ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: WHAT'S RACE GOT TO DO WITH IT?: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF RACE ON THE IMMIGRATION-CRIME RELATIONSHIP

Diomand Henry Masters of Arts 2024

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Existing literature on immigration and crime suggests a negative correlation between immigration and neighborhood crime rates. However, the influence of race on this relationship has been understudied. This thesis addresses this gap by examining the immigration-crime relationship at the neighborhood level with a focus on the racial background of the foreign born population and the dominant racial composition of the community. Utilizing data from the National Neighborhood Crime Study II (NNCS2) and the 2008-2012 American Community Survey, this study incorporates race in three ways: categorizing immigrants by racial group (Black, White, Latino, and Asian), analyzing the impact of immigration across distinct racial neighborhoods (Black, White, Latino, and Multi-Ethnic), and examining the interaction between the racial groups of immigrants and neighborhood types on crime rates. The findings reveal that: (1) consistent with prior literature, immigration is associated with lower neighborhood crime rates; (2) the strength of this relationship varies across different racial backgrounds of immigrants and (3) the relationship differs across varying levels of racial composition at the neighborhood level, indicating that race significantly influences the immigration-crime dynamic. Overall, the results underscore the critical importance of incorporating race into discussions about immigration and crime.

WHAT'S RACE GOT TO DO WITH IT?: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF RACE ON THE IMMIGRATION-CRIME RELATIONSHIP

by

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Thesis submitted by the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2024

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Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to undertake and complete this research. This journey would not have been possible without the guidance, support, and encouragement of many individuals.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Maria Vélez, for her invaluable guidance, continuous support, and patience throughout my research. Their insightful feedback and unwavering belief in my work have been instrumental in shaping this thesis.

I am also thankful to the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Min Xie, and Dr. Greg Midgette for their constructive criticism and insightful suggestions, which have greatly improved the quality of this work.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dad and my close friends/sisters, Shantal and Praxedes for their unconditional love, support and for being my greatest cheerleaders throughout my journey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite media and political discourse suggesting that immigrants increase crime, empirical evidence does not support these views (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; 2023). Decades of research consistently finds that immigrants commit fewer crime than their native-born counterparts and that higher concentrations of immigration are either negatively associated with neighborhood crime or not at all associated (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; Graif & Sampson, 2009; Lyons et al., 2013; Martínez et al., 2004; 2008; 2010; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; 2018; Stowell et al., 2007; Wadsworth, 2010). Yet, while there has been empirical progress in the immigration-crime relationship, many gaps in the literature warrant further study (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; 2023).

One notable limitation is that this body of work fails to thoroughly examine how race and ethnicity shape the nexus between immigration and crime. Most contemporary research measures immigrants as one homogenous population (Kubrin et al., 2018; Ousey & Kubrin, 2017; Stowell & Martinez, 2007; 2009; Zaatut & DiPietro, 2023). Yet, the immigrant population within the United States is incredibly diverse ethnically and racially. These racial categorizations shape each group's context of reception, eventual socio-economic outcomes, and neighborhood choices. An emerging area of research explores the role of race and ethnicity in the immigration-crime relationship by examining the association between immigration concentration on crime across distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods. Studies investigating the crime-protective benefits on distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods demonstrate that crime-protective benefits of immigrant concentration are stronger for some groups than others (Hernandez et al., 2018; Krivo et al., 2021; Ramey, 2013). Additionally, researchers have begun to examine impact of immigrant race on the immigration-crime relationship. Investigating the influence of race and ethnicity of the immigrant population is important because the United States operates under a racial hierarchy. Through individual and institutional discrimination, ethnic and racial identity predicts educational attainment, limits workforce and housing options, health care opportunities, and mental and physical health outcomes (Bonilla-Silva, 2013). Furthermore, treating immigrant groups as a homogenous population might miss how immigrant ethno-racial identities and their attendant connection to the racial hierarchy may influence the relationship between immigration and crime.

This thesis is motivated to incorporate the concept of race as an organizing principle into the neighborhood literature on immigration-crime link. I capture the influence of race on the immigrant-crime relationship in three ways. I first disaggregate the immigrant population by race to assess how a particular immigrant group's size by race shapes the amount of crime in a neighborhood. For example, I assess the influence of the percentage of Black immigrants on neighborhood crime. Second, I assess the uniformity of the immigrant-crime relationship by distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods. Finally, I explore how immigration affects different racial neighborhoods depending on the racial background of the immigrants. I primarily use the National Neighborhood Crime Study II (NNCS2) for crime data and neighborhood characteristics. I incorporate the American Community Survey between 2008 and 2012 that allows me to break down the foreign-born population by nation of origin.

In conducting these analyses my thesis makes make two contributions. First, prior research examining the impact of disaggregation of immigrants by race was limited to one city (Davies & Fagan, 2012) or state (Kubrin et al., 2018). Thus, extending this study to 71 cities and their corresponding neighborhoods across the United States will provide a greater understanding of the generalizability of the immigration-crime relationship across immigrant groups. Second, past research has suggested that the protective influence of immigration is maximized when the immigrant population's race matches the race of the predominant neighborhood racial group. However, few have empirically tested this hypothesis (Martinez & Lee, 2002; Ulmer & Light, 2016; Ramos, 2023). Immigrant groups that reflect the hosting neighborhood may be less likely to experience exclusion and conflict that occurs with the introduction of racial conflict. The smoother integration reduces isolation and thus these immigrant groups can increase social capital, potentially enhancing informal social control and community institutions, ultimately leading to a decrease in crime (Ulmer & Light, 2016).

The remainder of this thesis unfolds as follows. First, I discuss key studies and theories around the macro-level immigration-crime relationship. Second, I highlight the role of race and ethnicity in the immigration-crime relationship and summarize current research exploring the intersection of race immigration and crime. Third, I lay out the research questions and hypotheses, datasets, and analytical strategies used in the current study. Fourth, I provide my findings. Fifth, I discuss my findings and interpretations before providing future discussions and policy implications.

Chapter 2: Existing Knowledge And Theoretical Framework

Immigration and Crime

In contrast to political discourse, decades of existing research on immigration and crime suggest that higher immigration concentrations do not lead to higher neighborhood crime rates (Martínez, 2006; Martínez et al., 2004; 2010; Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Sampson, 2008). In their review of contemporary research examining the relationship between immigrant concentration and crime, Ousey and Kubrin (2018) found that most research shows no relationship between immigration concentration and neighborhood crime, and those that do find a significant relationship between immigration and crime showed a negative relationship. These results remain true across various crime measures (violent, property, and delinquency) (Butcher & Piehl,1998; Martínez et al., 2010; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Sampson, 2008) and across aggregate level measures (i.e. city, metropolitan areas, neighborhoods situated in larger area of immigrants) (Ousey and Kubrin, 2009, 2014; Stowell et al., 2009; Martinez et al., 2010; Wadsworth, 2010).

Contemporary scholars turn toward the immigrant revitalization thesis to explain why immigrant concentration reduces neighborhood crime (Lee et al., 2001; Lee & Martinez, 2002; Martinez et al., 2004; Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). The immigrant revitalization thesis argues that immigration concentration mainly reduces neighborhood crime in two primary ways (Ousey& Kubrin, 2018). First, the revitalization thesis posits that a greater concentration of immigrants reinforces formal and informal social control. Immigrants develop strong ties to family members, fellow residents, and social service providers (e.g., school officials). These relationships provide sizeable social support networks as well as serve to reinforce social rules that help to reduce neighborhood crime (Martínez, 2006; Kubrin et al., 2018; Vélez, 2009). Furthermore, neighborhood institutions like churches, schools, and local community centers organize activities that further create social ties and networks among residents and can provide to residents to connect them to external resources and community members through services such as legal aid bureaus, health clinics, and bilingual services (Marrow, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Vélez, 2009; Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Second, the revitalization thesis argues that immigrant concentration helps to reinvigorate the local economy (Martínez, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Sampson, 2017; Vigdor, 2014). In areas with a higher concentration of immigrants, often categorized as ethnic enclaves, immigrants with social capital create new job opportunities for residents (immigrants and non-immigrants alike). Furthermore, they aid in locating opportunities or resources in education, government assistance, social services and housing that may not typically be available outside of an enclave such as ethno-racial specific restaurants and vendors (Sampson, 2008; Vélez, 2009; Waters & Eschbach, 1995).

Impact of Race/Ethnicity on the Immigration-Crime Relationship

Unpacking the immigrant group by race/ethnicity

The majority of contemporary criminological research on immigration relies on broad measures of immigration such as percent foreign-born or a combination of measures (such as percent language isolation, percent recent foreign-born, and percent foreign-born). However, using a binary measure of immigration (foreign-born vs non-foreign) assumes all immigrants should have the same effect on the immigration-crime relationship at the neighborhood level. This thesis argues, however, that immigrant groups may produce differential relationships between immigration and crime at the neighborhood level.

Why should immigration-crime literature consider immigrant racial groups? There are multiple reasons. For one, the United States operates under a structure of racial hierarchy. Therefore, it is crucial to consider how these racial divisions shape the immigration-crime literature as the size and proportion of minority immigrants grow. Race and ethnicity are social constructs that are tied to access (or lack thereof) to resources and opportunities within the housing labor market, education, and other opportunities, particularly the distinction between White and non-White counterparts when examining both immigrants (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Kibria et al., 2014). Race is defined primarily by phenotypical features such as skin color, hair texture, and other distinctive features (APA, 2023; Foner, 2023; Kibria et al., 2014). Ethnicity refers to people with shared cultural characteristics such as language, religion, and traditions (APA, 2023; Foner, 2023; Kibria et al., 2014). Examining the effect of race on the immigration-crime relationship is therefore important because race directly effects the immigrant experience and will give us a more nuanced understanding of immigration on crime.

Second, contemporary immigrants are mostly people of color and more diverse compared to earlier waves of twentieth-century White immigrants who largely came from Europe. Currently, immigrants from Latin America and Asia make up roughly 75% of the foreign-born population, with minor but significant populations from the Caribbean, Middle East, and Africa (Butcher & Piehl, 1998a; Esterline & Batalova, 2022; Foner et al., 2018; Kleniewski, 1997; Martinez, 2006; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Ousey & Kubrin, 2017; Zaatut & DiPietro, 2023). Some scholars may criticize pan-ethnic or racial categorizations (i.e., Asian, Latino) because they reinforce notions of homogeneity within the groups (Charles, 2003; Zaatut & DiPietro, 2023). Scholars argue that pan-ethnic identities imply that the effect of immigration on crime is the same across all White, Black, Latino, and Asian immigrants by minimizing within group differences by nation of origin, such as variations in social and human capital, reasons for migration or even difference across groups cultural values (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Feagin, 2006; Foner, 2023; Weiner, 2012; Kibria et al., 2014).

While immigrant groups within nations may differ from one another, upon entrance to the United States, immigrants are racialized according to the racial hierarchy (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Lopez, 2017). For example, many African or Caribbean immigrants are sorted into the ethno-racial categorization of Black, Chinese, and Indians into the pan-ethnic Asian category (Foner et al., 2018; Waters, 1999). Race has meanings that are attached to it, and, therefore, racialization shapes different groups' contexts of reception or how groups are perceived or received. These perceptions of different racial groups by others ultimately determine power, opportunities, and constraints for those groups based on the characteristics associated with those groups, such as perceived foreignness or inferiority (Dalal, 2002; Kim, 1999; López et al., 2018). Research examining residential patterns of groups suggests that immigrants do not randomly select into neighborhoods. In addition to social expectations and labels, race is also directly tied to economic standing and human capital. Spatial assimilation theorists suggest that groups choose to live where they can afford. Immigrants with lower socioeconomic status characteristics, such as educational attainment and lower-skill jobs, are more selected into neighborhoods that are lower income, have lower educational attainment, and have less access to resources or opportunities. These characteristics on their own are linked to higher crime rates. Other immigrants, such as those with higher educational attainment and high-paying jobs, have access to neighborhoods with better access to institutional resources, such as higher-income schools.

Furthermore, spatial assimilation predicts that once families increase their income, they are likely to move up into neighborhoods with better overall outcomes, such as better schooling and lower crime (Alba & Logan, 1993; Massey & Denton, 1994). However, scholars point out that people of color face restricted neighborhood choices due to discriminatory racial practices regardless of their economic standing. Race is likely to shape immigrant groups' relationship to crime in that it plays into who can move once they achieve that higher income. White immigrants with high social and economic standing will likely move freely into higher-income neighborhoods. In contrast, immigrant groups of color, mainly Black and Latino immigrants because of socioeconomic background and racial discrimination practices, may be relegated to neighborhoods with lower income, access opportunities, and higher crime even if they gain the financial resources to possibly move up in neighborhoods (Logan & Alba, 1993).

Below, I outline the basic positioning of each group's social and economic status to create a picture of how these characteristics shape what neighborhoods they settle into and their relationship to crime.

White Immigrants

As stated previously, though White immigrants at one point compromised most immigrants into this country, as of 2021, they only account for 17% of the immigrant population. White immigrants constitute individuals from Europe, Canada, the Middle East, and North Africa (MENA). White immigrants currently make up the second group of high-skill technical labor force jobs (36%) compared only second to their Asian counterparts (Bennett, 2020) and otherwise are doing better than immigrant counterparts in other measures of socioeconomic well-being. They have the lowest unemployment rate compared to their immigrant counterparts (Bureau of Labor, 2023). Furthermore, in a series of studies conducted by the Migration Policy

Institute, European (47%), Canadian (52), and Middle Eastern and North African (46%) immigrants over the age of 25 have higher bachelor's degree attainment compared to other U.S. immigrants (Harjanto & Batalova, 2022; Israel & Batalova 2021; Oyolola & Batalova, 2024). They also have the highest household median incomes of $89,000 and $87,000 (Israel & Batalova, 2021; Oyolola & Batalova, 2024).

White immigrants coming into the United States are racialized and designated as White. Furthermore, the possession of Whiteness grants allows them to be perceived as native-born. The invisibility of their immigrant identity allows for the same access that their native counterparts are granted and allows them to avoid anti-immigrant rhetoric most of the time (McDermott & Samson, 2005). Furthermore, their presumed nativity has resulted in significantly less media coverage or research looking at them as a group compared to their Asian, Latino, and Black counterparts. The exceptions that many researchers pointed out, however are their dark Middle Eastern counterparts who are documented as White but may not be treated as such due to anti-Muslim rhetoric (Foner, 2023; Zaatut & DiPietro, 2023). Along with their economic standing, their undetectability allows White immigrants to move into neighborhoods with the least disadvantage, higher income, and less supervision, all characteristics associated with lower crime rates.

Black Immigrants

Black immigrants have the smallest share of the immigrant population. They make up 8% of the immigrant population and have roughly reached 4.6 million in 2019 (Tamir & Anderson, 2022). Despite similar levels of education to the U.S. population (31% vs 29%), Black immigrants' household incomes are lower than the median U.S. household. According to the Pew Research Center, in 2019, the median household income for Black immigrants was lower than the U.S. immigrant population but higher than that of the native-born Black population (Tamir & Anderson, 2022). Black immigrants are less likely to be employed in high-skilled jobs compared to White, and Asian counterparts are still more likely to than Latinos. The employment outcomes are not directly a result of differences in education and human capital on arrival. For example, Rosenblum and colleagues (2016) found that ethno-racial identity explained most differences in skin color on earnings outcomes among immigrants. In particular, Black and Latino immigrants disproportionally earned lower income compared to their White and Asian counterparts. Moreover, these differences occur irrespective of educational attainment across races and when controlling for English proficiency was most evident for Black immigrants.

Racial classification for African and Caribbean immigrants as Black comes with its own barriers. Neither the increased diversity of Black individuals from differing outside of the United States nor the expansion of the Black middle class has contributed little to the monolithic conception of Blackness held by White people and other non-Black populations (Waters, 1999; Foner, 2023). As Waters puts it, "the image of blacks as poor, unworthy and dangerous is still very potent\and it is up to individuals to prove themselves otherwise" (2001:pg 213; see also, Clerge, 2019). Therefore, due to their economic and social standing compared to White immigrants Black immigrants are more likely to be restricted to neighborhoods with high structural disadvantage, and low-income associated with high levels of crime.

Asian Immigrants

Asian immigrants, currently account for roughly 25% of the immigrant population and are the fastest growing immigrant population in the United States (Pew Research, 2023). As of 2019, India, China and the Philippines were the top sending countries for Asian immigrants. As a group, Asian immigrants are doing well in socioeconomic characters in comparison to the overall immigrant population and roughly similar to their native counterparts. Asians are considered a hyper-selected immigrant group because they account for majority of highly skilled work, and student visas account for the majority H-1B visa holders, (mainly Indian 75%and Chinese 12%) entering the United States under a program designed to recruit highly skilled workers from abroad in order to meet the labor shortages of the U.S. industries (Foner, 2023). Furthermore, Asian immigrants are more likely (42%) to be employed in high-skill positions such as chemical engineers and computer programmers than any other immigrant racial group in managerial and tech fields than other immigrants. Additionally, Asian immigrants account for the majority of foreign student visas and compared to other immigrant populations Asians have the highest educational attainment with more than 54 % earning a college degree roughly similar to that of their US counterparts (55%) (Bureau of Labor Stats, 2023; Pew, 2021). Similar to the other socio-economic characteristics, Asian immigrants are also above age in household income in examining the median household income for Asian immigrants was $88,000, second to only White immigrants and higher than $66,000 for immigrant households overall (Hanna & Batalova, 2023).

Asian immigrants and their descendants face prejudice and discrimination based on their perceived foreignness or lack of nativity, due to their socio-economic success as an immigrant group, they are characterized as the "model minority." The model minority myth suggests that Asians have innate cultural values such as a strong work ethic and commitment to education, which explains how Asians have achieved their socioeconomic success. This model minority stereotype is also used to create a distinction between Asians and other minority groups, giving legitimacy to inequalities by suggesting some minority groups can make it in the United States by "pulling themselves up by their bootstraps," arguing that racial disadvantage arguments are simply an excuse used by some groups to justify their inadequacy. The myth, therefore, plays an essential piece along with socioeconomic status in incorporating Asian immigrants into the racial hierarchy (Foner, 2023; Kibria et al., 2014; Kim, 1999). Because Asian immigrants arrive with higher than average human capital, as exemplified by their economic standing, Asian immigrants and their descendants are more likely to move into neighborhoods with lower structural disadvantage and higher average income attributes, which are associated with less violent crime (Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Sampson et al., 2018). Furthermore, the model minority myth may also account for prior research that suggests that White Americans exhibit lower aversion or feelings of racial prejudice towards Asian Americans than to their Black and Latino counterparts and ,therefore, their presence in the White neighborhoods they reside in should not bring more antagonism (Dixon, 2006; Fussell, 2014).

Latino Immigrants

Latino immigrants comprise the largest share of the immigrant population; they make up half of the immigrant population (20 million) (Pew 2020; 2023). In 2020, Mexicans made up 34% of the Latino population, followed by Guatemalans, Hondurans, Dominicans, and Venezuelans, who make up together the next 36% of the Latino immigrant population. Compared to other immigrant groups, Latinos are worse off on most socio-economic characteristics. According to the 2020 Census, Latino immigrants have the lowest educational attainment, with roughly 27% of those individuals have a bachelors or higher at the age of 25. Second, Latino immigrant groups are more likely to be employed in service jobs, construction, maintenance and maintenance occupations compared to any other group. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2023; Rosenbloom & Batalova, 2022). Meanwhile, the average household income for South American immigrants ($63,000) is roughly the same as that of other U.S. immigrants, at

$64,000. However, the median income for Mexicans and Central Americans, the largest immigrant national groups within the Latino population, was significantly lower at $51,000. On a social level, like Asians, Latino immigrants and their descendants are seen as inherently foreign. However, due to their continuous migration Latino immigrants are synonymous with "illegal alien," the stereotypical criminal foreign other, perceived as inferior to the dominant White U.S. born, and exist on the opposite end of the "good" or "model minority" immigrant that the United States (Romero, 2008). Due to their economic and social standing, Latino immigrants may be relegated to lower-income, more disadvantaged neighborhoods, attributes associated with more crime, potentially limiting the relationship between immigration and crime.

Immigrant ethno-racial categorization is also reflected in residential patterns (Iceland, 2009; National Academy of Sciences, 2015; Park & Iceland, 2011). When examining the effect of immigrant race on residential outcomes, immigrants follow similar patterns to their native counterparts, research finds that Black immigrants, like their native counterparts, are the most likely to be segregated from the native White population (Logan et al., 2004; Davies & Fagan, 2012; Foner et al., 2023; Iceland, 2009; National Academy of Sciences, 2015; Tesfai, 2019). Conversely, Asian immigrants are the most likely to live in multi-ethnic and White neighborhoods. According to the Pew Research Center, by 2010, only 11% of Asian immigrants lived in census tracts in which Asian Americans are the majority. Latino immigrants integrate with the White population somewhere on that spectrum (Alba & Foner, 2015; Foner et al., 2018;2023; National Academy of Sciences, 2015; Iceland & Scopatti, 2008). Furthermore, while segregation decreases for Latinos and Asians as their socioeconomic status increases, Black immigrants' levels of segregation remain high no matter their socioeconomic status (Iceland, 2009).

Recent research disaggregating immigrants by race and ethnicity on neighborhood crime has shown differential results (Davies & Fagan, 2012; Kubrin et al., 2018). For example, Davies and Fagan (2012) investigated whether different immigrant populations by race (Black, White, Asian, and Latino) influenced the relationship between immigration and crime at the neighborhood level in New York City. Authors found that higher concentrations of Black and White immigrants had significant negative relationships to crime. In contrast, the concentration of Asian and Latino immigrants had a negative but non-significant relationship to neighborhood crime. In another study, authors examined the role of race and ethnic categories of immigrants on crime in Southern California (Kubrin et al., 2018). They found that Black immigrants had a significant negative association with crime; however, Latinos were positively associated with crime. White immigrants had a small, non-significant relationship with crime, and Asians only had a negative association with property crime. Results may vary due to different national origins that comprise the Black, White, Asian, and Latino groups in these different states. However, extending this research across many states will enable us to understand the generalizability of prior findings.

Hypothesis 1: I hypothesize that neighborhoods with greater shares of White immigrants will have a stronger negative association with neighborhood crime than those with greater shares of Black, Latino, or Asian groups.

Ethno-racial neighborhood-specific effects

The concept of race and the racial hierarchy in the United States has far-reaching implications, not only for immigrants entering the country, but also for individuals already residing here. One impact of racial hierarchy within the United States is residential segregation. The neighborhoods individuals reside in determine access to crucial resources and opportunities required for assimilation. An ever-growing body of literature on neighborhoods and crime has highlighted the impact of racial segregation on differences in neighborhood crime rates (Hall et al., 2015; Hernandez et al., 2018; Krivo et al., 2021; Krivo & Peterson, 2009; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Ramey, 2013; Saporu et al., 2011). Scholars contend that these differences in neighborhood crime result from differential social and economic conditions within distinct racial and ethnic neighborhoods. Furthermore, rather than inherent differences in the criminal behavior of residents, scholars argue that these differences are maintained and reproduced by the social structure of racial hierarchy through labor and housing market discrimination which results in continuous residential segregation, increased criminal justice surveillance, and other social services (Davies & Fagan, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2016; Krivo et al., 2021; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Sampson et al., 2018; 2019; Saporu et al., 2011).

For instance, in their book *Divergent Social Worlds*, Peterson and Krivo (2010) examined over 8,000 neighborhoods in 87 large cities across the U.S. by distinct ethno-racial neighborhood types in 2000. They found that neighborhoods disadvantaged by racial makeup exist on a continuum. White neighborhoods exist at the top, having greater access to resources and opportunities and the least crime. Black neighborhoods exist at the bottom with the highest levels of disadvantage and crime, while other non-White neighborhoods fall in between. Furthermore, these differences in crime and disadvantage remain persistent across time. In a recent follow-up of Peterson and Krivo (2010) , Krivo and colleagues (2021) explored whether the race patterns in neighborhood disadvantage and crime remained in 2010, a decade later. Authors found that White neighborhoods had the lowest levels of violent crime and controlling for other variables, Black neighborhoods had five times violent crime in comparison to White neighborhoods. The other three neighborhoods (Latino, minority and multi-ethnic) had significantly higher rates of violent crime that White neighborhoods (2.61, 3.7, and 2.08 respectively). Results demonstrated that similar to 2000, differences in neighborhood disadvantage and home loans still accounted for the significant portion of differences in violent crime across ethno-racial neighborhood types.

Existing research and theory on neighborhood and crime suggests that the although benefits of immigration concentration on crime should apply to all groups; Latino neighborhoods should benefit the most from immigration concentration due to the higher proximity to immigrants than Black and White individuals, and share many sociocultural features (i.e., language and social customs) do to the high amount of Latino immigrants (Iceland, 2009; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; South et al., 200; Xie & Baumer, 2018). Latino neighborhoods have significantly more immigrants than other neighborhood types, so they may be more receptive to the immigrant population. Furthermore, it is more likely that these neighborhoods already have the institutions and services to incorporate new immigrants.

The association between immigration concentration and crime is less clear for Black and White neighborhoods. On one hand, Black neighborhoods typically have the highest levels of disadvantage (joblessness, low-status jobs) and lowest levels of wealth and income, resulting in higher crime levels than other neighborhoods (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Researchers suggest that the low immigrant composition within Black neighborhoods may be insufficient to "yield social support, institutional, and public space benefits for neighborhood social organization" (Browning et al., 2016, p. 784; Ramey, 2013). On the other hand, Black neighborhoods should benefit from immigrant concentration. For example, Vélez (2009) found that the growth of recent immigrants reduced homicides in Chicago in primarily extremely disadvantaged neighborhoods (which tend to be Black), suggesting that immigrants improve these neighborhoods by revitalizing the community by strengthening social ties and expanding services. Furthermore, she found that in places of low disadvantage, recent immigrants were significantly associated with increases in homicide. As most immigrants are more likely to settle into more disadvantaged neighborhoods that already have the social services to address immigrant needs, White neighborhoods, which tend to have lower levels of disadvantage, may not have access to these services or resources. Additionally, as the White population tends to be most segregated from the immigrant population, the heterogeneity introduced by new immigrants may disrupt social ties, leading to increases in violence (Blau & Mackie, 2016; Howell & Timberlake, 2014; Logan et al., 2002; Waters & Pineau, 2015). However, White neighborhoods might benefit from immigrant concentration. While White neighborhoods due to their lower levels disadvantage, greater access to higher levels of management jobs, and institutional connection can provide greater access to opportunities for social and economic success for immigrants. Immigrants, therefore, may contribute positively to the already thriving economic conditions, lowering crime (Ramey, 2013).

Scholarship on neighborhood crime suggests that the protective benefits of immigrants may depend on the distinct racial and ethnic neighborhoods in which immigrants settle (Saporu et al., 2011). Studies examining the differential impact of immigration on crime across ethnically specific neighborhoods have found differential results by ethno-racial type (Ramey, 2013; Hernandez et al., 2018). Ramey (2013) analyzed violent crime rates disaggregated by distinct ethno-racial (White , Black, Latino, and multi-ethnic neighborhoods) using the Neighborhood Crime Study (NNCS) and the Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB). Consistent with previous theory and research suggesting that immigration should have stronger relationship on Latino neighborhoods, Ramey (2013) found that in non-traditional cities, only Latino neighborhoods benefitted from immigration concentration. He also found that higher immigrant concentration was significantly and negatively associated with lower neighborhood violent crime rates in all but Black neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000, suggesting that the impact of immigration on crime was contingent on neighborhood type. Using the same data, Hernandez and colleagues (2018) investigated whether the key determinants of crime (i.e., disadvantage, percent foreign-born, residential instability) were similar in magnitude and direction across specific ethno-racial neighborhoods using the NNCS. Authors found that Black neighborhoods were significantly different compared to Latino and White neighborhoods when looking at the impact of immigration concentration. Authors found that in White and Latino neighborhoods, immigration concentration significantly reduces violent crime; however, it had no significant relationship to violent crime within Black neighborhoods, suggesting that the immigration relationship may not work similarly across all racial groups.

Hypothesis 2: I hypothesize that Latino neighborhoods should benefit the most from immigrant groups living in their neighborhoods due to their greater prevalence compared to other neighborhoods.

Co-Ethnic Community

Disaggregating immigrants by ethno-racial group may also illuminate another aspect of race in the immigration-crime relationship at the neighborhood level. For one co-ethnic pairing might enhance the immigrant crime relationship is that it might reduce discrimination that can occur because of differences in ethno-racial background. Through racial group or threat perspectives residents in the neighborhoods are more likely to interact with in-group vs out-group ethno-racial immigrants. Individuals can have in-group preference for many reasons, such as stereotypes, stratification beliefs or group-interest (Blumer, 1958;1965; Bobo & Hutching, 1996). Higher rates of racially in-group immigrants allows for increased acceptance thus increasing social networks and strengthening community institutions, providing access to more educational and workforce opportunities, and reducing barriers to assimilation within neighborhoods (Bobo & Hutching, 1996; Cohen & Chavez, 2013; Putnam, 2007). The increased social capital leads to more informal social control, thus reducing crime and heightening the effect of the immigrant revitalization thesis.

Alternatively, the protective benefit of co-ethnic pairing significance may be contingent on the neighborhood. Homogeneous neighborhoods do not always serve as a protective factor of crime (Latino and Black neighborhoods) (Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Sampson et al., 2018). In particular, Black, Minority and Latino neighborhoods may reduce discrimination against in-group immigrants aiding in assimilation to those neighborhoods. However, the social ties and informal social control may not be enough to protect Black and Latino immigrants groups from the structural disadvantage in these neighborhoods (Behtoui, 2022; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010).

Hypothesis 3: The strongest protective benefits on crime will occur when the race of immigrants matches the predominant race of the neighborhood (i.e. percent White immigrant in predominantly White neighborhood).

Using this reasoning, this thesis explores the influence of race/ethnicity on the immigrant-crime relationship in three ways:

1. Explores what happens to the immigration-crime relationship when we account for immigrant ethno-racial identity (see Table 5)

2. Explores the influence of immigration on crime by neighborhood type: White, Black, Latino, Multi-ethnic, and Minority (see Table 6).

3. It examines how accounting for the ethno-racial composition of immigrants shapes the immigration-crime link by neighborhood type (see Tables 7 & 8).

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Sample:

To better understand the impact of race on the immigration-crime relationship on violent crime, the current work uses two secondary data sources (the National Neighborhood Crime Study II (NNCSII) and the 2008-2012 American Community Survey). The NNCS II includes socio-demographic information and official crime rates from 71 U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more on average (N=8,557 census tracts). The crime data in the NNCS II was obtained from official police records geocoded to the tract level. Additionally, detailed socioeconomic and demographic characteristics were obtained at the neighborhood and city levels from the 2008–2012 American Community Survey (ACS). The sample of cities is meant to represent medium and large cities within the United States and is distributed throughout the U.S., including the Northeast, the Midwest, the South, and the West (Krivo et al., 2021). Because of the size of this data, this study is, therefore, relatively generalizable for neighborhoods in medium to large cities across the country. I incorporate supplementary data from the 2008-2012 American Community Survey from table B05006, Place of Birth for the Foreign-Born Population, which I use to categorize the foreign-born population by race and ethnicity.

Dependent Variable:

In this study, I examine the rate of violent crime at the tract level. Violent crime is calculated using the four-year average count of homicide and robbery incidents reported to the police (2010-2013) divided by the tract population and then multiplied by 1,000. Homicide and robbery are more likely to be reported to the police and more reliable than other crimes.

Independent Variables:

Measuring Immigrants. The first measurement of immigrant prevalence is measured using the immigration concentration index ($\alpha = 0.93$), which is the average of the standard scores of three variables related to immigrants: *percent foreign-born, percentage of recent immigrants, and the percentage linguistically isolated* (Hernandez et al., 2018; Krivo et al., 2021; Lyons et al.,2013; Peterson & Krivo, 2010). The Cronbach's alpha suggests that the mentioned measurements within the immigrant prevalence variable measure the same underlying concept in this case immigrant prevalence.

Second, immigrants are disaggregated by their ethno-racial categorization to create the following measures: *percent White immigrants, percent Black immigrants, percent Latino immigrants, and percent Asian immigrants* (See Table 3). Following, previous studies (Davies & Fagan (2012) & Kubrin and colleagues (2018) I have grouped countries by national origin into racial categories based on most commonly used ethno-racial identity reported by residents for a particular national origin by Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) (Kubrin et al., 2018).

Neighborhood Type: Given that I am interested in how immigration is affected by racial makeup of neighborhoods, I disaggregate neighborhoods into five distinct ethno-racial categories based on self-reported race and ethnicity in the 2008-2012 American Community Survey. Following Peterson & Krivo (2010), I define neighborhoods as a predominant ethno-racial tract if the population of a racial group is 70 percent or more of the total tract population (White = 2,298, Black = 1,224, Latino = 824). Tracts are defined as minority neighborhoods if the Black and Latino population make up at least 70 percent of the population (n = 730), but neither group themselves makes up 70 percent of the population. All other tracts are labeled as multi-ethnic neighborhoods (n = 3,481).

Control Variables:

In addition to accounting for immigration concentration and neighborhood ethno-racial type, I also control for neighborhood characteristics either based in social disorganization theory or used in previous neighborhood studies.

First, consistent with previous research using NNCS data, I control for *neighborhood disadvantage. Neighborhood disadvantage* is a standardized index that combining six variables: (1) percent unemployed, (2) percentage of population with high school degrees (reverse coded), (3) percentage of people working in management or business or related jobs (reverse coded), (4) percentage of female-headed households, (5) percentage of secondary sector low-wage jobs, and (6) percentage of people living below the poverty line (Krivo et al., 2021; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Ramey, 2013). *Residential instability* is measured as the average score of two variables: (1) percentage of occupied housing units that are renter occupied and (2) percentage of population is five years or older who lived in different address one year ago. I also control for other measures previously documented as related to neighborhood crime. I control for the percent of the population that is males in the population that are aged between 15 to 34 using to variable *percent young male*. I also control for neighborhood *home loans* across neighborhoods. Research has consistently shown that neighborhoods with greater home loan or mortgage lending is associated with lower levels of crime even when controlling for other economic conditions like social disadvantage (Peterson, 2012; Saporu et al., 2011; Vélez & Lyons, 2014). Home loans have also been directly and significantly associated with racial inequality in neighborhood crime (Krivo et al., 2021; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Saporu et al., 2011). They are also important because they are representative of racial discriminatory practices that limit resources to non-White communities (Faber, 2018; Vélez & Lyons, 2014).

Analytic Strategy

To assess how immigrant ethno-racial disaggregation impacts the immigrant-crime relationship, this thesis estimates a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) linear regression. I acknowledge that other models such as Poisson or negative binomial regressions which are more efficient at controlling for heteroskedasticity and skewed distributions. However, using ordinary least squares (OLS) might be less efficient but easier to interpret as we incorporate more independent variables and interaction terms. Furthermore, by clustering standard errors, I account for autocorrelation and collinearity among neighborhoods within the same city. The correlation matrix (Table 4) indicates that there are no high correlations, and thus limited multicollinearity. I also include a dummy variable for cities to control for city level differences in observed and unobserved variables. Akron, Ohio is the reference group.

In Table 5, I estimate separate models for violent crime for measured as immigrant prevalence and measuring according to immigrant race (Black, White, Latino, and Asian). In Table 6, I estimate the impact of immigrant prevalence by each separate neighborhood type (White, Black, Latino, Minority and Multi-Ethnic). Table 7 separately estimates models to measure the effects of immigrant prevalence on violent crime for neighborhood types but incorporates all immigrant racial groups. Table 8 is an interaction model of immigrant racial categorization and neighborhood type estimation. Finally, I estimate a set of models examining the examine the effect of immigrant prevalence on Miami, Los Angeles and Chicago on their effects on Latino neighborhoods. In these models, the immigrant index and the disaggregated immigrant index serve as the key independent variables. I account for the difference again by clustering the standard errors.

In addition, after each model, an analysis of variance inflation factor (VIF) was conducted to is a measure the amount of multicollinearity in the regression analysis. Models that had neighborhood type as control variables all had multicollinearity results of less than 4. In the models that independently estimated the effect of immigration on violent crime across neighborhood types, the multicollinearity was higher, primarily driven by the incorporation of city and region, which are directly related. Once cities are removed, there is no longer be an issue of multi-collinearity.

Chapter 4: Results

Descriptive Statistics

I present descriptive statistics of the key-dependent and independent variables in Table 3. The first column refers to the descriptive statistics for all tracts (n=8,557) in the sample. In contrast, the next five columns present the same descriptive statistics for each neighborhood type (White, Black, Latino, Minority, and Multi-Ethnic).

First, turning to the main dependent variable, crime rate per 1,000 on an average year, neighborhoods have about 3.478 violent crimes per 1,000 during this period. Consistent with prior literature, the average violent crime rate is lower in White neighborhoods (*n*=1.37) than in other neighborhoods. Black neighborhoods (*n*= 8.459) have the highest violent crime rate, while Multi-ethnic Latino and Minority neighborhoods fall in between the two extremes (*n*= 2.944, *n*= 2.899, and *n*=4.959, respectively).

I now turn to the key independent variable of the immigrant population. The average neighborhood has an average of 8.5 % foreign born residents. Latino neighborhoods have the highest concentration of immigrants (44.59 %), while White (9.39%) and Black (3.63%) neighborhoods have lowest percentages of immigrants which is consistent with prior neighborhood research. Overall, consistent with prior literature, Latinos comprise the highest proportion of immigrants. The next set of immigrants are 23.3% Asian, 11.6 % Black and White immigrants 22.1 %. Similar to prior research, immigrants tend to choose neighborhoods that reflect their ethno-racial identity (Iceland, 2009). Prior research has noted that Asians are the most likely to live in multi-racial and White neighborhoods in comparison to their immigrant counterparts (Park et al., 2015).

Multivariate Results

Table 5 presents the coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses for separate Ordinary Least Squares regression models (OLS) by immigration measurement. Consistent with previous research examining immigration concentration on neighborhood crime, Model 1 of Table 5 finds that immigration prevalence has a small but significant negative association with neighborhood violent crime (b= -0.483, p<0.05) when controlling for other measures in the model. In other words, for every 1 percent increase in immigrants there is a .483 decrease in crime per 1000 neighborhood residents. Moving to the controls, I find that disadvantage, ethno-racial neighborhood type, and residential instability are all significantly associated with neighborhood crime.

Next, I disaggregate the immigrant groups and include each share of the specific ethno-racial category in models. The results indicate that there are differences across immigrant groups impact on neighborhood crime. Higher concentrations of White (b=-7.086, $p<0.01$) and Latino (b= -4.434, p< 0.05) immigrants are associated with lower levels of violent crime. Put simply, controlling for other variables associated with neighborhoods every one percentage increase in White and Latino immigrants is associated with 7.086 and 4.434 less violent crime respectively per 1000 people. Therefore the average neighborhood with 0.03 White immigrants has 0.0021258 less violent crime per 1000 residents. Furthermore, compared to the immigrant prevalence index and Latino immigrants that find a 95% confidence rate, White immigrants are significant at the .01 level. Similarly, at the average rate of Latino immigrants (0.1) has 0.004434 less violent crime per 1000 residents. For Asian and Black immigrants the direction of the association is negative, but they do not reach significance.

The next set of analyses in Table 6 explore whether the relationship between immigration concentration and violent crime varies by neighborhood type (White, Black, and Latino, multi-ethnic and minority). The coefficients for immigration concentration are significant and negative for only White neighborhoods (b=-0.540, p<0.01). In other words, controlling for other variables associated with neighborhood crime a one percent increase in immigrants is associated with 0.00540 less violent crime per 1000 people in White neighborhoods. The finding that White neighborhoods benefit from immigration percent foreign born and the mainly null immigration–crime relationships across other neighborhoods mirror results observed in prior research (Hernandez et al., 2018; Ramey, 2013). The finding that Latino neighborhoods is not significant is not consistent with prior research examining the association of immigration on crime. Ramey (2013) found that percent foreign born, but not immigrant growth was significantly associated with violent crime for Latino neighborhoods. It could be that accounting for both percent foreign born and percent new immigrant as well as language isolation within my immigrant index measure masks that effect of percent immigrant in Latino neighborhoods.

Table 7 examines whether the impact of disaggregating immigrants ethno-racial group (Black, White, Latino and Asian) on the immigration-crime relationship across distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods (Black, White, Latino, minority and multi-ethnic). Model 1 displays the results of the ordinary least squares regression model disaggregating immigrants by race in White neighborhoods. The coefficients for immigration concentration are significant and negative for only White and Asian immigrants (b=-3.121, p< .01; b=-4.009, p<0.05) respectively. In other words, in White neighborhoods every one percent increase in White and Asian immigrants is associated with 3.121 and 4.009 less violent crimes, respectively. On average a typical White neighborhood with 0.043% White and 0.028% Asian immigrants is associated with 0.00134203 and 0.00112252 less violent crime per 1,000 residents. Model 2 and Model 3 display the ordinary least squares regression model results disaggregating immigrants by race in Black and Latino neighborhoods. For Black and Latino neighborhoods no immigrant ethno-racial group was significantly associated with violent crime. Finally, for Minority and Multi-Ethnic neighborhoods (Models 4 & 5), only White immigrants were significantly associated with lower crime rates (b=-21.65, p< .01; b=-5.361, p<0.01), respectively. In other words, controlling for all other variables, White immigrants are associated with 21.65 and 5.361 less violent crime per 1000 residents or, on average are associated with 0.0023815 and 0.00209079 less crime in comparison to minority and multi-ethnic neighborhoods without immigrants. Furthermore, White immigrants have not only higher coefficients than Asians but again within a higher confidence level. There is a 99% likelihood that that the true coefficient is within a standard deviation of the provided coefficients.

Table 8 displays the coefficients for the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression incorporating the interaction effect of ethno-racial immigrant groups (Black, White, Latino, and Asian) and distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods (Black, White, Latino, minority, and multi-ethnic) on the immigration-crime relationship. To help interpret results, the findings for the interaction models are illustrated in figures 1, 2, 3, and 4. The percent foreign born was set to the mean and ± 1 standard deviation of the respective racial group. The results largely follow the patterns of Table 6 with a few more significant results. First, in addition to being associated with lower violent crime rates in Minority (b=-17.78, p<.05) and Multi-Ethnic (b=-5.240, p=.01) neighborhoods, White immigrants are also significantly related to lower crime rates in Latino neighborhoods (b= -17.68, p<.05) when compared to White neighborhoods. The gentle negative slope for the lines representing Latino, Minority, and Multi-Ethnic neighborhoods (see Figure 1) showcase the small but significant relationship for White immigrants across those neighborhoods. In contrast the Black long dash line marked by circles shows a non-significant positive slope with Black neighborhoods as White immigrants increase. In other words, controlling for other variables, including the main effects of White immigration and neighborhood type, a one percent increase in each neighborhood is associated with a 17.78, 5.240, and 17.68 decrease in violent crime per 1000 residents. Second, Black immigrants are associated with higher rates of crime in Latino neighborhoods ($b=30.05$, $p<.05$), where they previously had no significant relationships in Table 7. Figure 2 shows the visual depiction of the interaction between Black immigrants and distinct neighborhood types from Table 8. In contrast to the other neighborhoods, the short dash line with hollow circles representing Latino neighborhoods has a slight incline in neighborhood violence as the Black immigrant population increases. To clarify, though Black immigrants are not significant overall in this or previous models (Tables 5 and 7), they are significantly associated with higher rates of crime in Latino neighborhoods. It could be that rather than complementing one another in the local economy, increases in Black immigrants are more likely to face competition from native Latino and immigrant populations for the same resources and opportunities. This might disrupt community social control and local networks resulting in high crime rates (Barranco, 2014). Figures 3 and 4 show that the overall effect of Latino and Asian immigrants is overall negative suggesting that the overall negative relationship between these immigrant groups and crime is dependent on neighborhood. The differences in results between Table 7 and 8 may occur because it assumes independent when we examine the neighborhoods separately. Still, neighborhoods are not occurring in a vacuum but next to one other. Thus, Table 8 can account for relationships that the models in Table 6 would not be able to see due to separated data.

Robustness

Recall that I find that immigration does not yield a protective influence on crime in Latino neighborhoods. This finding is surprising given that prior research examining the relationship between immigration and Latino neighborhoods using the first wave of the National Neighborhood Crime Study (NNCS) data found that immigration was significantly and negatively related to crime rates in Latino neighborhoods (Hernandez, 2018; Ramey, 2013). Arguments for this protective influence include that Latino neighborhoods have a larger immigrant population concentration than the other neighborhood types. Therefore, they should provide more economic and political institutional visibility and stronger social networks resulting in lower violent crimes.

To better understand my null finding, I explore how immigration shapes crime in three large cities with large Latino populations in Tables 9 and 10 display the resulting coefficients of the robustness checks for the impact of immigration on the relationship between Latino Neighborhoods and violent crime in 3 large cities with large Latino populations Miami, Chicago and Los Angeles using immigrant index (% immigrant, % recent immigrant and % isolation), and the three disaggregated. The coefficients for immigration concentration is only significant in Latino neighborhoods for Miami (b= -1.421, $p<.05$). A one unit increase in the immigrant index is associated with 1.421 lower violent crime rates. When examining all three cities together and controlling for city differences (Table 10) , immigration concentration becomes non-significant.

Tables 11 and 12 display the results of examining the impact of immigrant index disaggregated into percent immigrant, percent new immigrant and percent language isolation. The coefficients for immigration concentration are only significant in Latino neighborhoods for only percent foreign born and only in Miami (*b= -0.108*, *p<.05).* A one percent increase in immigrant index is associated with a .108 lower violent crime rate per 1000 residents. When examining all three cities together, immigration concentration is not significant again.

The results from the robustness tests suggests that the effect of immigration on crime in Latino neighborhoods is place sensitive. In their annual review, Kubrin and Ousey (2018) highlighted the differential impact of immigration on crime based on the context of city destinations. While neighborhood differences are important, there are many other ways to measure destination contexts within cities that may change their relationship to crime. For example, in their study Lyons and colleagues (2013) found that cities with favorable immigrant political opportunities measured as greater minority political incorporation into elected offices and in pro-immigrant legislation strengthened the protective benefits of immigrant concentration at the neighborhood level. Authors suggested that this occurs because greater political representation aids in public trust and public social control.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

Literature has developed over the past three decades detailing how the settlement of the foreign-born shapes crime patterns across communities (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). Yet, a major limitation in this body of research on the relationship of immigration with crime is that much of the extant literature ignores the potential impact of race at the immigrant and neighborhood level and its independently strong relationship to proximity to crime (DiPietro & Zaatut, 2023; Krivo et al., 2021; Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Incorporating race into the immigration and crime relationship may then shape how the immigration-crime relationship presents across immigrants disaggregated by crime and across distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods. Thus, this thesis aimed to expand past research examining the impact of race on the immigrant-crime relationship at the immigrant and neighborhood levels. I first examine immigration-crime relationship changes across distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods to explore this. Second, I explore how disaggregating immigrants by their ethno-racial categorization influences the immigration-crime relationship. Finally, I make the argument that immigrant ethno-racial categories may matter more in co-ethnic neighborhoods so they may have less crime compared to those with a lower racial immigrant in-group because they provide more receptive context and more extensive social ties.

I highlight three key findings from my analysis of over 8,000 census tracts across 71 US cities between 2010- 2013. First, I hypothesized that disaggregating immigrants by ethno-racial group would influence the strength of that relationship. I expected that the strength of the inverse immigration and crime relationship should be stronger for White immigrants than their minority counterparts. As expected I find that, White immigrants are associated with lower crime rates, but not Asian or Black immigrants. However, I also find that higher concentrations of Latino immigrants are also associated with lower crime rates. These results suggests that immigrant ethno-racial background does impact the immigration-crime relationship. While the protective benefits of immigration on crime may be stronger for White immigrants due to racial stratification and generally higher levels of economic wellbeing compared to their minority counterparts (Asian, Black and Latino) which gives the majority of White immigrants the flexibility to move into more advantaged neighborhood which are associated with lower crime rates, Latinos do not. Latino immigrants relationship with neighborhoods crime may be stronger than that of Asian and Black immigrants because of the population size. Using revitalization theory, as immigrant concentration increases immigrants build stronger social ties, better economic opportunities, and stronger ties to the community institutions as a larger population overall Latino immigrants are most likely to have these established relationships across neighborhoods.

Second, consistent with racial structure of neighborhood crime, but inconsistent with the hypothesis that immigration would be stronger for Latino neighborhoods than others, I find that immigration-crime relationship was affected by distinct ethno-racial neighborhoods, such that for only White neighborhoods was a greater immigrant population associated with lower violent crime rates, suggesting that the racial structure of neighborhood crime might shape the relationship between immigration and crime.

For the third research question, examining whether the size of co-ethnic immigrant group would impact the immigrant-crime relationship at the neighborhood level, I find that only White immigrants in White neighborhood were significant. Additionally, two findings are important to note. First, Asians were significantly associated with lower violent crime in White neighborhoods. This suggests that the neighborhood's racial structure impacts the immigration and crime relationship. Prior research suggests that Asian and White immigrants arrive with greater social and economic standing than their Latino and Black counterparts and therefore move into neighborhoods with more managerial positions and income which are already characteristics of neighborhoods with lower crime rates (Iceland, 2009; Iceland & Scopatti, 2008). Moreover, the institutional and economic opportunity provided by White neighborhoods may aid in the facilitation of the lower crime rates, While Latino, Black, Minority and Multi-Ethnic neighborhoods may not (Vélez & Lyon, 2012). Second, Black immigrants were only significantly associated with higher crime rates in Latino neighborhoods. It may be that increases in the Black immigrant population lead to competition among Blacks and Latinos for the same jobs, resources and opportunity. This competition may disrupt local community and social control resulting in higher crime rates (Barranco, 2014).

My findings support prior literature showing that immigration has little or no relationship with violent crime (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the call for more research examining the nuance of the relationship between immigration and crime. In particular, it also demonstrates that the impact of immigration on violent crime is much more nuanced. This thesis suggests the impact of immigration on violent crime is conditioned by race and ethnicity at both the immigrant and neighborhood levels so that the ethno-racial categorization of immigrants and neighborhoods is placed in a hierarchy where White immigrants are more likely than immigrants of color to move into neighborhoods with lower crime rates.

Policy Implications

First, anti-immigrant policies and practices (Ajzenman et al., 2021; Dustmann et al., 2019; Namen et al., 2019) based on the misconception that immigrants bring crime and are more prone to criminality should be called into question and reevaluated. Moreover, though written as racially neutral, much of the anti-immigration policies (e.g., Arizona's SB 1070, the proposed border wall, and pushes to increase Immigration and Customs Enforcement) are primarily aimed at and disproportionally affect immigrants of color. Misperceptions of immigrants of color are heightened by politicians, news outlets, television shows, and social media that mark them as violent criminals bringing crime to the United States, further legitimizing and naturalizing these stereotypes and race-specific programs and policies to the general public (Chavez, 2013; Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2010; Harris & Gruenewald, 2020; Scott, 2015).

Second, results suggest that the stark disparities between advantaged and disadvantaged neighborhoods in the United States due to racial segregation play a vital role in the relationship in the strength of the immigration and crime relationship. Consistent with social disorganization theory, with the influx of more and more immigrants into the United States and into Black, Latino, and Minority neighborhoods, it may be essential to increase policies that intervene at the community level to provide greater investments into the well-being of neighborhoods existing poor and disinvested neighborhoods that are primarily people of color (Sampson, 2016). The increased access to opportunity and programming may in turn fuel the effects of immigrant revitalization.

Limitations and Future Research:

Though the current study informs the current literature, there are several limitations that may be addressed in future work. First, the current study is cross-sectional and, therefore cannot make causal claims. It is unclear whether immigrants reduce crime rates over time or choose neighborhoods with lower crime rates. As noted earlier, immigrant groups are similarly segregated as their native counterparts, and this could be a result of the incoming ability to move into certain neighborhoods. However, scholars have noted that Latino and Asian immigrants are more likely to move when they gain socio-economic footing compared to their Black counterparts (Iceland, 2009). To address this issue, future scholars can conduct a longitudinal analysis using at least two data points examining changes in crime based on differences in immigrant concentration, which can be done using the NNCS I and II.

Second, although the National Neighborhood Crime Survey II contains information at both the city and neighborhood level, I chose to explore the relationship between immigration and crime at the neighborhood level. This decision was made because of the well-documented differences between neighborhood types in crime due to their differences in structural conditions. Conducting my analysis allowed me to gain a more nuanced understanding of race within the immigration and crime relationship from multiple lenses. However, in the future, using the NNCS II, this analysis would benefit from examining the effects of the racialization of immigrants on the immigrant-crime relationship, which is also likely to differ between gateway and non-gateway cities. Research shows that cities with long-established histories of immigrant presence provide more receptive contexts for immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Singer, 2004). Furthermore, previous literature has established differences in the magnitude and strength of the immigration crime relationship across city types (Harris & Feldmeyer, 2013; Ramey, 2013). Gateway cities are receptive contexts because they offer necessary resources that facilitate immigrant integration into society. Therefore, certain immigrant racial groups may benefit from increased social ties, strengthened informal social controls, and economic opportunities, leading to a stronger relationship between immigration and crime (Velez & Lyons, 2012). However, this is not a limitation of the dataset or study as much as suggestions for future research. Both smaller and larger measurements of geographic units are important. For example, Ramey (2013) found that it is both the distinct neighborhood types and city-level differences, such as being categorized as a gateway city, that impact the immigration crime relationship.

Third, research examining the role of race and ethnicity in immigration and crime should also examine the role of heterogeneity of the immigrant population on the relationship between neighborhood and crime. Social disorganization posits that heterogeneity combined with higher poverty levels and residential instability is associated with higher levels of crime (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson 2010). Ethno-racial heterogeneity is thought to diminish neighborhood social ties, making forming friendships and broader community networks harder. This reduces social cohesion, shared values, and goals, decreasing informal social control. The weakened social ties and reduction in informal social control, in turn, lead to higher crime rates (Kubrin & Ishizawa, 2012; Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson & Groves,1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Therefore, in theory, neighborhoods with greater immigrant heterogeneity should have reduced association with a reduction in neighborhood crime or potential increase in neighborhood crime. Alternatively, heterogeneity in the immigrant population might increase neighborhood human and social capital by expanding ties and widening the pool of skills, resources, and services available to community members over time (Barranco, 2013; Graif & Sampson). Prior research examining the effect of heterogeneity of the immigrant population has been mixed. For example, when testing the role of immigrant diversity measured as language diversity, Graif and Sampson (2009) found that language diversity was associated with lower homicide rates across Chicago. Kubrin and colleagues (2018) and Sydes (2017) found that immigrant diversity measured by race or religion had no relationship with violent crime in South California and Australia.

Finally, due to data restrictions, this analysis was limited to the urban setting of U.S. cities. As the immigrant population continues to grow, individuals move towards non-gateway cities, the suburbs, and rural areas within the U.S. (Massey & Capoferro, 2008). Future work examining immigration and crime could benefit from drawing on the experiences of racialized immigrants in non-urban settings.

Appendix

Table 1. Operationalization of neighborhood (census tract) variables.

Variables	Operationalization
Dependent variable	
Violent crime	Four-year (2010–2013) average number of homicides and robberies
Independent Variables	
Tract level (N = 8,557)	
Immigrant prevalence *(a = .93)*	Average of the standard scores of the following three variables Percentage of the population that is foreign-born Percentage of the population that is foreign-born and arrived in the United States in 2000 or later Percentage of households in which no one age 14 and older speaks English very well
Immigrant race	*See Table 2.*
Neighborhood ethno-racial type	Dummy variables for type of area White nghd, 1 = ≥70 percent non-Latino White (else = 0), reference African American nghd, 1 = ≥70 percent non-Latino Black (else = 0) Latino nghd, 1 = ≥70 percent Latino (else = 0) Minority nghd, 1 = ≥70 percent Latino and non-Latino Black (else = 0) Multiethnic nghd, 1 = any other ethno-racial combination (else = 0)
Control Variables	
Disadvantage	Average of the standard scores for six variables Percentage of population 16–64 who are unemployed or out of the labor force (joblessness) Percentage of employed civilian population age 16 and older working in management, business, and related occupations (reverse coded) Percentage of population age 25 and older who are college graduates (reverse coded) Percentage of households that are female-headed families Percentage of employed civilian population age 16 and older employed in the six occupational categories with the lowest average incomes
Residential instability	Average of the standard scores for two variables Percentage of occupied housing units that are renter occupied Percentage of population age 5 and older who lived in a different residence one year ago
Residential loans	Total dollars of loans originated in 2010
Percentage of males 15–34	Percentage of the population that is male age 15–34

Table 2. Immigrant Ethno-Racial Categorization by Country of Origin

Nation of Origin	Race
Afghanistan	White
Argentina	Latino
Armenia	White
Australia	White
Austria	White
Bangladesh	Asian
Barbados	Black
Bolivia	Latino
Bosnia	White
Brazil	White
Cambodia	Asian
Canada	White
Central Africa	Black
Chile	Latino
China	Asian
Colombia	Latino
Costa Rica	Latino
Cuba	Latino
Czech	White
Dominican Republic	Latino
Ecuador	Latino
Egypt	White
El Salvador	Latino
Ethiopia	Black
France	White
Germany	White
Ghana	Black
Greece	White
Guatemala	Latino
Guyana	Black
Haiti	Black
Honduras	Latino
Hong Kong	Asian
Hungary	White
India	Asian
Indonesia	Asian
Iran	White

Iraq	White
Ireland	White
Israel	White
Italy	White
Jamaica	Black
Japan	Asian
Jordan	White
Korea	Asian
Laos	Asian
Lebanon	White
Malaysia	Asian
Mexico	Latino
Netherlands	White
Nicaragua	Latino
Nigeria	Black
Other Australian	White
Other Caribbean	Latino
Other Central America	Latino
Other East Africa	Black
Other East Asia	Asian
Other East Europe	White
Other North Africa	White
Other North America	White
Other North Europe	White
Other South Africa	Black
Other South America	Latino
Other South Europe	White
Other South-Central Asia	Asian
Other South-East Asia	Asian
Other West Africa	Black
Other West Asia	Asian
Other West Europe	White
Pakistan	Asian
Panama	Latino
Peru	Latino
Philippines	Asian
Poland	White
Portugal	White
Romania	White
Russia	White

Sierra Leone	Black
South Africa	White
Spain	Latino
Sweden	White
Syria	White
Taiwan	Asian
Thailand	Asian
Trinidad	Black
Turkey	White
UK	White
Ukraine	White
Venezuela	Latino
Vietnam	Asian

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations for Variables Used in Analysis	All Neighborhoods	White Neighborhoods	Black Neighborhood	Latino Neighborhoods	Minority Neighborhoods	Multi-ethnic Neighborhoods
	n=8, 557	*n=2,298*	*n*=1,224	*n*=824	*n*=730	*n*=3,481
Violent Crime	3.478 (4.231)	1.37 (1.937)	8.459 (5.044)	2.899 (2.328)	4.959 (4.04)	2.944 (3.926)
Immigration Index:	0 (-0.934)	-0.529 (0.349)	-0.759 (0.308)	1.502 (0.981)	0.482 (0.792)	0.16 (0.823)
--Foreign Born	18.505 (-16.364)	9.387 (7.198)	3.633 (5.812)	44.597 (14.217)	26.143 (13.123)	21.976 (14.5)
--Percent New Immigrant	6.605 (-7.045)	3.195 (3.262)	1.441 (2.684)	14.262 (8.132)	9.651 (7.167)	8.221 (7.11)
--Percent Language Isolation	8.634 (-11.431)	2.39 (3.211)	1.374 (3.071)	29.498 (13.806)	14.878 (9.473)	9.06 (9.569)
Percent White Immigrants	0.03 (-0.044)	0.043 (0.052)	0.003 (0.008)	0.008 (0.014)	0.011 (0.018)	0.039 (0.046)
Percent Black Immigrants	0.012 (-0.03)	0.004 (0.008)	0.019 (0.044)	0.003 (0.008)	0.026 (0.048)	0.015 (0.029)
Percent Latino Immigrants	0.1 (-0.142)	0.018 (0.021)	0.01 (0.023)	0.414 (0.141)	0.199 (0.12)	0.092 (0.093)
Percent Asian Immigrants	0.042 (-0.067)	0.028 (0.028)	0.004 (0.012)	0.02 (0.032)	0.025 (0.033)	0.074 (0.09)
Residential Instability	-0.01 (-0.868)	-0.303 (0.931)	-0.02 (0.658)	-0.023 (0.64)	0.205 (0.708)	0.145 (0.914)
Disadvantage Index	0.001 (-0.847)	-0.761 (0.515)	1.009 (0.543)	0.732 (0.4)	0.691 (0.492)	-0.16 (0.634)
--Percent College Graduate	30.259 (-22.05)	49.246 (20.721)	12.049 (7.935)	8.904 (6.282)	13.498 (8.349)	32.698 (18.393)
-- Percent female-headed households	17.288 (-11.68)	8.227 (5.384)	34.003 (10.418)	22.436 (7.559)	26.05 (9.525)	14.337 (7.878)
-- Percent poverty	21.594 (-15.277)	10.791 (9.816)	35.989 (14.13)	31.09 (12.231)	31.397 (12.922)	19.36 (13.161)
-- Jobless rate	34.358 (-12.616)	25.768 (8.016)	51.09 (10.512)	39.697 (8.226)	41.226 (10.285)	31.442 (9.978)
-- Percent professionals	34.816 (-18.378)	49.783 (15.273)	22.209 (9.895)	14.099 (7.352)	20.349 (9.683)	37.306 (15.938)
-- Percent low-wage jobs	21.755 (-11.178)	13.454 (7.04)	31.136 (10.964)	30.888 (8.225)	29.143 (9.204)	20.224 (9.407)
Percent young males aged 15-34	15.853 (-6.103)	15.048 (7.182)	12.963 (3.924)	17.12 (4.049)	16.172 (4.139)	17.033 (6.284)
Residential loans	29316.541 (44523.801)	53796.889 (54980.008)	2674.297 (4797.919)	7457.074 (7775.556)	9296.411 (10874.285)	31896.593 (44522.342)

Table 4. Pairwise Comparison of Variables Included in Analysis

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Violent Crime	1.000									
(2) Immigrant Prevalence	0.049	1.000								
(3) Percent White Immigrant	-0.202	0.169	1.000							
(4) Percent Black Immigrant	0.150	0.143	-0.032	1.000						
(5) Percent Latino Immigrant	0.045	0.826	-0.091	-0.055	1.000					
(6) Percent Asian Immigrant	-0.082	0.409	0.179	0.012	0.001	1.000				
(7) Residential Instability	0.264	0.228	-0.018	0.119	0.080	0.105	1.000			
(8) Disadvantage Index	0.486	0.184	-0.379	0.107	0.307	-0.204	0.191	1.000		
(9) Percent young males aged 15-34	0.082	0.227	0.022	0.017	0.132	0.129	0.594	-0.016	1.000	
(10) Residential loans	-0.254	-0.113	0.330	-0.092	-0.192	0.169	-0.203	-0.575	-0.121	1.000

Table 5. Ordinary Least Squares Regression for Neighborhood Crime by Immigrant Measurement		
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
Immigration Index	-0.483*	…
	(0.225)	
% White Immigrants	…	-7.086**
		(2.314)
% Black Immigrants	…	-4.600
		(2.730)
% Latino Immigrants	…	-4.434*
		(1.695)
% Asian Immigrants	…	-1.202
		(1.752)
Young Males 15-34	-0.0109	-0.0102
	(0.0116)	(0.0117)
Disadvantage index	1.592**	1.598**
	(0.160)	(0.161)
Residential Instability	1.129**	1.077*
	(0.0915)	(0.0806)
Residential Loans	0.0272**	.0272*
	(0.0128)	(.0125)
Black Neighborhoods	2.772**	2.589*
	(0.604)	(0.530)
Latino Neighborhoods	-0.187	0.0466
	(0.270)	(0.260)
Minority Neighborhoods	0.827**	0.887**
	(0.160)	(0.179)
Multi-ethnic Neighborhoods	0.431*	0.433*
	(0.166)	(0.172)
Midwest	-3.638**	-4.121*
	(-0.201)	(0.227)
South	-4.358**	-4.782*
	(-0.32)	(0.215)
West	-3.987**	-4.270*
	(-0.316)	(0.228)
Constant	2.278**	6.900**
	(0.368)	(0.269)
Observations	8,557	8,557
R-squared	0.500	0.504

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, *p<0.05

Table 6. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model of Neighborhood Violent Crime, Immigrant Index Across Distinct Ethno-Racial Neighborhoods

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	White Neighborhoods	Black Neighborhoods	Latino Neighborhoods	Minority Neighborhoods	Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods
Immigrant Index	-0.540**	-0.654	0.0297	-0.544	-0.0453
	(0.153)	(0.725)	(0.120)	(0.317)	(0.157)
Young Males 15-34	0.0190	0.0172	0.0710**	0.00960	-0.0102
	(0.0181)	(0.0289)	(0.0160)	(0.0464)	(0.0167)
Disadvantage Index	0.472**	1.414**	1.336**	2.887**	1.074**
	(0.151)	(0.263)	(0.295)	(0.623)	(0.176)
Residential Instability	0.824**	1.389**	0.439**	0.674**	1.108**
	(0.0989)	(0.342)	(0.167)	(0.153)	(0.114)
Residential Loans	0.00823	-1.331*	-0.223*	0.135	0.0127
	(0.0123)	(0.512)	(0.0824)	(0.140)	(0.0128)
Midwest	0.0931	-5.734**	-2.169**	-5.578**	-1.905**
	(0.119)	(0.602)	(0.120)	(0.672)	(0.448)
South	-0.601**	-7.305**	-5.111**	-6.562**	-3.846**
	(0.0820)	(0.399)	(0.108)	(0.737)	(0.456)
West	-0.519**	-1.128	-4.460**	-4.080**	-3.116**
	(0.101)	(1.099)	(0.0772)	(0.166)	(0.394)
Constant	1.550**	3.240**	0.0463	-0.525	3.668**
	(0.346)	(1.012)	(0.362)	(1.195)	(0.402)
Observations	2,298	1,224	824	730	3,481
R-squared	0.319	0.305	0.367	0.469	0.388

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 7. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model of Neighborhood Violent Crime Disaggregating Immigrant by Race Across Distinct Ethno-Racial Neighborhoods

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	White Neighborhoods	Black Neighborhoods	Latino Neighborhoods	Minority Neighborhoods	Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods
White Immigrants	-3.121**	26.69	-7.069	-21.65**	-5.361**
	(0.856)	(20.10)	(10.84)	(8.095)	(1.830)
Black Immigrants	-2.739	-3.750	26.91	-5.193	-4.091
	(5.336)	(3.358)	(17.83)	(4.876)	(2.966)
Latino Immigrants	0.884	-14.30	-0.244	-2.315	-0.0986
	(2.414)	(6.918)	(1.312)	(2.568)	(1.099)
Asian Immigrants	-4.009*	-2.434	-3.295	-5.454	0.936
	(1.729)	(10.34)	(1.825)	(6.228)	(1.687)
Young Males 15-34	0.0182	0.0176	0.0723**	0.00475	-0.0125
	(0.0180)	(0.0291)	(0.0161)	(0.0474)	(0.0158)
Disadvantage Index	0.409*	1.481**	1.211**	2.568**	1.012**
	(0.150)	(0.259)	(0.268)	(0.696)	(0.217)
Residential Instability	0.804**	1.347**	0.489**	0.665**	1.116**
	(0.0999)	(0.340)	(0.151)	(0.185)	(0.108)
Residential Loans	0.00979	-1.382**	-0.198*	0.146	.0139521
	(0.0120)	(0.469)	(0.0874)	(0.135)	(.0132)
Midwest	0.215	-5.971**	-1.585**	-5.104**	-2.799**
	(0.268)	(0.552)	(0.397)	(0.790)	(0.589)
South	-0.493*	-7.398**	-5.076**	-7.062**	-4.771**
	(0.222)	(0.375)	(0.245)	(0.682)	(0.500)
West	-0.464**	-0.454	-4.037**	-4.370**	-4.007**
	(0.214)	(1.235)	(0.305)	(0.193)	(0.463)
Constant	1.849**	9.733**	4.848**	6.320**	6.632**
	(0.442)	(0.507)	(0.595)	(1.163)	(0.577)
Observations	2,298	1,224	824	730	3,481
R-squared	0.320	0.308	0.376	0.475	0.392

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 8. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model of Neighborhood Violent Crime Disaggregating Immigrant Race x Ethno-Racial Neighborhood Interaction Model

VARIABLES	
White Neighborhood * White Immigrant Population	0
	(0)
Black Neighborhood * White Immigrant Population	17.62
	(18.02)
Latino Neighborhood * White Immigrant Population	-17.68*
	(8.646)
Minority Neighborhood * White Immigrant Population	-17.78*
	(7.998)
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood * White Immigrant Population	-5.240**
	(1.473)
White Neighborhood * Black Immigrant Population	0
	(0)
Black Neighborhood * Black Immigrant Population	3.532
	(8.189)
Latino Neighborhood * Black Immigrant Population	30.05*
	(11.86)
Minority Neighborhood * Black Immigrant Population	9.737
	(6.847)
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood *Black Immigrant Population	9.234
	(5.743)
White Neighborhood *Latino Immigrant Population	0

	(0)
Black Neighborhood * Latino Immigrant Population	-6.209
	(4.468)
Latino Neighborhood * Latino Immigrant Population	-2.405
	(4.346)
Minority Neighborhood * Latino Immigrant Population	-0.280
	(3.437)
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood *Latino Immigrant Population	-1.739
	(3.369)
White Neighborhood * Asian Immigrant Population	0
	(0)
Black Neighborhood * Asian Immigrant Population	-5.193
	(9.285)
Latino Neighborhood * Asian Immigrant Population	-1.252
	(3.055)
Minority Neighborhood * Asian Immigrant Population	-6.489
	(5.849)
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood *Asian Immigrant Population	1.247
	(2.901)
White Immigrant Population	-4.096
	(2.782)
Black Immigrant Population	-11.83
	(6.005)
Latino Immigrant Population	-2.539

	(4.152)
Asian Immigrant Population	-2.101
	(2.016)
Young Males 15-34	-0.00879
	(0.0119)
Disadvantage index	1.541**
	(0.162)
Residential Instability	1.070**
	(0.0791)
Residential Loans	0.0239*
	(0.0117)
Midwest	-4.221**
	(0.274)
South	-4.922**
	(0.196)
West	-4.450**
	(0.212)
Black Neighborhood	2.871**
	(0.695)
Latino Neighborhood	0.545
	(0.816)
Minority Neighborhood	1.038**
	(0.385)
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood	0.600*
	(0.257)
Constant	6.886*
	(0.323)
Observations	8,557

R-squared	0.506

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Figure 1: Interaction between White Immigrants and Neighborhood Type

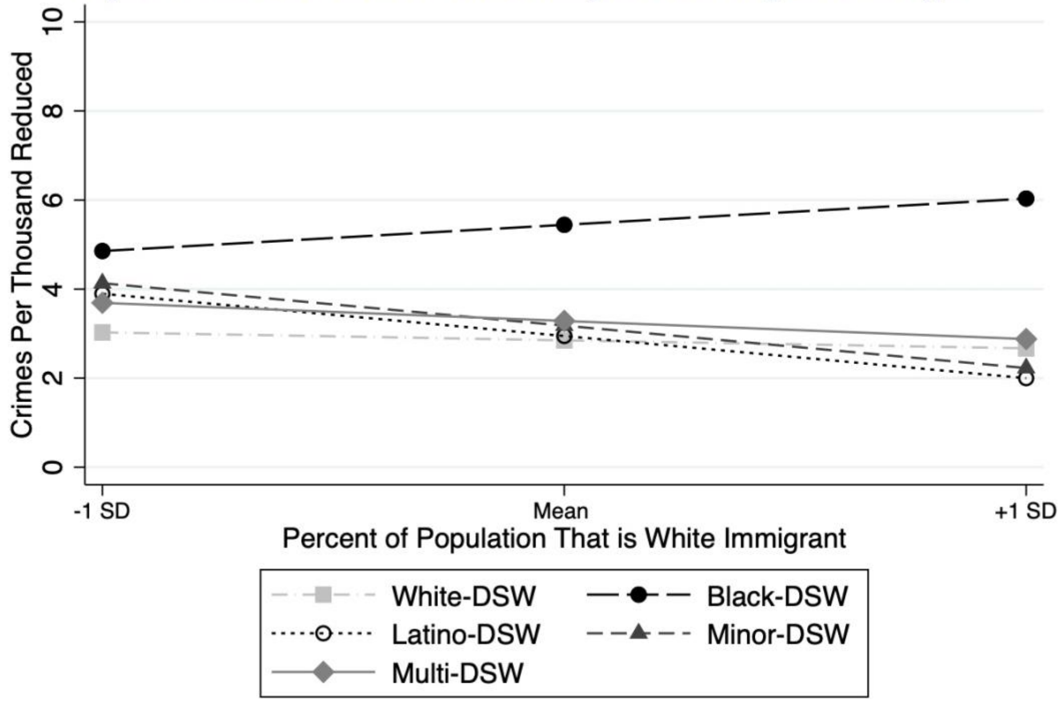
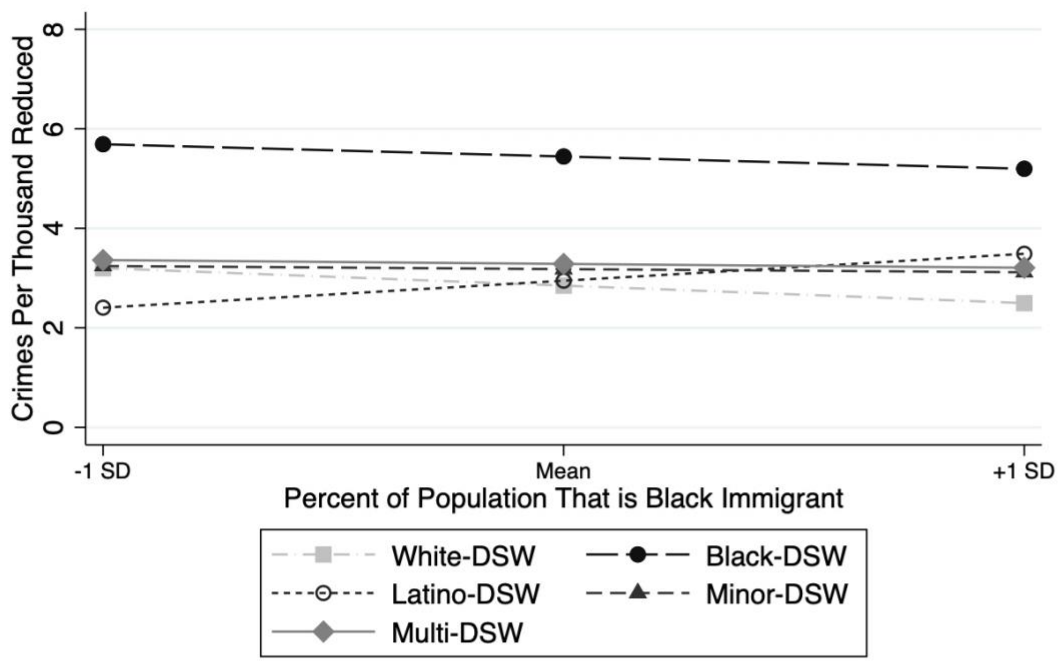


Figure 2: Interaction Between Black Immigrants and Neighborhood Type



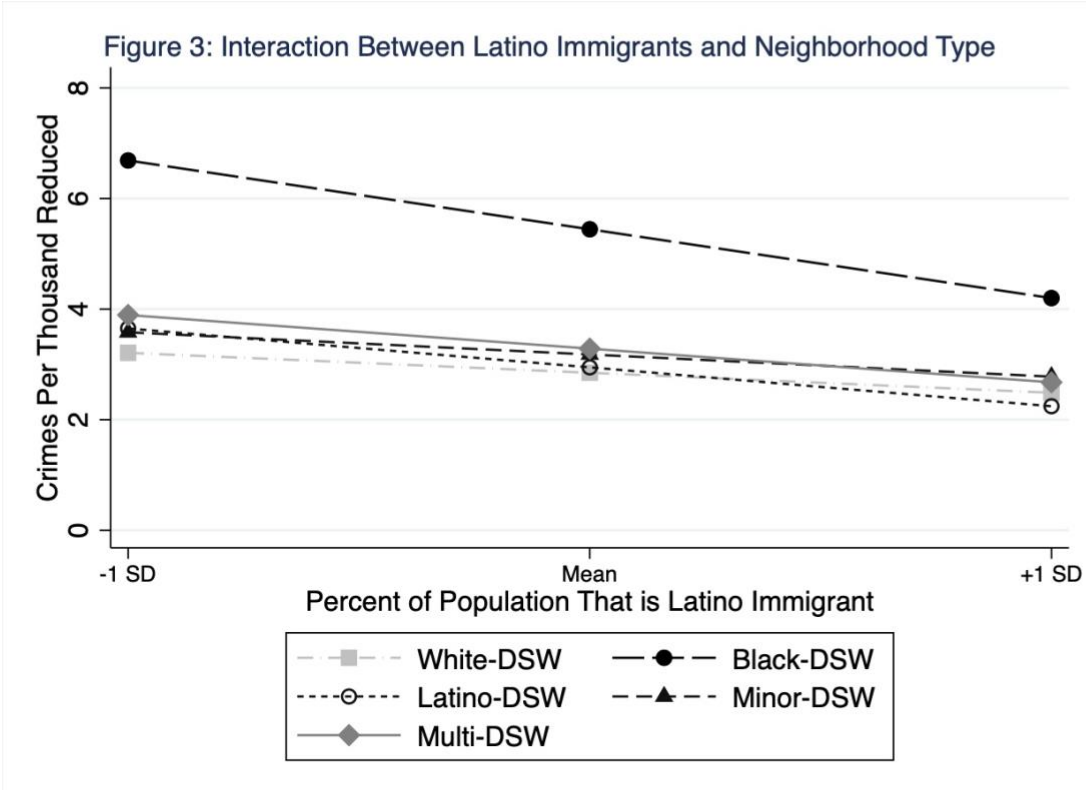


Figure 3: Interaction Between Latino Immigrants and Neighborhood Type
Crimes Per Thousand Reduced
0
2
4
6
8
-1 SD
Mean
+1 SD
Percent of Population That is Latino Immigrant
White-DSW
Black-DSW
Latino-DSW
Minor-DSW
Multi-DSW

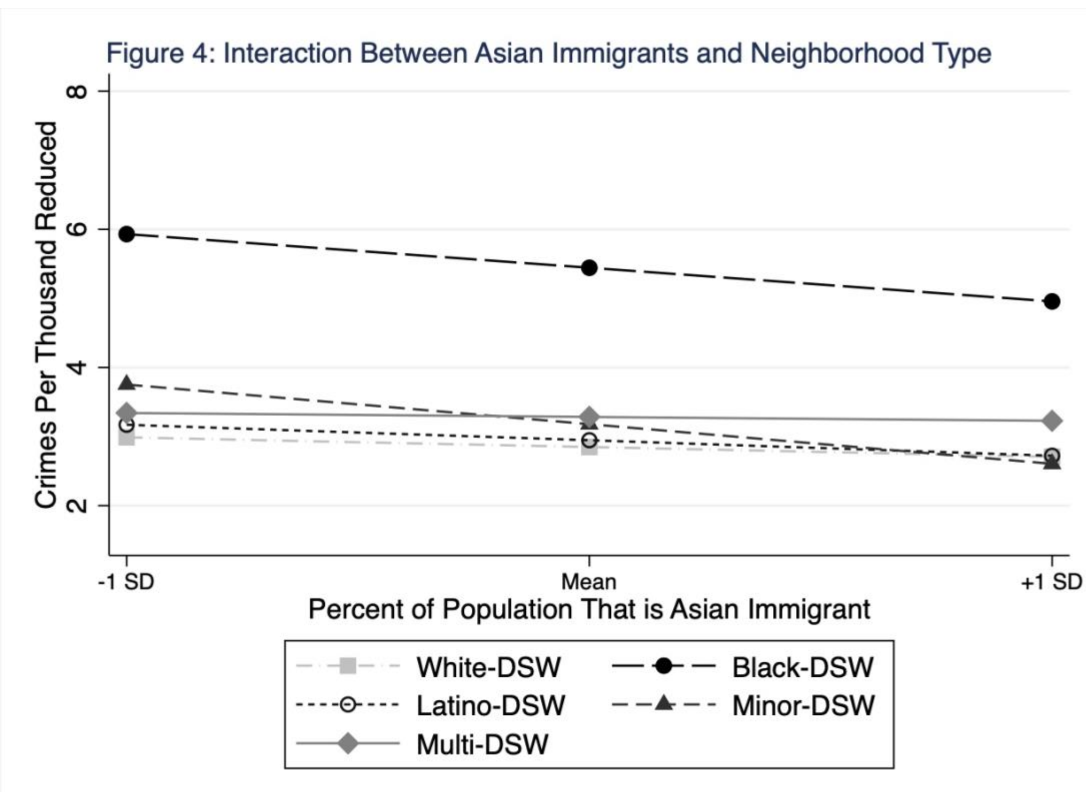


Figure 4: Interaction Between Asian Immigrants and Neighborhood Type
Crimes Per Thousand Reduced
2
4
6
8
-1 SD
Mean
+1 SD
Percent of Population That is Asian Immigrant
White-DSW
Black-DSW
Latino-DSW
Minor-DSW
Multi-DSW

Table 9. Ordinary Least Squares Models of Latino Neighborhood Violent Crime Using the Immigrant Index in Chicago, Miami and Los Angeles

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	Miami	LA Neighborhoods	Chicago Neighborhoods
Immigrant Prevalence	-1.421*	0.298	-0.211
	(0.632)	(0.234)	(0.382)
Young Males 15-34	0.0188	0.0501	0.0612
	(0.0791)	(0.0455)	(0.0557)
Disadvantage Index	2.138**	1.891**	0.790
	(0.752)	(0.370)	(0.722)
Residential Instability	1.477	0.0992	0.0600
	(0.860)	(0.373)	(0.308)
Residential Loans	-.457	-.253	-.246
	(.378)	(.152)	(.350)
Constant	6.246*	0.112	2.083
	(2.699)	(1.048)	(1.090)
Observations	50	289	103
R-squared	0.335	0.176	0.050

Robust standard errors in parentheses
**p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 10. Ordinary Least Squares Models of Neighborhood Violent Crime in Chicago, Miami and Los Angeles for Latino Neighborhoods Using Immigrant Index

VARIABLES	Latino Neighborhoods
Immigrant Index	0.0382
	(0.254)
Young Males 15-34	0.0635*
	(0.0127)
Disadvantage Index	1.551*
	(0.261)
Residential Instability	0.290
	(0.197)
Residential Loans	-.289*
	.0412
Los Angeles	-0.784*
	(0.0948)
Miami	-0.00496
	(0.431)
Constant	1.340
	(0.392)
Observations	442
R-squared	0.168

Robust standard errors in parentheses

**p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 11. Ordinary Least Squares Models of Latino Neighborhood Violent Crime in Los Angeles, Miami and Chicago Using Disaggregated Immigrant Index

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	Miami	LA	Chicago
Percent Foreign Born	-0.108*	0.00255	-0.0591
	(0.0532)	(0.0324)	(0.0384)
Percent Recent Immigrant	-0.0724	0.0377	0.0488
	(0.0766)	(0.0319)	(0.0449)
Percent Language Isolated	0.0553*	-0.000756	0.0125
	(0.0314)	(0.0201)	(0.0265)
Young Males 15-34	0.0449	0.0420	0.0797
	(0.0681)	(0.0452)	(0.0544)
Disadvantage Index	1.205	1.852**	0.829
	(1.091)	(0.382)	(0.739)
Residential Instability	0.642	0.107	-0.201
	(0.841)	(0.385)	(0.382)
Residential Loans	-0.300	-.278*	-.294
	(.388)	(.158)	(.394)
Constant	8.440*	0.168	2.972*
	(3.535)	(1.440)	(1.342)
Observations	50	289	103
R-squared	0.435	0.178	0.073

Robust standard errors in parentheses

**p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 12. Ordinary Least Squares Models of Neighborhood Violent Crime in Chicago, Miami and Los Angeles for Latino Neighborhoods Using Disaggregated Immigrant Index

VARIABLES	Latino Neighborhoods
Percent Foreign Born	-0.0334
	(0.0295)
Percent Recent Immigrant	0.0272
	(0.0227)
Percent Language Isolated	0.0146
	(0.0162)
Young Males 15-34	0.0591
	(0.0176)
Disadvantage Index	1.502*
	(0.259)
Residential Instability	0.170
	(0.139)
Residential Loans	-.307*
	(.0171)
Los Angeles	-0.599
	(0.225)
Miami	0.317
	(0.740)
Constant	2.155
	(0.850)
Observations	442
R-squared	0.174

Robust standard errors in parentheses

**p<0.01, * p<0.05

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