Why are Immigrant Neighborhoods Low Crime Neighborhoods? Testing Immigrant Revitalization Theory and Cultural Explanations

National Science Foundation Project Summary

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Introduction

Contrary to popular opinion, political pundits, and the predictions of some long-established criminological theories, over the last decade a growing body of research shows that crime is much lower than expected in immigrant neighborhoods, especially given high rates of poverty and other sources of disadvantage in these neighborhoods (see reviews in Kubrin & Ishizawa 2012; Lee & Martinez 2009; Stowell 2007). Moreover, this relationship is robust, appearing across a range of different immigrant groups and cities and, as suggested by longitudinal research, may be causal in nature (Martinez, Stowell & Lee 2010). However, there are two key gaps in knowledge regarding the relationship between neighborhood immigration and crime that the proposed project will address (see Thomas 2011). First, tests of the immigration-crime relationship are limited to serious violent crime, namely homicide, meaning that the generality of this relationship is unknown. Second, theoretical explanations developed to explain the inverse association between neighborhood immigration and crime are largely untested owing to the lack of direct measures of theoretical variables. Thus, the overarching goal of the proposed project is to address these two limitations by: (1) assessing the generality of the relationship between neighborhood-level immigration and crime using a variety of crime
measures; and (2) directly testing a number of important theories regarding this relationship.
This will be accomplished through analyses of survey data collected from random samples of
adults who reside in a random sample of “neighborhood clusters” in El Paso County, Texas,
which is located on the U.S.-Mexico border and possesses a number of recent, as well as long-
established, immigrant neighborhoods. These data will be aggregated to the neighborhood
cluster level to enable macro-level analyses to be performed.

**Intellectual Merit**

There is a pressing need to assess whether crime in general is low in immigrant
neighborhoods and, if so, why. But until data which consider a range of crime measures and
which directly measure theoretical variables are available, this effort is at something of a
standstill. The proposed project will overcome the limitations in knowledge engendered by
these shortcomings in data. In addition, the proposed project will be transformative in: (1) its
focus on what reduces or protects neighborhoods from crime, rather than on why crime is high
in certain neighborhoods, and (2) why immigrant neighborhoods represent one of factors
associated with low crime, despite being maligned by many politicians and pundits and
generally poorly understood by American society. The proposed project is well conceived and
organized, being modeled on the highly successful Community Survey component of The
Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (see Sampson 1997) which led to
several major advances in knowledge regarding neighborhoods and crime. The research team is
well qualified to undertake the proposed research, publishing extensively in the criminology
and immigration literatures, possessing expertise in survey methodology and data analyses, and
being intimately familiar with the El Paso community. The proposed project has access to the necessary resources, including UTEP students, who will be recruited and trained to collect the survey data in face-to-face interviews and because the majority of whom are local, will possess the linguistic skills (speaking both English and Spanish) necessary for the project.

**Broader Impacts**

The broader impacts include integrating education and research by involving UTEP students as researchers and mentoring them in utilizing the data they collect in their own research. Most of these students, as well as the research subjects, are representative of El Paso's working-class Hispanics and many are from immigrant families, thereby broadening the participation of these underrepresented groups. The data will be promptly archived so other scholars can utilize them, and the proposed project will disseminate findings in a useful manner to law enforcement, government, NGOs, media and politicians at local, state and federal levels (as well as in scholarly outlets). But most importantly, American society will benefit as crucial information regarding immigration and crime will be generated which may serve to dispel myths and prejudices surrounding immigrants, and which will enhance understanding of how immigration, which represents a substantial source of social change over the past two decades, has impacted neighborhoods and American society as a whole.

**Project Description**

For much of the 20th century criminologists assumed that immigration lead to increased levels of crime. This assumption was based on studies of White ethnic immigrants in Chicago
performed in the early 20th century as well as on the predictions of macro-level crime theory, specifically social disorganization theory and anomie theory (see Lee 2003; Stowell 2007). Recent social discourse pertaining to immigration in the United States tends to perpetuate these beliefs. For example, in May 2012 a prominent member of the U.S. House of Representatives compared immigrants to dogs and urged that the U.S. limit immigration to “the pick of the litter,” (Seitz-Wald 2012). Among the most egregious statements, former U.S. Senator Fred Thompson stated in 2007 that “Twelve million illegal immigrants later, we are now living in a nation that is beset by people who are suicidal maniacs and want to kill countless men, women, and children around the world... We’re sitting here now with essentially open borders,” (New York Times 2007). Scholarship attests to a long history of similar comments and sentiments from politicians and media pundits (Martinez 2006; Sampson 2008). Furthermore, recent findings show that, among the general public, immigrants (particularly Hispanic immigrants) are blamed for higher crime as well as a lack of jobs, higher taxes, changing cultural norms, and disruptions to social harmony (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008).

Given such pejorative views, it becomes a non sequitur to suggest that immigration may not lead to adverse outcomes, let alone boldly assert that immigration may be beneficial for society. But that is exactly what a number of prominent researchers contend, at least in regards to crime. For example, Harvard sociologist Robert J. Sampson (2008) argues that immigration not only reduces crime but is partially responsible for the dramatic drop in crime in America since the 1990s. And noted scholar Ramiro Martinez, Jr. has long maintained that immigration revitalizes impoverished urban neighborhoods with hard-working families and new businesses, thereby lowering crime (Martinez 2002).
Such statements are not wishful thinking, as dozens of studies since the 1990s typically find that immigration either has no effect on homicide or, if it does, that immigration is associated with less homicide. This literature prompted Lee & Martinez (2009) to title a recent paper “Immigration reduces crime: An emerging scholarly consensus,” a conclusion mirrored in a host of additional reviews (see Kubrin & Ishizawa 2012; Martinez et al. 2010; Martinez & Lee 2000; Martinez & Stowell 2012; Ousey & Kubrin 2009; Stowell et al. 2009; Thomas 2011). The findings regarding immigration and homicide are robust in that they apply to neighborhoods in cities as diverse as Alexandria Virginia, Chicago, El Paso, Houston, Miami, San Antonio and San Diego, and to a wide range of immigrant groups, including those from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico. And initial longitudinal research suggests a causal relationship whereby increasing levels of immigration over time actually suppresses homicide (Martinez et al. 2010; see also Hipp & Boessen 2012; Ousey & Kubrin 2009). Unfortunately, however, while the empirical relationship between crime and immigration is rather well established regarding homicide, what is lacking is a clear understanding as to why immigrant neighborhoods are low homicide neighborhoods and whether other types of crime are also low in immigrant neighborhoods (Thomas 2011).

Thus, the overarching goal of the proposed project is to assess the generality of the neighborhood immigration-crime relationship across an array of different crime measures and to test a number of theoretical predictions regarding this association. Achieving these goals is essential for several important reasons. First, while serious violent crimes like homicide may be low among immigrants, whether this association persists across other crimes is unknown and some scholars posit the “foraging thesis of crime” which suggests that participation in petty
property crime might actually be higher among immigrants as a form of financial survival given high rates of poverty and other forms of disadvantage (Hagan & Palloni 1999). Second, to the extent that neighborhood immigration does impact crime, progress in understanding why this association appears is woefully underdeveloped. Third, some relevant criminological theories (e.g., anomie, social disorganization) predict the opposite—that immigration will be linked to more crime. Fourth, public sentiment, often fueled by politicians and pundits, is largely misinformed, stereotyping immigrants as crime-prone. Finally, recent laws in states like Arizona and Alabama, as well as in a range of municipalities across the nation, reflect fear and overt hostilities toward certain immigrants groups. Thus, the knowledge produced by the proposed research will address and inform public opinion and policy issues that are having immediate and deleterious effects on marginalized minority groups as well as advance theoretical understanding of the causes of crime and knowledge about immigration and crime more generally. Importantly, if it becomes understood why immigrant neighborhoods are low crime neighborhoods despite poverty and other disadvantages, then this understanding may suggest solutions for non-immigrant neighborhoods that suffer from disadvantage and high levels of crime.

Addressing the Need for Primary Data

The major obstacle facing scholars interested in neighborhood immigration and crime pertains to the availability of data. This literature relies on official data, specifically U.S. Census data of structural measures, such as immigration and poverty, and homicide data from the Uniform Crime Reports to measure crime (though a few studies include robbery as well). The
lack of specific data, which are difficult, costly, and laborious to collect, thus represents the major hurdle to advancing knowledge and understanding of this relationship, and which the proposed project will rectify.

First, in order to assess the generality of the immigration-crime relationship, data on a range of crime measures are needed. But, as criminologists have long lamented, acquiring valid data on criminal behavior is extremely challenging and, as a result, scholars' ability to accurately test theories of crime is often severely constrained. Notably, official data from law enforcement agencies suffer from varying levels of under-reporting—save for homicide, which has its own shortcomings in that incidence levels can be extremely low for small areal units like neighborhoods (especially in El Paso which is renowned for its low homicide rate). An alternative, self-reports of criminal behavior, can also yield very low incidence levels, especially for serious crime. A more fruitful option, and which is employed by the proposed project, is the use of self-reports of criminal victimization. Prior research indicates that criminal victimization measures tend to produce sufficient variation and demonstrate predicted associations with structural conditions and social control measures (Bursik & Grasmick 1993: 20; Sampson et al. 1997). Measures of criminal victimization in the proposed project will pertain to a range of violent and property crimes, thereby enabling an assessment of the generality of the immigrant-crime relationship. Additionally, several alternative crime measures will also be used in the proposed projects which will permit a comprehensive understanding of immigration-crime association—specifically, self-reported perceptions of neighborhood crime levels, social and physical disorder, and fear of crime.
A second data limitation that inhibits scholarship is that direct measures of explanatory variables are typically not available from secondary sources and, hence, rarely employed in the immigration-crime literature (Martinez et al. 2004; Sampson 1997). Instead, extant research either uses census data as proxies for important variables such as social control, social capital, and cultural beliefs, or it doesn’t include them at all. The absence of direct measures means that potentially useful hypotheses languish in the realm of conjecture awaiting testing.

To remedy the problems posed by these limitations in data, the proposed project will collect survey data from random samples of adults living in a random sample of neighborhood clusters in El Paso County, Texas. This setting is ideal for the proposed project for a number of reasons. First, and most importantly, El Paso contains a sizable immigrant population (26.9% of the population according to the most recent census data) that includes recent as well as long-standing immigrant neighborhoods which will provide substantial variation in measures of immigration. Second, nearly all of El Paso’s immigrants are from Mexico, thereby avoiding the “dangers of pan-ethnic classifications” in immigration research whereby widely different groups are lumped together under the rubric of “Hispanic” or “immigrant” (DiPietro & Bursik 2012: 247). Third, using a survey in this population will enable more refined and comprehensive measures of immigration than have been used in much prior research. Specifically, in addition to percentage of immigrants in general, the proposed project will measure average length of time since immigration, percentage of first, second and third and later generations of immigrants, average length of time spent in the U.S., degree of acculturation, the extent of participation in the formal and informal labor markets, frequency of border crossings, and social class. Fourth, although prior research on El Paso (including that done by the PI) shows
that immigration is inversely associated with homicide, research has yet to assess why this relationship appears or whether it applies to other crimes (Emerick et al. 2012; Lee 2003). Fifth, Martinez et al. (2010) call for additional research on immigrant destination cities situated on the U.S.-Mexico border, like El Paso, because of their importance to public discourse on immigration and subsequent policy decisions. Finally, the PI and both co-PIs of the proposed project are long-time residents of El Paso (one co-PI was born and raised in El Paso and the other co-PI has resided in El Paso for nearly 40 years while the PI has lived for 12 years in El Paso). The researchers of the proposed project thus possess key insider knowledge of the culture and geography of El Paso and its neighborhoods, as well as vast experience researching this community.

The methodology of the proposed project is extremely sound, being modeled on the Community Survey component of The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN), a large, multi-year study of crime and delinquency in Chicago that began in the early 1990s and was led by noted sociologist Robert J. Sampson (see Sampson 1997). The Community Survey employed a method to create neighborhood-level measures of crime and theoretical variables by surveying random samples of residents from a random sample of “neighborhood clusters,” which are contiguous groups of socially and geographically similar census tracts. Such an approach, while expensive and laborious, solves the problems of attaining diverse measures of crime and valid measures of theoretical variables. Research using the Community Survey produced a number of important scholarly advances regarding neighborhoods and crime, most notably regarding the innovative concept of collective efficacy and its relation to crime (Sampson et al. 1997). Building on the successes of the Community
Survey the proposed project will employ many of its methods and measures but also further advance knowledge by: (1) including measures of variables specified by theory on immigration and crime that are not present in the Community Survey, notably social capital and aspects of culture, (2) employing the latest advances in measurement of existing variables in the Community Survey, and (3) utilizing a more parsimonious sampling design. Moreover, the proposed project will enable a replication of many findings from the Community Survey with fresh data from a vastly different region and culture than Chicago, thereby updating and expanding the scope of this ground-breaking project.

**Theory of Neighborhood Immigration and Crime**

A diverse collection of explanations endeavor to explain the observed inverse association between neighborhood immigration and homicide. Recently, Kubrin & Ishizawa (2012) developed a framework to organize these explanations which include theories of: immigration revitalization, immigrant selection, family structure, employment and entrepreneurship, and deterrence or formal social control (see also Stowell 2007; Thomas 2011). The proposed project employs this framework as a rough guide to the discussion of theory which follows. A diagram of major theoretical variables, as well as their relation to each other and to crime, is below.
Immigrant Revitalization Theory

The most prominent and well-developed explanation of the connection between neighborhood immigration and crime is the immigration revitalization thesis. Based on social disorganization theory\(^1\) or systemic control theory, theoreticians supporting this view argue that immigrant neighborhoods are low crime neighborhoods because they have strong social control despite high levels of poverty, low education, limited job skills, weak English skills, and the like. Most fully developed by Lee & Martinez (2002: 376), the immigration revitalization thesis contends that “contemporary immigration may encourage new forms of social organization that mediate the potentially crime-producing effects of the deleterious social and economic conditions found in urban neighborhoods.” These new forms of social organization emerge in heavily immigrant neighborhoods called enclaves and stem from high levels of social capital in the form of memberships in social networks and social structures that are used to obtain employment and address other needs such as housing (Portes & Rumbaut 2001 cited in

\(^1\) In its original formulation, social disorganization theory implies that immigration will increase neighborhood levels of crime because of the racial and ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability it will produce and the resulting deleterious impact on social control.
Martinez et al. 2004) and features of immigrant culture that emphasize family bonds and parental authority. These new forms of social organization lead to strong families, high labor market participation, and dense social networks—all of which improve social control, thereby making immigrant neighborhoods low crime neighborhoods. However, as Martinez et al. (2004) point out, because of the limitations of census data, research has not directly tested whether immigrant neighborhoods actually have higher levels of social control and, if so, whether this accounts for low homicide and other types of crime, or if social control stems from the sources predicted by the immigration revitalization thesis—deficiencies addressed by the proposed project.

Immigrant & Mexican Culture

The proposed project also explicitly seeks to test hypotheses regarding the immigration-crime association that pertain to culture—a topic receiving renewed attention among scholars regarding its potential influence on neighborhood variation in crime (e.g., Kubrin & Weitzer 2003; Sampson & Bean 2006). Because immigrants may come from vastly different cultural backgrounds compared to the U.S., it is reasonable to consider that these cultural differences could influence levels of crime in immigrant neighborhoods. Moreover, the immigrant revitalization theory (discussed above) incorporates norms regarding the family into its explanation. However, prior appraisals of theory of neighborhood immigration and crime often address culture in discussions of “immigrant selection effects” and “family structure” and research measures these variables with proxies such as divorce rates (e.g., Kubrin & Ishizawa 2012). In the proposed project, however, these constructs (and others) are explicitly considered
to be within the domain of culture and are directly measured with survey scales. By directly measuring these constructs and assessing their association with measures of crime, the proposed project will initiate the effort to subject these hypotheses to scientific scrutiny.

Within the idea of family structure, Kubrin & Ishizawa (2012) discuss cultural orientations among immigrants favoring traditional two-parent families to which the immigrant revitalization theory adds norms supporting parental authority (Lee & Martinez 2002). Increasing adherence to these features of culture would tend to promote strong informal control within the family and thereby inhibit crime among its members. To the extent that families typifying this cultural orientation appear in immigrant neighborhoods crime would be expected to be low. Thus, culture regarding family is predicted to impact informal social control. To tap into these forces among the Mexican immigrant communities in El Paso, the proposed research will directly measure neighborhood level of support for traditional values regarding the family and male and female gender roles (discussed in further detail below) to assess their associations with social control capacity and behavior as well as with crime (see theoretical diagram above).

Under immigration selection effects, Kubrin & Ishizawa (2012) argue that, rather than a cross-section of residents from a given nation, immigrants are a self-selected group that may possess certain characteristics that inhibit their criminal activities. Notably, immigrants are hypothesized to: (1) possess a strong work ethic which may increase stakes in conformity; (2) be optimistic about being in the US and their future here, thereby reducing stress and strain; and (3) to seek a “low profile” by avoiding actions that might draw the attention of law enforcement and other governmental entities (see also Stowell 2007). Having a strong stake in
conformity and desiring a low profile both increase the consequences of crime while experiencing less strain lowers criminal motivation. Although not typically acknowledged as such, these characteristics can be understood as constituting norms, values and beliefs—features of culture—that may derive from the host country or that may arise, or become reinforced, in an immigrant enclave. Yet, despite their extensive discussion in the literature, scholarship has not addressed the extent to which a strong work ethic, optimism, and desire for a low profile are actually present in immigrant neighborhoods or their impact on crime. The proposed project will measure neighborhood levels of these variables and test their predicted association with measures of crime.

The proposed project employs a number of components of Mexican culture that may provide a picture of the values and behavior of Mexican immigrants that may also help explicate the low levels of crime that are predicted for this group. The guiding prediction regarding Mexican culture is that acculturation to American culture will weaken social control and increase crime, and that the extent of acculturation will be low among immigrant neighborhoods that are mainly first generation (Morenoff & Astor 2006). Indeed scholarship on a range of outcomes, often called the “immigrant paradox,” indicate that acculturation is connected with a variety of adverse outcomes for immigrants, including physical and mental health as well as crime, whereas less acculturation is associated with more positive conditions (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor & Lee 2005; Farley, Galves, Dickinson, & Perez 2005; Franzini, Ribble & Keddie 2001; Rennison, 2002). In addition to a direct measure of acculturation, the proposed project will also measure level of neighborhood adherence to several key components of Mexican culture (see Diaz-Guerrero, 1975; 1977) that are predicted to be associated with lower
crime: individualism v. collectivism, familismo, gender roles (machismo and marianismo) and religiosity.

*Individualism vs. collectivism* (Hofstede, 2001; Ramirez, 1983; Triandis, 1972) refers to differences among societies in the extent to which relationships among individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him or herself and members of his or her immediate family in comparison to societies in which people are expected to be integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups with unquestioning loyalty and social exchange (Hofstede, 1991). The U.S. is an archetypical example of an individualist society whereas Mexican culture is a prototype of a collectivist society. A second aspect of Mexican culture is *familismo*, which generally refers to the importance of one’s family but more specifically taps into the importance of having a unified family which serves as primary the source of identity for each member, and to which each member is not only loyal and supportive, but also committed to not bringing shame to the family (Kim, Soliz, Orellana, & Alamilla, 2009). *Machismo* and *marianismo* refer, respectively, to traditional values surrounding the appropriate roles, behaviors, and attitudes of males and females in Mexico. Such values pertain to a wide domain of life including sexuality, parenting, employment and the expression of emotions. Finally, *religiosity* taps into the importance of religious beliefs to one’s identity, and has a long history in the study of individual criminal behavior (see Lee, Yim, Curry & Rodriguez, forthcoming).
**METHOD**

**Data & Sampling**

Modeled on the Community Survey of the PHDCN, the proposed project will collect survey data from random samples of individuals from a random sample of “neighborhood clusters” in El Paso County, Texas to directly measure theoretical variables as well as crime. Neighborhood clusters consist of geographically contiguous and socially similar census tracts and for El Paso will be determined by a combination of the local knowledge possessed by the project’s researchers, preliminary analyses of the most recent census data regarding the distributions of immigrant status, language use, year of entry, and aspects of economic disadvantage as well as obvious boundaries (such as Interstates, major roads, mountains, and military installations).

For the PHDCN shows 343 neighborhood clusters each containing about 6000-8000 residents were created from 865 census tracts in the City of Chicago. From this population of neighborhood clusters, a total of 80 neighborhood clusters were randomly selected from a sampling frame stratified by race/ethnicity and socio-economic status (Sampson 1997). The proposed project will create a similar sampling frame of neighborhood clusters in El Paso County stratified by measures of immigrant concentration (e.g., generational status, length of time since immigration) and socio-economic status. Based on the proportions employed in the PHDCN, the proposed project will develop a sampling frame of approximately 65 neighborhood clusters from the 161 census tracts in El Paso County. Results from the PHDCN (Sampson et al. 2002) show that 20 respondents are needed from each neighborhood cluster to produce valid measures. Thus, the total sample size will be approximately 1300 survey respondents.
In contrast to the PHDCN, which employed a three-stage sampling design from within each sampled neighborhood cluster (selecting city blocks, dwelling units from each block, and an adult resident from each dwelling unit), the proposed project will use a more parsimonious approach. Cole Lists, a company that provides consumer information for direct marketers, can provide a list of all residential addresses in El Paso County by census tract, the cost of which is included in the budget. Once obtained, these lists can be aggregated to the neighborhood cluster level thereby yielding a list of all residential address in each selected neighborhood cluster. Then, from each neighborhood cluster, 20 residences will be selected using a systematic random sampling procedure (a random start determined from a table of random numbers and then selecting every k\textsuperscript{th} address. Each selected residence will be mailed a notification letter, printed in English and in Spanish, regarding participation in the project and which will specify a range of dates and times that a trained interviewer will personally visit to determine which adult resident(s), if any, are willing to participate. The adult residents willing to participate will be listed on scratch paper in alphabetical order by first name and assigned numbers beginning with one, and one adult resident will be randomly selected to actually participate by rolling a die (or two dice if there are more than six potential participants). The first time a number is rolled that corresponds to a potential participant, then that adult will be surveyed. At that point, a date and time for the interview to take place will be scheduled (and interviewers will be ready to conduct the interview immediately if the subject prefers). Respondents will receive an incentive of $20 to participate. The trained interviewers will record each respondent’s answers on a paper form and later manually enter this information into a computer file using spreadsheet software. Residences that are vacant or otherwise unwilling or
unable to participate will be replaced through random selection and also receive a notification letter. Data entry will be checked for errors using wild code and consistency checking, spot checks, and the recoding of a random sample of 10% of cases.

All survey measures will be aggregated to the neighborhood cluster level by averaging responses for each item across the respondents from each sampled neighborhood cluster (see Silver & Miller 2004). The survey data will be integrated with a variety of tract-level measures taken from the most recent census data, which will also be aggregated to the neighborhood cluster level by creating the average for each measure among the tracts contained in each cluster.

**Measures**

Because there is an extensive list of variables in the proposed project, below is a table that lists each theoretical construct and the variable or variables that will be measured to represent that construct. The constructs and variables are then discussed below in the order they are presented in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Construct</th>
<th>Variables</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>Household victimization, perceived neighborhood crime, social disorder, physical disorder, and fear of crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>Immigrant concentration, immigrant concentration by generational status, average length of time in the US, frequency of border crossings into Mexico, participation in the formal and informal labor markets, and income.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social disorganization</td>
<td>Concentrated disadvantage, population heterogeneity, and residential instability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social control capacity</td>
<td>Social ties, voluntary associations, perceived responsiveness of the police and other local government</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social control behavior</td>
<td>Collective efficacy, and surveillance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>Social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant culture</td>
<td>Optimism, work ethic, desire for a low profile, and acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican culture</td>
<td>Individualism/collectivism, familismo, machismo, marianismo, and religiosity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Crime**

The proposed research will employ household crime victimization as the primary measure of crime. Expanding on the method used in the PHDCN, *crime victimization* is measured by a series of dummy variables asking respondents whether any of the following have recently happened to them or any member of their household anywhere in their home or neighborhood: violence (such as a mugging, fight, or sexual assault), auto theft, burglary or theft of personal property. In addition to victimization, the proposed research will use additional self-report measures as alternative methods to measure neighborhood crime (Bursik & Grasmick 1993). *Perceived neighborhood crime* represents the frequency during the past six months that respondents report on a 7-point Likert-type scale that the following occurred in their neighborhood: a violent argument between neighbors, a gang fight, a fight involving weapons, a sexual assault or rape, a robbery or mugging, an auto theft, a burglary or theft of personal property (Sampson et al. 1997). Steenbeek & Hipp (2011) differentiate between social disorder (undesirable public behaviors) and physical disorder (the physical deterioration of the neighborhood) and contend that, while sparse, research using measures of disorder typically shows predicted effects with social control and structural conditions. Building on items from Steenbeck & Hipp (2011), *social disorder* is measured by asking respondents how much of a problem the following represent in the public places of their neighborhood on 7-point Likert-
type scale: alcohol consumption, drug use, threatening behavior, rowdy behavior, loud music from cars or homes, kids hanging around, panhandling, and people being bothered by others. *Physical disorder* refers to the extent that the following are perceived as a problem in their neighborhood on 7-point Likert-type scale: destruction of property (vandalism), graffiti, litter, animal feces, and poorly maintained or abandoned buildings, apartments, homes and cars. Finally, *fear of neighborhood crime* will be used as a measure of crime and refers to perceptions of concern, risk, and threat from crime (Skogan 1996). Accordingly, and expanding on items from the British Crime Survey (Brunton-Smith & Sturgis 2011), respondents are asked on a 7-point Likert-type scale how worried they are in their neighborhood about being: mugged or robbed, physically attacked by strangers, or the victim of burglary or theft. This broad range of crime measures will enable a comprehensive assessment of the generality of immigration-crime relationship which heretofore has been studied almost exclusively in regards to homicide. These crime measures will also permit testing of the “foraging crime” thesis which contends that that immigration may increase petty property crime as a way for impoverished immigrants to survive financially (Hagan & Palloni 1999).

**Immigration**

Because of reliance on census data, most research uses measures of “immigrant concentration” defined as the percentage of foreign-born residents and may differentiate between immigrants who arrived within the last ten years and those who migrated more than ten years ago. The proposed project will utilize these measures but also employ more refined and comprehensive immigration measures using the survey. The proposed project will thus also
include measures of the concentration of first generation immigrants, the concentration of second and third generation immigrants, average length of time in the US (controlling for respondent age), frequency of border crossings into Mexico, the extent of participation in the formal and informal labor markets, and income.

Social Disorganization

Neighborhood social organization exists on a continuum ranging from “very disorganized” to “very well organized.” Conceptualized as a function of poverty, population heterogeneity, and residential instability, neighborhood disorganization is typically measured with information from the U.S. Census. However, census data contain an array of items concerning poverty and residential stability which researchers often combine into indexes based on factor analyses. For example, a recent study of El Paso conducted by the PI (Emerick et al. 2011) showed that percentages poor, unemployed, single-mother headed households, households on public assistance, and low education yielded a comprehensive yet parsimonious measure of poverty or concentrated disadvantage; whereas residential instability was comprised of percentages of owner-occupied housing units, vacant housing units, those living in the same residence for five years or more. The proposed project will employ such an approach, based on the most recent and complete tract-level data for El Paso County. Population heterogeneity is a formula that is essentially standard in the literature and is simply subtracting 1 from the sum of the squared proportion of persons in each racial/ethnic group (see Warner & Pierce, 1993). Thus, concentrated disadvantage, population heterogeneity, and residential
instability will be used as separate indicators of social disorganization with increasing levels of these variables representing increasing social disorganization.

Social Control Capacity

Based on measures from the PHDCN which yielded predicted associations with social control behavior (i.e., collective efficacy) as well as structural measures in a variety of different analyses (e.g., Morenoff et al. 2001; Sampson et al. 1997; Silver & Miller 2004; see also Bellair & Browning 2010 for alternative measures) neighborhood capacity to perform social control at the private and parochial levels are conceptualized and measured in the following manner. Social ties represent private control capacity and constitute the average of two items regarding the number of friends and relatives respondents report as living in their neighborhood. Voluntary associations constitute parochial control capacity and are measured with a set of dummy variables indexing whether respondents or other household members belong to: local religious organizations; neighborhood watch programs; a block group, tenant association, or community council; business or civic groups; ethnic or nationality clubs; and local political organizations. Public social control is often discussed but rarely directly measured in criminological research (Triplett et al. 2003; Velez 2001). Based on Bursik & Grasmick's (1993: 17) definition of public social control as "the ability of the community to secure public goods and services that are allocated by agencies located outside the neighborhood," public social control is measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale of residents' perceived responsiveness of the police and other local government agencies to address neighborhood concerns regarding crime,
policing, schools, and the maintenance of roads, sidewalks, streetlights, parks, and other public facilities.

Neighborhood attachment, which refers to ties to place rather than ties to people (Silver and Miller 2004), could also impact social control behavior because stronger attachment to one’s neighborhood implies greater concern for the neighborhood’s well-being and orderliness and willingness to act or intervene when problems occur. Based on Woldoff (2002), neighborhood attachment is measured 7-point Likert-type scale tapping in to whether respondents feel their neighborhood is just a place to live or a real home, how strong their connection to the neighborhood is, whether they would miss the neighborhood if they moved, and their overall rating of the neighborhood as a place to live.

**Social Control Behavior**

Social control behavior is conceptualized in two ways: collective efficacy and surveillance. *Collective efficacy*, defined by Sampson et al. (1997: 918) as "social cohesion among neighbors and their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good" is measured using a 7-point Likert-type scale regarding respondents' perceptions that their neighbors are close-knit, willing to help each other, trustworthy, get along with each other, and share values; and respondents' personal willingness to intervene if children were observed in various delinquent or disrespectful activities (see also Silver and Miller 2004). *Surveillance* is measured by two items asking whether or not respondents have been asked by their neighbors to watch their house for any reason (and vice-versa) and is coded 1 if the answer to either question is yes and coded 0 if both questions are answered no (see Bellair & Browning 2010).
Social Capital

The conceptualization and measurement of social capital tends to show a great deal of overlap with social control capacity and behavior. For example, using PHDCN data, Lochner, Kawachi, Brennan & Buka (2003) measure social capital with many of the same items that other studies employing these data use to measure social control capacity (see also Carpiano 2007). Therefore, in order to create a conceptually and operationally distinct measure, working from Coleman (1990) and Putnam (1995) social capital is defined in the proposed project as the extent to which individuals possess interpersonal relationships they can use as a resource to achieve goals, such as those pertaining to employment, residence, education, recreation, and dealing with governmental bureaucracies and their functionaries. Social capital is measured with a series of items on a 7-point Likert-type scale that ask respondents the extent to which they know people in their neighborhood who could help them find a job (or a better job), improve their job skills, and obtain and complete governmental documents regarding employment, taxes, and immigration status.

Culture

A long neglected topic in criminology, especially at the neighborhood level and which was not a major focus of the PHDCN, the inclusion of culture represents a key advance of the proposed project. The focus of the proposed project is on two broad aspects of culture that theory and prior research suggest may impact crime and which are likely to vary among
immigrant and non-immigrant neighborhoods and which appear appropriate for our sample:

adherence to norms and values of Mexican culture and of theorized immigrant culture.

**Immigrant Culture**

Theory suggests several putative cultural aspects of immigrant groups that may impact crime and which also appear appropriate for the setting of the proposed research. *Optimism* is predictive of a multitude of behaviors, coping strategies, and lifestyle outcomes (for a review see Carver & Sheier, 2009) and is typically conceptualized as a long-term, generalized expectancy and is reflected in the pursuit of desired goals, states or actions. Expecting success in the future is likely to be an individual difference variable that distinguishes those who are willing to engage in stress inducing behaviors such as immigrating to a foreign country to begin a new life. In addition, those who are optimistic are more likely to persist in the behaviors necessary to become successful in their new lives and to avoid behaviors on their own behalf or that of others around them that will interfere with their life success. Differences in optimism are anticipated between new immigrants and longer term residents of immigrant neighborhoods and between the neighborhood residents who are most successful and others. The Life Orientation Test-Revised (LOT-R; Sheier & Carver, 1985; Sheier, Carver, & Bridges, 1994) is a 10-item scale that will be used by the proposed project to index the degree of optimism vs. pessimism among participants. Examples of LOT-R items are: In uncertain times, I usually expect the best; I hardly ever expect things to go my way (reverse scored); and Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad. Respondents give the degree to which
they agree with each item on a Likert-type scale and the responses are summed across items to create an overall optimism score.

*Work ethic* is defined as a commitment to the value and importance of hard work and is measured using a modified version of the Multidimensional Work Ethic Profile (MWEP) (Miller, Woehr & Hudspeth 2002). This measure taps into the dimensions of hard work, self-reliance, leisure, centrality of work, morality/ethics, delay of gratification, and wasted time. Pretesting will be needed to further develop this measure for use in the proposed project.

Desire for a low profile refers to the notion that immigrants may avoid interactions with law enforcement and other governmental agents due to fears such as being deported and/or being discriminated against due to their actual or perceived immigration status. This is a notion that has received limited empirical attention in the literature, particularly regarding the immigrant-crime association. It is important to fill this gap in the literature given that in July 2012 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ruling of “papers please” (Section 2(B) in Arizona’s S.B. 1070). As such, law enforcement officers may demand immigration papers from those who they suspect are in the country without authorization when they are stopped, detained, or arrested. The proposed project will define low profile as a desire to avoid contact with or interaction with individuals or entities who are perceived as representatives of the government, particularly the local law enforcement, but also federal agencies (e.g., Border Patrol, INS) or local government (e.g., city planning department, municipal clerk). Low profile will be assessed by asking respondents a series of questions regarding who they will turn to if they were the victim of a variety of different street crimes or if they were to witness any of these crimes. In addition to law enforcement and other federal agencies, other response options will include neighbors,
family, friends, and media. Other questions will pertain to daily activities, such as driving or attending public gatherings, and whether respondents are especially cautious during these times.

*Acculturation* assesses the level of acculturation to U.S. culture (Marín, Sabogal, VanOss Marín, Otero-Sabogal, & Pérez-Stable, 1987) and will be based on the SASH scale (Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics). Results from a pilot study data indicate that the primary component of this measure indexes language use and the proposed project will thus employ items regarding in which language respondents usually think, read and speak, speak with friends, watch TV, and speak at home.

**Mexican Culture**

Several key aspects of Mexican culture are employed in the proposed research. The researchers of the proposed project are fortunate in that data on a range of Mexican culture measures are available from researchers in the UTEP Psychology Department, which helps to ensure their validity and applicability to the population of El Paso County Texas. Actual measures to be employed in the proposed project are based on results from a pilot study using these data. To properly index important components of Mexican culture, data from a substantial dataset ($N = 456$) (Cholka, 2012) were re-analyzed. Marker items for these measures were chosen based on their strong relation to the first principal component extracted from pilot data. From these results, measures for several essential aspects of Mexican culture are developed, specifically: individualism vs. collectivism, acculturation, familism, machismo, marianismo, and religiosity.
Individualism vs. collectivism refers to individuals acculturated to collectivist societies such as Mexican culture as allocentric personas whereas those acculturated to an individualistic culture are labeled ideocentric. Hui (1988) developed an index of individualism vs. collectivism (INDCOL) that spawned a later, shortened, version by Hui and Yee (1994). Marker items from the shortened version of the INDCOL are used to measure on a continuous scale the degree to which our respondents are ideocentric or allocentric using items from two of subfactors of Hui and Yee’s shortened version: those indexing supportive exchanges between colleagues and friends (“The motto ‘sharing in both blessing and calamity’ still applies even if one’s friend is clumsy, dumb, and causes a lot of trouble; I would help if a colleague at work told me that he/she needed money go pay utility bills; If a colleagues lends a helping hand, one needs to return the favor” and those indexing a neighbor/social isolation factor (some items reverse scored) “I don’t really know how to befriend my neighbors, My neighbors have never borrowed anything from me or my family, I enjoy meeting and talking with my neighbors every day.”

Familismo, refers to the importance of one’s family and is measured with a subset of The Latino/a Values Scale (Kim, Soliz, Orellana, & Alamilla, 2009) based on the pilot study that asks respondents on a 7-point Likert-type scale how strongly agree that: a mother must keep the family unified, one’s family is the main source of one’s identity, one should never bring shame upon one’s family, a woman must be a source of strength for her family. Higher scores indicate higher levels of familismo.

The Machismo Attitudes Scale (Castro, 2012) measures the positive and negative aspects of machismo. Male and female respondents indicate their level of agreement with: a real man can ask for help when he needs it, a good father will hug and kiss his children often, a
man should always tell his wife and children how much he loves them, a real man can follow
orders as well as give them, a real man can share his feelings. Lower scores are associated with
higher levels of machismo.

The Marianismo Beliefs Scale (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010) measures the
extent to which a participant, regardless of sex, believes a woman should behave consistently
with values of marianismo. Respondents are asked to describe what they believe rather than
what they were taught or actually practice regarding their agreement that a Latina: should do
anything a male in the family asks her to do, should avoid saying no to people, should feel guilty
about telling people what she needs, should not express her needs to her partner, should not
discuss birth control. Higher scores indicate higher levels of marianismo.

Religiosity is based on The Religiosity Measure (Rohrbaugh & Jessor, 1975) that assesses
the impact of religion on the respondent’s daily secular life, as well as extent of participation in
ritual practices. A discriminant validity analysis indicated that personal religious orientation was
not associated with a particular religious group or social structure (Rohrbaugh & Jessor, 1975).
The scale contains four items with higher scores indicating stronger beliefs in religiosity that
pertain to: feelings of religious reverence or devotion, beliefs about God, prayer, the use of
religious advice or teaching.

**PROJECT SUMMARY**

The goals of the proposed project are to (1) assess the association between immigration
and neighborhood-level crime across a range of crime measures and (2) directly test theoretical
predictions regarding this association. At present, nearly all studies of immigration and crime
focus only on homicide and employ proxies to measure theoretical variables. It is anticipated that findings from the proposed project will show that immigration is inversely associated with most if not all measures of crime employed. It is further expected that theoretical testing will show the relative contribution of the immigration revitalization thesis and Hispanic and immigrant culture to understanding this predicted inverse association. Thus, the proposed project will produce substantial advances in knowledge regarding the association between immigration and crime, as well as the causes of neighborhood level crime and the impact of immigration on American society.

**Intellectual Merit**

The intellectual merit of the proposed project is substantial. There is truly a burning need to understand the immigration-crime association, but knowledge is severely restricted until direct evidence can be brought to bear on theories seeking to explain this association. To advance knowledge and understanding, the proposed project will create a comprehensive dataset that will enable direct tests of a host of hypotheses derived from the most promising theories on immigration and crime. While our intention is to use these data to test neighborhood level theory, because the survey data will also be made available at the individual level, researchers will also be able to use these data to test important micro-level theory regarding immigration and crime (which also tends to show an inverse association). In addition, the proposed project addresses two transformative concepts: (1) the factors or causes that reduce crime and (2) why immigration represents one of the factors that inhibit crime. These concepts are transformative in that the study of criminal behavior is almost completely
focused on the causes of increased crime, whereas this study diverges from that trend to examine the factors that prevent crime from happening and, secondly, because, contrary to population opinion, political rhetoric, and much relevant theory, immigrant neighborhoods are low crime neighborhoods, we just don’t know why as of yet.

The proposed project is well conceived and organized. Modeled on the highly successful methodology of Community Survey component of The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN), which led to several important advances in theoretical knowledge regarding neighborhoods and crime, the proposed project will collect data using face-to-face interviews from random samples of adults living in randomly selected neighborhood clusters in El Paso County. Items from the survey will measure the theoretical and control variables identified from the most promising recent developments in literatures on general outcomes for immigrant neighborhoods as well as that specific to immigrant neighborhoods and crime.

The research team is well qualified to undertake the proposed research. Dr. Curry, the principal investigator, is a sociological criminologist with expertise in testing a wide variety of crime theories and experience in the development of several original survey projects. Dr. Morales is a sociologist and expert in the study of immigration, particularly in the El Paso region; while Dr. Hosch, a social psychologist, is highly proficient in research methodologies, particularly statistical analyses. Moreover, all three researchers have extensive experience in researching El Pasoans.

The proposed research has access to necessary resources. Most importantly, UTEP undergraduate and graduate students, largely derived from the local area, will be recruited and
trained to conduct the survey interviews. Given the need to conduct survey interviews in Spanish as well as English, and the potential challenges of going into neighborhoods where residents may be leery of participating in the proposed research, the student-interviewers will represent an indispensable asset for the project. UTEP students will also be recruited to enter coded data into computers, which are available for this purpose in a computer lab in the PI’s building.

**Broader Impacts**

A number of broader impacts of the proposed research are present. First, research and education will be integrated by involving UTEP students, who will be mentored and receive rigorous training and scholarly development by participating in all phases of data collection, and will be encouraged to use these data for theses, dissertations, and conference presentations. Second, most of these students, as well as the research subjects, will be working-class Hispanics and many will be immigrants, thereby broadening the participation of these underrepresented groups as both researchers and research subjects. Third, the findings from the project will be broadly disseminated. Specifically, the El Paso Police Department has expressed interest in the proposed project and the PI intends to present major findings to this group as well as to perform additional analyses if representatives from the police department request them. The research team of the proposed project also intends to write editorials to local, state and national media to disseminate findings as well as to develop summaries for local, state and national-level politicians, governmental agencies, and NGOs. In addition, findings will be disseminated at multi- and interdisciplinary conferences, such as the annual American Society
of Criminology conference, and published in widely read journals dealing with crime and immigration topics. After the project team has completed its data analyses as discussed in the project narrative, the data files will be placed in a secure, online website and made available for other researchers to conduct additional analyses and thereby be available to those interested in performing additional analyses. Fourth, society will benefit from the proposed project in that the research team will analyze, interpret, and synthesize the project and its findings in a format that will be useful to non-scientists, such as the media, politicians, and law enforcement (as discussed above). Finally, American society will benefit because crucial information regarding immigration and crime will be provided. This information may serve to dispel myths and prejudices surrounding immigrants, which are often promulgated by politics and media, and will enhance understanding of how immigration, which represents a substantial source of social change over the past two decades, has (and will) impact neighborhoods and American society as a whole.

REFERENCES CITED


