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ABSTRACT
THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON ETHNIC-SPECIFIC VIOLENCE
(2001-IJ-CX-0012)
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This study examines the violent victimization rate and the factors influencing ethnic-specific rates of violence (e.g. armed robbery and aggravated assault) in the city of Miami. The objective is to better inform analyses of violent crime by outlining the basic contours of race/ethnicity (Latino, African American and Haitian) in a primarily immigrant city by focusing on serious reported non-lethal violence. This contributes to the research literature in several ways. First, this study examines the influence of recent immigration, independent of economic deprivation, neighborhood instability and other dimensions of community context that potentially influence the extent of aggravated assault and robbery. Second, this study also examines violence in a high crime, high poverty, predominantly Latino city. Finally, reported aggravated assaults and armed robberies are serious events and the inclusion of these two routine forms of violence reflects the wider range of non-lethal violence than relatively rare forms of violence, such as homicide, which have been the primary focus of previous race\ethnic violence research.

The primary unit of observation is the census tract, or more specifically, the seventy census tracts in the city of Miami with 500 or more residents. The information for reported robberies and aggravated assaults for 1997 was obtained from the city of Miami Police Department Research Unit. The address for each incident and victim race, surname, age and gender were provided in a raw data file, geocoded into the census tract in which they occurred, aggregated to the tract level and merged with the census tract information.

This study found important variations in the rates of ethnic-specific violence and their relationship to factors that shape African American, Haitian, and Latino aggravated assault and robbery in Miami's urban communities. First, African Americans have the highest reported aggravated assault victimization rate, followed by Latinos and Haitians. In contrast, the robbery rates for the two heavily immigrant groups, Haitians and Latinos, are twice that of African Americans. Also, neighborhood economic deprivation and levels of recent immigration account for

some of the ethnic risk differences discovered, especially when level of ethnic-specific aggravated robbery, and to a lesser degree aggravated assault, are compared to each other. Finally, this study helps extend our understanding of the processes contributing to violence among Haitians and Latinos, two under-examined ethnic groups, and in an older, more established, African American context.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON ETHNIC-SPECIFIC VIOLENCE
2001-IJ-CX-0012

Ramiro Martinez, Jr.
Florida International University

Does the rate of violent victimization differ across race and ethnic groups? At least since W.E.B. Du Bois finished his groundbreaking investigation, *The Philadelphia Negro*, in 1899, researchers of urban social problems have struggled with this issue. In Du Bois's era, the impact of crime and criminals within Philadelphia's Black community was apparent, as was the need to separate them from Whites in any social analysis. Scholars still continue to tackle differences between Black-White violence but the scope of race and ethnicity has broadened since the publication of DuBois's seminal book. The racial and ethnic composition of urban America has changed in large part due to increased immigration over the past twenty years, requiring researchers to acknowledge the growth of Latino, Asian and Afro-Caribbean neighborhoods-many of which are in high crime and high poverty areas.

Moreover, despite the growth of studies on race and violence over the past two decades examining this linkage at the national, metropolitan, and city levels, this issue remains largely overlooked at the neighborhood level. Not only are studies of Black or White violence no longer reflections of the nature of racial and ethnic population compositions in many urban communities, the contextual factors shaping neighborhood level violence are also important to identify since these influences might vary when accounting for racial and ethnic differences in violent crime, even within a single city.

This study examines the violent victimization rate and the factors influencing ethnic-specific rates of violence (e.g. armed robbery and aggravated assault) in the city of Miami. The objective is to better inform analyses of violent crime by outlining the basic contours of race/ethnicity (Latino, African American and Haitian) in a primarily immigrant city by focusing on serious reported non-lethal violence. This contributes to the research literature in several ways. First, this study examines the influence of recent immigration, independent of economic deprivation, neighborhood instability and other dimensions of community context that potentially influence the extent

of aggravated assault and robbery. Demographic changes influence some race and ethnic groups and neighborhoods more than others and prominent criminological theories predict that an influx of newcomers will disrupt communities and contribute to violent crime in areas settled with co-ethnics. This is an important proposition to explore since urban problems, including crime, have long been linked to newcomers. If recent immigration is a significant factor in Miami it should be an important determinant in other cities also undergoing intense population changes driven by immigration.

Second, this study examines violence in a high crime, high poverty, predominantly Latino city. The neighborhood processes that have been studied in an array of Black or White contexts, such as in Columbus, Ohio or Atlanta, Georgia, are investigated in a city long known as a destination point for consecutive waves of immigration. Thus, this study helps extend our understanding of the processes contributing to violence among Haitians and Latinos, two under-examined ethnic groups, and in an older, more established, African American context. Not only does this strategy shed light on ethnic groups usually ignored in the extant race and violence literature, it also allows for an exploration of the dynamics of urban life in a city that resembles other increasingly diverse multi-ethnic urban areas.

Finally, reported aggravated assaults are serious events that are usually more likely to occur between non-strangers (intimates, family members, acquaintances and friends) than armed robberies, which are almost exclusively between strangers. Although this study does not directly explore assault and stranger victim-offender relationships, these crimes have different motivations. The inclusion of these two routine forms of violence reflects the wider range of non-lethal violence than relatively rare forms of violence, such as homicide, which have been the focus of previous research. Taken together, these objectives address a neglected area of research in the study of race/ethnicity and crime.

RESEARCH SETTING

The city of Miami is ideally suited for this study. First, data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) demonstrates that Miami led the nation in total violence,

robbery and aggravated assaults rates throughout the 1990s and had homicide rates higher than comparably sized cities since at least 1980. Second, data from the 1995 U.S. Census indicates that the Miami-Dade metropolitan area has one of the highest concentrations of Latinos, about one-half of which are Cuban, and large numbers of African Americans and Haitians.

Moreover, poverty data from the U.S Census indicates that Miami has one of the highest levels of poverty nationwide providing an opportunity to examine the role of economic deprivation on community-level violent and ethnic-specific violent crime rates. For example, almost thirty percent (29.0 percent) of Miami census tracts have extreme poverty (40 percent or more residents in poverty), forty-four percent of tracts have high (20 percent-39 percent in poverty) and twenty-seven percent have low poverty (less than 20 percent).

Thus, Miami provides an opportunity to examine the race\ethnicity and violence linkage in a high violence city with a racially and ethnically diverse population and a large immigrant population. Further, the setting offers an ideal location to investigate race or ethnic groups that have been ignored by the vast majority of criminological researchers.

DATA AND METHODS

The primary unit of observation is the census tract, or more specifically, the seventy census tracts in the city of Miami with 500 or more residents. Census tracts are commonly used as neighborhood proxies in ecological level research and they are the best unit of analysis below the city level to study the race and violence connection. The minimum population requirement is imposed to help stabilize rates of violence crime and avoid including small islands in Biscayne Bay with few residents or containing upscale high-rise hotels or condominiums.

The 1990 census tract information was obtained from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These data provide detailed demographic information such as the number of residents, the percentage of tract population living below the poverty level, racial and ethnic composition, and a host of other information. The information for reported robberies and aggravated assaults for 1997 was obtained from the city of

Miami Police Department Research Unit. The address for each incident and victim race, surname, age and gender were provided in a raw data file, geocoded into the census tract in which they occurred, aggregated to the tract level and merged with the census tract information.

The dependent variables are all aggravated assaults and all robberies, the two most common types of criminal violence in 1997. For each violent crime type, ethnic-specific counts in each tract are also included: Latino, African American, and Haitian assault victims and Latino, African American, and Haitian robbery victims. Due to skewness the counts of each variable is used.

In line with Uniform Crime Report guidelines, race is coded as "White" or "Black" on the MPD incident reports. For the purposes of this paper, victim surname (e.g. Spanish or French Creole) was used as a proxy for victim ethnicity. A Spanish surname dictionary created by Allan Abrahamse, formerly of the Rand Corporation, was used to distinguish Latino from non-Latino victims, regardless of race. Using that program as a guide, a dictionary of French Creole surnames was created to separate Haitian from African American victims. The primary comparison group was African American or persons who were coded as Black and did not have a Spanish or French Creole surname. Although the surname and ethnicity strategy is imperfect, it moves beyond traditional notions of race in a predominately immigrant city.

Several independent variables are included. These variables are routinely used in ecological research. First, a measure of the total and respective ethnic-specific population size in each tract is included to control for differences in aggregate and ethnic-specific violent crime risk across tracts. The variable "residential instability" is an additive index based on z-scores for percent vacant housing (number of vacant units divided by total housing units) and percent population turnover (the number of people who lived in different housing units in 1990 than they did in 1985, divided by the total population). Also included are the "percentage of the population living below the poverty line," which is a measure of economic deprivation; the "percentage of males between the ages of 18 and 24," which captures variation in the age group at especially high risk for serious violence; the "percentage of female-headed families" with children;

(5) the "percentage of males that are jobless"; and (6) a measure of the percent of "new" immigrants in each tract, defined as those who arrived in the United States between the years 1980 and 1990.

The decade of the 1980s was a period of dramatic growth in the local immigrant population and is included as a proxy for the successive waves of immigration from Mariel, Cuba, Haiti and other Caribbean countries that traumatized the city more than immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, members of the 1980 Mariel boatlift were less "well-off" in terms of social class than previous Cuban immigrants and were received with much less enthusiastic reception than those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. Recent immigrants, who tend to be younger and less educated than previous arrivals and the native born, may lack the skills to integrate into the local economy, and in turn, might disrupt communities where they reside including contributing to crime.

CONCLUSION

This study found important variations in the rates of ethnic-specific violence and their relationship to factors that shape African American, Haitian, and Latino aggravated assault and robbery in Miami's urban communities. First, African Americans have the highest reported aggravated assault victimization rate, followed by Latinos and Haitians. In contrast, the robbery rates for the two heavily immigrant groups, Haitians and Latinos, are twice that of African Americans. Also, neighborhood economic deprivation and levels of recent immigration account for some of the ethnic risk differences discovered, especially when level of ethnic-specific aggravated robbery, and to a lesser degree aggravated assault, are compared to each other. While some other studies or surveys also demonstrate the importance of studying Latinos and Latino crime in various locations, Miami offers an important context unlike those previously examined: it is a multiethnic, majority Latino city with high levels of poverty, immigrants, and violence. With the projected growth in the Latino population, other cities will increasingly come to resemble places like Miami.

A full understanding of these findings requires attention to neighborhood conditions. For example, why is aggravated assault so high for African Americans, so low

for Haitians and Latinos, and the complete opposite occurs in the case of armed robbery? As noted earlier, most reported aggravated assaults involve non-stranger relationships and are driven by disputes between family members, friends, acquaintances, intimates, and neighbors. The social organization of African American communities, including extended or non-traditional types of families, hand in hand with historically high levels of segregation, contribute to conditions where aggravated assault perhaps is more likely to occur between those close to home, and be reported, in more established and extremely impoverished areas such as Liberty City and Overtown. This does not imply that Haitians and Latinos are not victims of aggravated assault, especially in light of the fact that all types of violence in Miami exhibit levels that are substantially higher than national averages. But one point of this study was to document the dynamics of race, ethnicity, and community organization in an attempt to explain differences in ethnic-specific aggravated assault.

Moreover, these dynamics are also evident in the case of armed robbery, which is probably more directly linked to broad economic conditions, not economic deprivation per se since Latinos and Haitians are more heavily involved in the service sector driving Miami's tourist trade. For example, some note that large numbers of Haitians in search of work have turned to the informal sector (e.g. dressmaking, tailoring, flea market commerce, and so forth), or are involved in low-wage taxi driver, hotel, and restaurant positions. Thus, their routine activities increase the likelihood that commuting to and from work places Haitians at risk for street robberies.

For Latinos, Cuban and non-Cuban alike in the city of Miami, the social and economic conditions in the greater Little Havana area now resemble those of any inner city. But the entrepreneurial activity by earlier arrivals established high levels of self-employment and a wide range of small firms, sales and service-oriented businesses serving the immigrant community at large. This suggests that robbery targets are more common in neighborhoods where small businesses are located, providing robbers with more potential victims in and around downtown areas accommodating tourists.

Race/ethnic differences in non-lethal violence are also tied to economic and demographic conditions and serve

as a reminder of the importance of investigating local conditions. It is essential to explore the wide variations in conditions that residents routinely encounter across major U.S. cities. Miami overall is an extremely impoverished city, more so than Columbus, Ohio or Atlanta, Georgia, which means that the effect of poverty, joblessness and female-headed families, are probably more closely connected to concentrated levels of violent crime than other places. The case of Miami is also that unlike many other cities previously studied by criminologists, and the impact of recent immigrant concentration should be examined since this linkage has led some to conclude that instead of having a disorganizing effect on communities, immigrants may actually help to stabilize neighborhoods and reduce crime.

Although early criminologists reported that Chicago communities with high levels of immigrants had high delinquency rates, and there are a number of theoretic reasons why this should also be true for violence, other community level studies have found that the immigrant and/or Latino population is either negatively related, or unrelated, to such outcomes. In this study, net of the other measures in the analyses, the percentage of recent immigrants was positively associated with some ethnic-specific lethal violence rates, but not others. Relative to Latinos and African Americans, Haitian robberies are more concentrated in communities with large numbers of recent immigrants and the same finding hold relative to African American assaults. Relative to Latinos, however, African Americans are worse off in terms of robbery and aggravated assault victimization in communities with lower fractions of newcomers.

These findings and conclusions are of course presented with caution. The data utilized in this study include crimes reported to the police, not all crimes, and that limitation must be noted. To the extent that events are not reported to or are unfounded by police, the violence rates are reduced and may influence the findings. Furthermore, there may also be reporting differences among immigrants and non-immigrants and race/ethnic differences in reporting robbery and aggravated assault might exist.

Author Information

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FINAL REPORT

1. THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON ETHNIC-SPECIFIC VIOLENCE (2001-IJ-CX-0012)

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Does the rate of violent victimization differ across race and ethnic groups? At least since W.E.B. Du Bois finished his groundbreaking investigation, *The Philadelphia Negro*, in 1899, researchers of urban social problems have struggled with this issue (Du Bois, 1899:235-286; Hawkins, 1999). In Du Bois's era, the impact of crime and criminals within Philadelphia's Black community was apparent, as was the need to separate them from Whites in any social analysis (for a fuller treatment of Du Bois's discussion see Bobo, 2000). Scholars still continue to tackle differences between Black-White violence but the scope of race and ethnicity has broadened since the publication of DuBois's seminal book (see Hawkins, 2003). The racial and ethnic composition of urban America has changed in large part due to increased immigration over the past twenty years, requiring researchers to acknowledge the growth of Latino, Asian and Afro-Caribbean neighborhoods-many of which are in high crime and high poverty areas (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997).

Moreover, despite the growth of studies on race and violence over the past two decades examining this linkage at the national, metropolitan, and city levels, this issue remains largely overlooked at the neighborhood level (Short, 1997). Not only are studies of Black or White violence no longer reflections of the nature of racial and ethnic population compositions in many urban communities, the contextual factors shaping neighborhood level violence are also important to identify since these influences might vary when accounting for racial and ethnic differences in violent crime, even within a single city.

This study examines the violent victimization rate and the factors influencing ethnic-specific rates of violence (e.g. armed robbery and aggravated assault) in the city of Miami. The objective is to better inform analyses of violent crime by outlining the basic contours of race/ethnicity (Latino, African American and Haitian) in a primarily immigrant city by focusing on serious reported non-lethal violence. This contributes to the research literature in several ways. First, the influence of recent

immigration, independent of economic deprivation, neighborhood instability and other dimensions of community context that potentially influence the extent of aggravated assault and robbery is examined (Butcher and Piehl, 1998; Hawkins, 2003). Demographic changes influence some race and ethnic groups and neighborhoods more than others and prominent criminological theories (Shaw and McKay, 1931) predict that an influx of newcomers will disrupt communities and contribute to violent crime in areas settled with co-ethnics (see Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997). This is an important proposition to explore since urban problems, including crime, have long been linked to newcomers (Shaw and McKay, 1931; see also Butcher and Piehl, 1997; 1998). If recent immigration is a significant factor in Miami it should be an important determinant in other cities also undergoing intense population changes driven by immigration.

Second, this study examines violence in a high crime, high poverty, predominantly Latino city. The neighborhood processes that have been studied in an array of Black or White contexts, such as in Columbus, Ohio (Krivo and Peterson, 1996) or Atlanta, Georgia (McNulty and Holloway, 2000), are investigated in a city long known as a destination point for consecutive waves of immigration (Portes and Stepick, 1993). Thus, this study helps extend our understanding of the processes contributing to violence among Haitians and Latinos, two under-examined ethnic groups, and in an older, more established, African American context. Not only does this strategy shed light on ethnic groups usually ignored in the extant race and violence literature, it also allows for an exploration of the dynamics of urban life in a city that resembles other increasingly diverse multi-ethnic urban areas.²

Finally, reported aggravated assaults are serious events that are usually more likely to occur between non-strangers (intimates, family members, acquaintances and friends) than armed robberies, which are almost exclusively between strangers.³ Although this study does not directly explore assault and stranger victim-offender relationships, these crimes have different motivations (Nielsen and Martinez, 2003). The inclusion of these two routine forms of violence reflects the wider range of non-lethal violence than relatively rare forms of violence, such as homicide, which have been the focus of previous research (cf. Lee, Martinez, and Rosenfeld 2001). Taken together, these

objectives address a neglected area of research in the study of race/ethnicity and crime (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997).

1.1 ETHNICITY AND VIOLENCE LITERATURE REVIEW

Substantive research has focused on the race and violence linkages at the national, city, and community levels (Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Krivo and Peterson, 2000; Lee, Martinez and Rosenfeld 2001; McNulty and Holloway 2000; Morenoff and Sampson, 1997; Shihadeh and Steffensmeier, 1994; Lauritsen and White, 2001). These studies typically indicate that racially disaggregated violent crime or homicide rates are influenced by race-specific factors, such as economic deprivation or racial inequality. In a recent example, Krivo and Peterson (2000) reported that some racial differences exist in explanations of the connection between White and Black economic deprivation (disadvantage) and homicide in 135 U.S. cities (see also Shihadeh and Steffensmeier, 1994). In another recent example, this time involving non-lethal violence, Lauritsen and White (2001) discovered that Black, White and Latino victims experienced different forms of stranger and non-stranger violence but that violence victimization for all groups was heightened in areas with high levels of economic disadvantage (See Rennison 2002 for Latino victim descriptions).

Although national level studies are important to explain findings across the United States, studies at the community level (using census tract or block group data) also indicate that economically and ecologically similar Black and White neighborhoods had similar levels of violent crime. For example, extremely poor Black and White neighborhoods have similar levels of crime in Columbus, Ohio (Krivo and Peterson, 1996) and Atlanta, Georgia (McNulty and Holloway, 2000), but changes in a neighborhood's homicide level and its level of disadvantage, among other factors, had divergent outcomes for Blacks and Whites in Chicago (Morenoff and Sampson 1997). The Morenoff and Sampson (1997) study also implies that the level of Latino immigration in a census tract is an important factor to consider since, controlling for the neighborhood level homicide, it positively influenced changes in Chicago's White and Black population.

Two recent community level studies are of particular relevance for the current research. Alaniz et al. (1998) explored the impact of alcohol availability, immigration, and ethnicity on youth violence, while Lee et al. (2001) demonstrated the importance of studying recent immigration effects on Black and Latino homicide counts. Alaniz and colleagues (1998) examined the relationship between the alcohol outlet rate, percent foreign-born and 1993 youth violent rates at the census block group level in three small Northern California cities. These cities had a large Mexican (Latino) population and the results revealed that race\ethnic composition measures and the percent foreign-born were not linked to youth violence rates, highlighting the utility of a research agenda focused on immigration\ethnicity and violence.

Using a social disorganization and opportunity structure approaches, Lee and colleagues (2001) examined the impact of recent immigration, economic deprivation, and other predictors for Black and Latino homicides in three cities: Miami, El Paso and San Diego. They discovered that recent immigration generally does not increase levels of homicide among Latinos and African Americans. They concluded that immigration as a social process did not disorganize communities and increase crime.

The Alaniz et al., (1998), Lee et al., (2001) and other race\ethnicity and community level violence studies are valuable and informative. However, there are several areas requiring improvement. First, many of the studies are limited to examining homicide. This confines the applicability of ethnicity and violence findings to a relatively rare type of violence (but see Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Second, these two studies explored the nature and extent of this relationship among Latino populations but they limit their study to violence among youths or homicides among Blacks or Latinos (see Alaniz et al., 1998; Lee et al., 2001). As best as can be determined, no one has acknowledged any Afro-Caribbean population, much less the visible Haitian population, which is larger than the native born African American population in some Miami neighborhoods (Dunn, 1997).

The current study seeks to address a major research gap in the criminological literature by investigating violence within Latino and Haitian populations. First, the descriptive findings for Haitian and Latino violence at the

neighborhood level are presented. Second, the effects of recent immigration, controlling for other variables, on the two most reported types of non-lethal violence, robbery and aggravated assault (both total and ethnic-specific) are explored. Moreover, as previously noted, Miami is different in many ways from other cities in which race and violence have been examined and allows consideration of the implications of recent immigration for ethnic-specific violence in an extremely impoverished multiethnic city with a significant immigrant population.³

1.2 THEORETIC FRAMEWORK

The race/ethnicity violent crime linkage at the neighborhood level can be examined from the social disorganization perspective (Shaw and McKay, 1942; 1969). This paper emphasizes social disorganization theory, which is discussed first, and includes consideration of the role immigration may play. It then briefly highlights the overlapping ethnic-specific violence literature.

Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization theory is centrally concerned with the issue of social control: the ability of a neighborhood to regulate the behavior of community residents and visitors to realize common goals, including a crime-free environment (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Sampson, 2002; Shaw and McKay, 1942). In their classic statement, Shaw and McKay (1942) identified poor economic conditions, population turnover, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity as three key structural factors that disrupted the ability of a neighborhood to exert social control. Such a situation, termed "social disorganization," accounted for high delinquency and crime rates in some neighborhoods. Shaw and McKay also noted that areas with high levels of immigrants had higher delinquency rates than other areas, a finding they attributed to the confluence of factors associated with the disorganized areas into which immigrants settled. Indeed, one of their key findings was that high delinquency rates persisted in particular areas over time, regardless of the racial/ethnic/immigrant groups that resided there.

Although more recent developments have emphasized other elements of the theory (e.g., Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Morenoff, Sampson and Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson and

Raudenbush, 1999), the structural elements of poor economic conditions, residential instability, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity remain central to social disorganization theory (but see Sampson, 2002). Recent neighborhood-level research generally supports the central tenets of social disorganization theory. Economic deprivation or disadvantage (e.g., Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Lee et al., 2001; Morenoff et al., 2001; Peterson et al., 2000; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999) and residential instability are positively associated with several measures of violence (e.g., Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Lee et al., 2001; Peterson et al., 2000 but see Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999).

Most importantly for the purposes of this research, contrary to social disorganization premises, Latino/immigrant concentrations (Alaniz et al., 1998; Lee et al., 2001; Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999) typically have no effects or negative effects on violence. Further, structural community characteristics such as economic disadvantage have independent effects on violence despite the hypothesized mediating role of measures representing social control processes and the conditions necessary to employ them (Morenoff et al., 2001; Peterson et al., 2000; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; but see Bellair, 1997).

Social Disorganization Theory and Ethnic-Specific Studies

For Latinos and Haitians, immigration, as a key component of the social disorganization school, provides an opportunity to revisit the association between race/ethnicity, violence, and integration (see Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). While violence is undoubtedly influenced by economic deprivation, the distribution of immigrants across neighborhoods and their year of entry have an effect on violent victim rates, net of the impact of economic disadvantage (Butcher and Piehl, 1998).⁴ The central issue is whether Haitian and Latino communities are decimated by corresponding violence, if violent events directly or indirectly exacerbate the presence of recent immigrants, or if high levels of recent immigration buffers communities and plays a role in rejuvenating local institutions.

While disorganized communities lack basic conventional institutions, the presence of high levels of recent immigrants may reflect high levels of organization since immigrant communities are poor but working, a proposition

that is at odds with traditional social disorganization theory (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Such communities are embedded in the routine world of work and are better able to exert formal and informal social controls than those in isolated areas exposed to long periods of joblessness (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). In Miami, Portes and Stepick (1993) found that immigrants stabilized neighborhoods through the creation of new social and economic institutions. In addition, a number of studies suggest that immigration or immigrants do not contribute to violent crime (Butcher and Piehl, 1998; Martinez, Nielsen and Lee 2003; Mears, 2001; Nevins, 2002). For example, although the media often portrayed Mariel Cuban refugees as crime-prone, the empirical evidence demonstrated that they were rarely over-represented as either homicide victims or offenders regardless of homicide motivation (Martinez, 2002; Martinez, Nielsen and Lee, 2003).

Moreover, in a study comparing and contrasting the incidence of violence (as measured by homicide or types of homicide) among immigrant Blacks, Martinez and Lee (2000) found that Mariel Cuban, Haitian, and Jamaican immigrants were generally less involved in homicide than natives. This finding is also supported by Martinez, Nielsen and Lee (2003) who discovered that ethnicity and immigration status rarely played a role in the involvement of victims or violators in drug-related, robbery, intimate, escalation or other felony motivated homicides.

In sum, much more empirical research is needed to understand the ways in which race/ethnicity and immigration may either facilitate or suppress violence through processes depicted by social disorganization theory and its recent critiques. Although this paper might not definitively disentangle the processes related to the conventional wisdom about the *immigrant-begets-crime* nexus, this research review suggests that the impact of social disorganization factors might not neatly correspond with traditional neighborhood level research. The emphasis in this study is to examine the neighborhood level context and the potential implications of recent immigration on non-lethal violence and ethnic-specific non-lethal violence in Miami.

1.3 RESEARCH SETTING

The city of Miami is ideally suited for this study. First, data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) demonstrates that Miami led the nation in total violence, robbery and aggravated assaults rates throughout the 1990s and had homicide rates higher than comparably sized cities since at least 1980 (see annual editions of *Crime in the United States, 1980-1995*). Second, data from the 1995 U.S. Census indicates that the Miami-Dade metropolitan area has one of the highest concentrations of Latinos, about one-half of which are Cuban, and large numbers of African Americans and Haitians (U.S. Census, 1990: see also Dunn, 1997).

Moreover, poverty data from the U.S Census indicates that Miami has one of the highest levels of poverty nationwide (See Grotto and Yardley, 2001) providing an opportunity to examine the role of economic deprivation on community-level violent and ethnic-specific violent crime rates. For example, using guidelines provided by Krivo and Peterson (1996) for low, high, and extremely high poverty, almost thirty percent (29.0 percent) of Miami census tracts have extreme poverty (40 percent or more residents in poverty), forty-four percent of tracts have high (20 percent-39 percent in poverty) and twenty-seven percent have low poverty (less than 20 percent).

Thus, Miami provides an opportunity to examine the race\ethnicity and violence linkage in a high violence city with a racially and ethnically diverse population and a large immigrant population. Further, the setting offers an ideal location to heed Sampson and Lauritsen's (1997:364) call to explore "the experiences of race or ethnic groups that have heretofore been neglected by mainstream criminological research."

1.4 DATA AND METHODS

Data

The primary unit of observation is the census tract, or more specifically, the seventy census tracts in the city of Miami with 500 or more residents. Census tracts are commonly used as neighborhood proxies in ecological level research and they are the best unit of analysis below the city level to study the race and violence connection

(Alaniz et al., 1998; Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Peterson et al., 2000). The minimum population requirement is imposed to help stabilize rates of violence crime and avoid including small islands in Biscayne Bay with few residents or containing upscale high-rise hotels or condominiums.

The 1990 census tract information was obtained from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.⁵ These data provide detailed demographic information such as the number of residents, the percentage of tract population living below the poverty level, racial and ethnic composition, and a host of other information. The information for all reported robberies and aggravated assaults for 1997 was obtained from the city of Miami Police Department Research Unit.⁶ The address for each incident and victim race, surname, age and gender were provided in a raw data file, geocoded into the census tract in which they occurred, aggregated to the tract level and merged with the census tract information.⁷

These data are not without flaws. Because the data are based on events known to the police they exclude unreported victimizations or crimes not reported to the police. However, the NCVS estimates that most seriously injured victims were likely to report their victimization to the police (BJS, 1997). Moreover, there are probably few ethnic differences in reporting these crimes to the police (Rennison, 2001; 2002). Although not perfect, the MPD data permit linkages to census tract data and since violent crime is concentrated in center cities much of the reported violent activities across the metropolitan area are in the city of Miami.

Variables

The dependent variables are all reported aggravated assaults and all reported robberies, the two most common types of criminal violence in 1997. For each violent crime type, ethnic-specific counts in each tract are also included: Latino, African American, and Haitian assault victims and Latino, African American, and Haitian robbery victims. Due to skewness the counts of each variable is used (see Osgood, 2000).

In line with Uniform Crime Report guidelines, race is coded as "White" or "Black" on the MPD incident reports. For the purposes of this paper, victim surname (e.g. Spanish or French Creole) was used as a proxy for victim

ethnicity. A Spanish surname dictionary created by Allan Abrahamse, formerly of the Rand Corporation, was used to distinguish Latino from non-Latino victims, regardless of race.⁸ Using that program as a guide, a dictionary of French Creole surnames was created to separate Haitian from African American victims.⁹ The primary comparison group was African American or persons who were coded as Black and did not have a Spanish or French Creole surname. Although the surname and ethnicity strategy is imperfect, it moves beyond traditional notions of race in a predominately immigrant city.

Several independent variables are included. These variables are routinely used in ecological research (see Lee et al., 2001). First, a measure of the total and respective ethnic-specific population size in each tract is included to control for differences in aggregate and ethnic-specific violent crime risk across tracts. The variable "residential instability" is an additive index based on z-scores for percent vacant housing (number of vacant units divided by total housing units) and percent population turnover (the number of people who lived in different housing units in 1990 than they did in 1985, divided by the total population). Also included are the "percentage of the population living below the poverty line," which is a measure of economic deprivation; the "percentage of males between the ages of 18 and 24," which captures variation in the age group at especially high risk for serious violence; the "percentage of female-headed families" with children; (5) the "percentage of males that are jobless"; and (6) a measure of the percent of "new" immigrants in each tract, defined as those who arrived in the United States between the years 1980 and 1990 (Lee, Martinez and Rosenfeld, 2001).

The decade of the 1980s was a period of dramatic growth in the local immigrant population and is included as a proxy for the successive waves of immigration from Mariel, Cuba, Haiti and other Caribbean countries that traumatized the city more than immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, members of the 1980 Mariel boatlift were less "well-off" in terms of social class than previous Cuban immigrants and were received with much less enthusiastic reception than those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s (Aguirre, Saenz and James, 1997). Recent immigrants, who tend to be younger and less educated than previous arrivals and the native born, may lack the skills

to integrate into the local economy, and in turn, might disrupt communities where they reside including contributing to crime (Butcher and Piehl, 1998).

Estimation Procedures

The failure to correct for highly skewed events such as violent crime is an important issue. Even in a highly impoverished urban area, aggravated assaults and armed robberies are distributed across ecological units (i.e. census tracts or census block groups) in a non-normal manner. Traditional statistical procedures are not appropriate estimators for such distributions when attempts to transform the dependent variable through logarithmic transformation fail to induce normality.

Since ordinary least squares regression is inappropriate, the aggravated assault and robbery data are conceptualized as counts of events per census tract. This suggests that the use of a Poisson random components or negative binomial specification is more appropriate to use in this analysis (Osgood, 2000). This permits assessing the effects of an independent variable on the frequency of all assaults, robberies and ethnic-specific events across census tracts.

1.5 RESULTS

Exhibit 1 presents descriptive statistics for each of the variables in the analysis. The average number of aggravated assault victims per tract is higher for African Americans (30.3) than for Latinos (24.0) and Haitians (6.6). On the other hand, the average number of Latino robbery victims (34.6) per tract is twice as high as that of African Americans (17.2) and almost five times higher than that of Haitians (7.9). These differences suggest that ethnic variation in violent victimization exists but do not reflect population size. When converted to annual rates per 1000 tract residents, the aggravated assault risk for African Americans (48.1) is considerably higher than for Latinos (31.1) and Haitians (30.9). On the other hand, the armed robbery victimization rates for the two heavily immigrant groups, Haitians (57.7) and Latinos (61.0), are twice as high as that of African Americans (28.0).

Exhibit 1 HERE

These findings are not consistent with research at the national level, thus demonstrating the utility of studying violence at the local level (see Lauritsen and White, 2002:44). Not only are the Miami group-specific rates higher than national averages, but race and ethnic group specific averages also vary by violent crime type. For example, Rennison (2002) provides robbery and aggravated assault rates from the 2000 NCVS for Latinos (5.7:5.3) and Blacks (6.5:6.0) and includes comparisons to other racial groups not represented in the city of Miami. Not only are the national race/ethnic differences very small, the levels of victimization regardless of race or ethnicity, are also substantially lower than that in a high crime and high poverty city.

Given the importance of local conditions in explaining these differences, the key independent variables at the tract level are now discussed. In Miami, about one-third or more of the tract residents live below the poverty level and are in families headed by females, while forty percent of males in Miami tracts are jobless. Miami also stands out in terms of recent immigration--over twenty-six percent of the residents entered the U.S. during the 1980 through 1990 period. With this background in mind, the next matter is how these variables influence levels of non-lethal violent crime across Miami's census tracts.

Analysis of Assault and Robbery Counts

To better understand the nature of the violent crime and race/ethnicity relationship, I examine the independent effects of such variables as residential instability, economic deprivation, young males, and recent immigration on aggravated assault and armed robbery. Turning first to the total citywide models presented in Exhibit 2, other than the expected effects for tract population, the variables with significant effects on aggravated assault victimization are the poverty rate and female-headed families. Net of other predictors, higher levels of poverty and lower level of female-headed families are associated with higher levels of aggravated assault. The effect of the female-headed measure is in a direction contrary to expectations, but consistent with some recent research (Lee et al., 2001).

EXHIBIT 2 HERE

For the total robbery count model, the effect for tract population is also as expected, and the impact of female-headed families also attains statistical significance, but in this case the relationship is positive. Communities with higher levels of female-headed families are associated with higher levels of assaults. Finally, net of other influences, the percentage of recent immigrants in the neighborhood is not significantly associated with assaults or robberies.

The results for the race and ethnic group-specific models are displayed in Exhibits 3 and 4. For both ethnic-specific aggravated assault and robbery, population size has positive and significant effects, indicating that the greater the number of ethnic-specific residents the greater the number of ethnic-specific aggravated assault and armed robbery. Further, for both types of violent crime, poverty has significant and positive effects with the exception of Haitian aggravated assaults and robberies.

EXHIBIT 3 HERE

As for other variables, the percent female-headed family attains significance as a predictor for both African American aggravated assaults and Haitian robberies. Neighborhoods with greater concentrations of families headed by females have higher counts of both ethnic-specific types of violent crime victimization. Moreover, the percent young and male is negatively associated with Latino aggravated assaults but in the expected positive direction in the case of Haitian robbery counts. One possible interpretation of this finding is related to demography. Miami has a much higher proportion of older Latinos than in other cities, which in turn might skew the young Latino male population towards the lower range of the age variable (Lee, Martinez and Rodriguez, 2000).

EXHIBIT 4 HERE

Unlike the Latino models, the group suspected to be most influenced by a large number of newcomers, the percent recent immigration is associated with Haitian and African American aggravated assault and armed robbery risk. In two models recent immigration is negatively related to robbery victimization, but there is a positive effect of recent immigration on Haitian aggravated assault counts.

Equality of Regression Coefficients Findings

Holding other factors constant are the effects of economic deprivation, recent immigration or other relevant factors the same for ethnic-specific violent crime? Exhibit 5 provides a coefficient comparison test of whether the same factors are at work for African-American, Haitian and Latino violence¹⁰ (see Paternoster, et al. 1998 for formula specifics). In most cases the factors that accounted for African American aggravated assault and armed robbery were similar to those for Haitian and Latino victimization. There were some important exceptions. In Panel A of Table 5, higher levels of poverty were associated with significant reductions in African American than Latino robbery victimization (-2.28). Higher levels of female-headed families were similarly associated with Haitian robbery than that for African American (2.64) and Latino robberies (2.72). In Panel B of Table 5 residential instability produces increases in levels of Haitian compared to African American robbery (3.29).

EXHIBIT 5 HERE

Does recent immigration similarly shape ethnic-specific violent crime? The difference between African American, Latino and Haitian aggravated assaults and armed robberies is due to the high and recent influx of newcomers. In fact, the percentage of the population that arrived between 1980 and 1990 is the only factor usually influencing violent crime among all ethnic groups; however, this effect too varies. For example, the declining influence of recent immigration produces increases in African American robberies compared to Latinos (-2.29).

The same finding is not found for Haitian robberies because recent immigration produces a positive effect in that instance than for Latino (3.05) and African American robberies (5.01). These results are somewhat consistent with aggravated assault because the influence of newcomers varies by victim ethnicity. The negative coefficient for recent immigration is significant for African American than Latino aggravated assaults (-3.96). The impact of recent influxes of newcomers, again, produces a positive effect on Haitian than African American aggravated assault (3.73). These results are not completely consistent with the limited body of research that has examined race/ethnic violent crime at the census tract level.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This study found important variations in the rates of ethnic-specific violence and their relationship to factors that shape African American, Haitian, and Latino aggravated assault and robbery in Miami's urban communities. First, African Americans have the highest reported aggravated assault victimization rate, followed by Latinos and Haitians. In contrast, the robbery rates for the two heavily immigrant groups, Haitians and Latinos, are twice that of African Americans. Also, neighborhood economic deprivation and levels of recent immigration account for some of the ethnic risk differences discovered, especially when level of ethnic-specific aggravated robbery, and to a lesser degree aggravated assault, are compared to each other. While some other studies or surveys (e.g., Lauritsen and White, 2001; Rennison, 1991; 1992; Alaniz et al., 1998) also demonstrate the importance of studying Latinos and Latino crime in various locations, Miami offers an important context unlike those previously examined: it is a multiethnic, majority Latino city with high levels of poverty, immigrants, and violence. With the projected growth in the Latino population, other cities will increasingly come to resemble places like Miami (Waldinger, 2001).

A full understanding of these findings requires attention to neighborhood conditions. For example, why is aggravated assault so high for African Americans, so low for Haitians and Latinos, and the complete opposite occurs in the case of armed robbery? As noted earlier, most reported aggravated assaults involve non-stranger relationships and are driven by disputes between family members, friends, acquaintances, intimates, and neighbors. The social organization of African American communities, including extended or non-traditional types of families, hand in hand with historically high levels of segregation, contribute to conditions where aggravated assault perhaps is more likely to occur between those close to home, and be reported, in more established and extremely impoverished areas such as Liberty City and Overtown (see Dunn, 1997 for background on these areas). This does not imply that Haitians and Latinos are not victims of aggravated assault, especially in light of the fact that all types of violence in Miami exhibit levels that are substantially higher than national averages. But one point of this study was to document the dynamics of race, ethnicity, and community

organization in an attempt to explain differences in ethnic-specific aggravated assault.

Moreover, these dynamics are also evident in the case of armed robbery, which is probably more directly linked to broad economic conditions, not economic deprivation per se since Latinos and Haitians are more heavily involved in the service sector driving Miami's tourist trade. For example, Stepick and colleagues (2001: 238) note that large numbers of Haitians in search of work have turned to the informal sector (e.g. dressmaking, tailoring, flea market commerce, and so forth), or are involved in low-wage taxi driver, hotel, and restaurant positions. Thus, their routine activities increase the likelihood that commuting to work and engaging in street vending places Haitians at risk for street robberies.

For Latinos, Cuban and non-Cuban alike in the city of Miami, the social and economic conditions in the greater Little Havana area now resemble those of any inner city (Pérez, 2001: 102). But the entrepreneurial activity by earlier arrivals established high levels of self-employment and a wide range of small firms, sales and service-oriented businesses serving the immigrant community at large.¹¹ This suggests that robbery targets are more common in neighborhoods where small businesses are located, providing robbers with more potential victims in and around downtown areas accommodating tourists.

Race/ethnic differences in non-lethal violence are also tied to economic and demographic conditions and serve as a reminder of the importance of investigating local conditions. It is essential to explore the wide variations in conditions that residents routinely encounter across major U.S. cities. Miami overall is an extremely impoverished city, more so than Columbus, Ohio or Atlanta, Georgia, which means that the effect of poverty, joblessness and female-headed families, are probably more closely connected to concentrated levels of violent crime than other places. The case of Miami is also that unlike many other cities previously studied by criminologists, and the impact of recent immigrant concentration should be examined since this linkage has led some to conclude that instead of having a disorganizing effect on communities, immigrants may actually help to stabilize neighborhoods and reduce crime (Lee et al. 2001; Portes and Stepick, 1993).

Although Shaw and McKay (1942) reported that areas with high levels of immigrants had high delinquency rates, and there are a number of theoretic reasons why this should also be true for violence (see Martinez and Lee, 2000), other community level studies have found that the immigrant and/or Latino population is either negatively related, or unrelated, to such outcomes (Alaniz et al., 1998; Lee et al., 2001; Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). In this study, net of the other measures in the analyses, the percentage of recent immigrants was positively associated with some ethnic-specific lethal violence rates, but not others. Relative to Latinos and African Americans, Haitian robberies are more concentrated in communities with large numbers of recent immigrants (e.g., see also Peterson et al., 2000) and the same finding hold relative to African American assaults. Relative to Latinos, however, African Americans are worse off in terms of robbery and aggravated assault victimization in communities with lower fractions of newcomers.

Some of these effects are consistent with social disorganization theory. For example, it may be that some neighborhoods are not able to exert social control over some types of violence (e.g. Haitians and armed robbery) and thus potentially produce higher community violence rates. In others, immigrant Latino communities are able to buffer robbery and aggravated assault relative to African American neighborhoods. This suggests that the smaller Haitian community occupies a mid-point between Latinos and African Americans and can thwart some types of crimes, but not others, depending on the comparison point: co-ethnics or co-immigrants. This also suggests that the Haitian finding might be something of a statistical artifact because most Haitian robbery victims will probably reside in heavily immigrant areas or might have moved into areas with preexisting high levels of violence.

These findings and conclusions are of course presented with caution. The data utilized in this study include crimes reported to the police, not all crimes, and that limitation must be noted. To the extent that events are not reported to or are unfounded by police, the violence rates are reduced and may influence the findings. Furthermore, there may also be reporting differences among immigrants and non-immigrants (Davis and Erez, 1998) and race/ethnic differences in reporting robbery and aggravated assault might exist (Baumer, 2002).

However, Baumer (2002) notes that according to data from the NCVS area-identified sample, the likelihood of reporting non-lethal violence does not differ across areas based on economic deprivation, an effect that influences ethnic minorities and cities like Miami more than other groups and places. Also, in the case of Miami, the non-Latino White population is very small but very well off economically and they reside in a relatively wealthy area. Nonetheless, caution must be used in interpreting the results of the current study because of potential data limitations associated with using reported crimes.

In sum, as best as can be determined this is one of the few neighborhood studies that probe ethnic differences in two common types of non-lethal violence. A high priority for future research should be the examination of violence in race/ethnic groups that move beyond Black/White racial dichotomies. The importance of neighborhood-level studies has been highlighted among social scientists at least since Du Bois's (1899) work, but it has largely been neglected in the non-lethal violent crime literature. This study, like those in a recently re-emerging tradition (Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Lauritsen and White, 2001; see also Short, 1997), suggests that economic deprivation and recent immigration are factors of central importance for understanding the community context of ethnic-specific violence and demonstrates the need to take such factors into account in future research

Exhibit 1. Variables and Descriptive Statistics (n=70).

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.
African-American aggravated assault	30.23	48.71
Annual rate (per 1,000)	48.07	97.64
Haitian aggravated assault	6.56	13.08
Annual rate (per 1,000)	30.92	51.23
Latino aggravated assault	24.03	20.01
Annual rate (per 1,000)	31.14	95.17
African-American armed robbery	17.16	23.60
Annual rate (per 1,000)	28.01	49.33
Haitian armed robbery	7.93	15.91
Annual rate (per 1,000)	57.70	105.41
Latino armed robbery	34.56	24.16
Annual rate (per 1,000)	61.00	187.61
Residential Instability Index	.513	(2.03)
Percent Poverty	31.93	14.58
Percent Female-headed families	34.36	17.49
Percent Male Joblessness	38.24	10.96
Percent Young and Male	10.24	3.18
Percent Recent immigrant	26.62	14.36

Exhibit 2. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Independent Variables on Total Aggravated Assault and Armed Robbery Counts. (n=70 Miami census tracts)

	Aggravated Assault	Armed Robbery
Intercept	-2.45*	.860
(LN) Population	1.34* (.224)	.592* (.243)
Instability Index	-.401 (.322)	.413 (.914)
% Poverty	.384* (.091)	.195 (.133)
% Female-headed Families	-.201* (.076)	.206* (.094)
% Males Joblessness	-.050 (.082)	-.194 (.970)
% Young and Male	-.036 (.029)	-.052 (.039)
% New Immigrants	-.372 (.718)	.150 (.098)
Log-Likelihood	-306.353*	-340.656

Note: Standard Errors in parentheses.

*p<.05 (one-tailed)

Exhibit 3. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Independent variables on Race/Ethnic-Specific Aggravated Assault Counts. (n=70 Miami census tracts)

	African American	Latino	Haitian
Intercept	-.933*	-.830	-5.21*
(LN) Population	1.22* (.078)	.779* (.165)	2.05* (.239)
Instability Index	-.124 (.482)	.030 (.041)	.149* (.072)
% Poverty	.258* (.052)	.346* (.067)	.181 (.121)
% Female-headed Families	.018* (.013)	-.010 (.064)	-.205 (.141)
% Male Joblessness	.027 (.381)	-.073 (.072)	-.046 (.095)
% Young and Male	.110 (.223)	-.081* (.035)	.177 (.955)
% New Immigrants	-.257* (.054)	.115 (.077)	.316* (.133)
Log-Likelihood	-217.093*	-261.69*	-360.89*

Note: Standard Errors in parentheses.

*p<.05 (one-tailed)

Exhibit 4. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Independent variables on Race/Ethnic-Specific Armed Robbery Counts. (n=70 Miami census tracts)

	African American	Latino	Haitian
Intercept	-.820	1.268	-.655
(LN) Population	1.28* (.086)	.508* (.180)	.172* (.017)
Instability Index	.042 (.110)	.347 (.902)	.001 (.155)
% Poverty	.146* (.054)	.332* (.061)	.684 (.921)
% Female-headed Families	-.365 (.381)	-.660 (.506)	.224* (.064)
% Male Joblessness	-.105* (.053)	-.811 (.685)	.438 (.690)
% Young and Male	.291* (.158)	-.417 (.367)	.506* (.243)
% New Immigrants	-.176* (.066)	.065 (.082)	-.251* (.119)
Log-Likelihood	-198.489*	-523.052	-148.73

Note: Standard Errors in parentheses.

*p<.05 (one-tailed)

Exhibit 5. Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Ethnic Specific Violence.

Armed Robbery

	African American to Latino	Haitian to Latino	Haitian to African American
Instability index	-.34	-.19	.68
% Poverty	-2.28*	-.36	-.16
% Female-head families	.47	2.64*	2.72*
% Male jobless	1.03	1.06	.48
% Young male	1.77	1.94	.51
% New immigrants	-2.29*	3.05*	5.01*

Aggravated Assault

	African American to Latino	Haitian to Latino	Haitian to African American
Instability index	-.32	1.44	3.29*
% Poverty	-1.04	-1.19	-.56
% Female-head families	.43	-1.26	-1.44
% Male jobless	.26	.23	-.61
% Young male	.85	.27	.07
% New immigrants	-3.96*	1.31	3.73*

*p<.05 (two-tailed)

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ENDNOTES

- ¹. Contact the author at: School of Policy and Management, University Park PCA 368, 11200 SW 8th Street, Miami Florida 33199, Phone: 305-348-5795, Fax: 305-348-5848, Email: martinra@fiu.edu.
- ². Consider that the most recent census shows the Latino and African-American population in rough parity (Schmitt, 2001) but annual surveys now show that Latinos are the largest ethnic minority group in the nation (Logan, 2003).
- ³. The number and percent of reported aggravated assault and armed robbery incidents involving strangers and non-strangers is not readily available. However, the National Crime Victimization Survey (1997: Table 27) reports that 73.8 percent of all robbery incidents involved strangers and 46.6 percent of all assaults involved strangers. The percent of incidents involving strangers and non-strangers for both violent crime types vary by degree of injury and do not necessarily reflect the same definitions of aggravated assaults and armed robberies reported to the police.
- ⁴. Immigrants in general and Latinos in particular are not randomly distributed across the country. More than half of all immigrants in the United States reside in just seven cities: Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, San Diego, Houston, San Francisco and of course Miami (Waldinger and Lee, 2001). Over half of all immigrants are from Latin America countries (Schmidley 2003:1)
- ⁵. In a recent analysis of the effect of recent immigrants on city crime rates, Butcher and Piehl (1998: 470) find little or no effect to substantiate concerns over the "immigrant problem" linked to newcomers from abroad to crime.
- ⁶. The 2000 city of Miami census tracts were not completely and readily available for the purposes of this study.
- ⁷. All MPD data tapes go offline after two years. At that point, the tapes are rendered useless (since they are written over and re-used again).
- ⁸. This strategy focuses on the presence of aggravated or armed robbery in a given tract for at least two reasons. First, any other address information is not readily or reliably available. Police are reluctant to give out, or code, confidential information such as the victim home address and in many cases that address field is missing. Second, offender information is not available and most of these incidents are not cleared with an arrest. Although not perfect, using the crime scene location allows us to

examine the characteristics of where violent crime occurs in a major city.

⁹ Other researchers have used a similar tactic to distinguish Latinos from non-Latinos. For example see Sorenson 1996; 2000. In the case of Miami, the non-Latino White population is a very small percentage of the city population and not included in the analyses.

9. The number of Haitian victims in a given tract is significantly and highly correlated with percent French Creole speakers. Input from current and past Haitian students greatly benefited the creation of the French Creole surname dictionary.

¹¹. The formula for the standard test for coefficient differences across equations is (Paternoster et al., 1998):
$$t = \frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{SEb_1^2 + SEb_2^2}}$$
. All coefficient comparisons are based on a two-tailed test.

¹². In the case of Nicaraguans, the second largest Latino group in Miami, school surveys reveals that most respondent's fathers have some college and were professionally employed prior to coming to the United States. Even though most are currently employed full-time jobs they work for low wages and are members of the working poor class. In many cases they are working in Cuban established businesses (Fernández-Kelly and Curran 2001).