment. Although it has been argued that perceptions of disorganization is more of an indicator of distress than the objective environment, this dissertation found that it was, in fact a link between the two. This cognitive process may impact other beliefs regarding an individual's identity and prospects for the future, as well as behaviors, such as parenting or substance use. Rather than simply targeting the behavior or the belief at the individual level, social work practice may be strengthened through understanding how individual cognitions or behaviors are shaped by the environment and they may be impacted at a population level by modifying the neighborhood. A better understanding of the link between individual and his or her neighborhood may lead to interventions that improve the quality of life for individuals living in that neighborhood.

The findings of this dissertation run counter to the classic sociological construction that disadvantaged neighborhoods are inherently disorganized (Reiss, 1986). Although support was found for the relationships between disadvantage and disorganization, support was also found for the relationship between disadvantage and all of the formal structures measured in this dissertation. These findings highlight inherent community-level strengths that can be enhanced to impact rates of individual level distress. Of particular interest for social work practice and policy, are the findings that the density of community houses was protective against higher rates of distress. These findings suggest that population level distress could be impacted by the implementation of community centers. This approach to mental health policy would be a significant shift away from simply implementing more mental health facilities with new and different treatment approaches. As mentioned previously, rather than replacing these approaches,

the dissertation results suggest that psychological distress interventions could be complemented by neighborhood level interventions. Neighborhood level interventions may address distress with a different etiology that is not readily addressed in individual therapy or may provide an alternative modality by increasing the availability of supportive social structures. Community centers may also work to provide an alternative narrative in disadvantaged communities, specifically a narrative of cultural identity and community strengths.

It is important to note that when examined by different aspects of Latino's social statuses, the density of community centers was only protective for bi-cultural Latinos and those Latinos living in dense ethnic enclaves. These findings suggest that community centers may buffer against the increased rates of distress that have been found to accompany acculturation by helping Latinos maintain their connection to their country of origin. Finding strategies to interrupt the relationship between acculturation and distress, potentially curtailing the disparities in rates of distress that are observed among American born or highly acculturated Latinos, may improve public health outcomes. The findings which demonstrate that the protective effects of community centers were only present in neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino indicates that either, 1) community centers were only effective in neighborhoods with more ethnic homogeneity or 2) that the relationship between disadvantage and the density of community centers were only present in those neighborhoods. The significant moderation in the relationship between disadvantage and all formal organizations indicates that there were simply more formal organizations in disadvantaged neighborhoods that were 50% or more Latino. This finding leads us to question what contributes to this dynamic, with significant

implications for social work practice and policy. If the formal organizations were initiated and maintained by Latinos, then dense ethnic enclaves would foster the creation of formal institutions. If they were implemented with the help of the city or other outside institutions, this would demonstrate that dense ethnic enclaves are able to lobby for resources in their neighborhood or sustain those already in place. This finding raises more questions than it answers but indicates a potentially important area for future inquires. Rather than suggesting that ethnic enclaves are inherently protective, these findings suggest that a greater understanding of the mechanisms that drive the relationships between disadvantage and the density of formal organizations could lead to intervention strategies on the community-level that foster healthy communities and prevent distress. This finding also raises important questions about the importance of the homogeneity of the ethnic population on the relationship between the density of community organizations and distress. Does the ethnic makeup of community organizations need to match the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood to be effective at impacting community level rates of distress? This dissertation does not begin to answer these complex questions regarding the intersection of individual identity and larger neighborhood structures; however, it does suggest an area of social work research that may have significant impact on practice and the health of underserved populations.

Another interesting finding with important implications for social work policy and practice regards the difference in the relationship between block watches and the perceptions of disorganization by the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood, with the relationship being a risk factor in neighborhoods with 50% or less Latinos and protective in neighborhoods with 50% or more Latinos. Neighborhood watches have been a staple

of neighborhood-level intervention for addressing crime and objective disorganization, however, these findings suggest that the relationship between the density of these structures and the perceptions of disorganization for Latinos differs based on who is participating in the block watch activities. This may be especially important in a city like Chicago with a long history of racial segregation and instability that frequently accompanies neighborhoods in transition (Lee & Wood, 1991) and for Latinos who may choose to move out of dense ethnic enclaves as they assimilate (Clark, 2009). For all of these reasons the dynamic within neighborhood where Latinos are living may be complex and may interact to affect the implementation of neighborhood-level interventions. When creating urban policy to address the challenges that disadvantaged neighborhoods face, considering the internal dynamics may be critical to achieving the desired outcome or understanding barriers to implementation. Block watches may seem like an appropriate approach to neighborhood crime to an outside observer who does not understand the complex dynamic within the neighborhoods, just as they might not realize that asking neighbors to police each other may exacerbate a fragile trust and create unstable relationships between the different groups of individuals living in the neighborhood. More broadly, this finding demonstrates the importance of considering the context of the neighborhood in which the intervention is being placed and understanding the relevance of consulting and involving the community in the selection and implementation of neighborhood-level interventions.

The results of this dissertation suggest that neighborhood-level processes impact rates of distress and that changes to a neighborhood's environment may decrease population rates of distress in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The study highlights the

risk-stress processes in disadvantage neighborhoods and also the community-level strengths that have arisen in the Latino communities of Chicago. These strengths present opportunities for social workers to enhance protective community structures, as well as examine such structures to evaluate their transferable viability to other populations. Although the findings of this research study need to be interpreted with caution in light of its limitations, the results support the potential of neighborhood-level interventions in preventing some types of distress in at-risk populations, and raise important questions that provide notable considerations in guiding future research in this area.

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APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DENSITY OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SPACE

Appendix A

Figure A1. The Distribution of the Density of Crime Watches

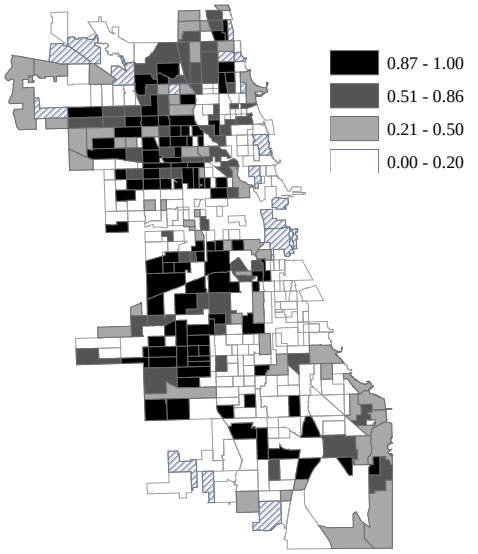


Figure A2. The Distribution of the Density of Block Homes

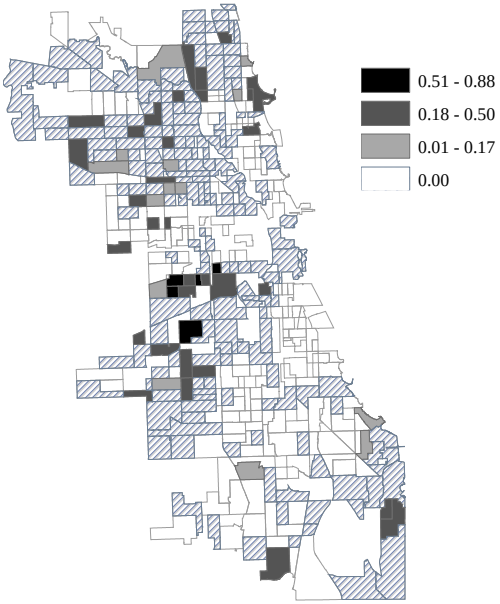


Figure A3. The Distribution of the Density of Community Centers

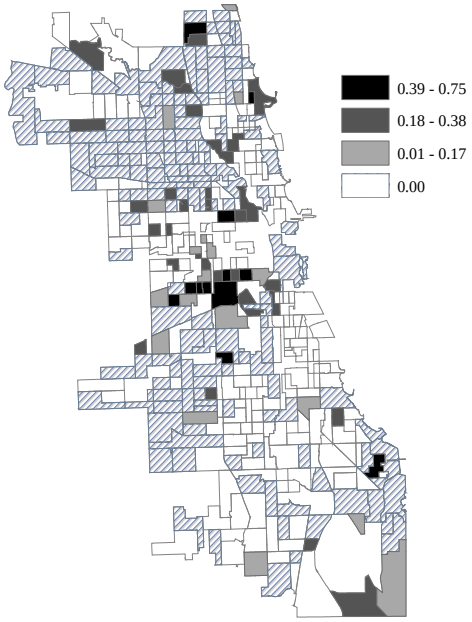
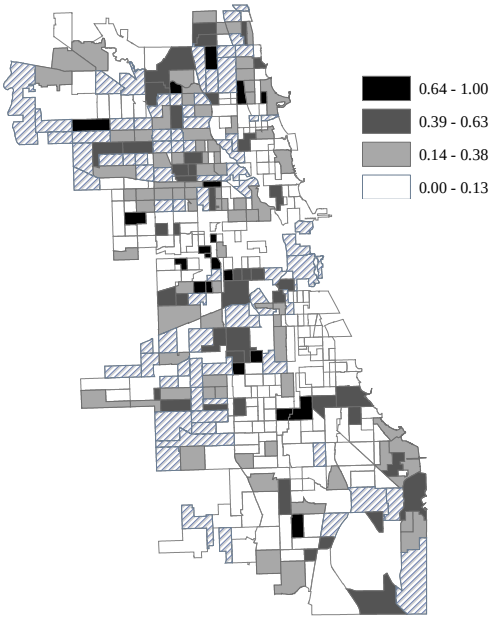


Figure A4. The Distribution of the Density of Community Centers

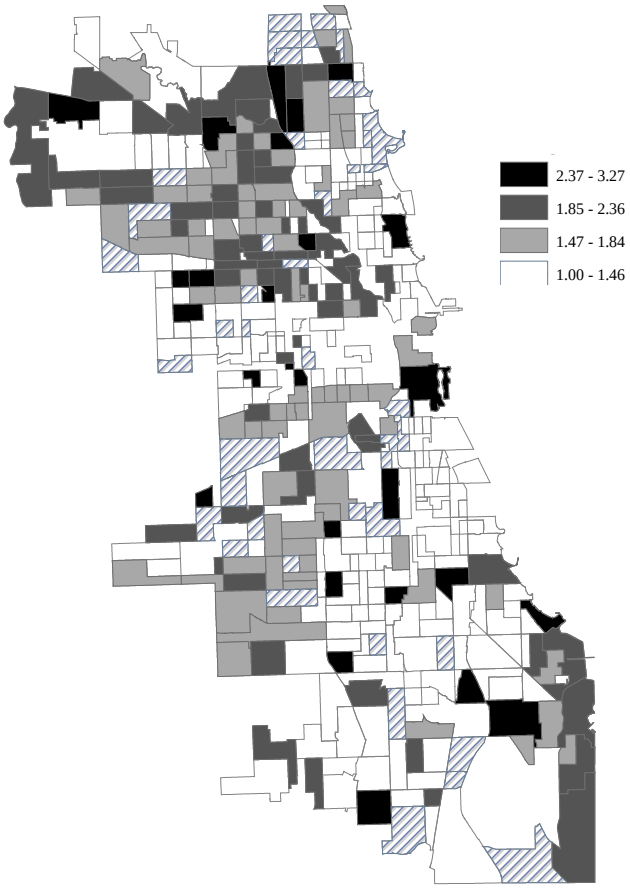


APPENDIX B

DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN RATES OF DISTRESS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CLUSTER IN SPACE

Appendix B

Figure B. Mean Rates of Distress by Neighborhood Cluster



APPENDIX C

EXPLORATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS: DISTRESS, DISADVANTAGE AND OBJECTIVE DISORGANIZATION

Appendix C

Figure C1. EFA: Distress Full Measure Full Sample

N	802					
	1	2		3		
Full model fit						
χ^2 (df)	268.66(44)	142.61(34)		63.24(25)		
RMSEA	0.08	0.06		0.04		
CFI	0.92	0.96		0.99		
TLI	0.90	0.94		0.97		
I felt depressed	**0.71**	**0.80**	-0.10	**0.76**	0.02	-0.07
I felt that everything was an effort	**0.54**	**0.51**	0.03	**0.57**	-0.06	0.00
My sleep was restless	**0.57**	**0.53**	0.05	**0.53**	0.02	0.05
I was happy(R)	**0.51**	**0.69**	-0.21	**0.42**	0.28	-0.03
I felt lonely	**0.69**	**0.57**	0.16	**0.61**	-0.03	0.14
People were unfriendly	**0.50**	0.00	**0.65**	0.00	0.07	**0.67**
I enjoyed life (R)	**0.50**	**0.62**	-0.14	0.00	**0.95**	0.21
I did not feel like eating	**0.57**	**0.51**	0.08	**0.62**	-0.11	0.01
I felt sad	**0.81**	**0.79**	0.03	**0.78**	0.01	0.05
I felt people disliked me	**0.59**	0.03	**0.74**	0.15	-0.01	**0.66**
I could not get 'going'	**0.70**	**0.50**	0.25	**0.52**	0.01	0.24

Figure C2. EFA of Disadvantage Measurement Model: Full Sample

N	802									
	1		2		3			4		
Full model fit										
χ^2 (df)	2692.10(27)		1567.98(19)		523.61(12)			60.61(6)		
RMSEA	0.35		0.32		0.16			0.11		
CFI	0.62		0.78		0.97			0.99		
TLI	0.49		0.58		0.90			0.95		
% married	-0.47	**1.06**	-0.01	**-0.90**	0.00	0.11	**-0.96**	-0.02	0.10	0.04
% unemployed	**0.71**	-0.11	**0.67**	0.29	**0.78**	0.11	0.20	**0.79**	0.10	0.00
% management	-0.34	**-0.62**	**-0.63**	**0.57**	**-0.71**	0.00	**0.62**	**-0.70**	0.01	0.02
% individual poverty	**0.98**	-0.00	**0.98**	0.02	**0.67**	**-0.54**	0.02	**0.71**	**-0.50**	0.05
% public assistance	**0.84**	-0.15	**0.78**	0.31	**0.72**	-0.14	0.03	**0.86**	-0.03	**0.48**
% female headed household	**0.73**	**-0.48**	**0.53**	**0.64**	**0.55**	-0.00	**0.53**	**0.59**	0.01	0.08
% live for 5 years	-0.05	0.19	0.06	-0.00	**0.51**	**0.80**	-0.01	**0.50**	**0.64**	-0.19
% income under $30,000	**-0.66**	0.22	**-0.55**	-0.03	-0.01	**0.91**	-0.11	-0.03	**0.88**	0.01
% owner occupied	**0.94**	0.03	**0.96**	-0.06	**0.68**	**-0.53**	-0.01	**0.69**	**-0.55**	-0.17

Figure C3. EFA of Disadvantage Measurement Model with % Management and % Five Years

N	802					
	1		2		3	
Full model fit						
χ^2 (df)	1528.74(14)		484.92(8)		85.96(3)	
RMSEA	0.37		0.27		0.19	
CFI	0.73		0.92		0.99	
TLI	0.60		0.78		0.90	
% married	**-0.47**	0.08	**-0.78**	**0.89**	-0.00	0.27
% unemployed	**0.71**	0.35	**0.46**	-0.01	**0.87**	0.22
% individual poverty	**0.98**	**1.02**	-0.00	0.00	**0.84**	-0.36
% public assistance	**0.85**	**0.54**	**0.43**	-0.14	**0.84**	-0.01
% female headed household	**0.74**	0.01	**1.03**	**-0.57**	**0.57**	0.01
% income under $30,000	**0.93**	**-0.71**	0.07	0.01	**0.78**	-0.36
% owner occupied	**-0.66**	**0.86**	0.08	**0.49**	0.00	**0.91**

Figure C4. EFA of Disadvantage Measurement Model with % Married and % Owner Occupied Excluded

N	802		
	1	2	
Full model fit			
χ^2 (df)	562.56(5)	8.4	
RMSEA	0.38	0.10	
CFI	0.86	1.00	
TLI	0.72	0.98	
% unemployed	**0.72**	**0.82**	0.00
% individual poverty	**0.98**	0.00	**1.13**
% public assistance	**0.85**	**0.80**	0.17
% female headed household	**0.74**	**0.90**	-0.02
% income under $30,000	**0.93**	**0.36**	**0.56**

Figure C5. EFA of objective disorganization measurement model: Full Sample

N	802									
	1		2		3		4			
Full model fit										
χ^2 (df)	302.32(35)		122.84(26)		83.85(18)		33.13(11)			
RMSEA	0.09		0.06		0.07		0.05			
CFI	0.66		0.88		0.92		0.97			
TLI	0.57		0.79		0.79		0.89			
Abandon car	**0.67**	**0.62**	0.18	**0.44**	0.53	0.00	**0.64**	0.04	0.21	-0.08
Empty beer	**0.83**	-0.02	**0.93**	**0.98**	-0.09	0.00	-0.03	**0.74**	0.34	0.07
Condom	**0.72**	**1.00**	-0.08	-0.01	**0.80**	**0.47**	**1.00**	-0.07	0.03	-0.01
Needles	**0.76**	**0.93**	0.03	0.01	**0.70**	**0.56**	**0.91**	0.03	0.00	0.07
Cigarettes	0.30	-0.15	**0.44**	0.25	-0.21	0.20	-0.05	-0.02	0.29	**0.54**
Garbage	**0.62**	0.06	**0.59**	0.18	-0.14	**0.65**	0.04	0.37	0.01	**0.61**
Vacant lot	**0.43**	0.17	**0.53**	**0.93**	0.00	**-0.55**	**0.72**	0.01	**0.82**	-0.02
Gang graffiti	**0.79**	**0.46**	**0.67**	**0.58**	0.06	0.24	0.03	**0.88**	-0.02	-0.13
Other graffiti	**0.69**	0.09	0.31	-0.01	0.24	**0.74**	**0.41**	0.32	-0.10	0.28
Graffiti painted over	**0.86**	**0.81**	**0.84**	**0.81**	0.01	0.10	0.03	**0.81**	0.20	0.01

APPENDIX D

TEST OF MEASUREMENT INVARIANCE

Appendix D

Figure D1. Full Measurement Invariance

	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δ df	Δ p
Distress: Acculturation					
Model 1	166.49	123	-	-	-
Model 2	191.04	143	24.55	20	0.22
Model 3	277.96	163	86.92	20	0.00
Model 4	296.57	165	18.61	2	0.00
Distress: % Latino					
Model 1	117.39	79	-	-	-
Model 2	122.20	89	4.81	10	0.90
Model 3	150.65	99	28.45	10	0.00
Model 4	151.31	100	0.66	1	0.42
Per Disorg: Acculturation					
Model 1	20.78	15	-	-	-
Model 2	23.41	23	2.63	8	0.96
Model 3	67.72	31	44.31	8	0.00
Model 4	78.85	33	11.13	2	0.00
Per Disorg: % Latino					
Model 1	15.10	10	-	-	-
Model 2	31.00	14	15.90	4	0.00
Model 3	66.48	18	35.48	4	0.00
Model 4	124.32	19	57.84	1	0.00
Disadvant: Acculturation					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	1.90	4	1.90	4	0.75
Model 3	16.89	8	14.99	4	0.00
Model 4	29.72	10	12.83	2	0.00
Disadvant: % Latino					
Model 1	31.09	4	-	-	-
Model 2	231.19	7	200.1	3	0.00
Model 3	407.20	10	176.01	3	0.00
Model 4	411.98	11	4.78	1	0.03

Figure D1. Cont. Full Measurement Invariance

	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δ df	Δ p
Obje Disorg: Acculturation					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	1.90	4	1.90	4	0.75
Model 3	16.89	8	14.99	4	0.00
Model 4	29.72	10	12.83	2	0.00
Obje Disorg:% Latino					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	24.35	2	24.35	2	0.00
Model 3	26.52	4	2.17	2	0.00
Model 4	163.77	5	137.25	1	0.00
Control: Acculturation					
Model 1	25.21	15	-	-	-
Model 2	44.92	23	19.71	8	0.01
Model 3	98.26	31	53.34	8	0.00
Model 4	103.93	33	5.67	2	0.05
Control: % Latino					
Model 1	15.50	10	-	-	-
Model 2	15.93	14	0.43	4	0.98
Model 3	29.33	18	13.4	4	0.01
Model 4	40.70	19	11.37	1	0.00
Exchange: Acculturation					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	4.45	4	4.45	4	0.35
Model 3	10.94	8	6.49	4	0.17
Model 4	13.8	10	2.86	2	0.24
Exchange: % Latino					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	0.52	2	0.52	2	0.77
Model 3	0.85	4	0.33	2	0.84
Model 4	0.99	5	0.14	1	0.70

Figure D2. Partial Measurement Invariance

	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δ df	Δ p
Perc disorg: % Latino Dis2 & Dis3					
Model 1	15.10	10	-	-	-
Model 2	15.34	14	0.24	4	0.93
Model 3	15.56	14	0.22	0	0.00
Model 4	74.01	15	58.45	1	0.00
Disadvan: % Latino Unemp & Fem					
Model 1	31.09	4	-	-	-
Model 2	31.10	5	0.01	1	0.93
Model 3	78.89	6	47.79	1	0.00
Model 4	92.19	7	13.3	1	0.00
Object Disog: % Latino Beer bottles					
Model 1	0.00	0	-	-	-
Model 2	0.00	0	0.00	0	1.00
Model 3	2.94	1	2.94	1	0.09
Model 4	140.96	2	138.02	1	0.00
Control: Acculturation Cont1 & Cont2					
Model 1	25.21	15	-	-	-
Model 2	31.22	19	6.01	4	0.20
Model 3	57.23	23	26.01	4	0.00
Model 4	69.69	25	12.46	2	0.00

APPENDIX E

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ALL OBSERVED VARIABLES

Appendix E

Figure E1. Correlations between Neighborhood Level Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Below30 (1)	1.00										
Public assistance (2)	0.74	1.00									
Female headed (3)	0.65	0.81	1.00								
Unemployment (4)	0.65	0.75	0.73	1.00							
Gang graffiti (5)	0.40	0.28	0.05	0.24	1.00						
Empty beer bottle (6)	0.53	0.39	0.26	0.40	0.70	1.00					
Graffiti painted(7)	0.45	0.31	0.18	0.28	0.74	0.82	1.00				
Church (9)	0.36	0.30	0.23	0.28	0.25	0.30	0.25	1.00			
Community house (10)	0.32	0.19	0.04	0.07	0.34	0.34	0.35	0.31	1.00		
Crime watch (11)	0.11	0.05	-0.01	0.60	0.32	0.48	0.48	0.11	0.11	1.00	
Block home (12)	0.12	0.04	-0.10	0.01	0.42	0.33	0.31	0.16	0.24	0.22	1.00

Figure E2. Correlations between Individual Level Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
CESD1 (1)	1.00												
CESD2 (2)	0.41	1.00											
CESD3 (3)	0.40	0.36	1.00										
CESD4 (R)(4)	0.39	0.24	0.27	1.00									
CESD5 (5)	0.46	0.34	0.33	0.33	1.00								
CESD6 (6)	0.28	0.23	0.23	0.18	0.33	1.00							
CESD7 (R) (7)	0.36	0.22	0.28	0.48	0.29	0.22	1.00						
CESD8 (8)	0.36	0.30	0.32	0.25	0.36	0.25	0.20	1.00					
CESD9 (9)	0.58	0.37	0.40	0.42	0.56	0.37	0.39	0.46	1.00				
CESD10 (10)	0.36	0.27	0.23	0.23	0.40	0.50	0.23	0.32	0.44	1.00			
CESD11 (11)	0.42	0.39	0.44	0.37	0.45	0.36	0.31	0.40	0.53	0.46	1.00		
Cont1 (12)	0.02	-0.04	0.02	0.02	-0.05	-0.07	-0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.03	0.00	1.00	
Cont2 (13)	-0.07	-0.04	-0.01	-0.06	-0.08	-0.16	-0.07	-0.06	-0.08	-0.13	-0.08	0.48	1.00
Cont3 (14)	-0.02	-0.08	0.01	-0.02	-0.08	-0.12	-0.01	0.03	-0.05	-0.08	-0.06	0.45	0.46
Cont4 (15)	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	-0.03	-0.05	-0.04	0.03	-0.02	-0.05	-0.02	0.35	0.37
Cont5 (16)	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04	-0.03	-0.06	-0.09	-0.10	-0.10	-0.04	-0.06	-0.06	0.36	0.38
Exch1 (17)	-0.05	-0.04	-0.01	-0.05	0.07	-0.07	-0.01	-0.01	0.05	-0.07	-0.04	0.15	0.12
Exch2 (18)	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	0.01	-0.04	-0.06	0.03	0.07	-0.01	-0.05	0.03	0.21	0.16
Exch3 (19)	0.00	-0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.02	-0.01	-0.03	0.17	0.11
Disorg1 (20)	0.14	0.02	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.08	0.12	0.06	0.08	0.10	0.10	-0.20	-0.23
Disorg2 (21)	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.03	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.03	-0.23	-0.24
Disorg3 (22)	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.12	-0.14	-0.17
Disorg4 (23)	0.09	-0.02	0.09	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.08	0.07	-0.21	-0.25
Disorg5 (24)	0.07	0.02	0.03	-0.01	0.00	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.03	-0.27	-0.23

Figure E2. Correlations between Individual Level Variables, cont.

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Cont3 (14)	1.00										
Cont4 (15)	0.42	1.00									
Cont5 (16)	0.43	0.32	1.00								
Exch1 (17)	0.15	0.27	0.17	1.00							
Exch2 (18)	0.15	0.19	0.17	0.49	1.00						
Exch3 (19)	0.14	0.20	0.13	0.52	0.43	1.00					
Disorg1 (20)	-0.17	-0.23	-0.19	-0.06	-0.07	0.01	1.00				
Disorg2 (21)	-0.16	-0.15	-0.16	-0.02	-0.06	0.02	0.57	1.00			
Disorg3 (22)	-0.13	-0.14	-0.11	-0.03	0.01	0.06	0.42	0.39	1.00		
Disorg4 (23)	-0.20	-0.23	-0.20	0.01	-0.05	0.03	0.58	0.52	0.44	1.00	
Disorg5 (24)	-0.20	-0.16	-0.24	-0.10	-0.09	-0.02	0.45	0.44	0.32	0.52	1.00

APPENDIX F

BASE MODELS

Appendix F

Figure F1. Base Model of Full Sample

	N	799
	Full model fit	
	$\chi 2$ (df)	733.83(340)
	RMSEA	0.04
	CFI	0.96
	TLI	0.95
	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct		
Disadv -> O Disorg	.96(.08)***	.57(.03)***
O Disorg -> P Disorg	.96(.19)***	.24(.05)***
P Disorg -> Distress	.13(.05)**	.13(.05)**
Disadv-> Distress	-.20(.31)	-.03(.05)
Disadv->Per Disorg	2.71(.36)***	.39(.05)***
O Disorg -> Distress	-.24(.18)	-.06(.05)
Indirect		
Disadv ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.12(.05)*	.02(.01)*
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress	.36(.14)*	.05(.02)**
Disadv -> O Dis -> Distress	-.24(.17)	-.03(.03)
Controls		
Children -> Distress	-.03(.02)	-.06(.04)
FinDisat -> Distress	.16(.02)***	.26(.04)***
Age-> Distress	-.00(.00)	-.01(.04)
Married -> Distress	-.18(.06)***	-.13(.04)***
Gender -> Distress	-.31(.05)***	-.21(.04)***
LifeEvent -> Distress	.08(03)*	.09(.04)*

Figure F2. Base Model Multi-group Analysis: Linguistic Acculturation

	Linguistic Acculturation					
	Low		Bi		Hi	
N	398		238		163	
Full model fit						
$\chi 2$ (df)	1783.68(1102)					
RMSEA	0.05					
CFI	0.93					
TLI	0.92					
Group model fit (MG)						
$\chi 2$ (df)	583.16		480.96		719.56	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct						
Disadv -> O Disorg	1.17(.11)***	.61(.04)***	1.22(.13)***	.61(.05)***	.50(.09)***	.43(.06)***
O Disorg -> P Disorg	.62(.26)*	.15(.07)*	.97(.34)**	.24(.08)**	2.20(.49)***	.44(.09)***
P Disorg -> Distress	.12(.07)	.12(.08)	.05(.09)	.05(.09)	.25(.09)**	.30(.10)**
Disadv-> Distress	-.09(.57)	-.01(.08)	-.46(.73)	-.06(.10)	-.11(.32)	-.02(.07)
Disadv->P Disorg	3.71(.57)***	.49(.06)***	3.21(.71)***	.40(.08)***	.96(.43)*	.16(.07)*
O Disorg -> Distress	-.35(.26)	-.09(.07)	.16(.34)	.04(.09)	-.69(.46)	-.16(.11)
Indirect						
Disadv ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.08(.06)	-	.05(.11)	-	.28(.13)*	-
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress	.43(.28)	-	.15(.28)	-	.24(.14)+	-
Disadv -> O Dis -> Distress	-.41(.31)	-	.19(.41)	-	-.34(.24)	-
Controls						
Children -> Distress	-.06(.03)*	-.12(.05)*	.01(.04)	.02(.07)	-.02(.04)	-.05(.08)
FinDissat -> Distress	.15(.03)***	.22(.05)***	.18(.04)***	.27(.07)***	.13(.04)***	.26(.08)***
Age-> Distress	-.00(.00)	-.05(.06)	.01(.00)	.09(.08)	.00(.01)	.06(.10)
Married -> Distress	-.14(.08)+	-.09(.05)+	-.22(.10)*	-.14(.07)*	-.17(.12)	-.11(.08)
Gender -> Distress	-.28(.07)***	-.19(.05)***	-.26(.10)**	-.17(.07)**	-.42(.11)***	-.32(.08)***

LifeEvent -> Distress	.06(.05)	.07(.06)	.03(.06)	.04(.07)	.09(.06)	.13(.09)

Figure F3. Base Model Multi-group Analysis: % Latino

	% Latino			
	50% or less		50% or more	
N	281		518	
Full model fit				
χ2(df)	1181.18(707)			
RMSEA	0.04			
CFI	0.95			
TLI	0.94			
Group model fit (MG)				
χ2 (df)	616.75		564.43	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct				
Disadv -> O Disorg	.51(.08)***	.50(.05)***	1.48(.14)***	
O Disorg -> P Disorg	1.37(.47)**	.22(.08)**	.65(.20)***	.20(.06)***
P Disorg -> Distress	.12(.08)	.14(.09)	.16(.05)**	.15(.01)**
Disadv-> Distress	-.16(.42)	-.03(.08)	-.20(.20)	-.04(.05)
Disadv->P Disorg	2.97(.53)***	.47(.08)***	2.66(.53)***	.31(.06)***
O Disorg -> Distress	.12(.39)	.02(.07)	-.20(.19)	-.06(.05)
Indirect				
Disad ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.09(.06)	-	.17(.08)*	-
Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.36(.25)	-	.43(.19)*	-
Dis -> O Dis -> Distress	.06(.20)	-	-.30(.29)	-
Controls				
Children -> Distress	-.09(.03)***	-.19(.07)**	.00(.03)	.00(.05)
FinDisat -> Distress	.12(.04)**	.20(.06)**	-.18(.03)***	.28(.04)***
Age-> Distress	-.01(.00)	-.12(.07)	.00(.00)	.05(.05)
Married -> Distress	.06(.09)	.04(.07)	-.29(.07)***	-.20(.05)***
Gender -> Distress	-.37(.09)***	-.26(.06)***	-.30(.07)***	-.20(.04)***
LifeEvent -> Distress	.10(.05)+	.13(.07)+	.07(.04)	.07(.05)

APPENDIX G

FULL MODELS

Appendix G

Figure G1. Full Model Full Sample

N	799	
Full model fit		
$\chi 2$ (df)	1314.43(710)	
RMSEA	0.03	
CFI	0.95	
TLI	0.94	
	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct		
Disadv -> Object Disorg	1.04(.08)***	.59(.03)***
Disadv -> Church	.82(.08)***	.37(.03)***
Disadv -> Com Center	.53(.05)***	.35(.03)***
Disadv -> Block House	.27(.07)***	.15(.04)***
Disadv -> Block Watch	.34(.09)***	.13(.04)***
Disadv -> P Disog	2.62(.39)***	.37(.05)***
O Disorg -> P Disorg	1.22(.25)***	.31(.06)***
Church -> P Disorg	.06(.12)	.02(.04)
Com Center -> P Disorg	-.08(.18)	-.02(.04)
Block Watch-> P Disorg	-.31(.12)**	-.11(.04)**
Block Home-> P Disorg	.03(.14)	.01(.04)
P Disorg -> Distress	.12(.05)**	.13(.05)**
Church -> Distress	.03(.12)	.01(.04)
Com Center -> Distress	-.44(.17)*	-.10(.04)**
Block Watch-> Distress	-.21(.10)*	-.08(.04)*
Block Home-> Distress	.24(.14)+	.07(.04)+
Disadv -> Exch	.57(.33)+	.08(.05)**
Disadv -> Cont	-1.38(.31)***	-.21(.05)***
Exch -> Distress	-.04(.05)	-.04(.05)
Cont -> Distress	.05(.05)	.05(.05)
Church -> Exch	-.12(.14)	-.04(.05)
Com Center -> Exch	.27(.21)	.06(.05)
Block Watch-> Exch	.02(.12)	.01(.04)
Block Home-> Exch	-.24(.17)	-.06(.04)
Church -> Cont	-.19(.13)	-.07(.05)
Com Center -> Cont	.20(.19)	.05(.04)
Block Watch-> Cont	-.08(.11)	-.03(.04)
Block Home-> Cont	-.03(.15)	-.01(.04)
Exch with Per Disorg	-.03(.02)	-.06(.05)
Cont with Per Disorg	-.14(.02)***	-.34(.04)***
O Disorg with Exch	.01(.00)	.04(.04)
O Disog with Cont	-.01(.00)*	-.09(.04)*
Exch with Cont	.18(.03)***	.36(.04)***
Church with O Disorg	.00(.00)**	.10(.03)**
Com Center with O Disorg	.01(.00)***	.21(.03)***
Block Watch with O Disorg	.02(.00)***	.52(.03)***
Block Home with O Disorg	.01(.00)***	.34(.03)***

Figure G1. Full Model Full Sample cont.

	Full	
	B(SE)	β(SE)
Indirect		
Disadv ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.16(.07)*	.02(.01)*
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress	.32(.13)*	.05(.02)*
Disadv -> Church -> Distress	.03(.10)	.00(.01)
Disadv-> BlockHome -> Distress	.07(.04)	.01(.01)
Disadv -> Com Center -> Distress	-.23(.09)*	-.03(.01)*
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Distress	-.07(.04)+	-.01(.01)+
Disadv -> Church -> P Dis -> Distress	.01(.01)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Com Center -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-.00(.00)
Disadv -> Block Watch -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.01)+	-.00(.01)+
Disadv -> Block Home -> P Dis -> Distress	.00(.01)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Cont -> Distress	-.02(.03)	-.01(.01)
Disadv-> Exch -> Distress	-.07(.08)	-.00(.00)
Disadv -> Church -> Cont -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-.00(.00)
Disadv -> Com Center -> Cont -> Distress	.01(.01)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Cont -> Distress	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)
Disadv -> Block Home -> Cont-> Distress	.00(.00)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Church -> Exch-> Distress	.00(.01)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Com Center -> Exch-> Distress	-.01(.01)	-.01(.00)
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Exch -> Distress	.00(.00)	.00(.00)
Disadv -> Block Home -> Exch -> Distress	.00(.00)	.00(.00)
Controls		
Children -> Distress	-.03(.02)+	-.07(.04)+
FinDisat -> Distress	.16(.03)***	.26(.04)***
Age-> Distress	-.00(.00)	-.01(.04)
Married -> Distress	-.18(.06)***	-.13(.04)***
Gender -> Distress	-.31(.05)***	-.22(.04)***
LifeEvent -> Distress	.08(.03)*	.09(.04)*

Figure G2. Full Model Multi-group: Linguistic Acculturation

	Low		Bi	
N	398		238	
Full model fit				
$\chi 2$ (df)	3260.63(2226)			
RMSEA	0.04			
CFI	0.91			
TLI	0.91			
Group $\chi 2$	1152.22		951.83	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct				
Disadv -> O Disorg	1.18(.10)***	.61(.04)***	1.24(.13)***	.62(.05)***
Disadv -> Church	.84(.13)***	.34(.05)***	.89(.14)***	.41(.06)***
Disadv -> Com Center	.68(.09)***	.39(.04)***	.57(.09)***	.39(.06)***
Disadv -> Block House	.38(.12)***	.17(.05)***	.23(.12)*	.13(.07)*
Disadv -> Block Watch	.35(.14)*	.13(.05)**	.71(.19)***	.25(.06)***
Disadv -> P Disog	3.51(.59)***	.48(.07)***	2.96(.73)***	.39(.09)***
O Disorg -> P Disorg	.83(.33)*	.22(.09)*	.96(.42)*	.25(.11)*
Church -> P Disorg	.06(.16)	.02(.05)	-.00(.24)	.00(.07)
Com Center -> P Disorg	-.19(.23)	-.05(.05)	.54(.36)	.11(.07)
Block Watch-> P Disorg	-.26(.1)	-.09(.06)	-.29(.21)	-.11(.08)
Block Home-> P Disorg	.08(.18)	.03(.05)	.29(.28)	.07(.07)
P Disorg -> Distress	.09(.07)	.09(.07)	.12(.09)	.13(.10)
Church -> Distress	-.12(.17)	-.04(.06)	.46(.24)+	.13(.07)+
Com Center -> Distress	-.16(.23)	-.04(.06)	-1.15(.36)***	-.23(.07)***
Block Watch-> Distress	-.02(.15)	-.01(.05)	-.45(.17)**	-.17(.06)**
Block Home-> Distress	.25(.18)	.07(.05)	.63(.28)*	.15(.07)*
Disad -> Exch	.86(.51)+	.11(.07)+	-.56(.69)	-.07(.09)
Disad -> Cont	-1.03(.40)*	-.17(.06)**	-1.81(.59)**	-.28(.08)***
Exch -> Distress	.02(.07)	.02(.06)	-.21(.09)*	-.22(.09)*
Cont -> Distress	.12(.08)	.10(.07)	.14(.12)	.12(.11)
Church -> Exch	-.26(.20)	-.08(.06)	.18(.31)	.05(.09)
Com Center -> Exch	.42(.28)	.10(.06)	.25(.44)	.05(.08)
Block Watch-> Exch	.18(.17)	.06(.06)	-.12(.21)	-.04(.08)
Block Home-> Exch	-.17(.21)	-.05(.06)	.43(.34)	-.10(.08)
Church -> Cont	-.38(.16)*	-.15(.06)*	-.05(.26)	-.02(.08)
Com Center -> Cont	.36(.22)	.10(.06)	-.43(.35)	-.10(.08)
Block Watch-> Cont	-.28(.12)*	-.12(.06)	.02(.17)	.01(.07)
Block Home-> Cont	.10(.17)	.04(.06)	-.31(.28)	-.08(.07)
Exch with Per Disorg	-.01(.03)	-.03(.07)	-.02(.04)	-.04(.09)
Cont with Per Disorg	-.07(.02)**	-.20(.07)**	-.15(.04)***	-.42(.08)***
O Disorg with Exch	.01(.01)	.05(.05)	-.01(.01)	-.07(.06)
O Disog with Cont	-.01(.01)**	-.14(.05)**	-.01(.01)	-.08(.06)
Exch with Cont	.12(.04)***	.27(.07)***	.21(.05)***	.45(.07)***
Church with O Disorg	.00(.00)	.08(.05)+	.01(.00)**	.16(.06)*
Com Center with O Disorg	.01(.00)***	.19(.04)***	.01(.00)***	.23(.06)***
Block Watch with O Disorg	.02(.00)***	.56(.04)***	.02(.00)***	.55(.05)***
Block Home with O Disorg	.01(.00)***	.38(.05)***	.01(.00)***	.32(.06)***

Figure G2. Full Model Multi-group: Linguistic Acculturation cont.

	Hi	
N	163	
Full model fit		
$\chi 2$ (df)	3270.80(2222)	
RMSEA	0.04	
CFI	0.91	
TLI	0.90	
Group $\chi 2$	1166.74	
	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct		
Disadv -> O Disorg	.57(.10)***	.45(.07)***
Disadv -> Church	.54(.14)***	.29(.07)***
Disadv -> Com Center	.19(.08)*	.17(.07)*
Disadv -> Block House	.11(.08)	.10(.07)
Disadv -> Block Watch	.04(.15)	.02(.07)
Disadv -> P Disog	1.05(.50)*	.18(.08)*
O Disorg -> P Disorg	2.47(.56)***	.52(.10)***
Church -> P Disorg	-.04(.26)	-.01(.08)
Com Center -> P Disorg	-.46(.44)	-.09(.08)
Block Watch-> P Disorg	-.27(.24)	-.10(.09)
Block Home-> P Disorg	-.19(.42)	-.04(.08)
P Disorg -> Distress	.12(.09)	.14(.11)
Church -> Distress	.04(.22)	.02(.08)
Com Center -> Distress	-.21(.37)	-.05(.08)
Block Watch-> Distress	-.29(.18)	-.12(.08)
Block Home-> Distress	-.54(.36)	-.12(.08)
Disadv -> Exch	.80(.54)+	.14(.09)+
Disadv -> Cont	-1.06(.46)*	-.20(.08)*
Exch -> Distress	.01(.09)	.01(.10)
Cont -> Distress	-.17(.11)	-.18(.12)
Church -> Exch	.05(.29)	.03(.09)
Com Center -> Exch	-.03(.49)	-.01(.10)
Block Watch-> Exch	-.20(.25)	-.08(.09)
Block Home-> Exch	-.54(.46)	.10(.10)
Church -> Cont	.08(.26)	.03(.09)
Com Center -> Cont	.44(.44)	.09(.09)
Block Watch-> Cont	-.36(.22)	-.14(.09)+
Block Home-> Cont	-.65(.42)	-.14(.09)+
Exch with Per Disorg	-.08(.05)+	-.29(.11)+
Cont with Per Disorg	-.19(.05)***	-.47(.09)***
O Disorg with Exch	.02(.01)*	.24(.09)*
O Disog with Cont	-.01(.01)	-.06(.06)
Exch with Cont	.16(.05)**	.34(.10)***
Church with O Disorg	.00(.00)	.10(.09)
Com Center with O Disorg	.00(.00)*	.17(.08)*
Block Watch with O Disorg	.01(.00)***	.36(.08)***
Block Home with O Disorg	.01(.00)**	.25(.08)**

Figure G2. Full Model Multi-group: Linguistic Acculturation cont.

	Low		Bi		Hi	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Indirect						
Disadv ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.09(.07)	-	.15(.12)	-	.17(.14)	-
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress	.32(.24)	-	.37(.32)	-	.13(.15)	-
Disadv -> Church -> Distress	-.10(.14)	-	.41(.22)+	-	.02(.13)	-
Disadv-> Block Home -> Distress	.10(.08)	-	.15(.10)	-	-.06(.06)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Distress	-.11(.16)	-	-.65(.23)**	-	-.04(.07)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Distress	-.01(.06)	-	-.32(.15)*	-	-.01(.05)	-
Disadv -> Church -> P Dis -> Distress	.01(.02)	-	.00(.03)	-	.00(.02)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.02)	-	.01(.01)	-	-.01(.01)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-	-.03(.03)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> P Dis -> Distress	-.00(.01)	-	-.01(.01)	-	-.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Cont -> Distress	-.13(.10)	-	-.26(.24)	-	.18(.14)	-
Disadv-> Exch -> Distress	.02(.05)	-	.12(.15)	-	.01(.09)	-
Disadv -> Church -> Cont -> Distress	-.04(.03)	-	-.01(.03)	-	-.01(.03)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Cont -> Distress	.03(.03)	-	-.03(.04)	-	-.01(.02)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Cont -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-	.01(.02)	-	.00(.01)	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> Cont-> Distress	.01(.01)	-	-.01(.01)	-	.01(.01)	-
Disadv -> Church -> Exch-> Distress	-.01(.01)	-	-.03(.06)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Exch-> Distress	.01(.02)	-	-.03(.05)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Exch -> Distress	.00(.01)	-	.02(.03)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> Exch -> Distress	-.00(.01)	-	.02(.02)	-	.00(.00)	-
Controls						
Children -> Distress	-.06(.03)*	-.12(.05)*	.02(.04)	.03(.07)	-.03(.05)	-.06(.07)
FinDisat -> Distress	.15(.04)***	.22(.05)***	.16(.05)***	.24(.06)***	.13(.04)***	.24(.08)***
Age-> Distress	-.00(.00)	-.06(.06)	.00(.00)	.07(.07)	.00(.01)	.03(.10)
Married -> Distress	-.14(.08)	-.10(.05)*	-.22(.11)*	-.15(.07)*	-.16(.12)	-.11(.08)
Gender -> Distress	-.27(.08)***	-.19(.05)***	-.29(.10)**	-.19(.06)**	-.40(.11)***	-.31(.08)***
LifeEvent -> Distress	.08(.05)	.08(.06)	.02(.07)	.02(.07)	.07(.06)	.11(.09)

Figure G3. Full model multi group: % Latino

	50% or less		50% or more	
N	281		521	
Full model fit				
$\chi 2$ (df)	2348.05(1459)			
RMSEA	0.04			
CFI	0.92			
TLI	0.91			
Group $\chi 2$	1210.02		1138.03	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Direct				
Disadv -> O Disorg	.64(.08)***	.58(.05)***	1.58(.14)***	.58(.04)***
Disadv -> Church	.66(.12)***	.34(.06)***	.96(.15)***	.33(.05)***
Disadv -> Com Center	.18(.05)***	.23(.06)***	.85(.10)***	.36(.04)***
Disadv -> Block House	-.01(.05)	-.01(.06)	.48(.14)***	.17(.04)**
Disadv -> Block Watch	-.13(.16)	-.05(.06)	.60(.14)***	.20(.04)***
Disadv -> P Disog	3.93(.61)***	.62(.09)***	3.06(.63)***	.31(.06)***
O Disorg -> P Disorg	.48(.53)	.08(.09)	.77(.23)**	.24(.07)***
Church -> P Disorg	-.07(.19)	-.02(.06)	.25(.15)	.09(.05)
Com Center -> P Disorg	-.21(.46)	-.03(.06)	.01(.19)	.00(.05)
Block Watch-> P Disorg	.37(.15)*	.14(.06*)	-.55(.15)***	-.19(.05)***
Block Home-> P Disorg	-.38(.42)	-.05(.05)	.09(.15)	.03(.05)
P Disorg -> Distress	.17(.08)*	.20(.09)*	.15(.06)*	.14(.06)*
Church -> Distress	.13(.18)	.04(.06)	-.04(.15)	-.02(.05)
Com Center -> Distress	-.47(.43)	-.07(.06)	-.44(.19)*	-.11(.05)*
Block Watch-> Distress	-.36(.14)**	-.16(.06)**	-.06(.14)	-.02(.04)
Block Home-> Distress	-.21(.42)	-.04(.06)	.27(.15)+	.08(.05)+
Disad -> Exch	.56(.48)	.09(.08)	.78(.55)	.08(.06)
Disad -> Cont	-1.90(.42)***	-.36(.08)***	-.95(.52)+	-.11(.06)+
Exch -> Distress	-.04(.08)	-.04(.08)	-.03(.06)	-.03(.06)
Cont -> Distress	.11(.10)	.10(.09)	.05(.07)	.05(.06)
Church -> Exch	-.16(.23)	-.05(.07)	-.10(.18)	-.03(.06)
Com Center -> Exch	.18(.54)	.02(.07)	.30(.23)	.07(.06)
Block Watch-> Exch	-.04(.17)	-.02(.07)	.06(.17)	.02(.05)
Block Home-> Exch	.01(.52)	.00(.07)	-.28(.18)	-.08(.05)
Church -> Cont	.22(.19)	.08(.07)	-.51(.17)**	-.17(.06)**
Com Center -> Cont	.68(.45)	.10(.07)	.18(.22)	.05(.06)
Block Watch-> Cont	-.02(.14)	-.01(.07)	-.13(.15)	-.04(.05)
Block Home-> Cont	.12(.43)	.02(.07)	.06(.17)	.02(.05)
Exch with P Disorg	-.04(.04)	-.10(.07)	-.02(.03)	-.04(.06)
Cont with P Disorg	-.12(.03)***	-.34(.08)***	-.13(.03)***	-.33(.06)***
O Disorg with Exch	-.01(.01)	-.06(.07)	.01(.01)*	.10(.04)*
O Disog with Cont	-.01(.01)	-.06(.07)	-.00(.01)	-.04(.04)
Exch with Cont	.18(.04)***	.41(.07)***	.18(.03)***	.35(.05)***
Church with O Disorg	-.00(.00)	-.10(.06)+	.01(.00)***	.25(.04)***
Com Center with O Disorg	-.00(.00)**	-.18(.06)**	.01(.00)***	.29(.04)***
Block Watch with O Disorg	.02(.00)***	.54(.06)***	.02(.00)***	.45(.04)***
Block Home with O Disorg	.00(.00)	.10(.07)	.01(.00)***	.35(.04)***

Figure G3. Full model multi group: % Latino cont.

	% Latino			
	50% or less		50% or more	
	B(SE)	β(SE)	B(SE)	β(SE)
Indirect				
Disadv ->O Dis -> P Dis -> Distress	.05(.06)	-	.18(.09)*	-
Disadv -> P Dis -> Distress	.68(.32)*	-	.40(.19)*	-
Disadv -> Church -> Distress	.08(.12)	-	-.04(.15)	-
Disadv-> Block Home -> Distress	.00(.01)	-	.13(.08)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Distress	-.09(.08)	-	-.37(.17)*	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Distress	.05(.07)	-	-.04(.08)	-
Disadv -> Church -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.02)	-	.04(.03)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> P Dis -> Distress	-.01(.01)	-	-.05(.03)+	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> P Dis -> Distress	.00(.00)	-	-.00(.01)	-
Disadv -> Cont -> Distress	-.20(.20)	-	-.05(.07)	-
Disadv-> Exch -> Distress	-.02(.04)	-	-.03(.05)	-
Disadv -> Church -> Cont -> Distress	.02(.02)	-	-.03(.03)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Cont -> Distress	.01(.01)	-	.01(.01)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Cont -> Distress	.00(.00)	-	-.00(.01)	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> Cont-> Distress	.00(.00)	-	.00(.00)	-
Disad -> Church -> Exch-> Distress	.00(.01)	-	.00(.01)	-
Disadv -> Com Center -> Exch-> Distress	-.00(.00)	-	-.01(.02)	-
Disadv -> Block Watch -> Exch -> Distress	.00(.00)	-	-.00(.00)	-
Disadv -> Block Home -> Exch -> Distress	.00(.00)	-	.00(.01)	-
Controls				
Children -> Distress	-.10(.03)**	-.20(.06)**	-.00(.03)	-.00(.05)
Fin Disat -> Distress	.11(.04)**	.20(.06)**	.19(.03)***	.28(.04)***
Age-> Distress	-.01(.00)+	-.13(.07)+	.00(.00)	.04(.05)
Married -> Distress	.08(.09)	.06(.07)	-.29(.07)***	-.19(.04)***
Gender -> Distress	-.38(.09)***	-.27(.06)***	-.30(.07)***	-.20(.04)***
LifeEvent -> Distress	.10(.05)+	.13(.07)+	.07(.04)+	.08(.05)+