Neighborhood Environment, Cultural Orientation, and Parenting: Understanding the Intergenerational Conflict in Asian Immigrant Families

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Abstract

Intergenerational conflict is endemic and has substantial individual, familial, and societal consequences. However, few studies discussed the influences of the neighborhood environment on intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families. To fill this research gap, the proposed study examined links among neighborhood environment, cultural orientation, parenting stress, social support, and intergenerational conflicts. Two datasets were used in this secondary data analysis: 2011–2017 Study of Asian American Families (SAAF) and the 2016 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates (N = 849). Structural equation model was conducted. Findings suggested that cultural orientation, social support, and parenting stress fully mediated the influences from the neighborhood environment on Intergenerational conflict in Asian immigrant families.

Keywords Neighborhood environment · Intergenerational conflict · Cultural orientation · Asian immigrant families

Intergenerational conflicts refer to disagreements between children and their parents, often involving biased attitudes and generalizations about one generation or the other (Urick et al., 2017). Intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families in the U.S. are manifestations of complex factors (Abdi, et al. 2021) with potentially long-term consequences for the relationships between parents and their children. The factors related to intergenerational conflicts that have been well studied in previous articles include differences in cultural orientation and acculturation, parental stress, levels and types of social support, and personal psychological characteristics. By contrast, contextual or environmental factors, such as residential neighborhood characteristics and neighborhood social cohesion and social capital, are rarely included in studies of intergenerational conflict in U.S. Asian immigrant families. The gap is noteworthy because studies of neighborhood environment have found measurable effects on individual and family social behavior and well-being (Pei et al., 2022a, 2022b). This research aims to address the absence of consideration of environmental factors in research on Asian immigrant intergenerational conflict. By incorporating neighborhood characteristics, along with parental stress, social support, and cultural differences as predictive factors, this research seeks to enlarge understanding of Asian immigrant family intergenerational conflict.

Neighborhood Environment Matters

Neighborhood environment includes various aspects of an individual's living environment, such as activity spaces, characteristics of a community (e.g., neighborhood structural factors: e.g., unemployment rate, ethnic diversity, and average income), and relationships and interactions among residents (e.g., social cohesion and social control). Building upon the social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942), neighborhood structural factors play a crucial role on an individual's wellbeing. In the past decades, the influence

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of the neighborhood environment on individuals' health outcomes and wellbeing has been increasingly discussed among scholars (Yen et al., 2009). For example, the influences of neighborhoods on child maltreatment (e.g., Coulton et al., 2007; Maguire-Jack & Showalter, 2016), maternal health (e.g., McCloskey & Pei, 2019), and child behavioral problems (e.g., Pei et al. 2020a, 2020b, 2022a, 2022b) are documented in previous literature. However, the influence of the neighborhood environment on intergenerational relationships is rarely discussed in previous studies. In particular, to the authors' knowledge, no previous empirical study investigated the relationship between neighborhood environment and intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrants, which is one of the underserved ethnic minorities.

Meanwhile, informed by social support theory (Barrera, 1986) and resilience theory (Van Breda, 2001), neighborhood structural factors interact with parenting stress, social support systems, and cultural orientation, which may further affect intergenerational conflicts. Literature has shown that neighborhood quality can have deleterious or protective impacts on immigrants' parenting stress. In a previous study of Asian mothers, neighborhood structural factors such as availability of resources, lower crime rate, less pollution, and better infrastructure were associated with less parenting stress and strong child-parent relationships (Casselle and Evans, 2017). According to a study of 368 mothers from high-risk communities, increased community danger was linked with more parenting stress, seen as more vigilant and harsh parenting (Pinderhughes, 2001). Likewise, neighborhood stability, identified by less transience and more residential home ownership, as well as the quality of public and institutional services such as community centers, transportation, and outdoor spaces contributed to decreased parenting stress (Pinderhughes, 2001).

Neighborhoods also can impact both the positive and negative role of social support. When living in areas with more perceived neighborhood structural disadvantages, social isolation has been suggested to be a protective factor whereas in areas with more social cohesion, and less perceived neighborhood structural disadvantages, reliance on neighbors and community support had a more positive impact on overall parental mental health and decreased depression (Franco et al., 2010). Meanwhile, according to the social ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the new neighborhood environment as one of the most significant contextual factors could interact with cultural context to influence their behaviors and daily lives as immigrants. Although theoretically the relationship between neighborhood factors and cultural orientation exists, very little research investigated how neighborhood factors affect cultural orientation and acculturation. In this study, cultural orientation refers to the degree to which individuals embrace and participate in the customs, norms, values, and beliefs of one or multiple particular cultures (Tsai & Chentsova-Dutton, 2002; Zhang & Tsai, 2014).

The Impact Factors of Intergenerational Conflicts Among Asian Immigrant Families

The intergenerational conflicts have been studied intensively in the psychological literature (e.g., Yang et al., 2013). As Asian immigrant parents may uphold different cultural orientations from their children, who were born or have been raised in the United States (Kim et al., 2013), acculturation-based intergenerational conflicts prevail in immigrant families with Asian backgrounds (Wang et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2017). Conflicts could result from the cultural beliefs and parenting practice that do not fit into the mainstream of the hosting society (Pei, et al., 2020a, 2020b; Qin, et al., 2008), or could simply be attributed to the differences between parents and children on cultural preferences, such as language, entertainment, and food preferences (Liu, et al., 2017). Research has shown that parent–child cultural differences may contribute to the increase in intergenerational conflict (Lim et al., 2008).

Parenting stress is another factor that has been consistently brought up in research on intergenerational conflicts and is considered a threat to family equilibrium and child well-being (e.g., Yoon et al., 2021). It refers to the situation where the parent perceived insufficient available resources to successfully address the perceived parenting demands (Deater-Deckard et al., 2013). In such situations, parents tend to fail to maintain a positive parent–child relationship (Elder et al., 1995) and the family is susceptible to intergenerational conflicts. Garcia et al. (2017) studied 236 low-income mothers in the United States and found higher parenting stress was associated with greater parent–child conflict across the sample, including those foreign-born immigrant mothers.

Social support for parents is considered as another buffer for intergenerational conflicts in previous research (Liu et al., 2017; Riina et al., 2016). Social support is "the perception or experience that one is cared for, respected, and belonged to a mutually supportive social network" (Taylor, 2011). Based on the social support theory (Barrera, 1986), social support could help parents to cope with various challenges in daily life and further decrease the negative influences from environment on the intergenerational relationship (Levitt et al., 2005; Riina et al., 2016). However, the relationship between parenting stress, social support, and intergenerational conflict among Asian immigrant families has been largely understudied.

The process model of parenting determinants proposed by Belsky (1984) identified three domains of determinants buffering the parent–child relation: parents' personal psychological resources, characteristics of the child, and contextual

sources of stress and support. In Belsky's (1984) model, contextual sources of support ranked even higher than the characteristics of the child in terms of their effectiveness in buffering parent–child conflicts. However, previous empirical studies rarely discussed the contextual sources related to intergenerational relationships among Asian immigrants. Therefore, further investigation of the interactive mechanism of environmental factors, family-level factors, and children's characteristics on intergenerational conflicts is needed.

Mechanisms Among Neighborhood Environment, Social Support, Parenting Stress, and Cultural Orientation

Social support was tied to the protection mechanism protecting human beings against various mental and physical health conditions as well as stressful events (Taylor, 2011). In a study of 255 Chinese immigrant families, increased social support such as an active parental partner was linked to less parenting stress and less harsh parenting (Lui et al., 2020). In a longitudinal study of 4,898 children in 20 different US cities, they found that social isolation, financial hardship, and language barriers all contributed to parenting stress in immigrant families, with immigrant families (25.1%) displaying more emotional and physical child abuse than native families (11.1%). Considering the buffering effect of social support on parental stress (Koeske & Koeske, 1990), scholars tend to advocate for family support services to help decrease parenting stress among families in poverty (Raikes & Thompson, 2005). However, another study of 1300 Korean mothers, found that neighborhood factors must be considered when considering the mediating effects of social support (Lee et al., 2000). In unstable environments with increased neighborhood disadvantages and violence, social support did not contribute to decreased parenting stress as these environments require more parental control (Lee et al., 2000).

Particularly for Asian immigrant parents, who rear children in a non-native cultural context, their perception of social support and utilization of social services can be different due to different cultural orientations (Kung, 2003, 2004) and is worth deeper investigation. Further, As Asian immigrant parents have to deal with the complex acculturation process, which involves challenges of balancing conflicting cultural orientations (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011), social support can play a vital role in helping them navigate the push and pull factors associated with cultural adaptation and facilitate their adjustment to the life in the United States (Levitt et al., 2005).

Additionally, cultural orientation has been shown to affect parenting stress. Specifically, the synchronization of parents' cultural orientation with the immigration destination was linked to less parental stress among Asian immigrant parents (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). With a sample of 268 immigrant parents from China to the United States, Wang et al. (2021) found that the more immigrant parents oriented to the hosting society, the more reduced parental distress they experience in child-rearing practice, which is consistent with other studies conducted in North America (e.g., Yu, et al., 2016).

The Present Study

Building upon existing literature, this study aims to examine links among neighborhood environment, cultural orientation, parenting stress, social support, and intergenerational conflicts. Informed by previous studies, the hypotheses of the present study are: (1) Living in disadvantaged neighborhoods increased intergenerational conflicts via social support, parenting stress, and cultural orientation; (2) strong social support from others would directly affect parenting stress and indirectly affect parenting stress via their cultural orientation; and (3) cultural orientation would be associated with parenting stress and further affect intergenerational conflicts (see conceptual model in Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Conceptual Model
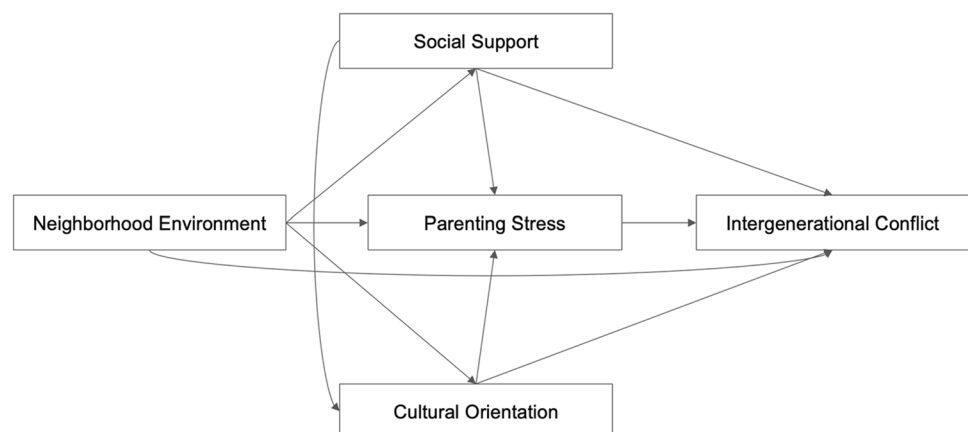
Methods

Two datasets were used in this secondary data analysis: 2011–2017 Study of Asian American Families (SAAF) and the 2016 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates. Zip code variable was used to merge two datasets. The SAAF study is a cross-sectional study on Asian immigrant children's development and parenting conditions in which data were collected between 2011 and 2017. The study includes 964 parents with children aged 0–18 in New York, New Jersey, and Hawaii, and the study population was Asian American parents with at least one child under age 18 living in the same household. Collaborating with local social services agencies and churches, the SAAF research team used the convenience sampling method and interviewed one parent from each household. If a family has more than one child living in the household, the child with the most recent birthday was selected as the focal child for data collection. The ACS 5-year estimates included neighborhood structural factors at the zip code level. It is a vital resource for researchers and the public to gain insights into the evolving dynamics within their communities, as well as to capture comprehensive data on population and housing characteristics across the nation. After data merging, there are 115 cases where information in all variables is missing. Missing data was addressed using full maximum likelihood estimation in Mplus, and the final sample size was 849.

Measures

Neighborhood Structural Factors

Neighborhood structural factors were measured by 7 items in the 2016 ACS 5-year estimates (these 7 items are commonly used in previous research to capture neighborhood structural factors (May et al., 2018; Moilanen et al., 2010), such as "the percentage of Renter-occupied household in this zip code", and "the percentage of families whose income in the past 12 months is below the poverty line".). Based on previous research, neighborhood economic disadvantages, residential instability, and ethnic heterogeneity are the three indexes that are constructed to capture neighborhood structural factors (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). The principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted to construct these three factors to avoid multicollinearity (e.g., May et al., 2018; Moilanen et al., 2010). After applying PCA, the three factors were ratio variables. Economic disadvantage was constructed by 4 items for each zip code: percentage

of civilian labor force (age 16 +) that are unemployed ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.26$), percentage of families below the federal poverty line ($M = 10.57$, $SD = 6.96$), percentage of households on public assistance ($M = 18.34$, $SD = 7.00$), and percentage of female-headed householder ($M = 7.51$, $SD = 4.10$). Residential instability was constructed by two items: the percentage of renter-occupied homes ($M = 50.97$, $SD = 20.96$) and the percentage of families who moved in within 1 year ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.63$). Ethnic heterogeneity captures the ethnic diversity of a neighborhood (Castellini et al., 2011), which was indexed by the percentage of non-Asian population in a zip-code area ($M = 65.15$, $SD = 19.89$).

Intergenerational Conflicts

Intergenerational conflicts were measured by the 10-item Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (Lee et al., 2000; Park, 2001). This standardized scale measures the parent–child conflict situations in daily life using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). Sample questions include "I tell my child what to do with his/her life, but they want to make their own decisions." and "I argue that I show my child love by housing, feeding, and educating him/her, but he/she wishes I would show more physical and verbal signs of affection.". The sum score of 10 items was used and higher scores indicate more intergenerational conflicts. Cronbach's alpha of this scale suggested acceptable reliability ($\alpha = 0.88$).

Cultural Orientation

Two subscales were used to measure cultural orientation in the SAAF: cultural values and cultural practices. Cultural values were measured by the 12-item Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs-Short Form (MACC-SF; Cuéllar et al., 1995). This subscale asked Asian immigrant parents' family-related beliefs such as "More parents should teach their children to be loyal to the family", "A girl should not date a boy unless her parents approve", and "My family frequently participates in school-sponsored activities for our children". Higher scores showed preferences of their own traditional culture. Cronbach's alpha was 0.71 for this study. Cultural practices were measured by 4-items from the Korean Acculturation Scale (Hong, 2001). This subscale evaluated Asian immigrant parents' practice and preferences of language usage and culture related behaviors, such as "Which language(s) do you speak primarily?" and "What is your food preference?". To be consistent with cultural beliefs, all 4 variables were reverse coded and higher scores indicated more preference for their own Culture and language ($\alpha = 0.80$).

Social Support

Asian immigrant parents' social support was a latent variable that was assessed by the 12-item Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS; Zimet et al., 1988). MSPSS is a standardized scale which measures parents' social support from family, friends, and significant others using a 7-point Likert scale. It showed a good internal consistency in this study (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.95).

Parenting Stress

Parenting stress was assessed by a 12-item scale: the Parenting Stress Index Short Form (Abidin, 1990). It evaluated parenting stress levels of Asian immigrant parents using questions like "I feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent" and "Having a child has caused more problems than I expected in my relationships with my spouse (or male/female friend)". The higher score indicated a higher parenting stress level and Cronbach's Alpha was 0.90.

Covariates

Demographic information was added as covariates in this study, including parent's gender (male = 0), parental age, employment, and education degree, child's age and gender (male = 0). Categorical variables (parent's employment and education degree) were dummy coded. Additionally, parents' immigration status was added as a covariate because it is a significant factor that can affect intergenerational conflicts and cultural orientations based on previous studies (Yu et al., 2016). Parent's immigration status was assessed by the number of years living in the US.

Data Analysis

Structural equation modeling was conducted using Mplus 8.0 (Muthen & Muthen, 2015) to examine pathways among neighborhood environment, cultural orientation, parenting stress, social support, and intergenerational conflicts. Because all the measurements in this study were standardized scales that have been used widely in previous studies with high quality, CFA was not conducted. Model fit indices included the comparative fit index (CFI), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Missing data were handled by the full maximum likelihood. To clearly interpret the results, parameter estimates are presented in a standardized form.

Results

Descriptive

Table 1 displayed the descriptive statistics of the key observed variables. This study included 849 Asian immigrant parents in New York, New Jersey, and Hawaii, and 78.1% of them were female. The average age of Asian immigrant parents is approximately 50 and 48% of them held a college degree or above. In each family, the average number of children under age 18 in the household was approximately 2. For these Asian immigrant parents, the average of years in the U.S. was over 20. As for the children, approximately half (49.4%) of them were girls and their mean age is 9.04. Meanwhile, Table 1 also showed the average and standard deviation of all items that were used to construct neighborhood structural factors at the zip code level. In Table 2, the correlation matrix for all latent variables were displayed and all the correlations were significant.

SEM Results

The model fit indices of the structural equation model (SEM) indicated a good model fit: CFI = 0.960, RMSEA = 0.045 (90% CI = 0.043, 0.047), and SRMR = 0.082. Figure 2 presented the standardized path coefficients for significant paths in the SEM model. All three neighborhood structural factors did not have significant direct influences on intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families (Economic disadvantage: $\beta = -0.06$, $p = 0.11$; ethnic heterogeneity: $\beta = -0.01$, $p = 0.85$; residential instability: $\beta = -0.06$, $p = 0.11$). However, all family-level factors, including social support, parenting stress, cultural values, and cultural practice directly affected intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families (social support: $\beta = -0.08$, $p = 0.03$; parenting stress: $\beta = 0.15$, $p < 0.001$; cultural values: $\beta = 0.29$, $p < 0.001$; and cultural practice: $\beta = 0.16$, $p < 0.001$).

Furthermore, as displayed in Fig. 2, economic disadvantage decreased social support ($\beta = -0.10$, $p = 0.016$) and further increased parenting stress ($\beta = -0.35$, $p < 0.001$) in Asian immigrant families. Economic disadvantage also increased parenting stress ($\beta = 0.08$, $p = 0.04$) and preferences of their traditional cultural values ($\beta = 0.10$, $p = 0.02$) and further increased parenting stress ($\beta = 0.13$, $p = 0.001$). It means that Asian immigrants' preference for traditional cultural values increased their parenting stress. Ethnic heterogeneity both directly and indirectly affected parenting stress: ethnic heterogeneity was directly associated with decreased parenting stress ($\beta = -0.12$, $p = 0.00$);

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables (N = 849)

	M (SD)	%	Range
Parent characteristics			
Gender (female)	663	78.1%	
Age	49.89 (7.67)		28–88
Highest education degree			
Less than high school	125	14.7%	
High School and above	317	37.3%	
College and above	407	48.0%	
Child characteristics			
Gender (girls)	419	49.4%	
Age	9.04 (5.01)		0–18
# of Children under 18 in household	1.87 (0.67)		1–6
# of Years in the US (parents)	23.94 (8.29)		7–56
State			
New York		64.4%	
New Jersey		11.9%	
Hawaii		23.7%	
Economic disadvantages (zip code)			
% Unemployment population (age 16+)	3.9 (1.26)		9–12.60
% Families below poverty line	10.57 (6.96)		0–37.30
% Households on public assistance	18.34 (7.00)		3.83–56.99
% Female householder	7.51 (4.10)		0–25.97
Residential instability (zip code)			
% Renter-occupied	50.97 (20.96)		3.5–95.60
% Move in within 1 Year	3.93 (1.63)		0.50–11
Ethnic heterogeneity (Non-Asian; zip code)	65.15 (19.89)		26.3–98.7

Only Observed variables are included in this table. Latent variables are not included in this table

**Table 2** Correlation Matrix for Latent Variables

	Parenting stress	Social support	Cultural values	Cultural practice
Parenting stress	1.00			
Social support	− 0.36	1.00		
Cultural values	0.14	− 0.02	1.00	
Cultural practice	0.24	0.001	− 0.008	1.00

it was also related to increased preferences on their own cultural values ($\beta = 0.12$, $p = 0.006$) but increased preferences on practice American culture ($\beta = $ -0.11, $p = 0.01$) at the same time, which were both further positively related to increased parenting stress (cultural values on parenting stress: $\beta = 0.13$, $p = 0.001$; cultural practices on parenting stress: $\beta = 0.10$, $p < 0.001$). Neighborhood residential instability was only associated with Asian immigrant parents' preferences for practicing American culture ($\beta = − 0.12$, $p = 0.001$), which increased the parenting stress ($\beta = 0.19$, $p < 0.001$). Finally, economic disadvantage was negatively related to social support, and then was related to increased preferences on their own cultural values ($\beta = − 0.10$, $p = 0.005$), which further increased intergenerational conflicts.

Discussion

The current study aims to investigate the mechanisms among neighborhood environment, cultural orientation, parenting stress, social support, and intergenerational conflicts in Asian immigrant families. The findings contributed to existing literature by adding the interactive effects among neighborhood and family level factors on intergenerational conflicts, which can inform intervention efforts to foster healthy family relationships among Asian immigrant families. Consistent with the hypothesis, neighborhood structural factors indirectly affect intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families via social support, parenting stress, and cultural orientations.

Fig. 2 Observed Path Model of the Effects of Neighborhood Environment on Intergenerational Conflicts. Note. ****p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<0.05*
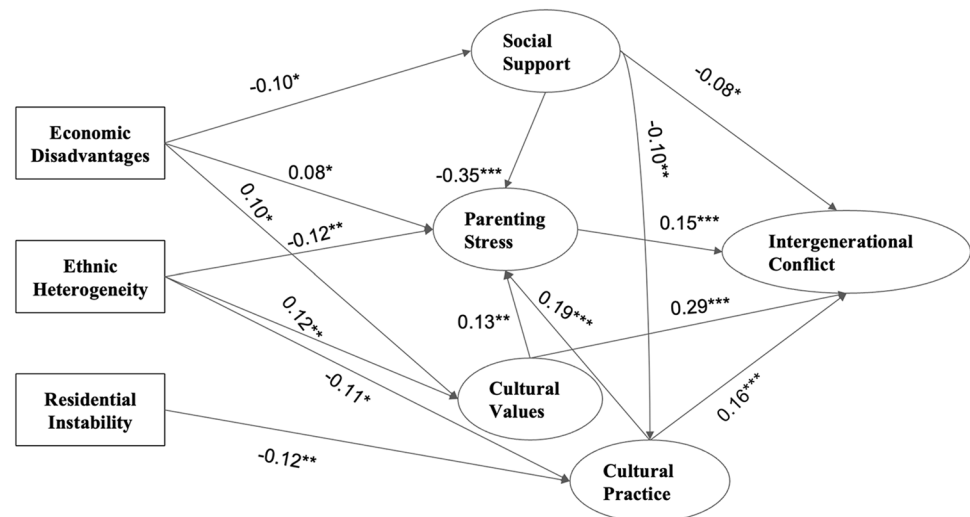
However, no direct influences were identified from neighborhood structural factors on intergenerational conflicts. Future studies are warranted to capture detailed information of such a dynamic environmental process.

Direct Effects on Intergenerational Conflicts

Direct effects were found from social support, parental stress, and cultural orientation on intergenerational conflicts, respectively. Such findings showed that the more robust social support immigrant parents perceived, the less intergenerational conflict they would experience, which is consistent with previous literature (e.g., Liu, et al., 2020; Tsai & Chentsova-Dutton, 2002). This finding showed that social support is a crucial positive factor to release parenting stress after controlling for ethnicities. According to social support theory, for Asian immigrant families, their social support would be more important since it can buffer the stresses from their immigrant experiences. In line with previous research on the effects of parental stress on intergenerational conflicts (e.g., Liu, et al., 2020), the present study also found that the stronger parental stress immigrant parents perceived, the more intergenerational conflicts they would report. Currently, various community-level services have been established in Asian immigrant communities to reduce parenting stress. For example, for over 30 years, the Center for Family Life based in New York, where the SAAF recruited some of its New York samples, has been running rich programs to reduce parental stress and parent–child conflicts, such as family counseling services and parenting training programs. However, due to cultural factors, many Asian immigrants highly regard family honor and prefer to resolve family business behind closed doors, making them less likely to seek or utilize social services (Kung, 2004; Wang, et al., 2021).

In social work practice, more efforts should be made to identify those Asian immigrant parents in need and help them better engage and utilize family social services.

The present study found both cultural values and cultural practices to be significantly associated with intergenerational conflicts. Asian immigrant parents who tend to adopt American cultural values and practices more over their innate cultural values and practices would have fewer conflicts with their children. Such a finding may be explained by the acculturation gap-distress model (Lee et al., 2000), which considers intergenerational conflicts of cultural values to be derived from parent–child acculturation gaps. Therefore, supportive resources should be made available to Asian immigrant families to bridge cultural gaps or breed mutual understanding between foreign-born immigrant parents and their children raised in the United States.

Interestingly, the influence of neighborhood disorder on intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families was fully mediated by social support, parenting stress, and cultural orientation, which means there are no direct effects from neighborhood disorder on intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrant families. To the best of available knowledge, no similar findings were discovered in prior research of immigrant families' intergenerational conflicts. However, this finding supported the theoretical framework (social ecological theory) of the mechanism of the influences of neighborhood disorder on intergenerational conflicts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). According to the social ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), neighborhood level factors affect individuals' behaviors via their interactive effects with family level factors. This may highlight the contribution of the current study by adding a piece of empirical evidence to support the application of social ecological theory among the immigration population.

Mechanisms of Neighborhood Disorder, Social Support, Parenting Stress, and Cultural Orientation on Intergenerational Conflicts

Regarding the complex relationships among neighborhood disorder, social support, parenting stress, cultural orientation, and intergenerational conflicts, one of the most table findings was the negative influences of neighborhood disadvantages on social support, parenting stress, and cultural values, which further affect intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrants. Asian immigrant families living in economically disadvantaged communities showed significantly less social support, higher parenting stress level, and more preferences on their own traditional Asian cultures, which further increased intergenerational conflicts. These findings are consistent with literature on the general population regarding neighborhood effects, social support, and parenting stress (e.g., Casselles and Evans, 2017; Franco et al, 2010; McCloskey & Pei, 2019). While most previous empirical studies focused on either one of two pathways or only focused on the general population (e.g., Garcia et al., 2017; McCloskey & Pei, 2019), our findings build a more comprehensive understanding of these factors. In particular, the findings focus on the mechanism of Asian immigrant families, which extends the existing knowledge of the interactive neighborhood factors and family level factors to ethnic minorities. Additionally, practitioners should recognize that enhancing social support, fostering open communication about family values, and mitigating parental stress can be effective ways to positively change the neighborhood environment, considering that directly altering the neighborhood environment can pose challenges.

Notably, the finding from this study is the first study that showed that neighborhood economic disadvantage was associated with increased Asian immigrant residents' preference toward their own traditional culture and then increased intergenerational conflicts. To the best of available knowledge, previous empirical studies only focus on the relationship between cultural values and intergenerational conflicts among minority families (Liu et al., 2017), but no previous research investigated how immigrants' living environment affects their cultural orientation. Finding from this study suggest that living in economically disadvantaged communities might be related to increased immigrants' negative impressions and experiences of American culture and society, which cause them to develop a certain type of "stereotype" toward American culture and preference toward believing in their traditional culture. However, another finding suggested that ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability were not related to social support. Ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability were two concepts that were developed last century during European immigration (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Because

of the advancement of transportation methods and social culture, the increased ethnic diversity of a neighborhood and increased movement of a neighborhood probably are not good indexes to capture the neighborhood disadvantage anymore. Further studies are called to provide more detailed information on the measurement and validity of using ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability of a neighborhood to capture neighborhood disorder.

Meanwhile, living in neighborhoods with higher ethnic diversity is associated with decreased parenting stress, and references towards immigrants' traditional cultural values, which further increase intergenerational conflicts in Asian immigrant families. It should be noted that neighborhoods with higher ethnic diversity are related to increased beliefs in Asian immigrants' traditional culture but decreased practices and behaviors towards their own culture, and further decreased intergenerational conflicts. It is supported by previous research that practicing American culture and behaviors would decrease intergenerational conflicts since second-generation immigrants are more likely to prefer American culture (Min, 2002). This is an interesting finding and may be explained by the differences between cultural values and cultural practices. Living in neighborhoods with a diverse body of ethnicities can be related to increased awareness of people's cultural identification and cultural values. However, higher ethnic heterogeneity for Asian immigrants also means a higher percentage of white, black, and other populations in their neighborhoods, which means that speaking English, having Western food, and watching English TV are more common in their neighborhoods. Thus, Asian parents in such neighborhoods may also practice more American culture and behaviors since it's more convenient and easier in their daily lives, although their preference of cultural beliefs and values is still their traditional Asian culture. The inconsistency of the effects of cultural values and cultural practices on Asian immigrants' parenting and family should be further investigated in future studies.

Furthermore, neighborhoods with higher residential instability are only related to cultural practice. Living in neighborhoods with more neighbors moving in and out is associated with Asian immigrants' preferences of practicing American cultures and behaviors (e.g., using English in their homes, watching English TV shows etc.) and then led to decrease of their intergenerational conflicts. Due to the advancement in transportation, changes in culture, and globalization, nowadays, more and more families move from one place to another for career opportunities, educational resources, and social services, etc. Therefore, whether residential instability is still a valid and reliable index to measure the quality of a neighborhood is questioned by some previous researchers (Pei et al. 2022a, b).

Lastly, the influences of economic disadvantages on intergenerational conflicts among Asian immigrants were

mediated by social support, cultural practice, and parenting stress at the same time. This finding implies that economic disadvantages interact with social support, cultural orientation, and parenting stress, and then affect the family relationships of Asian immigrants. It is a complex mechanism that warrants future longitudinal investigation to build casual relationships. However, the current study is the first study that provides a comprehensive picture of the relationships among both neighborhood level and family level factors of Asian immigrant families.

Limitations

As noted, the current study has some limitations. First, the sample used by the current study only includes Asian immigrant families who live in three states in the U.S. (New York, New Jersey, and Hawaii); thus, findings of this study may not be generalized to a broader population. Second, due to the cross-sectional study design, no causal relationships can be built from this study. Causal conclusions will require further investigation of the longitudinal effects of neighborhood and family level factors on intergenerational conflicts. Finally, since the SAAF dataset did not collect any information of neighborhood process factors, such as social cohesion and social control, neighborhood process factors were not added as covariates in the current study. Indicators of neighborhood environment did not include variables such as housing quality, density, or respondents' assessments of safety, noise, public spaces, or local access to amenities. With a more complex representation of neighborhood, the strength of some relationships could change. Additionally, due to the lack of concentration of the sample and the relatively small sample size, clustered effects were not detected in the current study. Also, future studies might consider adding the analysis of subethnicities to investigate more on the racial differences of this topic.

Conclusion

While cultural orientation, social support, and parental stress show direct relationship to intergenerational conflict in Asian immigrant families, neighborhood environment does exert influence. The relationship is indirect, with greater neighborhood disadvantage associated with higher rates of parental stress, less social support, and stronger preference for traditional culture and values. These, in turn, are directly associated with intergenerational conflict. The findings of indirect influence suggest that attention to neighborhood environment could be considered for upstream intervention, paired with direct focus on parental stress and social support, to reduce intergenerational conflict in Asian immigrant

families. These results show that the complex dynamics of neighborhood environment with individual and family characteristics merit greater elaboration in order to fully understand the factors affecting intergenerational conflict in Asian immigrant families.

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