

MULTIETHNIC COMPARISONS OF THE PREDICTORS OF DELINQUENCY AMONG URBAN ADOLESCENTS

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Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to examine the roles of parental and peer influences on adolescent delinquency in a multiethnic sample of European American, Asian American, and Latino youth. The study utilized survey data on parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and delinquency on 187 high school students (10-12th grade). Overall, we found that when controlling for ethnicity and other demographic variables, both parental monitoring and peer delinquency independently predicted participants' delinquency. In addition, peer delinquency functioned as a mediator between parental monitoring and delinquency. Findings from our study also show that correlates of delinquency differ among European American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents. Our findings suggest that prevention and intervention programs should acknowledge ethnic differences and should gauge whether steps can be taken to tailor programming to specific ethnic groups.

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Multiethnic Comparisons of the Predictors of Delinquency Among Urban Adolescents

Juvenile delinquency is a widespread problem that impacts society negatively in many ways. Not only are youth physically injured from these behaviors, they also become a part of the juvenile justice landscape. The rate of juvenile delinquency is disproportionately high among ethnic minority youths; 56% of African American youth reported engaging in a delinquent behavior by age 17 compared to only 28% of European American youth (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2009). Overall rate of incarceration for Latino adolescents was 60% greater than that of European Americans (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2009). Contrary to the model minority myth, Asian American youth are increasingly becoming involved in delinquent behaviors. The number of Asian American male youth in the California Youth Authority increased from 4% to more than 12.7% in the past decade (California Department of Justice, 2009).

Given that each ethnic group has unique cultural norms and experiences, the predictors of delinquency may differ across different groups (Yung & Hammond, 1997). Although numerous studies have found particular risk and protective factors for adolescent delinquency (Eron, Huesmann, Spindler, Guerra, Henry, & Tolan, 2002; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998), fewer studies (Loukas, Paulos, & Robinson, 2005; Swenson & Prelow, 2005; Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2001) have evaluated whether the same developmental models apply to adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds. Discerning whether the predictive models operate equally among different ethnic groups permits us to determine whether the developmental models are the same among adolescents from different ethnic groups. Given that parents and peers are the two main sources of social influence on adolescent behavior, we examined the roles of parental and peer influences on adolescent delinquency in a multiethnic sample of European American, Asian American, and Latino youth.

Parental Monitoring and Adolescent Delinquency

Parents have an important role as both a socializing and control agent over their children's behavior (Loeber & Schmalting, 1985; McCord, 1979). One major component of parental control is monitoring behavior. Studies have shown that parental monitoring is associated with lower levels of delinquency (Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, van der Laan, Smeenk, & Gerris, 2009). Delinquent youth may have parents who are often not aware of what they are doing and who and where they are spending their time (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). In addition, with less attention paid to their daily activities, youth have more opportunities to participate in delinquent activity.

Although many recent studies have examined the link between parental monitoring and delinquency within each ethnic group (e.g., for African American adolescents (Bowman, Prelow, & Weaver, 2007), for Asian American adolescents (Le & Stockdale, 2005)), the empirical focus on the ethnic variation in the role of parental monitoring is limited. Furthermore, there are virtually no studies that evaluated differences among Asian Americans, Latinos, and European Americans in a single study. Smith and Krohn (1995) found that lack of parental involvement is strongly associated with delinquency for Latino adolescents but not for European American adolescents. Likewise, Walker-Barnes and Mason (2001) found differences between Latino and European American adolescents. For Latino adolescents, high

behavioral control (or parental monitoring) by parents was related to decreases in gang delinquency over time. The opposite effect was found for European American adolescents, with high behavioral control modestly increasing gang delinquency over time (Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2001). Little work has been conducted that examines the influence of parenting or parental factors such as parental monitoring on delinquency for Asian Americans. Some studies (e.g. Choi, Harachi, Gillmore, & Catalano, 2006; Kim & Goto, 2000; Le & Stockdale, 2005) have found that parental influences may not play a major role in delinquent behavior for Asian American adolescents. For instance, Kim and Goto (2000) found that parental social support did not predict delinquent behavior in a group of urban adolescents. They suggested that peer influence may be a much stronger predictor of delinquency for Asian American youth and may take precedence over parental factors. These findings are somewhat surprising given that family processes have been found to have a stronger effect on ethnic minority youth (Chan, 1992).

Peer Influences and Adolescent Delinquency

The peer group is another socializing influence for adolescents and plays a major role on adolescent delinquency (Cashwell & Vacc, 1996; Snyder, Dishion, & Patterson, 1986). Antisocial or delinquent peers are often touted as the most robust predictor of delinquent behavior (Lipsey & Derzon, 1998). The influence of peer delinquency seems to be strong regardless of ethnic group membership (Kim & Goto, 2000). In fact, many ethnic group comparisons of peer influence on problem behavior have found that those with peers participating in negative behavior are more likely to engage in this behavior as well, regardless of ethnicity (Choi, Harachi, Gillmore, & Catalano, 2006; Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2001). Peers provide adolescents with the attitudes, motivation, and rationalizations that support delinquent behavior, and they provide opportunities to engage in specific delinquent acts (Cashwell & Vacc, 1996). Furthermore, delinquent acts are often committed in groups, and delinquents have been found to be more peer-oriented than other adolescents (Seydlitz & Jenkins, 1998). Not only do adolescents learn how to behave delinquently from peers but within peer networks they are able to practice and act out these behaviors (Griffin, Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Miller, 1999).

Mediating Role of Peer Delinquency

Clearly, there is strong evidence that both parental monitoring and peer delinquency contribute to delinquent behavior. Growing evidence also suggests that parents also exert control over the peer relationships of their adolescents (Mounts, 2004). For instance, parents may manage adolescent peer relationships by selecting neighborhoods to live in, helping their children meet new friends and avoid bad ones, and offer advice on how to manage friendships and resolve conflicts (Mounts, 2004). Adolescents who spent more time with their parents, spent less time with their peers, which would preclude them from developing delinquent friendships (Warr, 1993). Similarly, parental monitoring may help the adolescent avoid being involved with delinquent peers. Indeed, Dillon, Pantin, Robin and Szapocznik (2008) found that among a sample of Latino and African American juvenile delinquents, parental monitoring of peers explained the relationship between family functioning and delinquency,

although the models differed across groups. In this regard, peer delinquency may mediate the relationship between parental monitoring and delinquent behavior. To our knowledge, no studies have evaluated whether ethnic differences exist in the mediation of peer delinquency between parental monitoring and delinquent behavior.

Current Study

The current study examined the associations of parental monitoring and peer delinquency with delinquency in a multiethnic sample of high school students. First, we examined whether the relations among parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and delinquency would differ across European American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents. Based on previous research that found no relation between parental monitoring and delinquency among European Americans, we believed this non significant relation would hold up. In addition, given that family processes has been suggested to have a stronger influence on ethnic minority youth, we predicted that parental monitoring would have a significant impact on delinquent behavior for both Asian American and Latino youth in our sample. Although we reported studies that have not found family processes to have a particularly strong influence on delinquent behavior for Asian American youth, none of these studies examined parental monitoring in particular and we believe that parental monitoring would be a protective factor for all the ethnic minority youth in our sample. Furthermore, as others have found, we expect that peer delinquency would be positively related to delinquent behavior regardless of ethnicity.

Second, we examined whether peer delinquency would explain the relation between parental monitoring and delinquent behavior. We predicted that the relation between parental monitoring and delinquency would be partially mediated by peer delinquency. We also wanted to explore whether there were ethnic differences in this mediational model. Given that there was no previous research that specifically looked at differences between European Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos, no specific predictions were given.

Method

Participants

Participants were 187 high school students (79 females and 108 males) attending two ethnically and socioeconomically diverse high schools in Southern California. Students were in the 10-12th grade with an average age between 16 and 17 years ($M = 16.73$, $SD = .92$). There were a total of 49 Asian American, 60 European American, and 78 Latino participants. This study received proper approval from an institutional review board. Prior to data collection, parental consent forms were given to all students in selected classrooms. On the day of data collection, students who did not turn in parental consent forms participated in an alternate activity. All participating students were then given a participant assent form. The form was explained to the students by the investigator. Once these participant assent forms were signed by each of the participating students, they were collected and the students were given surveys to complete. Surveys were completed in the regular school classroom and took approximately one hour for students to complete. No problems in completing the surveys were noted.

Measures

Delinquency. Delinquent behaviors consisting of criminal offenses were measured with 7 items from a scale used in prior studies (Elliot & Huizinga, 1983; Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1981). Four items included in the original scale were removed because these behaviors represented minor misdemeanors (e.g., run away from home, skipped classes). Participants rated whether each delinquent behavior (e.g., involved in gang fights, damaged or destroyed property, stolen something worth \$5-\$50) occurred (=1) or did not occur (=0) in the last year. The scores were summed to represent the number of delinquent behaviors in the past year (range = 0-7, $\alpha=.78$).

Peer delinquency. The same items used to measure delinquency were used to obtain the number of peer delinquent behaviors in the past year (range = 0-7, $\alpha=.85$).

Parental monitoring. There were six items in the parental monitoring scale (e.g., “How often does your parental figure know where you are when you are not in school?” “Is it important for your parental figure to know where you are all the time?”) (Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997). Participants were asked to report how much they agreed or disagreed with each of the items on a 4-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 4 = *Strongly Agree*). Internal consistency estimates was acceptable in this study ($\alpha=.67$).

Results

Statistical Analyses

Statistical analyses were conducted using STATA 8.2. Descriptive statistics were obtained for the entire sample and by ethnicity. The analyses of variance (ANOVA) or chi-square tests were used to compare the means and proportions. Correlations among parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and adolescent delinquency were obtained for the entire sample and by ethnic groups. Square-root transformation was used to normalize peer and adolescent delinquency variables to compute correlations.

For the main analyses, because dependent variables (peer and adolescent delinquency) were positively skewed count variables displaying Poisson distributions, Poisson regression models (Cameron & Trivedi, 1998) were specified. The Incidence Rate Ratio (IRR) was obtained by exponentiating the Poisson regression coefficient to represent the proportion of amount of increase or decrease in the dependent variable associated with a unit increase in the predictor. To evaluate whether peer delinquency explained the association between parental monitoring and adolescent delinquency, mediator analyses were conducted (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, delinquency was regressed on parental monitoring. Second, peer delinquency was regressed on parental monitoring. Third, delinquency was regressed on both parental monitoring and peer delinquency. Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) was then used to determine the amount of variance in adolescent delinquency explained by the mediator (peer delinquency). Finally, moderated mediation analyses (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005) were conducted to explore whether ethnicity moderated the relations among parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and adolescent delinquency. The three steps in the mediational analyses were repeated by including the ethnicity (with European Americans as the reference group) \times main predictor (parental monitoring, peer delinquency) interaction terms. The IRR for the main

predictors (i.e., parental monitoring and peer delinquency) was computed for each ethnic group by using a STATA post-estimation command (*lincom*: linear combination of estimators) in the post-hoc analyses whenever statistically significant interaction terms were found. All the main analyses controlled for demographic variables (i.e., school attended, generation status, age, gender, and ethnicity).

Descriptive Analyses

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics for demographic and study variables. Asian American and Latino adolescents had lower proportions of those who were born in the U.S. than European American adolescents. Asian American adolescents reported greater peer delinquency than did European American adolescents. The levels of parental monitoring and delinquency did not differ across ethnic groups. Table 2 shows the bivariate correlations among parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and delinquency by ethnic groups. Greater parental monitoring was associated with lower levels of delinquency only among Asian Americans and European Americans. Among Latino adolescents, parental monitoring was not associated with levels of delinquency. Only among Asian Americans, greater parental monitoring was associated with lower levels of peer delinquency. Across all ethnic groups, peer delinquency was positively associated with adolescent delinquency.

Mediation Analyses

The results of the mediator analysis are shown in Table 3. Controlling for demographic variables (ethnicity, generational status, age, gender, and school attended), parental monitoring was associated with lower delinquency (IRR = 0.51, $p < .001$), such that a unit increase in parental monitoring was associated with a 50% decrease in the number of delinquent behaviors. Parental monitoring also predicted lower levels of peer delinquency (IRR = 0.43, $p < .001$). When both parental monitoring and peer delinquency were entered into the equation predicting delinquency, parental monitoring no longer predicted delinquency (IRR = 0.87, $p > .10$ for parental monitoring; IRR = 1.45, $p < .001$ for peer delinquency). Sobel test showed that controlling for demographic variables, 64.2% of the variance in delinquency explained by parental monitoring was mediated by peer delinquency ($z = -0.22$, $p < .01$).

Finally, to explore the degree to which ethnicity moderated the relationships among parental monitoring, peer delinquency (mediator), and adolescent delinquency, moderated mediation analyses were used followed by a post-hoc estimation of the coefficient size for each ethnic group (see Table 4). Latino \times parental monitoring interaction was trending to be significant in predicting delinquency (IRR = 1.92, $p < .10$). Post-hoc estimation showed that parental monitoring was associated with lower levels of delinquency only among European American and Asian American adolescents (IRR = 0.42, $p < .01$); among Latino adolescents, parental monitoring was not associated with delinquency (IRR = 0.80, $p > .10$). Asian American \times parental monitoring interaction was statistically significant in predicting peer delinquency (IRR = 0.20, $p < .001$). Only among Asian Americans, was parental monitoring associated with lower peer delinquency (IRR=0.16, $p < .01$). Among European American and Latino adolescents, parental monitoring was not associated with peer delinquency (IRR =

0.81, $p > .10$). Finally, when both parental monitoring and peer delinquency were entered with their respective interaction terms with ethnicity, significant Latino \times parental monitoring and Asian American \times peer delinquency interactions were found. Parental monitoring robustly predicted lower delinquency only among Asian American and European American adolescents (IRR = 0.35, $p < .01$), whereas it was unrelated to delinquency among Latino adolescents (IRR = 1.21, $p > .10$). Although peer delinquency predicted greater delinquency across all ethnic groups, the association was significantly weaker for Asian American adolescents (IRR = 1.27, $p < .01$) than for European American and Latino adolescents (IRR = 1.70, $p < .001$). The interrelationships among parental monitoring, peer delinquency, and adolescent delinquency for each ethnic group are summarized in Figure 1.

Discussion

Overall, we found that when controlling for ethnicity and other demographic variables, both parental monitoring and peer delinquency independently predicted participants' delinquency. In addition, peer delinquency functioned as a mediator between parental monitoring and delinquency. However, findings from our study show that correlates of delinquency differ among European American, Asian American, and Latino, adolescents. After examining the influence of both parental monitoring and peer delinquency on delinquent behavior among European American, Asian Americans, and Latinos, we found three distinct patterns of relations. For European Americans, both parental monitoring and peer delinquency were independently associated with delinquency, and no mediation effect was found. In contrast, for Asian Americans, we found that both parental monitoring and peer delinquency were related to delinquency. Furthermore, for this group of adolescents, we found that peer delinquency partially mediated the relation between parental monitoring and delinquency. Lastly, for Latino adolescents, only peer delinquency was related to delinquency; parental monitoring was not associated with delinquent behavior. Supporting our hypothesis, peer delinquency was related to delinquency for every ethnic group. However, contrary to expectation parental monitoring was not related to delinquency for Latinos but was related to delinquency for European Americans. Furthermore, mediation was only found for Asian Americans.

Given the collectivist orientation of Asian culture, which stress following group norms and obeying authority figures, it is conceivable that for this group of adolescents, being closely monitored by their parents allows them to not only stay away from delinquent peers but may also prevent these youth from engaging in behavior that would bring disapproval or shame to their parents (Kim & Goto, 2000; Le, Monfared, & Stockdale, 2005; Le & Stockdale, 2005). Furthermore, Chao and Aque (2009) found that Asian American adolescents did not "feel angry" about their parents' behavioral control unlike their European American counterparts. The "anger" felt by European American adolescents undermined the strict parental monitoring that was shown by European American parents, but this did not occur for Asian American adolescents. In addition, although peer delinquency appears to be a robust predictor of delinquency for all ethnic groups, it may be particularly strong for Asian American adolescents due to cultural values and norms. In fact, Kim and Goto (2000) found that high peer delinquency was very predictive of delinquency among Asian American

adolescents. They purport that collectivist ties may influence Asian Americans to have closer ties to their friends and may be more persuaded by peer pressure. Kim and Goto also suggest that for Asian American adolescents, a generational gap with their parents may force them to find support from their peers, which can be detrimental if these peers are engaging in delinquent behavior.

Interestingly, parental monitoring was not related to delinquency for Latino adolescents. One reason for this finding is that our measure of parental monitoring may not be assessing monitoring efforts that are conducted by other adult figures in the family like grandmothers, older siblings, and extended family members. Since Latino families may be larger in size (Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997), there may be other parental figures in the home that may partake in the monitoring responsibilities (Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997). In addition, we would need to investigate whether parental monitoring means the same thing for different ethnic groups. If the meaning is different, we would need to assess parental monitoring in a different way for Latinos to determine whether there is still no significant influence of parental monitoring on delinquent behavior for this group of adolescents.

Contrary to our prediction, parental monitoring was related to delinquency for European American adolescents. This finding suggests that family processes are important for this group of adolescents. Due to contrasting findings in the literature, further research of this issue is necessary. Lastly, no mediation was found for European Americans. Mounts (2004) found in an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents that there were differences in relations between parental monitoring and delinquency between those in intact families and single-parent families. Thus, differences in family structure may have influenced the non-significant mediation of peer delinquency among the European American adolescents. However, since we did not measure family structure we cannot determine this, but this would be an interesting venue to explore further.

By using a multiethnic sample we have enhanced the understanding of ethnicity as a moderator to family and peer variables in the prediction of delinquency. However, there are some limitations to this study that should be recognized. First, this study utilized a small sample size, especially for Asian American adolescents. Thus, it is not known whether the same findings would hold up with a larger sample. Second, a cross-sectional sample was used and therefore, it is not possible to determine the antecedents to the relations we found. Third, only adolescent self-report was obtained on the variables of interests, creating common method variance. It would be interesting to note whether parents' reports of their own monitoring had a different affect on the relations of interest. Fourth, due to limited sample size, we did not look at gender differences and chose to focus on ethnic differences. Particularly, since ethnic group differences have not been studied extensively. Lastly, recent scholars have suggested that parents learn more about their adolescents through disclosure rather than through actual parental monitoring behavior (Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010; Lahey, Van Hulle, D'Onofrio, Rodgers, & Waldman, 2008). Given this reconceptualization of parental monitoring, this study would have been enhanced with measures of adolescent disclosure.

Despite these limitations, there are practical and useful implications to these findings. Given that there appears to be ethnic differences in how parental monitoring and peer

delinquency affect delinquent behavior, prevention and intervention programs should acknowledge these differences and gauge whether steps can be taken to tailor programming to specific ethnic groups. It is also important for programs to understand how ethnicity and culture may influence these differences that were found, to develop more effective programs to combat delinquency.

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Table 1
Descriptive Statistics by Ethnic Groups, n (%)

Characteristic	All (N=184)	Euro-Am. (n=59)	Asian-Am. (n=48)	Latino (n=77)
Age, Mean (SD)	16.72 (0.93)	16.75 (0.90)	16.58 (0.99)	16.79 (0.91)
Gender (male)	76 (41.3)	27 (45.8)	23 (47.9)	26 (33.8)
Generation status (U.S. Born)	121 (65.8)	58 (98.3)	16 (33.3)***	47 (61.0)***
Parental monitoring, Mean (SD)	3.04 (0.52)	3.05 (0.51)	3.09 (0.50)	3.00 (0.55)
Peer delinquency, Mean (SD)	0.74 (1.45)	0.63 (1.17)	0.98 (1.99)*	0.68 (1.23)
None	121 (65.8)	39 (66.1)	33 (68.8)	49 (63.6)
1-2 behaviors	45 (24.5)	15 (25.4)	8 (16.7)	22 (28.6)
≥ 3 behaviors	18 (9.8)	5 (8.5)	7 (14.6)	6 (7.8)
Delinquency, Mean (SD)	0.71 (1.25)	0.71 (1.20)	0.71 (1.44)	0.70 (1.16)
None	116 (63.0)	35 (59.3)	34 (70.8)	47 (61.0)
1-2 behaviors	53 (28.8)	19 (32.2)	9 (18.8)	25 (32.5)
≥ 3 behaviors	15 (8.2)	5 (6.5)	5 (10.4)	5 (8.5)

Note. Euro-Am.= European American. Asian-Am. = Asian American. † $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. P-values are based on comparison with European American adolescents.

Table 2

*Bivariate Inter-Correlations among Parental Monitoring, Peer Delinquency, and Delinquency
 by Ethnic Groups*

	Parental monitoring	Peer delinquency
<hr/>		
All (N=184)		
Peer Delinquency	-0.21**	
Delinquency	-0.27***	0.53***
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European American (n=59)		
Peer Delinquency	-0.07	
Delinquency	-0.45***	0.57***
<hr/>		
Asian American (n=48)		
Peer Delinquency	-0.54***	
Delinquency	-0.36*	0.49***
<hr/>		
Latino (n=77)		
Peer Delinquency	-0.07	
Delinquency	-0.07	0.55***
<hr/>		

Note. Square-root transformation was used for peer delinquency and delinquency to approximate normal distribution. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Poisson Regression Results for Mediator Analysis: Relationships among Parental Monitoring, Peer Delinquency and Delinquency

Dependent variable	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	Delinquency		Peer Delinquency		Delinquency	
Predictor	IRR (95% CI)	P	IRR (95% CI)	P	IRR (95% CI)	P
School	.75 (.51 – 1.12)	.16	1.43 (.91 – 2.25)	.13	.66 (.44 - .97)	.04
U.S. Born	2.42 (1.47 – 3.98)	.00	.83 (.54 – 1.29)	.41	2.35 (1.42 – 3.89)	.00
Age	1.06 (.87 – 1.29)	.57	1.07 (.89 – 1.29)	.48	.89 (.73 – 1.10)	.28
Male	1.68 (1.17 – 2.43)	.01	1.29 (.91 – 1.85)	.16	1.28 (.86 – 1.89)	.22
Asian American	1.78 (1.09 – 2.93)	.02	1.28 (.75 – 2.17)	.37	1.08 (.63 – 1.83)	.79
Latino	1.37 (.89 – 2.10)	.16	.89 (.55 – 1.41)	.61	1.34 (.87 – 2.07)	.19
Parental Monitoring	.51 (.37 - .71)	.00	.43 (.31 - .59)	.00	.87 (.61 – 1.23)	.44
Peer Delinquency	—	—	—	—	1.45 (1.32 – 1.58)	.00

Note. Less ethnically-diverse school of the two was dummy-coded as the reference group. Ethnicity was dummy-coded to represent European Americans as the reference group. IRR=Incidence Rate Ratio; CI=Confidence Interval.

Table 4
Poisson Regression Results for the Ethnicity-Moderated Mediation among Parental Monitoring, Peer Delinquency and Delinquency

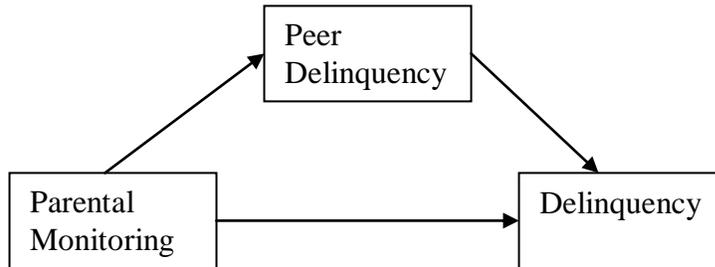
Dependent variable Predictor	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	Delinquency		Peer Delinquency		Delinquency	
	IRR (95% CI)	P	IRR (95% CI)	P	IRR (95% CI)	P
School	.83 (.55 – 1.23)	.35	1.40 (.88 – 2.21)	.15	.73 (.48 – 1.12)	.15
U.S. Born	2.63 (1.59 – 4.35)	.00	.93 (.59 – 1.44)	.73	2.52 (1.52 – 4.17)	.00
Age	1.07 (.88 – 1.31)	.48	1.09 (.90 – 1.31)	.40	.91 (.73 – 1.12)	.36
Male	1.67 (1.16 – 2.42)	.01	1.28 (.89 – 1.85)	.18	1.11 (.73 – 1.67)	.63
Asian American	1.64 (.94 – 2.86)	.08	.91 (.51 – 1.62)	.75	2.37 (1.16 – 4.82)	.02
Latino	1.60 (1.01 – 2.53)	.05	.96 (.60 – 1.55)	.88	1.83 (.99 – 3.36)	.05
Parental monitoring (PM)	.42 (.24 - .73)	.00	.81 (.43 – 1.53)	.51	.35 (.18 - .67)	.00
Asian Am x PM	.68 (.29 – 1.56)	.36	.20 (.09 - .46)	.00	1.83 (.61 – 5.55)	.28
Latino x PM	1.92 (.92 – 3.99)	.08	.87 (.39 – 1.95)	.74	3.49 (1.54 – 7.91)	.00
Peer delinquency (PD)	—	—	—	—	1.70 (1.44 – 2.00)	.00
Asian Am x PD	—	—	—	—	.75 (.59 - .95)	.02
Latino x PD	—	—	—	—	.93 (.76 – 1.13)	.46

Note. IRR=Incidence Rate Ratio; CI=Confidence Interval.

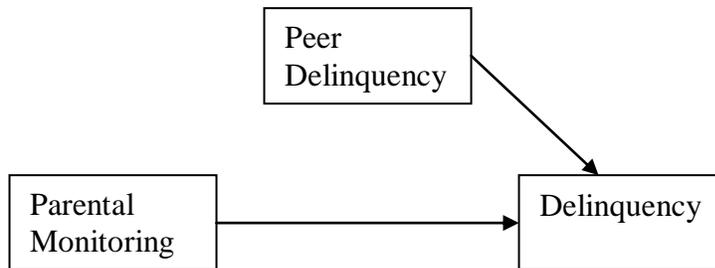
Figure Caption

1. Ethnic group variation of mediational models.

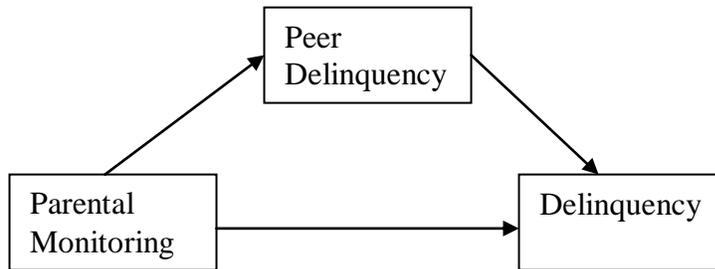
1. All participants (N=184) → Controlling for ethnicity (and other demographic variables)



2. European American



3. Asian American



4. Latino

