

# Exposure to Community Violence and Parenting Behaviors: A Meta-Analytic Review

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This meta-analysis examines the association between exposure to community violence and parenting behaviors (i.e., positive parenting, harsh/neglectful parenting, parent–child relationship quality, and behavior control). A systematic search yielded 437 articles that measured community violence exposure before or at the time of parenting, assessed parenting, and were available in English. There were 342 effect sizes across parenting constructs: positive ( $k = 101$ ; 68 studies), harsh/neglectful ( $k = 95$ ; 60 studies), relationship quality ( $k = 68$ ; 41 studies), and behavior control ( $k = 78$ ; 51 studies), from 160 reports representing 147 distinct studies. Results of the three-level meta-analyses found small but significant effects between community violence and positive parenting ( $r = -.059$ , 95% CI  $[-.086, -.032]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.268, .151]$ ), harsh/neglectful parenting ( $r = .133$ , 95% CI  $[.100, .166]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.107, .372]$ ), parent–child relationship quality ( $r = -.106$ , 95% CI  $[-.145, -.067]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.394, .182]$ ), and behavior control ( $r = -.047$ , 95% CI  $[-.089, -.005]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.331, .237]$ ). The association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting and behavior control was moderated by the type of exposure to community violence, informant or source of community violence and parenting data, child age, sex, and race/ethnicity. Given the substantial degree of heterogeneity in overall effect sizes, implications for policy and intervention are tentatively considered while emphasizing that more empirical research on the association between community violence and parenting is essential for advancing the field.

## Public Significance Statement

Given growing rates of community violence, research examining the correlates of community violence and their effects on children and families is timely. The current meta-analytic review suggests that greater exposure to community violence is associated with reduced positive parenting, poorer parent–child relationship quality, reduced behavior control, and increased harsh/neglectful parenting. Due to substantial variability in the direction and magnitude of effect sizes, more research is needed to inform intervention and policy initiatives, particularly within neighborhoods affected by community violence. It is important that neighborhood conditions support, rather than challenge, responsive parenting. To ensure that the onus of responsibility is not solely placed on parents, multisystemic interventions at the individual level (i.e., to build children’s resilience), family level (i.e., to support positive caregiving), school level (i.e., to foster violence awareness), and the broader community level (i.e., to curtail growing incidences of crime through community reinvestment policies) are critical to ensure the well-being of children and families.

**Keywords:** community violence, neighborhood, parenting, children, meta-analysis

**Supplemental materials:** <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000435.supp>

Community violence is a pervasive problem that poses significant risks to a child’s development (Lynch, 2003) and is linked to physiological dysregulation (e.g., Heissel et al., 2018), mental health problems (e.g., posttraumatic stress disorder; internalizing

and externalizing behaviors; Cooley-Strickland et al., 2009; Fowler et al., 2009), academic difficulties (Borofsky et al., 2013), and other long-term adverse outcomes (Baskin & Sommers, 2014). Although much has been learned about the association between community

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This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors. The authors declare no competing interests.

Open science framework preregistration at Thorpe (2020).

Daneele Thorpe played a lead role in conceptualization, data curation, investigation, methodology, project administration, resources, supervision, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing, a supporting role in visualization, and an equal role in formal analysis. Rebecca Mirhashem

played a supporting role in writing–review and editing and an equal role in data curation. Tori Peña played a lead role in formal analysis and visualization and a supporting role in writing–review and editing. Jill Smokoski played a supporting role in writing–original draft and writing–review and editing. Kristin Bernard played a supporting role in conceptualization, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing.

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violence and children's well-being (Lynch, 2003), it is critical to identify potential mechanisms. Parenting behavior is one mechanism by which community violence may influence child development. Growing evidence suggests that neighborhood factors influence how parents behave toward and interact with their children (Cuellar et al., 2015; Eltanamly et al., 2021). To synthesize this literature, the present study examined the magnitude and direction of associations between community violence and parenting behaviors and the potential moderators of these associations.

### Community Violence: Definitions and Context

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention defines community violence as conflict or violence happening between unrelated individuals outside the home. A standard definition used in the research conceptualizes community violence as deliberate acts intended to cause physical harm against persons in the community (Cooley-Quille et al., 1995). For this meta-analysis, we consider community violence as interpersonal acts of violence occurring in the community perpetrated by individuals who are not intimately related to the victim; thus, violence perpetrated in the home (e.g., intimate partner violence) or school (e.g., bullying) is not included in our conceptualization of community violence.

Research examining the correlates of community violence is timely, given that rates of violence in schools and communities are on the rise (Albrecht, 2022). For example, the United States has the highest gun violence among developed nations, with mass shootings occurring daily (Duchesne et al., 2022). In the last decade, we have witnessed increased broadcasting of and attention to racial violence against Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latin, and other minoritized groups in the United States and globally (Elias et al., 2021). Additionally, the increased economic burden exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic creates a further context of disadvantage that increases the risk of community violence (Kubrin, 2009). Additionally, children are at increased risk of exposure to violence in schools resulting from school shootings. Given the growing rates of violence across the globe and the increased probability of children's and families' exposure to these events, examining the association between community violence and parenting is critical.

### Theoretical Overview of Community Violence and Parenting

Much of the work examining predictors of parenting practices builds on Jay Belsky's process of parenting model (Belsky, 1984). Belsky argued that parenting is determined and influenced by the characteristics of the parent (e.g., psychopathology; Bernard et al., 2018), the child (e.g., temperament; Putnam et al., 2002), and the social environment (e.g., marital discord; Gerard et al., 2006). Although Belsky's model acknowledges that parenting is multiply determined, it does not consider factors outside of the immediate household. The socioecological systems theory posits that microsystem (i.e., proximal factors including family environment), exosystem (i.e., community, environment), and macrosystem (i.e., distal factors including policies, cultural beliefs, and values) factors can influence parenting behaviors (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Community violence is an exosystem factor that may affect parenting for multiple reasons. First, parents with increased exposure to community violence

(ECV) report increases in depressive symptoms (Westbrook & Harden, 2010) and parental stress (Linares et al., 2001), both of which can impede their ability to engage positively with their children (Westbrook & Harden, 2010). Second, parents may intentionally change their behaviors in response to their environment; for example, some studies show that caregivers increase restrictive parenting practices in less safe neighborhoods (Horowitz et al., 2005).

### Empirical Overview of Community Violence and Parenting Behaviors

Building on these theoretical frameworks, studies demonstrate mixed evidence regarding the magnitude and direction of the association between community violence and parenting behaviors broadly defined. Given that community violence may be differentially related to unique dimensions of parenting, the present study examines four parenting constructs, including positive parenting behaviors (e.g., warmth, sensitivity), harsh/neglectful parenting (e.g., maltreatment, harsh discipline), quality of the parent-child relationship (e.g., time spent together, attachment), and behavior control (e.g., monitoring, limit setting, supervision).

#### Positive Parenting Behaviors

The positive parenting domain describes parenting behaviors that reflect parental acceptance, responsiveness, warmth, firmness, and consistency in child-rearing. Decades of research have highlighted that these practices are each associated with positive developmental outcomes in children (Gray & Steinberg, 1999). This constellation of positive child-rearing practices became the basis of authoritative parenting, one of several prototypic styles of parenting identified in the seminal studies of Diana Baumrind (1967, 1971).

Research on the association between community violence and positive parenting behaviors remains mixed. Several studies suggest that, in communities with greater threats, parents may engage in fewer positive parenting behaviors (Gonzales et al., 2011; Pinderhughes et al., 2001; Tolan et al., 2003). Researchers argue that this association may be mediated by parental stress, whereby community violence creates chronic stress for caregivers, impeding their ability to engage positively with their children (Hill & Herman-Stahl, 2002; Rojas-Flores et al., 2013). Conversely, other studies have found a positive association between indicators of neighborhood danger and positive parenting, suggesting that, in contexts of greater danger, parents may increase their positive parenting (Jones et al., 2005; Vieno et al., 2010). Finally, other studies have found null associations (Barker & Roberts, 2015; Oravecz et al., 2008), leading to questions about the generalizability of the effects.

Factors such as household income may moderate the direction of the association. Specifically, studies show that lower income parents in more dangerous neighborhoods may exhibit lower levels of positive parenting, whereas middle income parents may exhibit higher levels of positive parenting (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Tolan et al., 2003). Financial and economic stressors may impose greater constraints on parents in lower income households, which may impede their ability to interact with their children positively (Chang et al., 2004). Increased financial hardship may also lead to increased levels of distress for parents, which have also been shown to influence parents' ability to engage positively with their children (Linares et al., 2001; Perrone et al., 2021). In contrast, parents with

more financial resources and less stress may modulate their parenting to be more responsive and supportive in more violent communities.

### ***Harsh/Neglectful Parenting Behaviors***

Research has also established an association between greater exposure to community violence and harsh or neglectful parenting practices (e.g., abusive discipline, harsh parenting, neglect). Importantly, several of the constructs included in the current conceptualization of harsh/neglectful parenting (i.e., spanking, slapping, corporal punishment) overlap with indicators of child maltreatment. Indeed, a recent review found that the overlap was substantial among instruments assessing harsh parenting and child maltreatment (73%; Backhaus et al., 2023). Given that other behaviors associated with less optimal child outcomes (e.g., uninvolved parenting, inconsistent discipline) were included in this domain, we chose “harsh/neglectful parenting” to encompass all these behaviors.

Consistent with Cicchetti and Lynch’s (1993) ecological transactional model, community violence may potentiate the occurrence of child maltreatment by increasing parents’ stress and reducing their ability to cope. Cuartas (2018) found that violent crimes in the community were associated with a higher probability of corporal punishment practices. Likewise, living in an unsafe neighborhood has been associated with early (<5 years old) and later (>11 years old) exposure to physical discipline (Lansford et al., 2004); of note, these associations were highest amongst Black mothers. Research highlights that Black mothers face additional stressors (e.g., discriminatory practices) and fears about their children’s well-being (e.g., keeping their Black children out of the streets, prison, or police officers’ encounters) and employ the use of physical discipline to deter their children from future risk (Lansford et al., 2004). Research has demonstrated a consistent positive correlation, such that greater exposure to community violence is associated with harsher parenting behaviors. Other factors, including the child’s age and race/ethnicity, may have important implications for these patterns of association.

### ***Quality of the Parent–Child Relationship***

Few studies have focused explicitly on the association between community violence and indicators of parent–child relationship quality. In a qualitative study of Salvadoran mothers (Rojas-Flores et al., 2013), participants reported that being in a dangerous neighborhood led them to spend more time with their children and engage in more activities. Similar effects have been identified in quantitative studies. In one study, children who reported witnessing greater acts of community violence felt more accepted in their relationship with their mothers (Bailey et al., 2006); yet, when children were the victims of community violence, the association did not persist (Bailey et al., 2006). Some studies have shown that greater exposure to neighborhood violence is associated with lower quality relationships between parents and their children (Criss et al., 2017).

### ***Behavior Control***

Behavior control describes parenting that guides children’s behaviors (e.g., limit and rule setting, supervision, and restrictions

on time spent outside/with friends; Gittins & Hunt, 2019). Findings regarding the association between exposure to neighborhood crime and behavior control are mixed. For example, researchers have shown that parents engage in increased monitoring in communities with greater neighborhood crime and danger (Gartstein et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2003; Vieno et al., 2010; Westbrook & Harden, 2010). In Kling et al.’s (2004) “Moving to Opportunity experiment,” parents who moved into safer neighborhoods reduced their monitoring. These patterns have also been noted in qualitative studies. Salvadoran mothers reported that raising their children in an ongoing civil war and community violence made them overly protective of their children. For example, one parent said the following: “If [the child] doesn’t leave the house,—the better” (Rojas-Flores et al., 2013, p. 178). These findings are consistent with studies of urban mothers in the United States who report that they purposefully engage in protective behaviors (e.g., monitoring and restrictions on time spent outside) to minimize their children’s contact with the outside community to ensure their safety (Horowitz et al., 2005).

Conversely, other studies have found that increased exposure to community violence is associated with less parental monitoring (Bacchini et al., 2011; Darawshy & Haj-Yahia, 2018; Khoury-Kassabri et al., 2019). In a group of Palestinian adolescents, exposure to community violence was associated with less parental monitoring and knowledge of children’s whereabouts (Darawshy & Haj-Yahia, 2018). However, other studies have not found support in either direction (Anderson et al., 2018; Ball et al., 2007; Hong et al., 2018).

### ***Differentiating Among Parenting Constructs***

These parenting behaviors and relationship constructs are likely to overlap; for example, parents who use harsh parenting techniques (e.g., spanking) may have a poorer relationship with their children (Gershoff, 2002). Parents with more positive parenting behaviors may have higher quality interactions and relationships with their children and lower negative behaviors (Savage et al., 2019). Even so, differentiating between these constructs is essential for several reasons. First, researchers have used different parenting constructs based on their research questions. Such methodological variations may account for some of the mixed findings from research on the association between community violence and parenting behaviors. Second, distinguishing between various aspects of parenting may serve to identify unique parenting targets for intervention. The specific parenting domains used for this study are consistent with those examined in previous meta-analyses (i.e., Eltanamly et al., 2021; Savage et al., 2019).

### ***Potential Moderators***

A secondary aim of the present study was to examine how the type of exposure to community violence, informant, and sample demographics (e.g., mean age, percent male, percent identifying as Black, Indigenous, person of color (BIPOC), percent identifying as Black/African American, and percent identifying as Hispanic/Latin) may moderate the associations between community violence and parenting behaviors. These moderation analyses were conducted across included studies as opposed to within a specific report, given that some reports only had one informant (e.g., only child informant of community violence); thus, examining group differences at the

within-study level was not feasible (e.g., how child and parent report of community violence from the same report differed). For example, we compared all effect sizes derived from reports where parents served as informants of community violence to those from all reports where the child served as the informant.

### *Type of Exposure to Community Violence*

Exposure to community violence captures a variety of different experiences, which included the occurrence of violence in the community (e.g., the objective occurrence of crime, feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods); victimization (e.g., being mugged, shot, or stabbed); witnessing (e.g., seeing someone mugged, shot, or stabbed); and the combination of occurrence, victimization, and witnessing community violence (Fowler et al., 2009). Evidence suggests that there may be differences in the association between community violence and parenting behaviors depending on the type of exposure to community violence (Schneider, 2020). For example, Bailey et al. (2006) found that witnessing acts of community violence was associated with greater maternal acceptance, whereas direct victimization was not. However, Darawshy and Haj-Yahia (2018) found stronger associations between victimization and parental monitoring than between witnessing community violence and parental monitoring. The types of violence assessed in the present meta-analysis range from more distal occurrences of community violence (e.g., objective incidences of crime) to more proximal interpersonal experiences of violence (e.g., victimization).

### *Informant or Source of Violence and Parenting Data*

Assessment of exposure to community violence has historically relied on self-reporting or parent reports (Suglia et al., 2008). Self-report measures assess subjective experiences and participants' perceptions, which may or may not align with actual crime occurrence. More recently, researchers have used objective crime incidence and exposure measures to reduce shared method variance issues when examining other self-reported outcomes (Cuartas, 2018; Gartstein et al., 2018; Thorpe et al., 2021). Informants may also matter because as children get older, parents may not be fully aware of their children's exposure to community violence (Meinck et al., 2017). For example, Mohammad et al. (2015) found that the association between exposure to community violence and family conflict was stronger when children, compared to their parents, reported their exposure to community violence. Thus, this meta-analysis explored whether the source of exposure to violence report (e.g., parent report, child report, objective incidences of crime, etc.) moderated associations of interest.

In addition to the informant reporting on community violence, we also assessed whether the parenting behavior informant moderated the magnitude of the association between community violence and parenting behavior. The approach to assessing parenting behavior (e.g., child report, parent report, observational coding, record review) may contribute to differences in effect sizes. For example, parents may underreport harsh/neglectful parenting due to social desirability and fear of judgment (Rodriguez et al., 2021), thereby interfering with the ability to detect associations with community violence.

### *Child Age*

The association between community violence and parenting may vary due to the child's age (Stein et al., 2003). In a study examining the quality of the caregiving environment for young children, Eiden (1999) found that older children were exposed to higher rates of community violence and experienced greater maternal discipline. Based on these findings, we hypothesized that older age would predict a stronger positive association between community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting and parental monitoring. Specifically, we expect community violence to be more strongly associated with harsh parenting practices and behavior monitoring as children age.

### *Biological Sex of Child*

The association between community violence and parenting may also be moderated by the biological sex of the child (Shanahan et al., 2007). For example, in a primarily female sample, greater exposure to community violence was associated with less parental monitoring (Bradshaw et al., 2006). This association was absent in a primarily male sample (Ball et al., 2007). A significant moderation by the biological sex of the child may be explained, in part, by differences in exposure to community violence. Studies have found that boys report greater exposure to community violence than girls (M. Cooley-Quille et al., 2001), with exceptions for specific types of violence (e.g., rape and sexual assault). We did not have specific hypotheses about the role of a child's biological sex in the association between community violence and parenting behavior due to limited and mixed findings. In defining the biological sex of the child, it is important to note that the term is used in a binary manner (i.e., male, female).

### *Child Race/Ethnicity*

Several studies have documented higher rates of community violence exposure in low-income, urban communities of color (Schwab-Stone et al., 1995; Stein et al., 2003). For example, O'Donnell et al. (2002) found that children victimized by violence were more likely to be Black. Westbrook and Harden (2010) found that White, African American, and Latin families similarly expressed greater restrictive behaviors toward their children in contexts of greater community violence. Other studies have suggested that compared to European American mothers, African American mothers reported higher levels of physical discipline in less safe neighborhoods (Lansford et al., 2004). Given the inconsistent literature, the present study sought to clarify these associations by examining how the association between community violence and parenting behaviors differ as a function of the percentage of the sample identifying as BIPOC, the percentage identifying as Black/African American, and the percentage identifying as Hispanic/Latin. The primary focus on Black and Hispanic communities is in line with reports of higher community violence exposure in Black and Hispanic communities compared to other racial/ethnic groups, including other communities of color (Stein et al., 2003). Although we consider race/ethnicity a moderator, we acknowledge that higher crimes tend to aggregate in more impoverished, predominantly racial/ethnic communities of color that continue to be disadvantaged through historical, structural, and institutional racism (Krivo et al., 2009).



## Gaps in the Literature

A systematic review by Cuellar et al. (2015) found evidence of the association between neighborhood danger (broadly defined) and parenting behaviors. Another mixed-method systematic review and meta-analysis by Eltanamly et al. (2021) found that war-exposed parents showed less warmth and more harshness toward their children than parents without war exposure. Several key issues still need to be examined. Eltanamly et al. (2021) only discussed community violence in the context of war exposure, which does not encompass all experiences of community violence. Second, reliance on broad measures of parenting behaviors ("negative parenting") precludes examination of how community violence relates to different parenting behaviors. To clarify the mixed findings, the current meta-analysis examined the association between community violence and unique parenting behaviors similar to those reviewed by Eltanamly et al. (2021). Third, to address mixed findings, this study examined whether the association between exposure to community violence and parenting was moderated by factors such as type of exposure to violence, informant/source of data, and sociodemographic characteristics.

## The Present Study

The present meta-analytic review examined the association between community violence and four aspects of parenting: positive parenting, harsh/neglectful parenting, quality of the parent-child relationship, and behavior control; see Table 1. We predicted that greater community violence would be associated with less positive parenting behaviors and poorer quality parent-child relationships. The second purpose of this meta-analysis was to examine whether the type of community violence exposure, informant, and study-level demographic characteristics moderated the association between exposure to community violence and parenting behaviors. A description of the research questions and study moderators appears in Table 2.

## Method

### Transparency and Openness

This review's protocol was preregistered at <https://osf.io/gbqwn>. Deviations from this protocol are reported in the relevant sections below. We followed the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis Protocols (Page et al., 2021) checklist when preparing the protocol and Preferred Reporting Items for

Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis and the Meta-Analysis Reporting Standards (Appelbaum et al., 2018, see Supplemental Table 2) reporting guidelines for the final report. The meta-analytic analysis codebook, raw data, syntax, and results output files are shared at <https://osf.io/gbqwn> and <https://osf.io/aqs5x/>; Thorpe, 2023).

## Literature Search

The initial search was conducted in September 2020; no date restrictions were employed. An updated search of published literature was conducted in April 2022 to identify recently published reports and dissertations (Conn et al., 2003; McAuley et al., 2000). We conducted a systematic search in APA PsycArticles, APA PsycInfo, PubMed/MEDLINE, OpenDissertations, and Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection (search terms are provided in Appendix). The ProQuest interface was used to find dissertations and theses. In the present study, reports refer to published articles or dissertations that were screened or included in the meta-analysis. A study refers to a research project that yielded a data sample that reports used to examine their research questions. Several reports used data from the same study (e.g., Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health).

## Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Reports were included in this meta-analytical review if they met the following criteria: used a measure of community violence exposure collected before or at the time of parenting data, assessed parenting, and were available in English. Reports that assessed exposure to violence within the household (e.g., family conflict, intimate partner violence), schools, and community together were excluded if separate effect sizes could not be obtained for community violence. Interpersonal violence against the child (e.g., physical abuse) was coded as a measure of parenting rather than exposure to violence. Reports assessing context/situation-specific parenting behaviors (e.g., open communication between parent and child about sex) were excluded, as they did not align with our conceptualizations of parenting domains of interest. Reports were included if the mean age of the sample was 21 or younger. Most included reports (96%) had samples for which the mean age was 18 years old or younger. Finally, we excluded literature reviews, case studies, and editorials. Reports not published in English were screened ( $n = 3$ ) and included if an

**Table 1**

*Examples of Coded Constructs Under Each of the Broader Dimensions of Parenting Assessed*

Positive parenting	Harsh/neglectful parenting	Parent-child relationship	Behavior control
Support	Abuse (physical, psychological etc.)	Attachment/attachment security	Controlling parenting
Sensitivity	Neglect	Relationship quality	Parental control
Warmth	Harsh discipline	Relationship satisfaction	Supervision
Involvement	Uninvolved parenting	Time spent together	Rule setting
Appropriate discipline	Distant parenting	Communication	Limit setting
Responsivity	Abusive discipline	Cohesion	Monitoring
Engagement/Involvement	Hostility	Relationship Conflict <sup>a</sup>	Overcontrol

*Note.* All constructs were coded in the direction of higher exposure to neighborhood violence.

<sup>a</sup> Negatively coded constructs on the positive parenting and relationship quality dimensions were reverse coded.

**Table 2**  
*Summary of Research Questions and Hypothesized Effects*

Effect or moderator	Positive parenting	Harsh/neglectful parenting	Parent–child relationship quality	Behavior control
Overall effect				
Greater exposure to community violence	–	+	–	–
Categorical moderator				
Type of exposure to community violence, that is, greater occurrence (O), witnessing (W), victimization (V), combined exposure (C)	V > O, W, C	V > O, W, C	V > O, W, C	V > O, W, C
Community violence informant, that is, child report (Ch), parent report (P), other report (O), multiple report (M)	Ch = P = M = O	Ch > P, M, O	Ch = P = M = O	Ch > P, M, O
Parenting behavior report observed (Obs) child report (Ch), parent report (P), other report (O), multiple report (M)	Ch = P = Obs = M = O	Ch > P, Obs, M, O	Ch = P = Obs = M = O	Ch > P, Obs, M, O
Continuous moderator				
Child age (i.e., higher mean age)	Exploratory	↑	Exploratory	↑
Child sex (i.e., greater percentage of male children)	Exploratory	↑	Exploratory	↑
Child race/ethnicity (i.e., greater percentage of BIPOC children)	↓	↑	↓	↓
Child race/ethnicity (i.e., greater percentage of Black children)	↓	↑	↓	↓
Child race/ethnicity (i.e., greater percentage of Hispanic/Latin children)	↓	↑	↓	↓

*Note.* Expected associations for overall effects are consistent with the direction of the symbol. For example, greater exposure to community violence is expected to be negatively associated with positive parenting practices. Subgroup analyses for categorical moderator values are in the direction of the overall effect and in the magnitude of the notation. Thus, Ch > P, M for violence report indicates that we expected children's reports of their exposure to community violence and parenting will be greater than the association between parents and multiple informants who reported exposure to violence and parenting behaviors. For variables separated by comma (e.g., V > O, W, C), we do not have specific hypotheses about differences in the magnitude of associations. For continuous moderators, an upward-facing arrow indicates that the association between exposure to violence and parenting is expected to increase as the moderator variable increases. For example, we expected the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting to increase in samples with older children. Finally, exploratory analyses for which there are no specific hypotheses are indicated. BIPOC = Black, Indigenous, people of color (used to define people from non-White origins).

English-translated copy was available or if authors provided effect sizes upon request.

## Report Selection

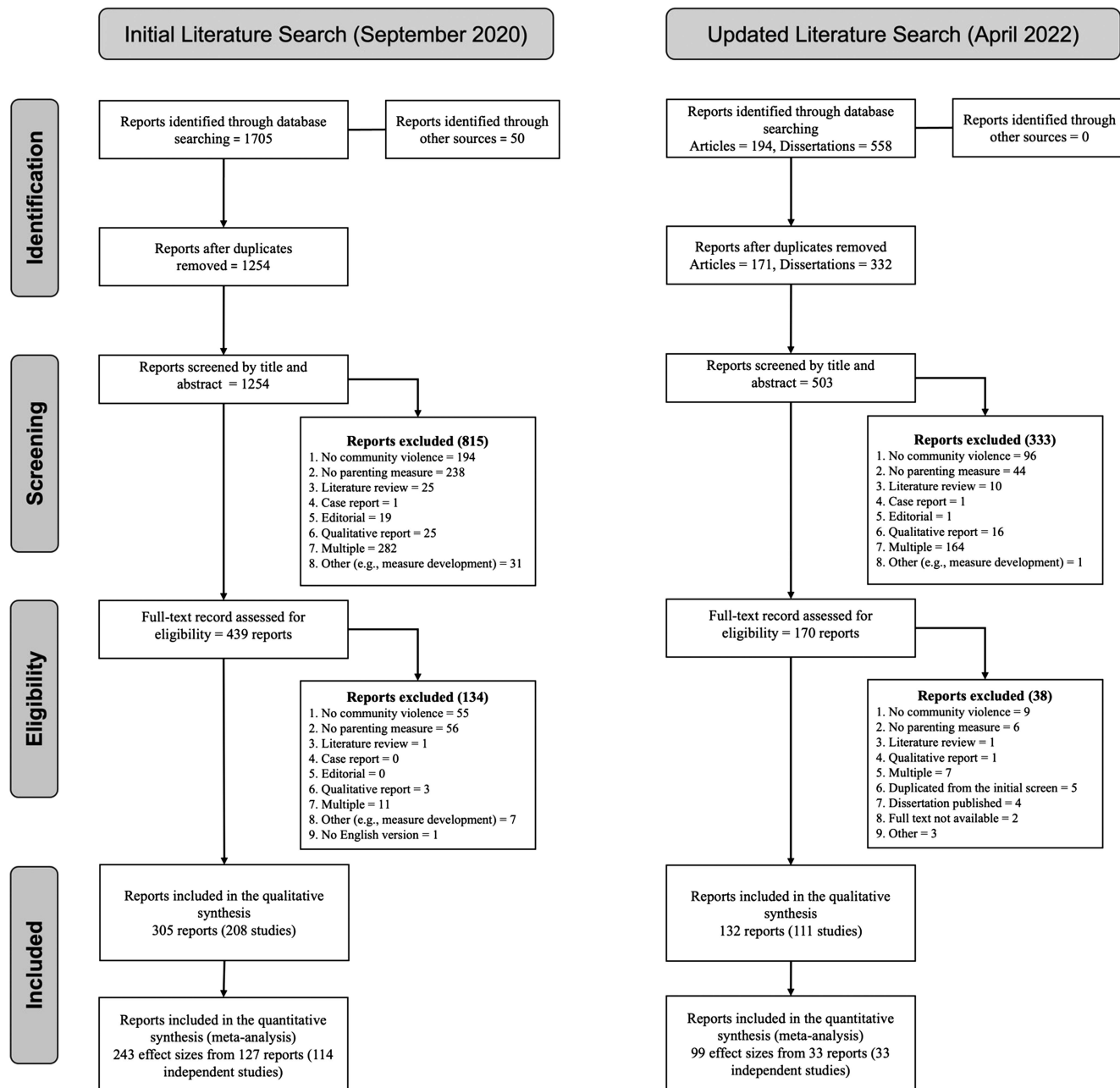
The initial literature search (September 2020) yielded 1,705 articles (see Figure 1 for a Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis flow diagram). We supplemented our search by reviewing the reference sections of Cuellar et al. (2015) and its cited reports (e.g., Gayles et al., 2009; Gonzales et al., 2011; Jones et al., 2005; Pinderhughes et al., 2001; Vieno et al., 2010), yielding an additional 50 articles. After duplicates were removed, 1,254 unique articles remained for review. All articles were independently coded by two raters (PhD graduate students). A review of the titles and abstracts resulted in 439 reports that fit the inclusion criteria. The comprehensive text review resulted in 305 reports from 208 independent studies. Multiple reports that utilized data from large data sets (e.g., Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health) resulted in overlapping samples. For example, seven reports used data from Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods to examine the association between community violence and positive parenting, harsh/neglectful parenting, and behavior control. When there was more than one report based on the same sample, coders extracted effect sizes from the report with the largest sample. From the initial search, there were 243 effect

sizes from 127 reports, and 114 studies were included in the quantitative synthesis based on the availability of relevant effect sizes either reported in the article or provided by contacted authors.

The updated search (April 2022) yielded 194 reports and 558 dissertations/theses. Of these, 503 (171 journal reports, 332 dissertations/theses) studies remained after removing duplicates. A review of the titles and abstracts resulted in 170 reports that fit the inclusion criteria. The full comprehensive text review resulted in 132 reports from 111 studies. Approximately 21% of reports from the updated literature search ( $n = 28$ ) had overlapping samples with reports from the initial literature search. Ninety-nine additional effect sizes from 33 reports and 33 independent samples were included. Ultimately, 342 effect sizes were included in the present study: 252 (74%) from published journal reports and 90 (26%) from dissertations/theses.

## Data Coding Procedure

A standard coding procedure was used to extract information from each report (Thorpe, 2020; <https://osf.io/gbqwn>). The analyses below adhere to the previously published protocol except for one major change. Only positive, harsh/neglectful, and quality of the parent–child relationship were preregistered as parenting behaviors of interest. Behavior control was added post hoc after realizing the wealth of literature focused on parents' control and restriction of

**Figure 1***Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis Flow Diagram for Selection of Articles*

*Note.* Reports refer to published articles or dissertations that were screened or included in the meta-analysis. A study refers to a research project that yielded a data sample that reports used to examine their research questions. Several reports used data from the same study (e.g., Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health). Effect sizes refer to the relevant associations within a report. Several reports had multiple relevant effect sizes.

children's behaviors in less safe communities (Eltanamy et al., 2021). This amendment was added before data were coded. The first and second authors independently coded each report, and all coding discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

All available effect sizes were extracted for any association between community violence and one of the four parenting

dimensions. Given that the same report could provide multiple effect sizes (e.g., Saltzman, 1996 used multiple indicators of behavior control; Qouta et al., 2008 used victimization and witnessing as indicators of community violence), some effect sizes were not independent. To address the nested structure of the data, we used multilevel analyses, accounting for sampling error, "within report"

error, and “between report” error. See Table 3 and Supplemental Table 1 for a description of the included studies.

### Effect Sizes

Effect sizes were calculated as Pearson’s  $r$ . Several effect sizes were converted from other metrics (i.e.,  $k = 8$  effect sizes were derived from  $M/SD$  data,  $k = 1$  from a  $t$ -value, and  $k = 1$  from a  $\chi^2$  value) using the practical meta-analysis effect size calculator (Wilson, n.d.). Positive effect sizes indicate that, as community violence increased, parenting behavior also increased (e.g., a positive effect size between violence exposure and spanking indicated that, in a more violent community, parents engaged in higher rates of spanking).

### Moderators

Each report was coded for study-level child demographic variables (i.e., mean age, sex [percent male], and race/ethnicity). The race/ethnicity variable was not coded for studies whose sample was not from the United States. Race/ethnicity was conceptualized as a proxy for racism and structural inequalities, which are well documented in the United States based on skin color. Although racism is experienced by marginalized individuals globally, these experiences vary based on a country’s history of colonialism (McNamee, 2020) and sociocultural structures (e.g., in some countries, colorism and hair texturism are more immediate proxies

of divisiveness, privilege, and differential treatment compared to one’s skin color; Charles, 2021; Davidson, 2016; Dixon & Telles, 2017). Additionally, we coded the type of violence exposure, type of parenting behavior, and informant type.

### Contacting Authors

Corresponding authors or senior authors were contacted via email if the article did not report relevant effect sizes or moderators. Contacted authors provided 49 effect sizes (21% of those requested). If the authors did not provide effect sizes, available effect sizes from other articles from the same study with a smaller sample size were coded.

### Data Analysis

#### Interrater Reliability

Interrater reliability was calculated for literature screening, moderators, and effect sizes.

Reliability for the title and abstract screening interclass correlation (ICC = .88, ICC = .85) and full report screening (ICC = .92, ICC = .96) was good for both initial and revised literature searches. Interclass correlations for continuous moderators ranged from .87 to .95. Kappa coefficients for categorical moderators ranged from .92 to .96. The ICC for effect sizes was .93.

**Table 3**  
*Sample and Study-Level Descriptions of the Articles Assessed*

Sample/study-level characteristic	Positive parenting ( $k = 68$ , $es = 101$ ) <i>M (SD) or N (%)</i>	Harsh/neglectful parenting ( $k = 60$ , $es = 95$ ) <i>M (SD) or N (%)</i>	Parent–child relationship ( $k = 41$ , $es = 68$ ) <i>M (SD) or N (%)</i>	Behavior control ( $k = 51$ , $es = 78$ ) <i>M (SD) or N (%)</i>
Reports $N (M)$	47,398 (469.29) Range: 53–3,236	87,642 (922.55) Range: 55–6,225	67,179 (999.54) Range: 20–14, 805	56,633 (713.25) Range: 53–3,236
Studies $N (M)$	35,136 (516.71)	43,458 (712.43)	46,850 (1,115.48)	39,698 (778.40)
Age				
Mean (years)	11.60 (4.43)	10.69 (5.39)	13.22 (2.84)	12.41 (3.68)
Range	0–19.96	0–20.4	6.9–21.96	2.0–17.81
Missing	10	15	6	4
Child sex				
Male (%)	54.37%	50.80%	51.92%	53.55%
Missing	1	5	3	0
Child race				
Non-White (%)	79.40%	67.68%	85.21%	79.37%
Black/African American (%)	60.32%	39.53%	55.13%	54.82%
Hispanic/Latin (%)	12.98%	18.78%	26.52%	19.21%
Missing	1–6	9–10	3–5	4
Not applicable (non-U.S.)	11	23	6	17
Country				
% U.S. sample	90 (89.11%)	72 (75.79%)	61 (89.71%)	61 (78.21%)
Type of violence				
Occurrence	35 (34.65%)	32 (33.68%)	23 (33.82%)	29 (37.18%)
Victimization	15 (14.85%)	20 (21.05%)	12 (17.65%)	16 (20.51%)
Witnessing	27 (26.73%)	22 (23.16%)	19 (27.94%)	19 (24.36%)
Multiple	24 (23.76%)	21 (22.11%)	14 (20.59%)	14 (17.95%)
Unpublished reports (e.g., dissertations)	( $k = 11$ , $es = 21$ )	( $k = 13$ , $es = 23$ )	( $k = 11$ , $es = 24$ )	( $k = 10$ , $es = 22$ )

*Note.* Italicized values in parentheses are means. Child race was not assessed for studies whose samples were outside of the United States (coded as “not applicable” or NA). Although racism is experienced by marginalized individuals globally, these experiences vary based on the country’s history of colonialism.  $es$  = number of effect sizes (this includes dependent effect sizes, i.e., reports from the same study).  $k$  = number of independent samples.



### Overall Effect Size

Given that the variance of correlation coefficients depends, in part, on the magnitude of the coefficients, all effect sizes ( $I$ ) were converted to Fisher's  $z$ -scores before analyses (Borenstein et al., 2010). After the analyses, the output  $z$ -scores were transformed back to Pearson's correlation ( $r$ ) for ease of interpretation.

The overall effect size for the association between exposure to community violence and each parenting dimension was estimated using a random-effects three-level meta-analysis with restricted maximum likelihood estimation, which accounted for dependence among effect sizes (Assink & Wibbelink, 2016; Cheung, 2014; Harrer et al., 2021). Three sources of relative variance were modeled: Level 1 examined variance between participants within each study (sampling variance), Level 2 examined variance between effect sizes within the same study (within-study variance), and Level 3 examined variance in effect sizes between studies (between-study variance). Estimated variance components were assessed using the  $\tau^2$  statistics, overall inconsistency of results of studies was assessed using the  $I^2$  statistic (Higgins, 2003), and heterogeneity of within-study variance (Level 2) and between-study variance (Level 3) was examined using one-sided log-likelihood-ratio (LRT) tests. If significant heterogeneity was detected, then potential moderators were examined using omnibus tests described by Assink and Wibbelink (2016).

Log-likelihood ratio tests were performed to determine whether the fit of the original three-level model was statistically better than the two-level model. The fit of the original model, where the variance at Levels 2 and 3 are freely estimated, was compared to the fit of a model in which only the variance at Level 3 is freely estimated, and Level 2 variance was fixed to zero. The second LRT test compared the fit of the original three-level model to a model in which the variance at Level 2 was freely estimated, and the variance at Level 3 was fixed to zero.

### Influential Effect Sizes

Given that the presence of outliers may affect the validity of meta-analytic findings, effect sizes were estimated without the presence of influential cases. The presence of influential effect sizes was examined using Cook's distance, the Hat value, and DFBETA values (Viechtbauer & Cheung, 2010). Effect sizes were considered influential if (a) Cook's  $D$  values were three standard deviations above the mean, (b) Hat values were outlying based on visual inspection, and (c) if DFBETA values were greater than one (Viechtbauer & Cheung, 2010).

### Moderation Analyses

Given within-study and between-study variance, moderation analyses were performed to estimate whether the magnitude of the association varied depending on the type of exposure, the type of informant report, and sociodemographic factors. Moderation analyses were conducted on the original sample of effect sizes with influential cases included. For categorical moderators, categories with fewer than 10 studies were excluded using listwise deletion for that moderator analysis (Schwarzer et al., 2015). Continuous moderators based on sociodemographic information of children in the sample were examined using metaregression techniques.

Studies that were missing information on moderator variables were excluded using listwise deletion. Categorical and continuous moderators were examined independently (not simultaneously) in models.

### Publication Bias and Publication Year

Analyses were conducted to assess for publication bias. Counter-enhanced funnel plots were illustrated to examine the heterogeneity between published and unpublished effect sizes for each meta-analysis (Johnson & Hennessy, 2019). In line with recommendations to apply multiple strategies to assess converging evidence of publication bias (Kepes & Thomas, 2018), the current meta-analyses employed several tests of publication bias, including contour-enhanced funnel plots, and trim and fill and precision-effect test and precision-effect estimate with standard errors analyses. Asymmetrical patterns in report distributions were examined using contour-enhanced funnel plots. Plots were illustrated to examine the significance level of each report in the plot at the  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$  alpha levels. Follow-up trim and fill analyses ( $L_0$ ) using fixed effects (Kepes et al., 2012) were used to estimate the number of missing studies in contour-enhanced funnel plots (Duval & Tweedie, 2000a, 2000b). Another method that was used to estimate a bias-corrected version of pooled effects is the precision-effect test and precision-effect estimate with standard errors method—the precision-effect test (PET) and the precision-effect estimate with standard error (PEESE; Stanley, 2017; Stanley & Doucouliagos, 2014), using methods described in (Harrer et al., 2021). The PET model was used to estimate the expected effect size of a report with a standard error of zero to model a “true effect size” without sampling error. If the resulting intercept calculated by the PET method was significantly larger than zero in a one-sided test with  $\alpha = .05$ , the intercept of PEESE was used to estimate the true overall effect size. We used the PET estimate if the PET intercept was not significantly larger than zero. Publication bias analyses were conducted on the overall meta-analytic distributions as well as each level of the categorical moderators.

Finally, publication year was tested as a moderator of the summary effect to examine whether the magnitude of published effect sizes remained consistent or changed over time; this analysis assessed for the presence of the “decline effect,” or the tendency for positive results to shrink over time (Schooler, 2011).

### Measurement Error

Analyses were conducted to assess for measurement error for each meta-analytic distribution. Because psychological research primarily relies on participant-reported assessments, individual studies, and overall meta-analytic results are susceptible to measurement error. Measurement error or the extent to which observed values are consistent with their true values may impact the results of a meta-analysis in the following ways: biasing the mean effect size, inflating effect size heterogeneity and confounding moderator effects, and confounding publication bias and sensitivity analyses (Wiernik & Dahlke, 2020). To correct measurement error, we followed procedures recommended by Wiernik and Dahlke (2020) and the psychmeta package to examine the convergence between corrected and uncorrected effect sizes.

First, the amount of attenuation was assessed as a multiplicative function of the square roots of the reliabilities of the two measures (see Equation 1).

Cronbach's alpha was used as an estimate of reliability for both measures of exposure to community violence and parenting behavior. For studies examining positive parenting, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  ranged from .49 to .96 for the assessment of exposure to community violence ( $M = 0.81$ ;  $SD = 0.07$ ; missing = 26) and .50–.96 for the assessments of positive parenting ( $M = 0.79$ ;  $SD = 0.11$ ; missing = 7). For studies examining harsh/neglectful parenting, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  ranged from .40 to .92 for the assessment of exposure to community violence ( $M = 0.77$ ;  $SD = 0.09$ ; missing = 52) and .40–.90 for the assessment of harsh/neglectful parenting ( $M = 0.71$ ;  $SD = 0.10$ ; missing = 44). For studies examining parent–child relationship quality, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  values ranged from .53 to .95 for the assessment of exposure to community violence ( $M = 0.80$ ;  $SD = 0.08$ ; missing = 19) and .55–.96 for the assessment of parent–child relationship quality ( $M = 0.81$ ;  $SD = 0.09$ ; missing = 7). For studies examining behavior control, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  ranged from .49 to .93 for the assessment of exposure to community violence ( $M = 0.79$ ;  $SD = 0.08$ ; missing = 30) and .39–.93 for the assessment of behavior control ( $M = 0.74$ ;  $SD = 0.13$ ; missing = 9). Analyses did not account for missingness.

$$r_{\text{obs}} = r_{\text{true}} \sqrt{r_{xx'}} \sqrt{r_{yy'}}. \quad (1)$$

Furthermore, the observed correlation was divided by the product of the square root of the reliabilities to obtain the correct effect size based on attenuation from measurement error variance (see Equation 2).

$$r_c = \frac{r_{\text{obs}}}{\sqrt{r_{xx'}} \sqrt{r_{yy'}}}. \quad (2)$$

We recommend general caution in interpreting the results of the measurement error analyses as the literature remains inconclusive about their utility and best practices (Wiernik & Dahlke, 2020). Specifically, test–retest reliability is a more appropriate measure than Cronbach's alpha to examine measurement error, yet most studies report Cronbach's alpha compared to other metrics of reliability (Flake & Fried, 2019; Flake et al., 2017). Furthermore, other important assumptions of measurement error, including (a) the accuracy of reliability metrics when some assumptions (e.g., tau-equivalence) of alpha are violated, (b) the linearity of the relationship between observed and true scores, (c) the stability of reliability estimates across different subgroups or measurement conditions, (d) challenges with calculating attenuation based on ordinal scales, and (e) assumptions about the consistency of measurement error across different levels of the variable being measured, were not assessed and have not been validated for multilevel meta-analytic approaches.

### Quality Assessment

The first and second authors independently coded each report using the Quality Assessment Tool for Observational Cohort and Cross-Sectional Studies (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2021). Report quality was assessed based on factors related to the report's internal validity, methodological decisions, and approaches. Disagreements in quality criteria were resolved

by discussion among the coders. The overall quality score for each effect size was assessed by summing the total number of items endorsed across the 14 quality indicators. Higher scores reflect higher quality studies. Sensitivity analyses examining quality as a moderator of significant overall associations and study-level moderators were conducted to examine the potential influence of methodological rigor (Johnson & Hennessy, 2019; Johnson, Low, & MacDonald, 2015). These analyses were not preregistered. An overall summary of the quality assessment for each meta-analytic distribution is included in Supplemental Table 3.

## Results

Descriptive information for the four meta-analytic investigations is presented in Table 3. Details about each report/study included in the analyses appear in Supplemental Table 1.

### Overall Associations

A summary of the results is presented in Table 4. See Supplemental Figure 2 for the total variance at each level of analysis.

#### Positive Parenting

The overall effect based on the three-level meta-analytic model examining the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting was significant ( $r = -.059$ , 95% CI  $[-.086, -.032]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.268, .151]$ ,  $t = -4.28$ ,  $p < .001$ ); see Supplemental Figure 1a for forest plot, suggesting that higher exposure to community violence was associated with less positive parenting. Results of the first one-sided LRT test suggested that the three-level model was better fitting than the two-level model ( $LRT = 4.78$ ,  $p = .029$ ); the fit of the original three-level model is statistically better than the fit of the two-level model, and consequently, that there is significant variability between effect sizes within studies. The result of the second log-likelihood ratio ( $LRT = 37.96$ ,  $p < .001$ ) was significant, suggesting significant variability between studies.

#### Harsh/Neglectful Parenting

The overall association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting was significant ( $r = .133$ , 95% CI  $[.100, .166]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.107, .372]$ ,  $t = 7.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ); see Supplemental Figure 1b for forest plot), such that higher exposure to community violence was associated with higher harsh/neglectful parenting. Results of the first one-sided LRT test suggested that the three-level model was better fitting than the two-level model ( $LRT = 29.82$ ,  $p < .001$ ); the fit of the original three-level model is statistically better than the fit of the two-level model, and consequently, there is significant variability between effect sizes within studies. The result of the second log-likelihood ratio ( $LRT = 30.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ) was significant, suggesting significant variability between studies.

#### Parent–Child Relationship Quality

The overall association between exposure to community violence and the quality of the parent–child relationship was significant ( $r = -.106$ , 95% CI  $[-.145, -.067]$ ; 95% PI  $[-.394, .182]$ ,  $t = -5.385$ ,

**Table 4**  
Overall Associations Between Exposure to Community Violence and the Four Subdomains of Parenting

	Effect size estimate							95% CI				Test for heterogeneity	Between study variance		Within study variance	Variance component ( $\hat{\rho}^2$ )		
	es	k	r	SE	t	df	p	LL	UL	LL	UL		[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]		Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Parenting behavior																		
Positive parenting	101	68	-.059	0.014	-4.276	100	<.001	-.086	-.032	-.268	.151	$Q(100) = 586.247$ , $p < .001$	0.006, 0.076	0.005, 0.072	16.08%	39.70%	44.22%	
Harsh/neglectful parenting	95	60	.133	0.017	7.977	94	<.001	.100	.166	-.107	.372	$Q(94) = 998.436$ , $p < .001$	0.013, 0.113	0.001, 0.037	6.80%	9.17%	84.03%	
Parent-child relationship quality	68	41	-.106	0.020	-5.385	67	<.001	-.145	-.067	-.394	.182	$Q(67) = 1240.561$ , $p < .001$	0.002, 0.039	0.019, 0.137	4.79%	88.14%	7.07%	
Behavior control	78	51	-.047	0.021	-2.231	77	.029	-.089	-.005	-.331	.237	$Q(77) = 1303.164$ , $p < .001$	0.019, 0.137	0.001, 0.035	6.37%	5.69%	87.94%	

*Note.* es = number of effect sizes (this includes dependent effect sizes, i.e., reports from the same study). k = number of independent samples. r = association between ECV and parenting domain in Pearson's  $r$ . Negative associations suggest that as exposure to community violence increases, parenting behavior decreases. For example, a negative association between exposure to community violence and relationship quality suggests that higher exposure to community violence was associated with lower parent-child relationship quality. Positive associations suggest that as exposure to community violence increases, parenting behavior increases. For example, a positive association between exposure to community violence and harsh parenting suggests that higher exposure to community violence was associated with greater harsh parenting. SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval; PI = prediction interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; ECV = exposure to community violence.

$p < .001$ ); see Supplemental Figure 1c for forest plot); higher exposure to community violence was associated with lower parent-child relationship quality. One-sided LRT tests suggested that the three-level model was not better fitting than the two-level model (LRT = 0.130,  $p = .718$ ); the effects within studies were homogeneous. The result of the second log-likelihood ratio (LRT = 477.392,  $p < .001$ ) was significant, suggesting significant variability between studies.

### Behavior Control

The overall association between exposure to community violence and behavior control was significant ( $r = -.047$ , 95% CI [-.089, -.005]; 95% PI [-.331, .237],  $t = -2.231$ ,  $p = .029$ ); see Supplemental Figure 1d for forest plot), such that higher exposure to community violence was associated with lower behavior control. Results of the first one-sided LRT test suggested that the three-level model was better fitting than the two-level model (LRT = 31.46,  $p < .001$ ); the fit of the original three-level model is statistically better than the fit of the two-level model, and consequently, there is significant variability between effect sizes within studies. The result of the second log-likelihood ratio (LRT = 31.46,  $p < .001$ ) was significant, suggesting significant variability between studies.

### Moderator Analyses

Summary statistics for categorical and continuous moderators are provided in Table 5 and Supplemental Table 4, respectively.

### Type of Violence Exposure

The type of exposure to community violence was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting behaviors,  $F(3, 91) = 2.565$ ,  $p = .059$ . Specifically, the effect size between community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting ( $r = .172$ , 95% CI [.108, .236], 95% PI [-.070, .414]) was higher for studies with community violence operationalized as any type (i.e., witnessing, occurrence, and/or victim) than for studies specifically assessing the occurrence of violence ( $r = .079$ , 95% CI [.027, .130], 95% PI [-.160, .318]). Type of exposure to community violence was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting behaviors,  $F(3, 97) = 0.229$ ,  $p = .876$ , parent-child relationship quality,  $F(3, 64) = 0.385$ ,  $p = .764$ , nor behavior control,  $F(3, 74) = 0.422$ ,  $p = .737$ .

### Community Violence Informant

The informant or source of exposure to community violence data was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 82) = 6.150$ ,  $p = .015$ . Specifically, the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting was higher when children reported their community violence exposure ( $r = .169$ , 95% CI [.124, .215], 95% PI [-.070, .409]) than when parents reported on community violence ( $r = .084$ , 95% CI [.031, .137], 95% PI [.157, 0.325]). Community violence data informant was not

**Table 5**  
*Association Between Exposure to Community Violence and Positive Parenting as a Function of Moderators*

Moderator	es (k)	r	SE	t	df	p	95% CI	95% PI	Between study variance [Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	Within study variance [Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	Test for moderator
Positive parenting											
Violence exposure	35 (26)	.017	0.036	0.484	97	.629	[-.090, -.0001]	[-.261, .171]	0.006, 0.077	0.005, 0.073	$F(3, 97) = 0.229, p = .876$
Occurrence	15 (14)	-.007	0.041	-0.177	97	.860	[-.129, -.010]	[-.289, .150]			
Victimization	27 (22)	-.008	0.037	-0.225	97	.823	[-.120, -.022]	[-.287, .146]			
Witnessing	24 (20)	-.062	0.028	-2.210	97	.029	[-.118, -.006]	[-.281, .156]			
Multiple (intercept)											
Violence informant	68 (46)	-.070	0.017	-4.159	91	<.001	[-.104, -.037]	[-.286, .146]	0.006, 0.079	0.005, 0.073	$F(1, 91) = 0.828, p = .365$
Child report (intercept)	25 (19)	.029	0.031	0.910	91	.365	[-.096, .012]	[-.262, .178]			
Parent report											
Behavior informant	58 (41)	-.069	0.018	-3.754	92	<.001	[-.105, -.032]	[-.287, .150]	0.007, 0.081	0.005, 0.072	$F(2, 92) = 0.467, p = .628$
Child report (intercept)	25 (14)	.030	0.035	0.845	92	.400	[-.099, .021]	[-.265, .184]			
Parent report	12 (10)	.028	0.043	0.644	92	.521	[-.118, .036]	[-.270, .188]			
Observed											
Harsh/neglectful parenting											
Violence exposure	32 (23)	-.093	0.041	-2.284	91	.025	[.027, .013]	[-.160, .318]	0.012, 0.112	0.001, 0.036	$F(3, 91) = 2.565, p = .059$
Occurrence	20 (13)	-.019	0.044	-0.442	91	.660	[.095, .211]	[-.088, .394]			
Victimization	22 (18)	-.005	0.043	-0.120	91	.904	[.112, .222]	[-.073, .407]			
Witnessing	21 (17)	.172	0.032	5.325	91	<.001	[.108, .236]	[-.070, .414]	0.013, 0.113	0.001, 0.035	$F(1, 82) = 6.150, p = .015$
Multiple (intercept)											
Violence informant	46 (30)	.169	0.023	7.341	82	<.001	[.124, .215]	[-.070, .409]	0.009, 0.097	0.002, 0.039	$F(1, 81) = 15.391, p < .001$
Child report (intercept)	38 (23)	-.086	0.035	-2.480	82	.015	[.031, .137]	[-.157, .325]			
Parent report											
Behavior informant	38 (26)	.203	0.023	8.981	81	<.001	[.158, .248]	[-.010, .416]			
Child report (intercept)	45 (27)	-.122	0.031	-3.923	81	<.001	[.038, .123]	[-.132, .293]			
Parent report											
Parent-child relationship quality											
Violence exposure	23 (16)	.012	0.055	0.214	64	.832	[-.186, -.054]	[-.417, .178]	0.001, 0.033	0.020, 0.141	$F(3, 64) = 0.385, p = .764$
Occurrence	12 (10)	.045	0.063	0.725	64	.471	[-.177, .005]	[-.390, .218]			
Victimization	19 (13)	.050	0.056	0.890	64	.377	[-.154, -.008]	[-.380, .218]			
Witnessing	14 (12)	-.131	0.044	-3.012	64	.004	[-.218, -.044]	[-.434, .171]	0.002, 0.040	0.020, 0.142	$F(1, 62) = 0.018, p = .894$
Multiple (intercept)											
Violence informant	54 (32)	-.104	0.023	-4.554	62	<.001	[-.150, -.059]	[-.402, .194]	0.002, 0.039	0.019, 0.139	$F(1, 64) = 0.326, p = .570$
Child report (intercept)	10 (8)	-.007	0.055	-0.133	62	.894	[-.212, -.011]	[-.423, .200]			
Parent report											
Behavior informant	49 (30)	-.102	0.023	-4.364	64	<.001	[-.149, -.056]	[-.395, .190]			
Child Report (intercept)	17 (15)	-.026	0.045	-0.571	64	.570	[-.205, -.051]	[-.427, .171]			
Parent report											
Behavior control											
Violence exposure	29 (22)	.014	0.050	0.287	74	.775	[-.097, .035]	[-.323, .262]	0.019, 0.139	0.001, 0.035	$F(3, 74) = 0.422, p = .737$
Occurrence	16 (14)	-.011	0.038	0.278	74	.782	[-.120, .009]	[-.348, .237]			
Victimization	19 (16)	-.027	0.037	-0.724	74	.471	[-.134, -.009]	[-.363, .220]			
Witnessing	14 (11)	-.045	0.037	-1.205	74	.232	[-.119, .029]	[-.339, .250]			
Multiple (intercept)											

(table continues)



Table 5 (continued)

Moderator	es (k)	r	SE	t	df	p	95% CI	95% PI	Between study variance		Within study variance		Test for moderator
									[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	[Tau squared ( $\tau^2$ ), Tau (T)]	
Violence informant													
Child report (intercept)	52 (35)	-.057	0.024	-2.394	69	.019	[-.104, -.009]	[-.345, .232]					
Parent report	19 (15)	.011	0.032	0.351	69	.727	[-.110, .019]	[-.337, .246]	0.019, 0.138		0.001, 0.034		$F(1, 69) = 0.123, p = .727$
Behavior informant													
Child report (intercept)	46 (31)	-.054	0.026	-2.030	71	.046	[-.106, -.001]	[-.353, .246]	0.021, 0.144		0.001, 0.035		$F(1, 71) = 0.317, p = .575$
Parent report	27 (16)	.022	0.040	0.563	71	.575	[-.102, .040]	[-.334, .272]					

Note. Categories with fewer than 10 studies were excluded using listwise deletion for that moderator analysis. es = number of effect sizes (this includes dependent effect sizes, i.e., reports from the same study). k = number of independent samples. r = association between ECV and parenting domain in Pearson's  $r$ . Positive associations suggest that as exposure to community violence increases (based on violence exposure and violence informant), parenting behavior increases (based on behavior informant). For example a positive association between exposure to community violence (child report) and harsh parenting suggests that children's report of greater exposure to community violence was associated with greater harsh parenting (regardless of informant). For categorical moderators, the value under the estimate column for the intercept category (denoted in the Table for each moderator) represents the  $r$ -value or the association between ECV and parenting at the level of that moderator. Values for other moderators (i.e., nonintercept) represented the deviation (+ or -) from the intercept value. For example, for the behavior report moderators for harsh parenting, 0.203 represents the association between exposure to community violence and harsh parenting behaviors (reported by the child). The value under "parent report" (i.e., -.0122) represents the deviation in estimate from the intercept value (e.g., 0.203). Thus, the  $r$ -value for the association between exposure to community violence and harsh parenting (reported by parents) is 0.081. Relatedly, the CIs and PIs reported in this table reflect the true estimate for each level of the reported moderators (i.e., not the deviation from the intercept). SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval; PI = prediction interval; ECV = exposure to community violence.

a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting behaviors,  $F(1, 91) = 0.828, p = .365$ , parent-child relationship,  $F(1, 62) = 0.018, p = .894$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 69) = 0.123, p = .727$ .

### Parenting Behavior Informant

The source of parenting behavior data was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 81) = 15.391, p < .001$ . The association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting was higher when children reported their parents' harsh/neglectful behaviors ( $r = .203, 95\% \text{ CI } [.158, .028], 95\% \text{ PI } [-.010, .416]$ ) than when parents reported their own harsh/neglectful parenting ( $r = .080, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.038, -.123], 95\% \text{ PI } [-.132, .293]$ ). The informant or source of parenting data was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting behaviors,  $F(2, 92) = 0.467, p = .628$ , parent-child relationship quality,  $F(1, 64) = 0.326, p = .570$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 71) = 0.317, p = .575$ .

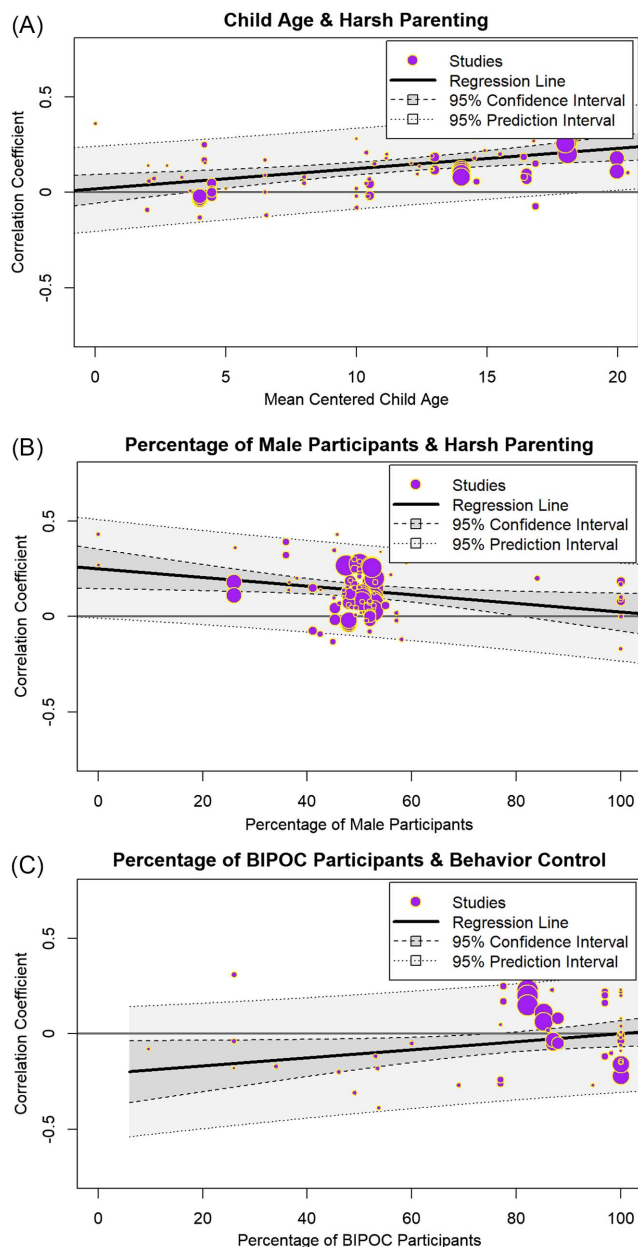
### Sociodemographic Characteristics

See Supplemental Figures 6–10 for moderation analysis plots. Intercorrelations among continuous moderators are presented in Supplemental Table 5.

**Child Age.** Child age was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 78) = 11.406, p = .001$ . For every 1-year increase in mean child age, the effect size increased by .011. In other words, the positive association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting became stronger as the mean age in the study became older. Further examination of the figure suggests that there is no significant association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting among studies for which the mean age was five or below, see Figure 2(A). Of note, 24% of effect sizes with available data had samples with a mean age of less than five. Child age was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting,  $F(1, 89) = 0.027, p = .869$ , parent-child relationship quality,  $F(1, 57) = 0.001, p = .985$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 70) = 2.633, p = .109$ .

**Biological Sex of Child.** The biological sex of the child was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 88) = 5.560, p = .021$ . For every one-unit (i.e., percent) increase of males in the study, the effect size decreased by .002. Thus, the positive association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting became weaker as the number of males in the sample increased. Upon examining the metaregression plot, the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting was no longer significant when the study sample was greater than 80% males, see Figure 2(B). Of note, the majority of the studies included had a relatively even split between females and males in the sample (68% of effect sizes had between 45–55 male children in the sample). The biological sex of the child was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting,  $F(1, 98) = 1.546,$

**Figure 2**  
*Metaregression Plots Depicting Significant Moderator Analyses*



**Note.** Metaregression plots representing significant moderators: (A) child age [for community violence and harsh parenting], (B) child sex [for community violence and harsh parenting], and (C) child race [BIPOC; for community violence and behavior control]. Effect sizes are represented as circles, and the circle size corresponds to the sample size associated with that effect, with larger circles representing larger sample sizes. Confidence and prediction intervals are illustrated at 95%. The regression line represents the change in the association between exposure to community violence and the parenting outcome at increased levels of the moderator. For metaregression plots of all moderation analyses, see [Supplemental Figures 7–9](#). BIPOC = Black, Indigenous, person of color. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

$p = .217$ , parent–child relationship quality,  $F(1, 62) = 0.008$ ,  $p = .931$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 76) = 0.079$ ,  $p = .779$ .

**Child Non-White Race/Ethnicity (BIPOC).** Child race/ethnicity (percent non-White) was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and behavior control,  $F(1, 52) = 4.061$ ,  $p = .049$ . For every one percent increase in the number of BIPOC children, the association between exposure to community violence and parents' behavior control increased by .002 (i.e., it became less negative). In other words, when there was a greater percentage of children of color in the sample, the negative association between exposure to community violence and parents' behavior control was attenuated. Examination of the metaregression plot revealed that the association between exposure to community violence and behavior control was not significant among studies that had greater than 70% BIPOC children, see [Figure 2\(C\)](#). Seventy-eight percent of effect sizes with race/ethnicity data had samples with over 70% BIPOC children.

Child race/ethnicity (non-White) was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting,  $F(1, 82) = 1.468$ ,  $p = .229$ , harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 60) = 0.026$ ,  $p = .872$ , nor parent–child relationship quality,  $F(1, 51) = 0.322$ ,  $p = .573$ .

**Child Black/African American Race/Ethnicity.** Child race/ethnicity (percent Black) was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting,  $F(1, 87) = 0.072$ ,  $p = .789$ , harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 58) = 0.001$ ,  $p = .978$ , parent–child relationship quality  $F(1, 54) = 0.000$ ,  $p = .997$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 56) = 1.314$ ,  $p = .257$ .

**Child Hispanic/Latin Race/Ethnicity.** Child race/ethnicity (percent Hispanic/Latin) was not a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting,  $F(1, 87) = 0.735$ ,  $p = .394$ , harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 58) = 1.312$ ,  $p = .257$ , parent–child relationship quality,  $F(1, 54) = 0.131$ ,  $p = .719$ , nor behavior control,  $F(1, 56) = 0.617$ ,  $p = .436$ .

### Removing Influential Cases

See [Supplemental Figure 2](#) for total variance at each level of analysis and [Supplemental Figures 3 and 4](#) for Cook's D and hat-values plots.

### Positive Parenting

The overall effect size for the association between community violence exposure and positive parenting was reestimated after removing influential cases. The new effect size ( $k = 93$ , nine effect sizes removed) suggested a significant negative association between exposure to community violence and positive parenting behaviors ( $r = -.065$ ,  $t = -5.272$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI  $[-.090, -.041]$ , 95% PI  $[-.239, .108]$ ). The overall  $I^2$  reflecting the relative heterogeneity in effect sizes across both Levels 2 (within studies) and 3 (between studies) was 78.28% (i.e., 78% of the variability in effect size estimates resulted from differences in effect sizes within and between studies rather than sampling error).

### Harsh/Neglectful Parenting

After removing influential cases, the new effect size ( $k = 86$ , nine effect sizes removed) for the association between community violence exposure and harsh/neglectful parenting suggested a significant positive association ( $r = .125$ ,  $t = 9.471$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.099, .151], 95% PI [-.043, .293]). The overall  $I^2$  reflecting the relative heterogeneity in effect sizes across Levels 2 (within studies) and 3 (between studies) was 87.38%.

### Parent–Child Relationship Quality

For the association between community violence exposure and the quality of the parent–child relationship, the new effect size ( $k = 44$ , 23 effect sizes removed) suggested a significant negative association ( $r = -.094$ ,  $t = -3.810$ ,  $p < .001$ ; 95% CI [-.144, -.044], 95% PI [-.387, .199]). The overall  $I^2$  reflecting the relative heterogeneity in effect sizes across Levels 2 (within studies) and 3 (between studies) was 94.07%.

### Behavior Control

After removing influential cases ( $k = 69$ , nine effect sizes removed), there was a significant negative association between exposure to community violence and behavior control ( $r = -.045$ ,  $t = -2.405$ ,  $p = .019$ , 95% CI [-.082, -.008], 95% PI [-.272, .182]). The overall  $I^2$  reflecting the relative heterogeneity in effect sizes across Levels 2 (within studies) and 3 (between studies) was 90.50%.

### Publication Bias

Publication bias analyses were conducted at the broader meta-analytic levels (i.e., positive parenting, harsh/neglectful parenting, parent–child relationship, behavior control) and at the level of the meta-analytic distribution for each categorical moderator (i.e., type of exposure to community violence—combined, occurrence, victimization, witnessing; community violence informant report—child report, parent report, observed; parenting behavior informant report—child report, parent report) as the overall publication bias analyses may vary as a function of the distributions included in the moderations. In summary, the findings indicated that while there was evidence of publication bias in the meta-analytic distributions, the associations, after adjusting for bias, maintained comparable effect size magnitude and direction. [Supplemental Table 6](#) highlights the publication bias results from the overall meta-analyses, and [Supplemental Table 7a–7d](#) highlights publication bias analyses at the level of the meta-analytic distributions.

Using a commonsensical approach recommended by [Johnson and Hennessy \(2019\)](#), heterogeneity between published and unpublished effect sizes was examined in contour-enhanced plots, see [Figure 3](#). Visual examination of the plots suggests that heterogeneity exists between published and unpublished effect sizes for the four meta-analytic distributions. Thus, publication bias tests are unlikely to be informative, as the distribution suggests the presence of various effect size populations ([Borenstein et al., 2011](#); [Siddaway et al., 2019](#)). Conducting moderator tests, however, could yield more insightful results. Moreover, there were no significant

differences in effect sizes between published and unpublished articles for positive parenting,  $F(1, 99) = 0.482$ ,  $p = .489$ , harsh/neglectful parenting,  $F(1, 93) = 0.029$ ,  $p = .866$ , and parent–child relationship quality,  $F(1, 66) = 0.083$ ,  $p = .775$ . There was a significant difference in effect sizes between published and unpublished effect sizes for behavior control,  $F(1, 76) = 4.327$ ,  $p = .041$ . The association was more negative for published ( $k = 56$ ,  $r = -.067$ , 95% CI [-.112, -.023], 95% PI [-.340, .205]) compared to unpublished effects sizes ( $k = 22$ ,  $r = .040$ , 95% CI [-.053, .1334], 95% PI [-.244, .325]).

### Correcting for Measurement and Range Restriction

After correcting for measurement error and range restrictions ([Wiernik & Dahlke, 2020](#)), results suggested that the corrected effect sizes [positive parenting:  $r = -.050$  (.013), 95% CI [-.096, -.032]; harsh/neglectful parenting:  $r = .136$  (.015), 95% CI [.142, .224]; parent–child relationship:  $r = -.101$  (.016), 95% CI [-.170, -.089]; behavior control:  $r = -.077$  (.020), 95% CI [.151, -.049] were similar to the effects sizes in uncorrected models.

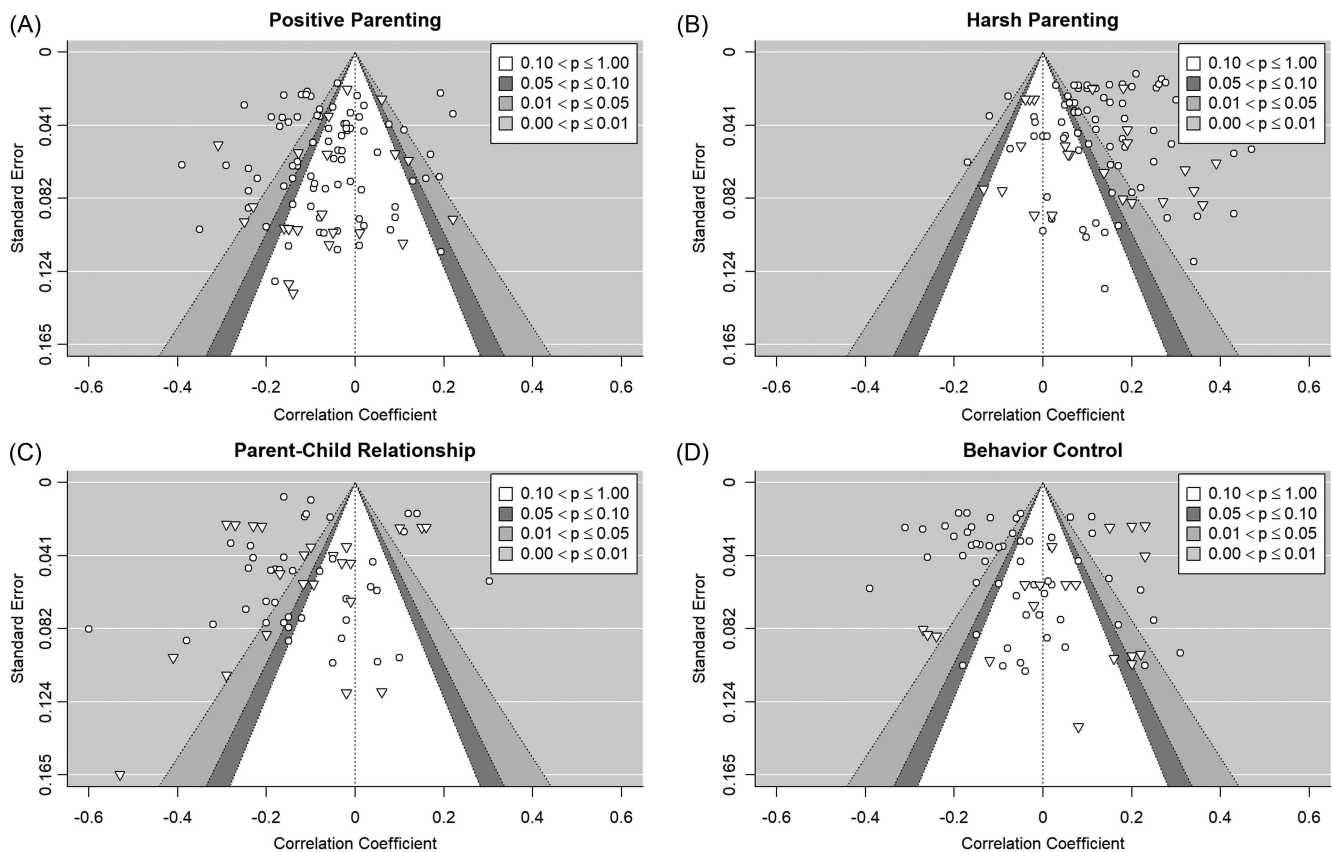
### Quality Assessment

Study quality ranged from 4 to 8 (out of a possible score of 14) for positive parenting ( $M = 6.17$ , mode = 6), from 3 to 7 ( $M = 5.72$ , mode = 6) for harsh/neglectful parenting, from 4 to 8 for parent–child relationship quality ( $M = 6.18$ , mode = 6), and from 5 to 7 for behavior control ( $M = 6.15$ , mode = 6). Study quality was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and parent–child relationship quality,  $F(1, 66) = 5.282$ ,  $p = .025$ , such that as study quality increased, the effect size attenuated (became closer to zero). For studies of positive parenting, as study quality increased, effect sizes became more negative, such that community violence had a more negative effect on positive parenting practices for higher versus lower quality studies,  $F(1, 99) = 7.112$ ,  $p = .009$ . Finally, as study quality increased, the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting became more positive,  $F(1, 93) = 6.752$ ,  $p = .011$ , such that the magnitude of the association became stronger. Study quality was not a significant moderator of behavior control,  $F(1, 76) = 2.603$ ,  $p = .111$ . For metaregression plots, see [Supplemental Figure 13](#).

Follow-up sensitivity analyses were conducted with significant study-level moderators; specifically, models were reanalyzed with study quality as a covariate. Among categorical moderators, community violence and parenting behavior informants were significant moderators of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting. Accounting for study quality, both community violence and parenting behavior informant remained significant moderators,  $F(2, 81) = 5.504$ ,  $p = .006$  and  $F(2, 80) = 10.374$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively. Child age and biological sex remained a significant moderator of the association between community violence and harsh/parenting,  $F(2, 77) = 7.039$ ,  $p = .002$  and  $F(1, 88) = 5.560$ ,  $p = .021$ , respectively. Additionally, race (percentage of BIPOC children in the sample) remained a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and behavior control after study quality was added,  $F(2, 51) = 3.385$ ,  $p = .042$ . For metaregression plots, with

**Figure 3**

*Counter-Contour Plots Illustrating the Distribution of Studies and Significance Regions Between Published and Unpublished Effect Sizes*



*Note.* Counter-contour funnel plots for (A) positive parenting, (B) harsh/neglectful parenting, (C) parent-child relationship quality, and (D) behavior control between published and unpublished effect sizes. Plots illustrate included effect sizes and their significant region. Circles represent published effect sizes and triangles represent unpublished effect sizes.

quality added to continuous moderators, see the HTML output file, available at <https://osf.io/aqs5x/>.

## Discussion

The primary goal of this meta-analysis was to examine the magnitude and direction of the associations between exposure to community violence and four dimensions of parenting behaviors. The mean effect sizes suggested that in contexts of greater exposure to community violence, parents exhibited reduced positive parenting behaviors (e.g., lower sensitivity, warmth, and support), poorer relationship quality with their children (e.g., less time spent together, lower rates of secure attachment, poorer communication), less behavior control (e.g., monitoring, supervision, rule/limit setting), and more harsh/neglectful behavior (e.g., harsh discipline); see Table 4. The associations were small in magnitude, and publication bias analyses typically suggested smaller, although still significant, associations than the naïve meta-analytic mean. Importantly, upon examining the prediction interval estimates for each mean effect size, the heterogeneity of studies was substantial, with estimates ranging from negative to positive values. Given this large variability, it is important to interpret mean effect sizes with

caution. Below, we speculatively consider the potential implications of mean effect sizes while emphasizing that more research is needed, given the inconclusive nature of our meta-analytic results.

## Moderation Effects

Given the large heterogeneity in effect sizes across parenting domains, we examined moderators of the association between community violence and parenting behavior. Although a few of the moderators assessed emerged as statistically significant, the prediction intervals were still quite large, with ranges including zero. Thus, although we describe these moderations below, we recommend caution in their interpretation. Significant moderation effects emerged for the association between exposure to community violence and parenting behaviors reflecting harsh/neglectful parenting and behavior control. First, the associations were significantly stronger when children reported on their exposure to community violence and their parents' harsh/neglectful parenting practices compared to other informant reports (e.g., parents). These findings align with research suggesting that parents may underreport their children's exposure to community violence given parents' lack of knowledge about their children's exposure (Mohammad et al., 2015)



and their own harsh/neglectful parenting due to social desirability and fear of judgment (Rodriguez et al., 2021), which together may interfere with detecting effects. These results suggest that studies relying solely on parents' reports of their parenting behavior or their children's exposure to violence may underestimate the magnitude of the association.

Second, child age was a significant moderator of the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting. As the mean age of the sample increased, the positive association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting became stronger; see Supplemental Table 4 and Figure 2(A). This is consistent with previous studies suggesting that parents engage in more harsh discipline as children age (Eiden, 1999). Community violence may become more strongly associated with parenting practices as children age and as children have more direct exposure to their neighborhoods. In areas characterized by greater community violence, parents may resort to harsh parenting practices, such as corporal punishment, as a perceived means of protecting their children from potential dangers. In a meta-analysis by Gershoff (2002), findings suggested that parents' use of corporal punishment was associated with immediate compliance (Gershoff, 2002), despite evidence of long-term negative consequences (Gershoff, 2010). For studies with a mean child age of less than 5 years old, the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting was nonsignificant. These findings are consistent with other studies that have found a null association between community violence and parenting among young children (Gartstein et al., 2018; Westbrook & Harden, 2010; Yoon et al., 2017).

Third, the biological sex of the child was a significant moderator. Specifically, the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting became weaker as the number of biological male children increased, essentially becoming nonsignificant in samples with greater than 80% male, see Supplemental Table 4 and Figure 2(B). This suggests that the association between exposure to community violence and harsh/neglectful parenting may not be as pronounced or relevant for male children compared to females. Interestingly, a meta-analysis (Endendijk et al., 2016) on gender-differentiated parenting practices suggests that when parents have traditional attitudes about gender roles, they are more likely to show parenting that reinforces gender roles (e.g., more harsh physical control of boys than girls). However, when parents have counter-stereotypical ideas about the roles of male and female children, they might be more likely to show gender-differentiated parenting that reinforces behavior that is inconsistent with gender roles (e.g., more gentle control and guidance of boys than of girls, more harsh or physical control of girls than of boys; Endendijk et al., 2016).

Finally, the percentage of BIPOC children in the study also emerged as a significant moderator. The inverse association between community violence and behavior control was attenuated (becoming closer to zero) in samples with a high percentage (>70%) of children of color; see Supplemental Table 4 and Figure 2(C). These findings suggest that community violence does not seem to have a clear association with parent behavior control among children of color. Parents of children of color might develop adaptive parenting strategies or have access to support networks and community resources that serve as protective factors, aiding parents in maintaining effective behavior control even in the face of exposure

to community violence. Furthermore, the disproportionate rate of violence in communities of color in the United States (Cohen et al., 2016) may contribute to a desensitization effect, wherein BIPOC communities become accustomed to frequent incidents of community violence, leading to no substantial changes in parents' behavior control. In contrast, in communities with lower crime rates, the effects of exposure to community violence may manifest more prominently, showing a discernible influence on parents' behavior control. In assessing the regression plots, many studies containing primarily children of color varied in their association's magnitude and direction, suggesting that other moderators may be accounting for this heterogeneity.

### Findings in Context of Publication Bias, Heterogeneity, and Selection Effects

Although we described the findings above using the naïve meta-analytic means, there is considerable heterogeneity in effect sizes evidenced by the prediction intervals. Specifically, the prediction interval suggests that the overall effect is as likely to be in the positive or negative directions or produce null associations. For example, recommendations made by Cooley-Strickland et al. (2009) for African Americans to be directly studied when investigating community violence may have resulted in an oversampling of populations with greater exposure to community violence (e.g., urban or inner-city communities, lower income neighborhoods, greater percentages of Black/African American and Hispanic residents), leading to selection effects. Studies with limited variability in community violence exposure may result in biased estimates of the association between exposure to community violence and parenting. In addition to direct selection effects, indirect selection bias is plausible. For example, it has been noted that socioeconomic status plays an important role in where families choose to live (i.e., lower income neighborhoods have higher incidences of community violence; Kubrin & Wo, 2015) and resource access (e.g., hiring childcare). Thus, economic status may, at least in part, explain the association between community violence and parenting behavior. These selection effects can nullify or reverse the sign of a correlation if the two focal variables are strongly related to the selection mechanism (e.g., income). Finally, the studies included utilized various recruitment strategies and populations. Thus, selection processes and their degree of bias differs across studies (e.g., some studies were sampled from multiple states/countries; Ramos-Olazagasti et al., 2013 and some were selected from specific cities; Callahan et al., 2011), which may inflate the random-effects variance component and bias the results of moderator and publication bias analyses.

### Considerations for Causal Interpretation

Although we have been cautious about causal language, we acknowledge that we have presented past literature and discussed our results in a way suggesting a specific direction of effects: exposure to community violence affects subsequent parenting behavior. However, it is important to acknowledge alternative explanations of this association. Researchers have highlighted that selection processes may explain why specific parenting patterns (e.g., child maltreatment) tend to occur in certain neighborhoods (Coulton et al., 2007; Sampson et al., 2002). Thus, the associations

between exposure to community violence and parenting behaviors may reflect a selection bias whereby parents are selected into neighborhoods based on individual factors (i.e., individual agency, lack of economic resources) and systemic biases (i.e., historical oppression against lower income communities and communities of color). Rather than focusing on parents' individual attributes that may affect where they live and their parenting, it is critical to frame this discourse in terms of historical structures, policies, and racism that have shaped neighborhood conditions (Acevedo-Garcia & Lochner, 2003; Stoloff, 2004) and parenting behaviors (Patton, 2017). Additionally, future research can carefully consider previously unmeasured factors (e.g., genetic predispositions that affect parenting and life opportunities) alongside historical and systemic factors that may influence community exposures and parenting behaviors. Although causal evidence is limited, some studies offer insights into the direction of effects. In the moving to opportunity experiment, families from public housing in high-poverty neighborhoods were moved into private accommodations in more affluent neighborhoods (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Using data from this study, Kling et al. (2004) found that parents who moved into safer neighborhoods reduced monitoring of their children.

### Limitations and Considerations for Future Directions

Given that studies were assessed ad hoc using a meta-analytic approach, we could not account for the rigor of the data collection, reporting, or possible measurement issues. To address this, we examined the quality of included studies based on considerations involving sampling (e.g., selection, assignment to conditions), research procedures (e.g., study design, blinding), measurements (e.g., reliability, construct validity), and analytic procedures (e.g., assumptions of statistical tests). Results of these analyses suggested that quality either did not influence the overall association (behavior control), made the association weaker (parent-child relationship), or strengthened the association between exposure to community violence and parenting (positive parenting, harsh/neglectful parenting). Thus, no clear pattern was observed across overall effects. Follow-up sensitivity analyses with study-level moderators suggested that study quality did not impact the results. The quality metric used in the current meta-analyses had a limited range. Some reports did not provide sufficient information about their methodology (e.g., participant response rate, power analyses) making it difficult to accurately assess their quality. Furthermore, another criterion, such as masking the outcome variable from participants, while feasible, is more difficult to ensure in cross-sectional studies (Downs & Black, 1998).

In terms of methodological approaches, several limitations in the present meta-analysis should inform future primary research. First, several studies combined violence exposure across home, school, and community environments, which precludes us from examining how these might differentially relate to parenting behaviors and subsequent targeted interventions. Second, given issues of selection bias in this research topic (i.e., oversampling of lower income neighborhoods) and the wealth of cross-sectional studies, we cannot draw causal conclusions about the direction of effects. Second, most studies were conducted in the United States. Although this barrier might be due to language restrictions such as needing an English-translated article, the overrepresentation of U.S. samples reflects the

literature, limiting the generalizability of these findings. Future meta-analytical reviews should also consider performing non-English searches and excluding English-only restrictions to increase the quantity of non-English studies, thus increasing generalizability. Conducting research across different geographical regions will be essential for advancing our understanding of this topic. These limitations point to the need for more methodologically rigorous studies.

Although moderation analyses on aggregate-level data can provide insights into trends across studies, this approach has several limitations (e.g., generalizability, causal inference, confounding variables, etc.). For example, we combined data from various sources (i.e., populations, settings, measurement instruments), which introduces aggregation bias, as the associations between variables may vary across studies due to methodological differences or context-specific factors. Moderation analyses are typically more informative when conducted at the within-study level. Shifts toward data sharing and open science might resolve such limitations. Finally, the present meta-analyses examined race/ethnicity as a moderator. Given the higher rates of exposure to community violence among Black and Hispanic youth (Crouch et al., 2000), these populations were often oversampled in study recruitment. As such, children of other non-White racial groups (e.g., Asian, etc.) were not well-represented. Sixty-four percent of studies did not include children from these other minoritized racial backgrounds. Studies that explicitly reported the percentage had low representation. Recent efforts across journals to explicitly enumerate racial/ethnic representation might encourage a shift toward recruiting representative samples (Flanagin et al., 2021; Roberts et al., 2020).

### Implications for Practice and Policy

As discussed, more research is a critical step for informing implications for practice, policy, and prevention. Overall, our findings should be considered inconclusive. That said, we are speculatively highlighting potential application opportunities for two reasons. First, research is often best motivated by questions with practice and societal relevance; by sharing potential implications of future research (should it confirm associations of interest), we may justify investment in more empirical studies. Second, there are many families who are suffering due to disinvestment at the community level; although there is a clear need for more research, children's healthy development depends, in part, on responsive and effective parenting. Thus, given that findings highlight the possibility of associations between community violence and parenting, we offer preliminary considerations for intervention.

Programs that aim to enhance parenting quality may offer protective effects for children exposed to violence. Evidence-based attachment-based interventions, such as attachment and biobehavioral catch-up (Perrone et al., 2021) and child-parent psychotherapy (Lieberman et al., 2006), have shown effectiveness with young children exposed to interpersonal violence or child maltreatment, even in the context of high community violence (Thorpe et al., 2021). Other promising interventions, such as parent-child interaction therapy (McCabe et al., 2020) and parent-child attunement therapy (Paravicini, 2000), have shown preliminary evidence of their protective effects on adverse outcomes of trauma exposure in children. In addition to family-level support, several school programs have also been implemented across cities to

educate children about the prevalence and effects of exposure to community violence while simultaneously creating a supportive school environment. Multilevel interventions that coordinate services and supports at multiple contextual levels are critical. Although many such programs exist (for review, see the special issue in the *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*; Fowler & Braciszewski, 2009), large, randomized studies are warranted to examine their effectiveness and generalizability across children from different contexts.

In addition to efforts at other levels of a child's ecological system, initiatives are needed at the exosystem to disrupt cycles of violence. Policy changes could promote social justice-informed ways of decreasing community violence (e.g., JohnJayREC, 2023). These include improving the neighborhood's physical environment (e.g., fixing abandoned buildings, greening vacant lots, and lighting public spaces; Cozens et al., 2005), improving neighborhood economic conditions (i.e., structures of poverty due to decades of disinvestment and biased policies; Krivo et al., 2009), and improving social environments, such as establishing local organizations that support children and families. Community reinvestment policies should consider programs to increase community social and economic mobility (e.g., vocational skills and training, general education development/college programs, resume/job support, and investing in local-owned businesses; Squires & O'Connor, 2001).

Additionally, the concept of social capital (Coleman, 1988) suggests that increasing neighborhood social networks may create an environment where nonkin neighbors also look out for children's safety and well-being. Such efforts contribute to the adage "it takes a village," ensuring that children whose parents cannot monitor their behavior (e.g., who have multiple jobs) still have community members and neighbors who promote their well-being. For example, the strong communities for children initiative was developed to build neighborhood social capital to support children and families and reduce the risk of child maltreatment (Kimbrough-Melton & Melton, 2015; Melton, 2014). Strengthening social capital and the relationship between community members and local organizations has been shown to attenuate parenting stress and decrease punitive and coercive parenting practices (Wallace, 2013).

Of note, although we discuss a multisystemic approach to address community violence and ultimately support parents, the results also suggest that some parents parent in more responsive ways in neighborhoods with more community violence than neighborhoods with less violence. Thus, in contexts of greater community violence, parents may be engaging in adaptive or compensatory strategies to support their children and protect against the effects of community violence. Some studies speculate that parents' adaptive responses might be due to other resources in their environment (e.g., economic support and social support; Cuellar et al., 2015; Gonzales et al., 2011). For example, higher income parents might have the capacity to increase responsive parenting in contexts of greater disadvantage (e.g., spending more time with their children), whereas lower income parents may have more constraints that limit their capacity to do so. Despite adaptive strategies that parents might be engaging in by leveraging their own strengths and resilience, it is important that neighborhood conditions support, rather than challenge, responsive parenting.

## Conclusions

Exposure to community violence is one factor, among many, that may impact parenting behaviors and parent-child relationship quality. Although mean effect sizes between community violence and dimensions of parenting were significant, substantial heterogeneity of effect sizes highlights the need for more empirical research. Future ecological studies that examine the association between neighborhood-level factors and parenting could call attention to opportunities for prevention, intervention, and policy to support children's healthy development across contexts.

## References

References marked with an asterisk indicate studies included in the meta-analytic investigation.

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## Appendix

### Search Terms

All terms relating to neighborhood violence were combined using the Boolean « OR » (community crime OR neighborhood crime OR neighborhood violence OR community violence OR neighborhood danger OR neighborhood safety OR community safety OR community danger OR witnessing violence OR violence victimization). All terms related to parents were combined using a Boolean « OR » (parent OR maternal OR paternal OR caregiver). Finally, all terms related to parenting behaviors and the parent–child relationship were combined using a Boolean « OR » (monitoring OR sensitivity OR warmth OR discipline OR harsh punishment OR spanking OR involvement OR support OR harshness OR parent–child relation OR parent–child conflict OR parent–child attachment). These three sets of terms were combined with the Boolean « AND » and explored across all fields (i.e., title, abstract, keywords). When appropriate, truncation symbols were used in

word searches to capture variant endings or spellings of a word (parent\* for parenting or parental).

Community crime OR neighborhood crime OR neighborhood violence OR community violence OR neighborhood danger OR neighborhood safety OR community safety OR community danger OR witnessing violence OR violence victimization AND monitoring OR sensitivity OR warmth OR discipline OR harsh punishment OR spanking OR involvement OR support OR harshness OR parent–child relation OR parent–child conflict OR parent–child attachment OR abuse.

Received December 21, 2021

Revision received February 12, 2024

Accepted March 12, 2024 ■

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