

Organized Community Activity Participation and the Dynamic Roles of Neighborhood Violence and Gender among Latino Adolescents

Daisy E. Camacho-Thompson¹ and Robert Vargas²

Highlights

- Latino adolescent participation in organized community activities in a violent neighborhood.
- Quantitative, spatial, and qualitative data support heterogeneity effects by adolescent gender.
- Participating in organized community activities is associated with witnessing more violence.
- General violence (e.g., robberies) is dispersed throughout the neighborhood.
- Gender-specific violence (i.e., catcalling for girls, gang flashing for boys) is concentrated.

© 2018 Society for Community Research and Action

Abstract Relative to their peers, Latino youth are underinvolved in organized community activities (e.g., Boys and Girls Club), and their experiences lack examination. This study employed a neighborhood case-study approach to examine the experiences of Latino youth in a neighborhood with high levels of violence and their participation in organized community activities. Employing a cluster sampling design (Lohr, *Sampling: Design and analysis*. Pacific Grove, CA: Nelson Education, 2009), we used quantitative, spatial, and qualitative data to understand adolescents' participation in organized community activities. Furthermore, to understand how adolescents from the same neighborhood may experience violence differently we examined gender differences. Those who participated in organized community activities witnessed more violence, regardless of gender. General violence (e.g., robberies, shootings) was dispersed throughout the neighborhood, but gender-specific violence was concentrated along the main street of the neighborhood. In qualitative interviews, adolescents reported this concentration of violence a deterrent to their participation: sexual harassment for girls and gang intimidation for boys. Our findings highlight the unique experiences of youth in violent neighborhoods and the importance of examining differential constraints for those within the same neighborhood.

Keywords Neighborhood · Violence · Organized community activities · Latino · Adolescent · Gender differences

Introduction

It is well established that participating in organized community activities, such as the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, the YMCA, or local advocacy organizations, is beneficial for development (Vandell, Larson, Mahoney, & Watts, 2015). However, Latino adolescents participate at lower rates, if at all (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012). Research has predominantly examined European American adolescents who live in middle class or affluent neighborhoods and families with access to diverse options for activities (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015; Simpkins, Fredricks, & Lin, 2018). Investigators of organized community activities have called attention to the historical neglect of the experiences of Latino youth in these contexts (e.g., Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012; Vandell et al., 2015), and thus studies examining participation in organized community activities is burgeoning (e.g., Lin et al., 2016; Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach, & Starbuck, 2013). Some studies show that minority youth may benefit most from their engagement, but these benefits may diminish for Latinos residing in violent neighborhoods (Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013; Woodland, 2016). In fact, for minority youth, violence is linked with poor mental health, such as externalizing, internalizing, and posttraumatic stress symptoms

✉ Daisy E. Camacho-Thompson
daisycamacho@gmail.com

¹ Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, USA

² University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA

(Hardaway, McLoyd, & Wood, 2012; Javdani, Abdul-Adil, Suarez, Nichols, & Farmer, 2014), and may be worse for Latino adolescents relative to other ethnic groups (Rasmussen, Aber, & Bhana, 2004). A deeper insight on Latino youth's access to community activities within a context of exposure to violence is needed.

The goal of this study is to understand the experiences of Latino adolescents who live in a neighborhood with violence when attending organized community activities. The article deploys three types of data analytic strategies through a case study of Latino youth in a violent neighborhood of a large U.S. city. First, we use survey data to examine the association between participating in organized community activities and witnessing violence. Second, we use spatial data and qualitative reports to help interpret the relationship between violence and participation. Finally, we examine how the relationship between violence and participation may differ for youth from the same neighborhood, with a particular focus on gender differences.

Organized Community Activity Participation in Violent Neighborhoods

Criminologists have long acknowledged that violent crime can be spatially concentrated in particular areas within a neighborhood (Block & Block, 1993; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Weisburd, Groff, & Yang, 2012). However, neighborhood violence researchers examining the implications of these patterns of violence for youth participation in organized activities are limited (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013). Scholars of adolescent participation in organized activities ought to take neighborhood violence as a serious constraint, especially as studies show that adolescents are highly informed about the particularly dangerous streets or spaces in their neighborhoods (Miller, 2008; Sharkey, 2006). Thus, adolescent perceptions of violent streets may be crucial for understanding Latino youth's participation in organized activities.

The few studies on this topic have presented mixed results on the question of whether youth participation in organized community activities is positively or negatively associated with witnessing more violence. On the one hand, youth who are active in organized community activities may have developed skills for navigating their neighborhood that allows them to avoid violence when attending local community centers (Taylor et al., 2004). Conversely, a comparative study of neighborhoods that varied by levels of violence revealed that participation in community-based clubs was related with poor wellbeing only in violent neighborhoods, for an ethnically (African American, Latino, and White) and socioeconomically diverse sample (Fauth et al., 2007). That is, by virtue of

being engaged in their community, attendance to organized activities within a high violence neighborhood could be linked to *more* exposure to violence (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2014). Indeed, participating in nonschool sports and nonschool clubs has been linked with higher levels of community violence exposure for Latino ninth-grade students (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013), likely because spending time outside in public or unmonitored is linked with more exposure to violence (Goldner, Peters, Richards, & Pearce, 2011). In light of this mixed evidence, it is important to understand how adolescents' participation in organized community activities is related to witnessing violence, especially as the need for physical and psychological safety is critical for designing culturally responsive organized after-school activities (Simpkins, Riggs, Ngo, Vest Ettekal, & Okamoto, 2017). This study expands on previous research by examining concentrations violence (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2014), as well as how these processes may differ for adolescents in the same neighborhood (i.e., girls and boys).

Concentrations of Violence

Another important factor in the relationship between youth participation and violence is the location of violence within a neighborhood. Researchers tend to view neighborhood violence as an "omnipresent" threat (Harding, 2010, p. 240) when, in fact, 3%–5% of blocks in a given neighborhood account for over 50% of all violent crimes in that neighborhood (Weisburd et al., 2012). Thus, studying the precise location where youth experience violence may better identify how violence could be particularly disadvantageous for youth participation (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2014). For example, if particularly violent blocks surround community youth centers, youth may have an exceptionally difficult time participating in organized activities. In contrast, if youth centers are spatially dispersed throughout a neighborhood, residents may be less constrained by violent hotspots—granting greater access to those resources. Indeed, proximity to violence has been found to be linked to posttraumatic stress symptoms (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2014). A secondary goal of this study was, therefore, to understand whether violence was concentrated in specific locations, which, in turn, could limit participation in organized community activities for Latino adolescents.

Perspectives on Gender Differences

Urban sociologists have suggested that neighborhood effects studies should shift focus from identifying the average effects of a neighborhood to assessing "effect heterogeneity," or uncovering how residents living in the

same neighborhood may experience disadvantage in different ways (Sharkey & Faber, 2014; Small & Feldman, 2011). Perhaps because girls and boys experience the effects and types of violence differently, their methods of dealing with violence may differ. For example, for African-American girls, but not boys, even hearing about violence was linked with higher levels of internalizing symptoms (Javdani et al., 2014). Qualitative studies of neighborhood violence and adolescents have also strongly suggested that gender is a critical moderating factor, especially for navigating violent neighborhoods. Several studies with African-American adolescents find, for example, that the threat of community violence might be differentially constraining for girls and boys, which may lead adolescents to adopt gender-specific strategies for navigating dangerous streets (Clampet-Lundquist, Edin, Kling, & Duncan, 2011; Javdani et al., 2014). Whereas African-American boys limit their whereabouts to the physical borders of their neighborhood, girls report staying inside their home to avoid sexual violence (Cobbina, Miller, & Brunson, 2008). Across different contexts (i.e., African-American and Australian youth; Cobbina et al., 2008; Jones, 2008; Miller, 2008), these types of gender dynamics can result in neighborhood violence having unique constraints on girls and boys.

In schools, girls from diverse backgrounds (African American, Latino, and White) report verbal victimization, such as teasing, whereas boys tend to report victimization by direct or physical violence (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010). Similarly, in violent neighborhoods, research with Latino youth has identified comparable gender dynamics. Latina adolescent girls, for example, report experiences with sexual harassment and violence, such as catcalling, sexual intimidation, and fear of rape (Valdez, 2007). Conversely, Latino adolescent boys were more likely than their White male counterparts and fellow Latina peers to report violent victimization, even while controlling for individual and neighborhood characteristics (Lauritsen & White, 2001). For Latino adolescent boys in violent neighborhoods, gender-specific violence is likely experienced through physical attacks and gang intimidation (Nowotny, Zhao, Kaplan, Cepeda, & Valdez, 2016). Differences in the type of violence experienced may provide Latina girls and Latino boys with distinct constraints when navigating their neighborhoods to seek resources such as community organizations (Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011; Cobbina et al., 2008; Rasmussen et al., 2004). This study examined gender-specific experiences with violence—specifically, girls’ experiences with sexual harassment defined through catcalling (e.g., a whistle or comment of a sexual nature made by a man to a passing woman) (Valdez, 2007). Boys’ experiences with gang intimidation were measured by gang flashings (e.g., a

hand gesture made by a gang member to a pedestrian to discern whether or not they are a rival gang member). Gang flashings are acts that are typically followed by acts of violence when the pedestrian either fails to respond to the threat, or when the gang member does not believe the pedestrian is unaffiliated with any gang (Curry, 2000; Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991).

Current Study

This article employs mixed methods to examine the experiences of Latino adolescents’ participation in organized community activities within the context of a neighborhood with high levels of violence. Employing mixed analytic strategies, or data triangulation, within the same neighborhood context allowed for findings that may have been missed if only one method was employed (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). Although the single neighborhood case-study design does not allow for generalizing, in-depth descriptive case studies are essential for advancing the field and discovering new insights, especially as most existing datasets used to study the relationship between youth violence and organizational participation (such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Add Health, or the U.S. Census) are severely constrained. In these datasets, addresses of respondents are not publicly shared; sample sizes for minority populations are often too small for meaningful analyses; and information regarding the location of violent hotspots is either unknown or would require expensive and labor-intensive data merging. Thus, the goal of this case study was to better interpret the relationship between participation in organized community activities and violence. We use quantitative, spatial, and qualitative data to understand the experiences of Latino youth, the role of neighborhood violence, and how this may differ between girls and boys.

Method

Sample

Participants

To examine community organization participation within the context of a neighborhood with a high rate of violence, our analytic quantitative sample ($N = 310$; 48% female; $M_{\text{age}} = 16.27$, $SD = 1.66$; range = 13–19) and qualitative subsample ($n = 110$) came from a cross-sectional study of households in a Midwestern Latino neighborhood. Respondents were all Latino youth, mostly of Mexican (95%) descent, and (5%) from other national origins (e.g., Puerto Rico, Cuba). Most adolescents were

born in the United States (79%), to mostly foreign-born parents (mothers: 83%; fathers: 87%). Adolescents reported their parents' education level on a 1 = *less than high school* to 6 = *professional school after college*. Both mothers ($M = 1.73$; $SD = 1.19$) and fathers ($M = 1.77$; $SD = 1.69$) on average did not complete high school.

Neighborhood

Pseudonyms for neighborhood, streets, organizations, gangs, participants, and referenced names are employed. This neighborhood, hereby referred to as Puebla, was chosen because it was a low-income Latino neighborhood plagued by violence. This offered an underexamined context for understanding youth participation in organized community activities. Demographically, Puebla has a relatively young population: the median age is 25.3 with nearly a quarter of the population between the ages 5–17 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). About 90% of the population over age 25 has no more than a high school level education. The unemployment rate, according to the 2010 census, is relatively low (11.70%) by standards of comparable communities, yet poverty is fairly high (27%). According to the local Police Department, Puebla's violent crime rate (homicide, aggravated battery, aggravated assault, and robbery) is 12.22 per 1000 residents compared to the city average of 11.16 per 1000 residents. This puts it in the upper-third group of the most violent neighborhoods in the city.

In Puebla, Main Street was identified as the primary violent street of interest because survey respondents, as well as crime reports from the city's Crime Commission (2012) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (2012), confirmed that it was a hotbed for gang activity. Although Main Street hosted many businesses catering to the local Mexican community such as lawyer offices and clothing shops, it also accommodated fake ID sales during the day and prostitution rings at night. Survey respondents and local police reports also note that the neighborhood was home to three street gangs: the Jokers, Dragons, and Blue Boys whose territories divided the neighborhood into three distinct areas as each block in Puebla belonged to one of the gangs. Although the age of gang members varied from early adolescence through the 40's, the gang members occupying Main Street were overwhelmingly adolescents (Chicago Crime Commission, 2012). In the time spent on Main Street, while canvassing the neighborhood blocks for survey data collection, members of the research team anecdotally noted that people walking down Main Street during daylight were often approached by gang members selling fake social security numbers. As a result of this illicit activity, most sidewalks on Main Street were occupied either by older immigrant men spending

time at local shops or young male gang members seeking customers or looking out for police.

Procedure

Neighborhood youth were sampled by household, as opposed to school rosters, in order to include adolescents who had dropped out of school. This also allowed for the evaluation of the location of respondents households in relation to particularly violent streets. Households were randomly sampled using a cluster sampling design (Lohr, 2009). The first sampling stage involved compiling and assigning unique identifiers to all 300 blocks in the neighborhood, then randomly selecting 20% of the blocks (60 in total). Neighborhood boundaries were officially defined by the city's planning department. The second stage involved randomly selecting 30% of the households in each block. Each block had 15–20 households, which resulted in a list of 1,118 households. Each household was screened by knocking on the door to determine first, whether they were interested in participating in a survey, and then whether a youth between the ages of 14–18 resided in the home. Of the 645 homes that responded with interest in the survey and reported having an adolescent in the household, 262 participated in the survey (40% response rate; an average response rate relative to similar studies; see Shih & Fan, 2008 for meta-analysis). The resulting final sample of 310 youth was larger than the number of households because some households had multiple units where youth resided on other floors. The community hosted a concentration of undocumented residents, and research shows that requiring signed documentation would have likely limited participation (Vargas, 2016; Yoshikawa, 2011). Thus, as approved by the Institutional Review Board, parents and adolescents provided oral consent and assent, and all interviews were anonymous. Adolescents were compensated \$20 cash for completing the survey—whether they participated in both or only the quantitative portion.

Interviewers were recruited through advertisements placed at local nonprofit social service organizations. In addition to the principal investigator (PI), who was also Latino—the five Latino (three females), Spanish-speaking interviewers, having been raised in the neighborhood, were familiar with the neighborhood. They ranged from ages 23–29 and all had a college degree. Prior to data collection, the PI trained each research assistant to minimize bias during survey administration, and spent 2 weeks practicing canvassing before beginning formal data collection. The team canvassed in pairs (one male and one female) during data collection for safety concerns, and to help ensure residents answered their doors.

Quantitative Data Collection

Survey data included questions on family background, perceptions of neighborhood violence, friends, community organization participation, delinquency, and street efficacy. Adolescents responded to questions using the Surveyor application on a hand-held iPod Touch device by selecting from a list of answers on the touch screen. Youth completed the survey on the front steps of their household after research assistants asked parents, siblings, or friends to stay inside the house to ensure privacy. The survey administrator stayed 10-feet away from the respondent, usually near the street curb or sidewalk.

Qualitative Data Collection

A random 35% subsample ($n = 110$) of adolescents completed a short interview after their participation in the quantitative survey. These also took place on the front steps, sidewalk, or gangway of the youth's home. Interview respondents were asked three open-ended questions regarding their thoughts on (a) police, (b) city council members, and (c) violence in their neighborhood. In order to understand how community organization participation occurs within the context of a violent neighborhood, we examined responses to the third question. Interviews were not audio recorded due to the threat posed by the heavy presence of gang members on the street. Respondents feared retaliation from gang members for sharing information on violent crimes. Thus, to best represent youth quotes, interviewers took exhaustive field notes on notebooks or spoke quotes into an audio recorder upon completion of the short interview. The duration of the interviews (approximate range = 10–20 minutes) allowed for efficient documentation and recording of youth quotes. Furthermore, after each day in the field, the research team met to discuss major findings from interviews with residents. The PI took notes during these team meetings with a laptop to record the research team's qualitative insights from each day. In addition, given that the research team worked in pairs, both research assistants who heard the residents' quote confirmed participants' quotes to the research team as a whole during each meeting. This helped establish accuracy in the qualitative data collected.

Measures

Neighborhood Violence

Adolescents reported the frequency of witnessing violence in their neighborhood during the past year (six items; i.e., "How many times have you witnessed a fight on the streets? How many times have you witnessed someone

being attacked with a weapon? How many times have you witnessed a shooting? How many times have you witnessed a robbery? How many times have you been whistled at or experienced a catcall? How many times have you had someone flash gang signs at you?" 0 = *never*, 1 = *once or twice*, and 2 = *more than twice*; Carolina Population Center, 2010). The sum of these items created a measure of witnessing neighborhood violence. In addition, adolescents were asked to report where they witnessed this event (e.g., "At which intersection did the most recent street fight happen?").

Participation

In order to create a list of community-based organizations for interviewing adolescents, the PI conducted a physical survey of community organizations by walking each block of the neighborhood and annotating each youth-serving organization. Institutionalized lists and administrative records of resources for low-income communities are often inaccurate, thus, the PI canvassed to verify the presence and location of community organizations. The 10 community-based organizations serving youth (e.g., Boys and Girls Clubs of America, YMCA) provided a variety of resources. Some advocacy organizations focused on promoting youth civic engagement in social justice issues such as health disparities, housing rights, and discrimination. Other nonprofit programs offered various recreational sports leagues such as swimming or basketball. Organizations had facilities such as gymnasiums, office space, a small swimming pool, and at times, offered meals. Each organization served between 60 and 90 youth on a daily basis and was open Monday through Friday from 2:30 to 8:00 p.m. Given their location in the Midwest, youth attendance was higher during spring, summer, and fall when the weather was warm (data were collected March through September). None of the organizations had any requirements for youth to participate in their programs.

Adolescents reported their attendance to organized community activities in the neighborhood (10 items; e.g., "Have you been involved with ...the Boys and Girls Club, the YMCA?" 0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*). A sum of their participation in these various centers created a measure of participation in community activities. Although adolescents were also asked about their typical attendance to each activity in the last month, this study did not seek to examine the intensity of participation (i.e., the amount of time spent at an activity). Rather, because we were interested in the issue of access, we measured the *breadth* of participation in organized community activities, which "assess [the] total number of different activity contexts participated in" (Bohnert, Fredricks, & Randall, 2010, p. 578). More than half of adolescents reported participating

in at least one of these community activities ($n = 185$, 60%).

Covariates

Adolescents reported their age and gender, as well as their mother's and father's highest level of education. Adolescents also reported whether they drove their own car (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*), their grades in language arts, math, science, and social studies (e.g., "In the most recent grading period, what was your grade in English or Language Arts?" 0 = *F*, 5 = *A*). Subject grades were averaged for a grade point average (GPA) score. Finally, adolescents reported the gang participation of their three closest friends (Questions about your three closest friends: Is this friend a member of a local street gang? 0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*). The sum of gang membership of adolescents' closest friends was employed as a covariate in the models. Finally, adolescents reported the school they attended, and this item was recoded to control for whether adolescents attended a neighborhood school, given that organized community centers in this neighborhood tended to recruit adolescents from local schools.

Analytic Plan

The analytic approach to qualitative analysis in this article follows Brodsky, Buckingham, Scheibler, and Mannarini (2016, p. 17), which is described as "an iterative process in which the codes and their application change as the data are analyzed, with the ultimate goal of creating contextually grounded working hypotheses and theories." During the first iteration of qualitative analysis, employing grounded theory generated ideas and insight from qualitative data through an inductive ground-up approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This meant conducting a first round of open-coding, or "coding each event or incident into as many categories of analysis as possible" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 105).

For this study, this first iteration of coding was used primarily to generate hypotheses of which we could examine through quantitative analysis of the survey data. During this stage the hypothesis that exposure to violence may be associated with community organization participation was identified. Thus, after this initial round of qualitative coding, quantitative analysis was employed to assess the strength of this association in the larger quantitative sample. Here, multiple regression examined the link between participation in organized community activities and witnessing violence, while adjusting for covariates. The second step of the multiple regression included the interaction term "participation X gender." All continuous variables were centered before being entered in the model.

After quantitative analyses, qualitative data were again employed to conduct what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call thematic codes. In this case, events or incidents in the qualitative data that related specifically to either violence exposure or community organization participation were coded. Thematic coding during this revisit to the qualitative data generated the evidence we present in this study. Specifically, any instance in which youth discussed violence and community organization participation were coded. Furthermore, in this phase of the analysis, the logic of *negative cases* to bring greater precision to our argument was employed. Searching for negative cases revealed that girls' narratives on the link between violence and organization participation were far different than boys' narratives. These nuanced analyses suggested the importance of examining specific types of violence by adolescent gender. Thus, in the last section, the association between gender and (a) catcalling and (b) gang flashings in two regressions using the full quantitative sample was examined.

The other negative case we explored was the alternative hypothesis that youth did not participate in organizations because they simply did not know they existed. For example, some of the qualitative interviews revealed that home-schooled youth or youth who had dropped out of high school were unaware of any neighborhood resources. Field visits to the two public high schools in the neighborhood revealed that organizations recruited neighborhood youth through outreach efforts made in the high schools. Staff from organizations regularly enrolled adolescents in school hallways, or through class presentations. As a result of this finding, a dummy variable was included in the statistical analysis representing whether adolescents attended a neighborhood school. Although plausible, regression models revealed that this variable was not significant. Based on this statistical finding, it was concluded that the alternative hypothesis was unfounded. Thus, only qualitative data pertaining to violence and organizational participation are highlighted.

Results

Participation in Organized Community Activities and Witnessing Violence

Key Variable Descriptive Statistics

Adolescents, on average, reported participating in one organized community activity in the past month ($M = 1.09$, $SD = 1.23$), and participation was correlated with witnessing more violence ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 2.95$, $r = .16$, $p = .004$). Adolescent age ($r = .19$, $p < .001$)

and reporting more friends in a gang ($M = .30$, $SD = 0.69$; $r = .23$, $p < .001$) were also positively correlated with witnessing violence. GPA ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.86$) was negatively correlated with witnessing violence ($r = .18$, $p < .001$). Maternal ($r = .06$, $p = .313$) and paternal ($r = -.05$, $p = .374$) education levels were not associated with witnessing violence. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) revealed that adolescents who attended neighborhood schools (56%; $M = 2.78$, $SD = 2.07$) and those who attended schools out of their neighborhood ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 2.10$) did not differ in the amount of violence they reported witnessing $F(1,303) = 0.12$, $p = .729$. Finally, an ANOVA revealed that girls ($M = 4.37$, $SD = 2.94$) witnessed only marginally significantly less violence than boys ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 2.95$) $F(1,309) = 8.65$, $p = .059$, and that adolescents who drove their own car (14%; $M = 6.17$, $SD = 2.26$) witnessed more violence than those who did not ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 2.99$) $F(1,307) = 12.27$, $p < .001$.

Organized Participation and Witnessing Violence

As shown in Table 1, participating in organized community activities was associated with witnessing more violence, over and above adolescent age, gender, GPA, maternal and paternal education level, number of close friends in a gang, driving their own car, and whether adolescents attended a neighborhood school (95% CI [.036–.556]). Older adolescents, as well as those who reported a lower GPA, and those who reported having more close friends in a gang also reported witnessing more violence, over and above other covariates. A follow-up interaction examined whether the association between participation and witnessing violence differed by gender. The null interaction between participation and gender ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .839$) suggests that participating in organized community activities was associated with witnessing more violence, regardless of whether adolescents were girls or boys.

Concentrations of Violence and Perspectives on Gender Differences

We used spatial data, derived from survey items where all respondents provided the locations of the violent acts they witnessed, to determine which streets in the neighborhood were perceived as most violent. Witnessing violence items were disaggregated and mapped by gender. Interestingly, general violence—witnessing fights, attacks with a weapon, shootings, and robberies—was spatially dispersed throughout the neighborhood similarly for girls and boys (Fig. 1a–d). Gender-specific violence, however, was concentrated along Main Street in the neighborhood.

Table 1 Participation linked with witnessing more violence

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Intercept	4.94***	.29		4.94***		
Participation	.30*	.12	.13*	.32 [†]	.18	.14 [†]
Gender	-.50	.34	-.09	-.50	.34	-.08
Participation X gender				-.05	.27	-.02
Covariates						
Age	.29**	.11	.16**	.29**	.11	.16**
Grade-point average	-.57**	.20	-.17**	-.56**	.20	-.17**
Maternal education	.17	.15	.09	.17	.15	.07
Paternal education	-.20	.15	-.09	-.20	.15	-.09
Driving own car	1.11*	.53	.13	1.10*	.53	.13*
Close friends in gang	.77**	.24	.18**	.77**	.24	.18**
Neighborhood school	-.26	.34	-.04	-.26	.34	-.04

Model fit did not change when the interaction term was added; $R^2 = .17$ for both models, employing 289 participants (93% of the sample).

[†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1e shows girls' experiences with sexual harassment and boys' experiences with gang flashings (Fig. 1f) were predominantly experienced throughout Main Street.

Qualitative interviews corroborated with findings from spatial data that Main Street was the most common location for gender-specific violence. Gender differences also emerged in the ways youth experienced violence in their neighborhood. These more nuanced analyses suggest that girls' experiences with sexual harassment and boys' encounters with gang intimidation on Main Street were deterrents to their participation in organized community activities.

Main Street and the Threat of Sexual Harassment for Girls

Girls feared Main Street due to the threat of sexual harassment, or unwelcome sexual advances by adults and gang members. After mentioning that she did not participate in some of the neighborhood's youth groups, Maria (16-year-old girl) succinctly explained why: "Because I gotta cross Main Street where all the creepers and straight off the boat Mexican dudes hang out and try to hit on you." For girls, sexual harassment came not only from gang members loitering on street corners but also all men occupying the street. As Main Street was home to formal and illicit businesses, the street was consistently occupied by small groups of adult men ranging from day laborers soliciting work to customers purchasing fake IDs. This made girls walking on Main Street the target of catcalls

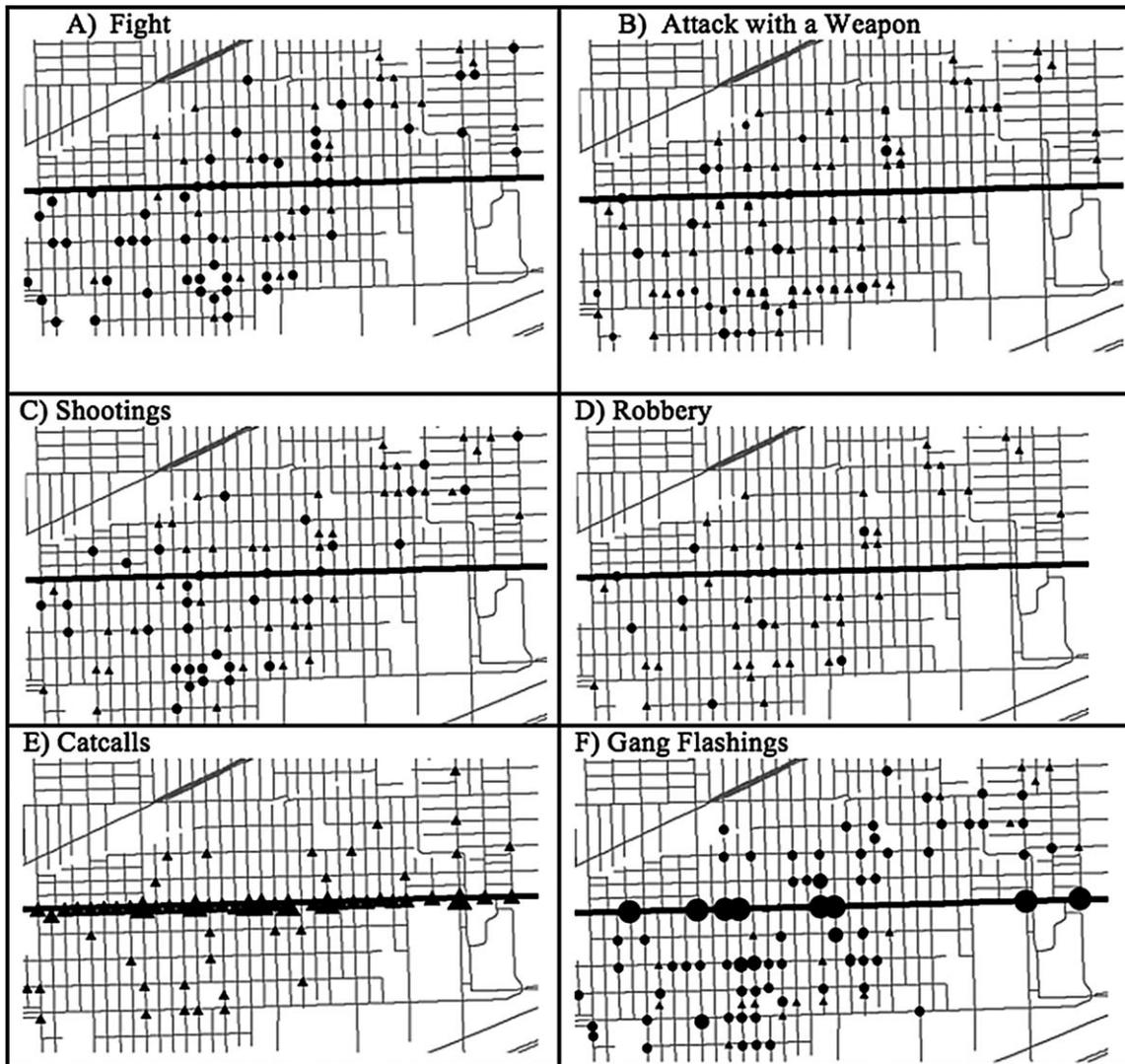


Fig. 1 Maps of Puebla with reports of violence by adolescent gender. (a) Fight; (b) Attack with a Weapon; (c) Shootings; (d) Robbery; (e) Catcalls; (f) Gang Flashings

and verbal harassment from loitering men and gang members.

Martha, a 17 year old, shared a particularly traumatic experience she had while walking down Main Street. “I

was dressed in jeans and a leather jacket, and some of the Dragons spotted me” said Martha, “One dude came up to me and kept saying ‘Damn girl, let me hit that!’ I kept walking and he followed me for about half a block.”

Martha paused for a few seconds then took a deep breath to gather her emotions, she continued, “I just kept looking straight ahead and thank god he [the gang member] just stopped.” When girls have such negative experiences, they share them with friends who pass on the experience to others in the neighborhood. Each girl interviewed could recall hearing of a girl who had been catcalled, followed, or even raped on Main Street. Samantha (an 18 year old) shared “I heard a girl was walking home from school and a dude followed her, grabbed her from a corner, and raped her in an alley.” Brenda, a 15 year old, recalled a similar story: “I don’t attend Casa de Youth because there was this girl that used to go there and she got raped walking home. It happened on Main Street and no one reported it.” The threat of sexual harassment on Main Street was so pervasive that girls would often shop at neighborhood stores instead of grocery stores on Main Street to buy food and makeup products.

Main Street and the Threat of Gang Intimidation for Boys

There were two main gangs present in the neighborhood as reported by adolescents: the Dragons and the Jokers. Qualitative interviews revealed that boys also feared Main Street, but this was primarily due to the threat of being violently attacked by gang members. This was manifested through fear of gang signs. Flashing gang signs was a street version of sign language that gangs used to communicate. By making a hand gesture symbolizing membership in a gang toward a stranger, gang members were attempting to decipher whether the stranger was a friend, foe, or neutral party. Boys feared being mistaken for a member of a rival gang on Main Street and thereafter being violently attacked. When asked about the violence in the neighborhood, Joe recalled:

It’s really bad, I was walking down Main Street and some Dragons spotted me. They asked [which gang] I was representing, and I tried telling them I was nothing, and they didn’t believe me. They said I looked like a Joker so they beat me up pretty bad. I ended up with a broken arm.

Being mistaken for a rival gang member was a common experience for youth who feared Main Street. Sitting on the front steps of his home, Andréz, a 17 year old, shared the following story:

My mom asked me to get some milk, and I went to the store on Main Street because it was closer. I was walking down the street when some gang members started flashing gang signs at me. I didn’t know what to do so I just ran, and they chased me. I ran fast as hell and

went into a laundry shop. The Jokers came in the shop too and asked me if I was a Dragon, and I said no. The gang banger told me “next time somebody flashes you don’t run, otherwise we think you’re a Dragon.” So they let me go. A few weeks later, I saw that same gang banger who chased me at a restaurant in the neighborhood, and he saw me and said “Hey, I chased you right?” I said, “yeah.” There was kind of an awkward silence and then he wrote his phone number on a napkin and gave it to me saying “you should think about joining our gang.” In my head, I thought “is this dude serious?”

After the incident, Andréz mother has refused to let him walk outside alone and he has resorted to spending time with friends only when someone has the opportunity to give him a ride. Informal interviews with boys revealed that they were often flashed gang signs by gang members when walking on Main Street, which made them fear for their safety. Antonio explained:

Main Street is a place you don’t want to be because if they flash a gang sign at you, and you make a mistake or run, they’ll chase you. You never know what they’re going to do, and I don’t want to find out, so I avoid Main Street.

Out of fear of violence and intimidation, many boys avoided Main Street and consequently were cut off from attending community organizations that lined across the dangerous street. Many youth, like Jose, expressed frustration with the fact that Main Street limited their ability to attend community organizations. Jose shared:

I have friends that I grew up with but can’t see because they live on the other side of Main Street. A couple of my friends go to the youth group organized at Youth Justice, but I can’t go because I can’t get a ride there and back. If I’m lucky, I can make it there during the day, but there is no way in hell I’m crossing Main Street at night.

For boys like Jose who would have to walk to attend a community organization, Main Street presented too much of a risk to try and attend the community organizations across the central street. In fact, to get from home to school and back, boys would often spend an additional two hours in the hallways or reception areas of their school to wait for their parents to get off work and take them home (e.g., “I wait [at school] until my parents can pick me up after work at 5:00 p.m. They don’t want me walking home by myself.”). The combination of young people’s fear and parents’ precautions made Main Street a

significant barrier for community organization participation among boys having to travel the neighborhood by foot.

Sexual Harassment and Gang Flashings

Given results from these spatial and qualitative data, we employed two separate regressions to examine the association between gender and (a) catcalling and (b) gang flashings with the full quantitative sample. We found that, indeed—controlling for adolescent age, GPA, maternal and paternal education level, number of close friends in a gang, driving their own car, and whether adolescents attended a neighborhood school—girls reported experiencing significantly more catcalls than boys ($\beta = .33$, $p < .001$, 99% CI [.298–.812]), and boys reported experiencing significantly more gang flashings than girls ($\beta = -.30$, $p < .001$, 99% CI [–.741 to .259]).

Discussion

Despite their lower levels of involvement in organized community activities, relative to youth with access to resources, Latino youth involvement remains underexamined (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015; Simpkins et al., 2018). This study sought to examine the experiences of Latino youth and participation in organized after-school activities within a neighborhood with high levels of violence. Although access to the benefits of participation in organized community activities for Latino adolescents may be tempered by factors such as economic and familial resources, we found additional challenges in the presence of neighborhood violence (Fauth et al., 2007; Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013).

We found that adolescents who participated in organized community activities witnessed more violence—even while controlling for their age, gender, GPA, maternal and paternal education level, number of close friends in a gang, driving their own car, and whether they attended a neighborhood school. Witnessing violence is likely a byproduct of residing in a neighborhood that hosts high levels of violence (e.g., Fauth et al., 2007; Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013; Vargas, 2016). Although research shows that adolescents in violent neighborhoods find ways to avoid being victimized in order to access community resources (Rasmussen et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2004), our findings reveal that this may, nonetheless, elevate their likelihood of witnessing and experiencing violence. This is important because witnessing violence, in turn, has been associated with negative mental health outcomes, such as posttraumatic stress disorder and externalizing symptoms, and may be worse for Latino

youth relative to adolescents from different ethnic groups (Fowler, Tompsett, Braciszewski, Jacques-Tiura, & Baltes, 2009; Hardaway et al., 2012; Javdani et al., 2014; Rasmussen et al., 2004).

Given that girls and boys have been shown to find different ways to navigate their neighborhood (Cobbina et al., 2008), we tested gender differences in the association between the amounts of violence adolescents witnessed and their attendance in organized community activities. We found no gender differences in the positive association between attending organized community activities and witnessing violence. That is, there was no difference in the strength of the association between participating and witnessing violence for girls and boys. Our study suggests that adolescents—whether boys or girls—those who attend organized after-school activities are not a self-selecting subgroup who do not experience the issues of safety that their peers experience. Rather these adolescents may be showing markers of resilience by engaging with their community, and attending activities despite issues of safety. For example, in order to remain active in organized community activities, families and adolescents in high violence neighborhoods have been found to strategize ways to navigate violence and a lack of resources in their context, such as appraising their environment and organizing collective monitoring (Cobbina et al., 2008; Jarrett, Bahar, & Taylor, 2011). Nonetheless, optimal contexts for youth wellbeing and organized community activities include neighborhoods where adolescents can exercise resilience, but are not faced with concerns for their safety (Fauth et al., 2007; Simpkins et al., 2017).

Another goal of this study was to understand effect heterogeneity, or the ways in which individuals from the same context might experience the same neighborhood differently (Sharkey & Faber, 2014; Small & Feldman, 2011). Although all adolescents, regardless of gender, witnessed more violence when they participated, there were differences in the type of violence girls and boys experienced. This was important given calls in previous research to examine the effects of violence by type (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2014). Findings from both the qualitative subsample and the full quantitative sample showed that girls experienced significantly more sexual harassment than boys did. Girls explained that sexual harassment came from men and boys who varied in age and generational status. Besides their own experiences with sexual harassment, all girls recounted experiences with sexual violence that other girls and friends in the neighborhood encountered. This was important because research with African-American adolescents found that even hearing about violence was associated with internalizing symptoms for girls but not boys (Javdani et al., 2014). In this study boys experienced significantly more gang

intimidation than girls did. Adolescent boys explained that by virtue of being in their neighborhood they were targets of gang flashings, or hand symbols that gang members utilize to inquire whether a youth is a friend, foe, or neutral party. Upon a foe or neutral response, youth reported being chased, violently attacked, or being offered membership into their gang. These findings are in line with other studies examining gender differences in experiences with violence. A study with African-American adolescents in another low-income city in the Midwest also found that girls reported issues with sexual violence, and boys with physical attacks when navigating their neighborhood (Cobbina et al., 2008). Even within the context of schools, among African-American, European-American, and Latino middle school adolescents, girls were more likely to report verbal forms of bullying but boys were more likely to experience physical forms of bullying (Carbone-Lopez et al., 2010). Our findings along with previous research suggest the importance of understanding how youth are differentially impacted by violence based on their gender.

Finally, qualitative analyses and geographic information systems revealed differences in concentrations of the violence adolescents witnessed. Reports of witnessing general violence (i.e., fights, attacks with a weapon, shootings, or robbery) were dispersed throughout the neighborhood. However, gender-specific experiences with violence were concentrated along the main street of the neighborhood. Understanding where violence was located allowed us to treat violence not as an “omnipresent” threat in the neighborhood (Harding, 2007, p. 240). Although omnipresent violence may be the case in some neighborhoods, assuming that neighborhood violence constrains youth equally can lead researchers to overlook the importance of violent streets or hotspots that can differentially constrain youth access to neighborhood resources. This study expands on current approaches to the study of neighborhood violence by informing how individuals may be differentially impacted by violence concentrations (Harding, 2007). These findings suggest that neighborhood violence should not always show a negative effect on resource access (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013). If neighborhood violence was concentrated in an area of the neighborhood far removed from the location of neighborhood resources, and in a place where only a small minority of residents resided, then violence would have a much smaller consequence for youth organization participation. Conversely, if a violent street was located in an area that cut off a significant segment of a neighborhood’s population from accessing neighborhood resources, then violence would have a much larger effect on youth organization participation. In this neighborhood, the most violent street was centrally located, thus making it a

barrier for a considerable proportion of the neighborhood’s youth population.

It is important to note the complementary nature of these findings afforded by the mixed-methods design of this study. Previous research finds both that adolescents find ways to navigate their neighborhood and avoid violence (Taylor et al., 2004), as well as that participating in organized community activities in neighborhoods with high levels of violence is associated with witnessing more violence (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013). Expanding previous research by examining these processes for girls and boys and by examining the location of violence yielded interesting and parallel experiences for youth in the same neighborhood. Specifically, quantitative analyses revealed that when youth *did* find ways to access organized community activities in their neighborhood, this process was linked with witnessing more violence. However, the qualitative and GIS analyses suggest different experiences not only for girls and boys, but interestingly, between youth who are active and nonactive in community activities. While youth who attended organized activities witnessed more violence—among youth who were not active in organized activities, violence was an important reason that prevented or limited their participation. These processes existed simultaneously, and thus, these findings build on research that only examines participation among youth who are already active, and helps to explain heterogeneous experiences for youth in the same context. That is, findings in this study suggest that similar experiences with violence may yield different outcomes for youth in the same context, and future research should examine the processes that may inform methods of coping with varying forms of violence. Employing several methodological approaches within one study afforded the opportunity to understand these key nuances in within-group differences, and specifically among youth in a similar context (Brodsky et al., 2016; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Greene et al., 1989).

Limitations and Future Research

Future research is discussed within the context of limitations of this study. First, we found that attendance in organized community activities was positively related to witnessing violence in a neighborhood that reports higher levels of violence than the city’s average. Although the qualitative data in our study can serve to inform our interpretations, the quantitative measures in our study did not specifically ask adolescents whether violence was witnessed on their commute to their organized community activity. Thus, findings should be interpreted with caution and future studies should examine causal inferences (e.g., propensity score matching). Furthermore, objective

longitudinal measures of participation, collected concurrent with violence would help to illustrate when violence may impact behavior (e.g., autoregressive and cross-lagged models).

Our study employed one neighborhood. A larger, multineighborhood study could develop measures to determine where violence is located and concentrated. Future researchers should analyze where youth reside in relation to spatial concentration of violence and resources across neighborhoods, which could expose a population that is especially constrained by the threat of violence. This approach could also be used for the study of other types of spatial constraints such as neighborhood resources (e.g., health clinics, grocery stores, or day care centers)—and among other urban populations such as mothers (Small, 2009), the elderly (Martin & Preston, 1994), or young children (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, & Aber, 1997). In addition, although there are many effective methods to measure participation in organized community activities, our study focused on breadth. Measuring intensity and duration—how often an adolescent attends an activity, and for how many months or years—can provide information in addition to the benefits afforded by their breadth of participation (Bohnert et al., 2010). Given that breadth is one valuable component of participation in community activities, and that our goal was to address issues of disparities in *access* to community activities—we employed this measure of participation for this research question. However, it is important—both for the field of researchers examining organized community and after-school activities, as well as those examining issues of access to resources in communities with violence—to examine other types of participation, such as the number of years students remain active, their engagement and leadership once there, and even the reasons adolescents in these neighborhoods participate (e.g., for college readiness, for access to safe spaces, or to spend time with friends). In fact, a longitudinal, multisite examination in communities that varies in socioeconomic resources and employs several measures of participation in organized activities can contribute not only to understanding the benefits of participation across time and contexts, but also the promotive factors that diminish disparities in access to these benefits in organized activities (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012).

Furthermore, findings from this cross-sectional study imply that some youth are exhibiting markers of resilience by attending organized community activities despite high levels of violence in their context (Cobbina et al., 2008; Jarrett et al., 2011). Longitudinal studies could also examine both resilience and the cost of resilience, simultaneously (Tolan, Lovegrove, & Clark, 2013). An examination of multiple neighborhoods revealed that participation in community-based clubs was related with poor wellbeing

only in violent neighborhoods (Fauth et al., 2007), and a study with Latino high school students also found that participation in organized community activities was linked with witnessing more violence (Kennedy & Ceballo, 2013). Thus, it is important to examine the positive outcomes of participation, and the negative effects of neighborhood violence, simultaneously. In addition, it is important to examine both physical and psychological threats to safety, within and outside of an activity—as these have been found to be a barrier to Latino adolescents' participation (Lin et al., 2016; Simpkins et al., 2013). Contextual (e.g., socioeconomic status) and individual factors (e.g., fear of deportations for undocumented or mixed-status families, or microaggressions for numerical minority adolescents) may interact to exacerbate physical and psychological threats that may limit youth involvement. Finally, the meaning that adolescents make of witnessing violence may be an important determinant of the magnitude of the effects of neighborhood violence.

This study has important implications for the design of policy interventions aiming to quell the negative consequences of violence for youth. In policy efforts to make streets like Main Street safer, this article shows that policymakers should not only focus on gang suppression strategies because the threat of sexual harassment might remain for girls. Considerable law enforcement efforts have targeted violent crime hotspots, however, rarely are policy efforts aimed at identifying and transforming streets where the threat of sexual violence against women is concentrated (Block & Block, 1993; Braga, 2001; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1990). Furthermore, although the presence of gang members was important in this study, this study did not target perspectives from adolescents who were involved in gangs. Research examining longitudinal effects of gang involvement reveals the importance of perspectives from these adolescents, as well as intervening during this critical developmental period (Cepeda, Valdez, & Nowotny, 2015).

Conclusion

This case study of a Latino neighborhood with high levels of violence employed quantitative, spatial, and qualitative data to understand adolescents' participation in organized community activities. We found that adolescents who participated in organized community activities witnessed more violence, regardless of gender. Qualitative analyses and geographic information systems revealed that general violence (e.g., robberies) was dispersed throughout the neighborhood. Gender-specific violence, however, was concentrated along the main street of the neighborhood. Adolescents reported this concentration of violence a

deterrent to their participation. For girls this violence was in the form of sexual harassment, and for boys through gang intimidation. Our findings can inform a growing body of researchers and policymakers who devote attention to stemming the negative consequences of neighborhood violence for youth. We suggest efforts aimed at identifying: (a) youth within neighborhoods who are most afflicted by neighborhood violence, (b) the unique ways violence constrains girls and boys, and (c) improvements in the designs of interventions aimed at addressing these issues.

Acknowledgments Funding for this study was provided by National Institute on Drug Abuse (T32 DA039772), Dr. Daisy E. Camacho-Thompson; Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (3R01HD059882-06S1), Dr. Daisy E. Camacho-Thompson; National Science Foundation, Grant #1030978, Dr. Robert Vargas.

Conflict of Interest

Authors confirm no potential conflict of interest pertaining to this submission.

References

- Block, C. R., & Block, R. (1993). *Street gang crime in Chicago*. U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.
- Bohnert, A., Fredricks, J., & Randall, E. (2010). Capturing unique dimensions of youth organized activity involvement theoretical and methodological considerations. *Review of Educational Research, 80*, 576–610.
- Braga, A. A. (2001). The effects of hot spots policing on crime. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 578*, 104–125.
- Brantingham, P. L., & Brantingham, P. J. (1990). Situational crime prevention in practice. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 32*, 17–40.
- Brodsky, A. E., Buckingham, S. L., Scheibler, J. E., & Mannarini, T. (2016). Introduction to qualitative approaches. In L. A. Jason & D. S. Glenwick (Eds.), *Handbook of methodological approaches to community-based research*. (pp. 13–12). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G. J., & Aber, J. L. (1997). *Neighborhood poverty, volume 1: Context and consequences for children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Carbone-Lopez, K., Esbensen, F. A., & Brick, B. T. (2010). Correlates and consequences of peer victimization: Gender differences in direct and indirect forms of bullying. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 8*, 332–350.
- Carolina Population Center, The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health. (2010). Data file and codebook. Available from: <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth/documentation/ace/ace> [last accessed September 1, 2017].
- Cepeda, A., Valdez, A., & Nowotny, K. M. (2015). Substance use, mental health and incarceration among Mexican-American young adult men with a history of gang membership. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence, 146*, 243.
- Chicago Crime Commission (2012). *The Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book*. Chicago: Author.
- Clampet-Lundquist, S., Edin, K., Kling, J. R., & Duncan, G. J. (2011). Moving teenagers out of high-risk neighborhoods: How girls fare better than boys. *American Journal of Sociology, 116*, 1154–1189.
- Cobbina, J. E., Miller, J., & Brunson, R. K. (2008). Gender, neighborhood danger, and risk-avoidance strategies among urban African-American youths. *Criminology, 46*, 673–710.
- Curry, G. D. (2000). Self-reported gang involvement and officially recorded delinquency. *Criminology, 38*, 1253–1274.
- DeNavas-Walt, C., & Proctor, B. D. (2015). Income and poverty in the United States. US Census Bureau. Available from: <http://www.sneha.org/website/cmsAdmin/uploads/2014-Income&PovertyInTheUS.pdf> [last accessed July 10, 2018].
- Fauth, R. C., Roth, J. L., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2007). Does the neighborhood context alter the link between youth's after-school time activities and developmental outcomes? A multi-level analysis. *Developmental Psychology, 43*, 760–777.
- FBI Press Room. 2012 WEBSITE. Available from: <http://www.fbi.gov/chicago/news-and-outreach/press-room> [last accessed June 1, 2012].
- Fowler, P. J., Tompsett, C. J., Braciszewski, J. M., Jacques-Tiura, A. J., & Baites, B. B. (2009). Community violence: A meta-analysis on the effect of exposure and mental health outcomes of children and adolescents. *Development and Psychopathology, 21*, 227–259.
- Fredricks, J. A., & Simpkins, S. D. (2012). Promoting Positive Youth Development through organized after-school activities: Taking a closer look at participation of ethnic minority youth. *Child Development Perspectives, 6*, 280–287.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative theory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transaction.
- Goldner, J., Peters, T. L., Richards, M. H., & Pearce, S. (2011). Exposure to community violence and protective and risky contexts among low income urban African American adolescents: A prospective study. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 40*, 174–186.
- Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis, 11*, 255–274.
- Hardaway, C. R., McLoyd, V. C., & Wood, D. (2012). Exposure to violence and socioemotional adjustment in low-income youth: An examination of protective factors. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 49*, 112–126.
- Harding, D. J. (2007). Cultural context, sexual behavior, and romantic relationships in disadvantaged neighborhoods. *American Sociological Review, 72*, 341–364.
- Harding, D. J. (2010). *Living the drama: Community, conflict, and culture among inner-city boys*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jarrett, R. L., Bahar, O. S., & Taylor, M. A. (2011). “Holler, run, be loud:” Strategies for promoting child physical activity in a low-income, African American neighborhood. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25*, 825–836.
- Javdani, S., Abdul-Adil, J., Suarez, L., Nichols, S. R., & Farmer, A. D. (2014). Gender differences in the effects of community violence on mental health outcomes in a sample of low-income youth receiving psychiatric care. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 53*, 235–248.
- Jones, N. (2008). Working ‘the code’: Girls, Gender, and Inner-city Violence. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 41*, 63–83.
- Kennedy, T. M., & Ceballo, R. (2013). Latino adolescents’ community violence exposure: After-school activities and familismo as risk and protective factors. *Social Development, 22*, 663–682.

- Kennedy, T. M., & Ceballo, R. (2014). Who, What, When, and Where? Toward a dimensional conceptualization of community violence exposure. *Review of General Psychology, 18*, 69–81.
- Lauritsen, J. L., & White, N. A. (2001). Putting violence in its place: The influence of race, ethnicity, gender, and place on the risk for violence. *Criminology and Public Policy, 1*, 37–60.
- Lin, A. R., Menjivar, C., Vest Ettekal, A., Simpkins, S. D., Gaskin, E. R., & Pesch, A. (2016). “They will post a law about playing soccer” and other ethnic/racial microaggressions in organized activities experienced by Mexican-origin families. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 31*, 557–581.
- Lohr, S. (2009). *Sampling: Design and analysis*. Pacific Grove, CA: Nelson Education.
- Martin, L. G., & Preston, S. H. (1994). *Demography of Aging*. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Miller, J. (2008). *Gettin played: African American girls, urban inequality, and gendered violence*. New York: New York University Press.
- Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2001). Neighborhood inequality, collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology, 39*, 517–558.
- Nowotny, K. M., Zhao, Q., Kaplan, C., Cepeda, A., & Valdez, A. (2016). Gender dynamics of violent acts among gang affiliated young adult Mexican American men. In S. Harding (Ed.), *Global perspectives on youth gang behavior, violence, and weapons use* (pp. 159–173). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Rasmussen, A., Aber, M. S., & Bhana, A. (2004). Adolescent coping and neighborhood violence: Perceptions, exposure, and urban youths’ efforts to deal with danger. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 33*, 61–75.
- Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (1991). *Islands in the street: Gangs and American urban society*. Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Sharkey, P. T. (2006). Navigating dangerous streets: The sources and consequences of street efficacy. *American Sociological Review, 71*, 826–846.
- Sharkey, P., & Faber, J. W. (2014). Where, when, why, and for whom do residential contexts matter? Moving away from the dichotomous understanding of neighborhood effects. *Annual Review of Sociology, 40*, 559–579.
- Shih, Tse.-Hua., & Fan, Xitao. (2008). Comparing response rates from web and mail surveys: A meta-analysis. *Field Methods, 20*, 249–271.
- Simpkins, S. D., Delgado, M. Y., Price, C. D., Quach, A., & Starbuck, E. (2013). Socioeconomic status, ethnicity, culture, and immigration: Examining the potential mechanisms underlying Mexican-origin adolescents’ organized activity participation. *Developmental Psychology, 49*, 706–721.
- Simpkins, S. D., Fredricks, J. A., & Lin, A. R. (2018). Families and engagement in afterschool programs. In B. H. Fiese (Series Ed.), *APA Handbook of contemporary family psychology: Vol. 2. Applications of contemporary family psychology*.
- Simpkins, S. D., Riggs, N. R., Ngo, B., Vest Ettekal, A., & Okamoto, D. (2017). Designing culturally responsive organized after-school activities. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 32*, 11–36.
- Small, M. L. (2009). How many cases do I need? On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography, 10*, 5–38.
- Small, M. L., & Feldman, J. (2011). Ethnographic evidence, heterogeneity, and neighbourhood effects after moving to opportunity. In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L. Simpson & D. Maclennan (Eds.), *Neighbourhood effects research: New perspectives* (pp. 57–77). London, New York, Netherlands: Springer.
- Taylor, C. S., Lerner, R. M., von Eye, A., Bobek, D. L., Balsano, A. B., Dowling, E. M., & Anderson, P. M. (2004). Internal and external developmental assets among African American male gang members. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 19*, 303–322.
- Tolan, P., Lovegrove, P., & Clark, E. (2013). Stress mitigation to promote development of prosocial values and school engagement of inner-city urban African American and Latino youth. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 83*, 289–298.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census (2010). 2010 Census Interactive Map. Available from: <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/popmap/> [last accessed September 1, 2017].
- Valdez, A. (2007). *Mexican American girls & gang violence: Beyond risk*. New York: Springer.
- Vandell, D. L., Larson, R. W., Mahoney, J. L., & Watts, T. W. (2015). Children’s organized activities. In R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.), M. H. Bornstein, & T. Leventhal (Volume Eds.) (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Ecological settings and processes* (7th edn, pp. 305–344). New York: Wiley.
- Vargas, R. (2016). *Wounded City: Violent turf wars in a Chicago barrio*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weisburd, D. L., Groff, E. R., & Yang, S. (2012). *The criminology of place: Street segments and our understanding of the crime problem*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Woodland, M. H. (2016). After-school programs: A resource for young Black males and other urban youth. *Urban Education, 51*, 770–796.
- Yoshikawa, H. (2011). *Immigrants raising citizens: Undocumented parents and their children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.