4-11-2017

A Multilevel Examination of the Black Middle Class, Segregation, and Neighborhood Crime

Claire A. Greene

University of Missouri -- St. Louis, cag8vb@mail.umsl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://irl.umsl.edu/thesis

Part of the Criminology Commons

A MULTILEVEL EXAMINATION OF THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS, SEGREGATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME

By

Claire Greene

Bachelor's Degree Human Geography – Undergraduate, 2011

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Missouri— St. Louis
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts
in
Criminology and Criminal Justice

May, 2017

Advisory Committee

Adam Boessen, Ph.D.
Chairperson

Matt Vogel, Ph.D.

Kyle Thomas, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

In *The Declining Significance of Race*, William Julius Wilson (1987) raised key questions about the fate of urban black class structure and the social organization of black communities in the wake of civil rights era reforms. Unlike in previous decades, Wilson asserted that today's black neighborhoods comprise almost exclusively of the most disadvantaged segments of the African American population, and therefore lack the basic opportunities, resources, and social controls necessary to reduce crime. In response, this study moves away from a focus on the "ghetto" poor to contextualize the neighborhood crime conditions of middle class blacks. Drawing on social disorganization and structural race theories, I examine the relationship between the black middle class and crime using data from the National Neighborhood Crime Study (NNCS). Results from the multi-level models demonstrate that black middle class family households do effectively reduce neighborhood property and violent crime rates. Subsequent cross-level interaction models suggest that neighborhood property and violent crime decreases as the number of black middle class families in the neighborhood increases, and that this relationship is most pronounced in less segregated cities. Implications and future research directions are discussed.

Keywords: neighborhood crime; racial segregation; black middle class.

INTRODUCTION

While most seminal studies of black community life include a consideration of middle class African Americans (Drake & Cayton, 1939; DuBois, 1996), the spotlight put on "ghetto" neighborhoods beginning in the 1960s altered that practice. By far, the most influential shift toward the study of poor blacks was the work of William Julius Wilson. In his books *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978) and *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), Wilson directed attention to the rapidly deteriorating situation of black communities, characterized by high rates of poverty, homelessness, gangs and violence. To be sure, middle-class blacks were central to Wilson's theories, but only because their successes and outward migrations made the circumstances of inner-city blacks that much more dire. Many scholars do find support for Wilson's hypothesized link between black middle class out-migration and neighborhood poverty (e.g. Jargowsky, 1997). That is, high-poverty neighborhoods have developed, in part, because of the residential mobility of middle-class African Americans. However, others argue that Wilson's thesis overestimates the economic and social mobility of non-poor blacks, and thereby minimizes the effect of contemporary racism on their ability to accumulate wealth and overcome deeply entrenched practices of job discrimination, residential segregation, and high poverty conditions (Alba & Logan, 1991, 1992; Logan & Alba 1995; Haynes, 2001; Massey & Denton 1993; Oliver & Shapiro 1995; Pattillo, 2000; Sharkey, 2014; South & Crowder, 1997).

Ethnographic studies also suggests that an emphasis on the post-civil rights movement of many African Americans into the middle class has given the illusion that race is no longer a barrier to a higher quality of life. For example, Orfield and Ashkinaze's (1991) study put into question Atlanta's "success" as a black middle class mecca by documenting their continued severe racial segregation and adjacency to high poverty areas. The authors

find that members of the black middle class struggle almost as much as their poorer counterparts when it comes to getting a good public education, securing meaningful employment and escaping deteriorating urban conditions (see also Haynes 2001; W. H. Wilson 1998; Gregory 1999). As a result, not only do middle class blacks live in neighborhoods, on average, with considerably more poverty, more female-headed households, and fewer college graduates than neighborhoods inhabited by middle class whites (Adelman, 2004), but their spatial proximity to extremely poor and disadvantaged areas of the city makes it difficult to separate themselves from the problems of the ghetto, such as gangs, drug markets, and violence (e.g. Pattillo, 1999).

In particular, Pattillo's (1998, 1999, 2000) extensive study of Groveland, a middle class neighborhood in Chicago, demonstrates the continued limits of non-poor blacks to separate themselves from extremely disadvantaged and high crime areas within the city:

> "For many middle class white Americans, the incidents they hear about in distant and troubled inner cities provide a constant symbolic threat, but infrequent reality. For the families who live on the corner of the crime scene— overwhelmingly black or Latino, and poor— daily life is organized to avoid victimization. In the middle of these two geographically and socially distant groups lives the black middle class. (p. 6-7).

While high rates of crime among poor African Americans may perpetuate the desire for middle class blacks to out-migrate, Pattillo (2000) asserts that "segregation ensures that black middle class neighborhoods are continuously reincorporated back into the ghetto" (p. 237; see also Haynes, 2001). Relatedly, Massey and Denton (1993) contend Wilson's (1987) argument that middle class blacks have been able to migrate out of distressed neighborhoods is largely "misdirected" (p. 9)— maintaining that increasing economic status has little or no effect on the level of segregation experienced by blacks (1993, p. 87). Indeed, African Americans of every socioeconomic status live in qualitatively different kinds of

4

neighborhoods than their white counterparts and the worst urban contexts in which whites reside are considerably better than the average context of black communities (Sampson & Wilson, 1995).

This study seeks to build on the above research in two primary ways. First, I examine the association between the black middle class and crime using a diverse set of cities from across the U.S. To do so, I adopt a multilevel modeling approach, which acknowledges the embedded ecology of black middle class residents within the larger urban structure of the city. In other words, this analytic strategy seeks to account for both the neighborhood characteristics where middle class blacks live, as well as the structural forces that may worsen or ameliorate their local crime conditions. Although many scholars have examined the residential structure of the black middle class (Durant & Louden, 1986; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Haynes, 2001; Lacy, 2007; Landry, 1987; Owens & Wright, 1998), few have provided empirical and theoretical insight into its consequences for crime (for exceptions see Pattillo 1998, 1999, 2000). In this paper, I draw on traditional and systemic approaches to social disorganization theory to outline the various ways the black middle class provides— both spatially and socially—a key foundation for collective organization against crime in disadvantaged communities (e.g. Sampson et al. 1997). In line with Browning and colleagues (2004), I present an alternative theoretical approach that focuses on the ways in which strong neighborhood networks of the black middle class may have countervailing effects on crime. Secondly, utilizing cross-level interaction models, I examine the extent to which segregation conditions the relationship between the black middle class and crime at the neighborhood level. Here, I theoretically integrate a structural race theoretical framework to situate the black middle class within the broader racial context of the city. Drawing on arguments made by Massey & Denton (1993), it is argued that segregation supports U.S. racial inequality by

disproportionately concentrating poverty and disadvantage in African-American

neighborhoods and thus creating unique structural conditions of isolation (see also Massey &

Eggers 1990; Massey & Denton 1993; Jargowsky 1997; Krivo et al. 1998; Massey & Fischer

2000). Specifically, I explicate how residential segregation perpetuates separate and unequal

neighborhood groupings based on race that do not share common local interests and thus

have little reason for forming coalitions to solve problems, including those that foster crime

(Peterson & Krivo, 2010). My central thesis put forth is that the crime reduction capacity or

"protective" role of the black middle class partly depends on the level of segregation found

in the city, which directly or indirectly functions to help or hinder these efforts. Using the

National Neighborhood Crime Study (Peterson & Krivo 2000), this study combines

multilevel models, cross-level interaction effects, and GIS spatial analysis to explore the

nature of the relationships between the black middle class and neighborhood crime.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Black Middle Class and Theories of Social Disorganization
Studies conducted at the neighborhood level often draw on social disorganization

theory to assess the extent to which neighborhood characteristics increase crime. Unlike

theories centered on "kinds of people" explanations for crime, social disorganization theory

focuses on the effects of "kinds of places"— specifically, different types of

neighborhoods—in creating conditions favorable or unfavorable to crime. According to the

theory, disadvantage, residential mobility and ethnic heterogeneity all decrease a

neighborhood's capacity to control the behavior of neighborhood residents and thus

increases the likelihood of crime (Bursik, 1988; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Shaw & McKay,

1969). Numerous studies have demonstrated that neighborhoods with high numbers of

black (and/or minority) residents have higher crime rates than other communities because of the characteristics of the disorganized areas into which these groups settle, rather than the characteristics of the racial-minority groups per se (Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003; Morenoff, Sampson & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Early tests of social disorganization theory found that residents of highly disadvantaged communities have difficulty coming together to achieve common goals and control violence through informal and formal mechanisms (Shaw & McKay 1969; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Sampson et al., 1997). Later systemic reformulations of the theory further explicated the kinds of informal neighborhood mechanisms that reduce crime and disorder (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978). For example, Sampson and colleagues (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997) argue that the prevalence and density of kinship, friendship, and acquaintanceship networks and the level of participation in community-based organizations fosters the emergence of collective efficacy, or solidarity and mutual trust among community residents. From their perspective, high levels of collective efficacy include residents' efforts to prevent or sanction disorderly and criminal conduct through informal surveillance of the streets and direct intervention in problems, such as questioning persons about suspicious activity, admonishing individuals who are misbehaving, or informing parents about their children's misconduct. Therefore, in addition to internal characteristics, low levels of disorganization often refers to the successful efforts of neighborhood actors to achieve common ends and social control by enforcing social norms and social solidarity (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993).

According to Wilson (1978, 1987) the black middle class is crucial lynchpin in highly disorganized and disadvantaged neighborhoods, as they act as a "social buffer" that keeps the black poor socially and economically integrated with the rest of society. He contends that

the very presence of these families provides "mainstream role models that keep alive the perception that education is meaningful, that steady employment is a viable alternative to welfare, and that family stability is the norm, not the exception" (p. 56). The most vulnerable neighborhoods are those in which "not only are children at risk because of the lack of informal social controls, they are also disadvantaged because the social interaction among neighbors tends to be confined to those whose skills, styles, orientations, and habits are not as conducive to promoting positive social outcomes" (Wilson, 1996; p. 63). In this view, black middle class connections facilitate the development and continuation of social and labor market ties (i.e., external investments, political strength) that translate into informal and formal social control, which, in turn, guard against "street" crime in these communities (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). In his ethnographic study of Philadelphia, Anderson (1999) put forth a similar interpretation, describing two types of family orientations— "decent" and "street"— that together socially organize inner-city black communities. The most powerful deterrent to crime, Anderson asserts, are "decent" families committed to middle class values that can counteract the oppositional culture of "the street families," whose norms oppose those of mainstream society and foster "code of the street" mentalities— a set of informal rules governing interpersonal public behavior, including violence. This literature leads me to my first hypothesis: *Drawing on social disorganization as a guiding theoretical framework, it is expected that the black middle class will be negatively associated with crime.*

One of the most persistent challenges to traditional conceptualizations of social disorganization theory has been the existence of stable, socially integrated, yet high-crime neighborhoods (e.g. Whyte, 1943). According to Browning et al. (2004), one possible explanation may be the countervailing effects of social organization itself. For example, residents of all classes in disadvantaged neighborhoods may achieve a "negotiated

coexistence" that both promotes — and competes with— collective efforts at social control (see also Portes, 1998). This conceptual "decoupling" of networks and informal social control provides some insight to why strong black middle class networks ties may not automatically translate into neighborhood crime reduction. In her studies of Groveland, Chicago, Pattillo (1998, 1999) describes circumstances in which strong social ties create a community structure in which criminality is tolerated or internally managed. In particular, Pattillo (1999) found that black middle class networks often worked to circumscribe the criminal activity by holding the neighborhood delinquents within the bonds of familial and neighborhood associations. Thus, in some neighborhoods "there exists a system of interlocking networks of responsible and deviant residents that sometimes paradoxically, and always precariously, keeps the peace" (Pattillo, 1999: p. 748), suggesting that strong ties may be a necessary but not always sufficient condition for the informal social control of crime. According to Anderson (1999), even though families with a "decency orientation" oppose "code of the street" behavior, they often reluctantly encourage their children's familiarity with it to enable them to negotiate the inner-city street environment. Indeed, high levels of neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage often make these neighborhood ties "existentially irrelevant" for achieving social control and cohesion (Sampson, 1997; Sampson & Wilson, 1995).

Taken together, the above theoretical insights on network processes and the neighborhood-level regulation of crime present a complicated picture. Yet, an even more complete understanding the relationship between the black middle class and crime requires moving beyond the internal characteristics of the neighborhood towards an examination structural forces that influence processes of social disorganization. Other macro-processes — such as racial residential segregation and other forms of racial discrimination— can also

ensure that black middle class members are cordoned off into black communities with fewer

services and financial investments, deteriorating community infrastructure, little political

clout, and fewer network ties (Massey & Denton, 1993). As such, the following section sets

out to integrate a structural racial approach into the study of the black middle class and

crime to further explicate these broader mechanisms.

The Black Middle Class, Segregation, and Crime

Broadly speaking, racial structure approaches view differential patterns of crime as a

result of the deeply embedded racial and ethnic histories of privilege and oppression that

create and re-create neighborhood inequality (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). In particular,

criminological research has demonstrated how processes like racial residential segregation

can create and perpetuate an unbalanced distribution of social problems across different

neighborhoods, including criminal violence (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Through racial

discrimination in the labor and housing markets, a system of structural inequality severely

restricts the residential options of inner-city blacks to living in the most disadvantaged

neighborhoods. The end result is a hierarchical neighborhood structure, with predominantly

white neighborhoods and predominantly African American neighborhoods at the extreme

ends of neighborhood disadvantage, with majority Latino and integrated neighborhoods in

between (Krivo, Peterson, and Kuhl 2009; Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Therefore, by confining

racial minorities to separate and isolated communities, racial residential segregation further

influences the distribution of both social problems and resources for dealing with these

problems, including those associated with crime (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). For example,

broad detachment and levels of perceived state illegitimacy can contribute to violent crime

through creating disregard for the law, undermining citizen cooperation in crime control,

promoting crime as self-help, and contributing to a law violating atmosphere (LaFree, 1998;

Messner & Rosenfeld, 2001; Rosenfeld, 2002; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005). In turn, segregated minority communities can easily become visible targets of neglect and further disinvestment by city officials, banks, and other authorities (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Squires & O'Connor, 2001; Squires & Kubrin, 2005).

Moreover, when racial order is preserved through residential segregation, separate and unequal groupings do not share common local interests and have little reason for forming coalitions to solve local problems, including those that foster crime (Krivo, Peterson, and Kuhl, 2009; Peterson & Krivo, 2010). These common interests break down in the presence of the high levels of black-white segregation because these groups so rarely share residential space. Under this arrangement, "the geographic isolation of blacks instead force[s] nearly all issues to cleave along racial lines" (Massey & Denton 1993, p. 155). The result is a racially and spatially divided public and political organization where both the motivation and the coalitions necessary to implement strategies to improve social and institutional structures that affect crime are lacking. This means that racial and ethnic groups do not work together for improved services, nor do they support the costs of ventures that would help decrease crime. Studies have shown that whites tend to place blame for black-white inequality on "the group culture and active choices of African Americans" (Bobo, 2004; p. 17). Whites' tendency to blame blacks themselves for unequal social conditions leads them to oppose structural solutions that would reduce or eliminate such negative conditions (e.g., Kluegel & Bobo, 1993). In this way, racialized social systems make it extremely difficult for blacks of all classes to cultivate strong white allegiances and reduce crime in their neighborhoods. Alternatively, in more integrated cities, black middle class residents are provided more opportunities to engage with the broader community and city economic and social structure, which increases their ability to reduce crime in their

neighborhoods (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). In sum, black middle class families may only effectively contribute to lower neighborhood crime rates in cities where the broader racial social structure of the city is more conducive (i.e. with more integrated neighborhoods).

The racial structure of a city also disproportionately places and influences crime in African American neighborhoods because blacks have highly differentiated residential access to less segregated and less disadvantaged communities (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). While all groups would like to escape from the costs of crime, housing market discrimination practices —such as racial steering and higher mortgage denial rates— significantly hinder the potential for blacks to achieve this goal (e.g., Massey & Denton, 1993; Yinger, 1995; Holloway & Wyly, 2001; Krivo et al., 2013; Ross & Yinger, 2002; Ross & Turner, 2005). In one of her studies of Groveland, Chicago, Pattillo (2003) offers a detailed look into the impact of race and residence on blacks of all classes. In particular, she describes two kinds black neighborhoods —one very poor and the other low-middle class— that she argues "are equally racially ghettoized, but differently composed" (p. 1055). In other words, despite their socioeconomic difference, both the poor and non-poor urban black populations "share a history of racial residential structuring and the concomitant stratification of politico-economic resources and power that circumscribes the visions, interactions, and life possibilities of its residents" (Pattillo, 2003, p. 1049). Thus, no matter their aspirations or orientations, many urban non-poor blacks are residentially inscribed within the urban 'color line' and bear these burdens along with poorer blacks. Like most black residents in segregated cities, middle class blacks face higher mortality rates (Collins & Williams, 1999); continued placement of nearly all the publicly subsidized housing within their boundaries (Hirsch, 1983); disproportionate neighborhood-level poverty rates that results from racial segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993); high eviction rates (Desmond, 2012); under-

performing schools (Massey, Condran & Denton, 1987); mass criminalization and incarceration of black men and a growing number of women (Miller, 1996); and a weaker position in the labor market (Iceland, 1997). Together, these processes suggest "poverty and powerlessness are the root of crime" (Ianni, 1974) as middle class blacks may rightfully find themselves feeling "bound together by the oppressiveness of a system which rejects their attempts at social and political mobility" (p. 38-39). Simply, many communities that contain black middle class residents contend with a multitude of social ills that segregation perpetuates. *Drawing on the above racial-structural approach, it is hypothesized that the negative association between the black middle class and crime will be stronger in less segregated cities, compared to cities with higher levels of segregation.*

DATA & METHODS

Sample. The bulk of the data used in this analysis come from the National Neighborhood Crime Study (NNCS) (Peterson & Krivo, 2000). The NNCS is a unique data set that includes reported crime information obtained directly from police departments and sociodemographic information from the census for all tracts within a representative sample of U.S. cities for the year 2000. The tract crime counts (incidents for seven of the FBI's index offenses for 1999–2001) are combined with data from the 2000 census on social and demographic characteristics for each census tract (N=9,953) and for the cities (N= 91) in which the tracts are located. The sample used is representative of large cities (at least 100,000 population) and allows for the assessment of both property and violent crime for a large set of tracts across an array of urban places. The analysis presented here is restricted to 6,935 census tracts across 69 cities for which complete property and violent crime information is

available. [1] The black middle class predictors, which are not available in the NNCS, were computed using U.S. Census income data from the year 2000 (see variable descriptions below).

Dependent variables. The crime measures include a three-year (1999–2001) sum count of violent crimes (homicides, robberies, and aggravated assaults) and property crimes (burglaries, larcenies, and motor vehicle thefts) reported to the police for each census tract within the city. The strategy of using multiyear counts is a common practice in criminological research, as it can minimize the impact of annual fluctuations in rare events occurring at small levels of aggregation (e.g. Krivo, Peterson, and Kuhl, 2009). Since the nature of the black middle class-crime relationship may vary by type, I predict violent and property crime separately in each model. [2] For example, not only are black neighborhoods at greater risk of generating violence stemming from their own internal characteristics (i.e. disadvantage), but they also bear the brunt of isolation from violence-reducing structures and processes because they are surrounded by areas with high levels of disadvantage (Peterson & Krivo, 2010).

Tract-level independent variable. Within the literature, there is no consensus on the most appropriate measurement of the middle class (see Lacy, 2007; Landry, 1987). Studies have used numerous measures to operationalize class within the black population, including occupation, income, wealth, home ownership, and education, along with lifestyle and culture. Since a primary goal of this article is to provide evidence relevant to the arguments put forth by Pattillo (1998, 1999, 2000, 2003), the definitions of middle class status employed throughout the analysis follow directly from her classification scheme, which includes all

---

[1] A complete list of the cities examined can be found in Appendix A. Of the 91 cities in the NNCS sample, only 69 of the cities report their violent crime data to the FBI. For consistency, I only included these 69 cities in the analysis.
[2] Prior to aggregating into violent and property groups, the effect of the black middle class on each crime type was examined separately. The six sets of associations were almost identical.

"non-poor" African American family households earning $30,000 or more annually. Here, this measure represents the raw count of black middle class family households located within each census tract for all 69 cities examined.[3]

Tract-level controls variables. Three measures widely used in the neighborhood and crime literature— economic disadvantage, residential instability, and ethnic heterogeneity— were also included in the models (Shaw & McKay, 1969; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). Neighborhood disadvantage is an index composed of the average summed z-scores for six variables that measure the percent of the tract population that is: employed in secondary-sector, low-wage jobs; employed in professional or management careers (reverse-coded); jobless and in the working-age population (16–64); living in female-headed households; over 25 years with at least a high school diploma (reverse-coded); and living below the poverty line (α= .92). This type of index has been used to measure disadvantage in prior research involving the NNCS (Krivo, Peterson, & Kuhl, 2009; Peterson & Krivo 2010; Ramey, 2013) to more fully capture socioeconomic aspects of neighborhood context. The development of this combined measure reflects arguments by Wilson (1987), Sampson and Wilson (1995), and others who posit that neighborhood "concentration effects" (i.e., high poverty, family disruption, and joblessness) all contribute to structural social disorganization. In many inner-city communities, as a result of macro-economic changes that have disproportionately affected the urban poor, it is the combined effect of poverty, unemployment, and family disruption that defines the neighborhood socioeconomic context for residents. Cognizant of this argument, social disorganization researchers often measure the multiple disadvantages that characterize inner-city neighborhoods by incorporating several predictors into an overarching "concentrated disadvantage" index. This measure

---

[3] I also computed a middle class measure for black households and found that it is highly correlated (.99) with the black middle class family household measure used here.

explicitly assumes, then, that concentrating disadvantage is often synonymous with

concentrating crime. Another benefit of this index approach to measuring disadvantage is to

reduce multicollinearity among the independent variables, a problem common to tests of

social disorganization theory (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003).[4] Residential turnover and ethno-

racial heterogeneity were also added to each model, as high rates have been shown to hinder

the ability of residents to form expansive networks of interpersonal relationships that

facilitate informal control reduce crime (e.g. Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). For

example, when neighbors live with one another for long periods of time, it is expected that

they will form friendships, take responsibility, and speak out when they are concerned about

crime activities occurring in the neighborhood. Residential turnover is measured as the

percentage of the tract population that lived in a different residence in 1995. My measure of

ethno-racial heterogeneity reflects how many different racial and ethnic groups there are in

each tract, and how evenly the population is distributed among those groups. The percent of

the tract that is male and between 15 and 34 years old is included to control for the

population deemed to be the most "crime prone" in the neighborhood. Last, percent black

accounts for the African American population that is not represented in the black middle

class variable (i.e. the black poor).[5]

---

[4] One drawback of this approach to measuring disadvantage is that it confounds attempts at untangling each characteristic's distinct influence on crime. Combining these measures was deemed most appropriate for the present study, as the concentrated disadvantage index controls for the neighborhood mechanisms that concentrate on the black poor (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush 2001).
[5] The neighborhood level measure of percent black and number of black middle class households are correlated (.69). An interaction model testing to what extent the percent of the neighborhood that is black conditions the relationship between the black middle class and neighborhood crime was also conducted but is not presented here. The interaction term is significant (p<.001) and slightly positive.

Table 1: Operationalizations and Descriptives of Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Dependent Variables					
Violent Crime	3-year tract sum (1999-2001) number of homicides, forcible rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults	115.66	116.67	0	1,976
Property Crime	3-year tract sum (1999-2001) number of burglaries, larcenies, and motor vehicle thefts	653.91	561.8	0	9,990
Independent Variables, Tract Level (N= 6935)					
Black Middle Class	Tract number of black or African American family households 1999 with an income of $30,000 or more	114.42	178.73	0	2,456
Disadvantage	Tract average of the standard scores for six variables*	0.001	0.864	-1.67	3.71
Residential Turnover	Percent tract population ages 5 and over who lived in a different house in 1995	50.85	14.4	9.58	100
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity	Tract racial heterogeneity	0.38	0.2	0	0.8
Percent Black	Percent of the total tract population that is non-Hispanic Black	25.8	32.78	0	100
Independent Variables, City Level (N=69)					
Segregation	Index of dissimilarity across census tracts within the city between non-Latino whites and non-Latino blacks	59.74	16.68	14.28	85.19
Percent Black	Percent of the total city population that is non-Hispanic Black	24.13	18.02	0.53	81.02
Disadvantage	Average of the standard scores for six variables*	0.262	0.729	-2.02	2.43
Residential Turnover	Percent city population ages 5 and over who lived in a different house in 1995	51.41	5.85	31.93	66.52
Percent Manufacturing	Percent of employed population age 16 and over working in a manufacturing industry	11.64	4.09	1.53	25.86
South	Dummy variable Southern location; 1 = South	0.321	0.473	0	1
West	Dummy variable Western location; 1 = West	0.288	0.453	0	1

*(1) percent of employed civilian population age 16 and over employed in the 6 occupational categories with the lowest average incomes; (2) percent of population ages 16–64 who are unemployed or out of the labor force; (3) percent of employed civilian population age 16 and over working in professional or managerial occupations: (4) percent of population age 25 and over who are high school graduates; (5) percent of households that are female-headed families; (6) percent of population that is below the poverty line

City-level independent variables. As outlined above, level of segregation is particularly relevant for understanding differential patterns of neighborhood crime, particularly for black communities (Krivo, Peterson, and Kuhl 2009; Peterson and Krivo, 2010). Black/white segregation is measured using a Dissimilarity Indices (D), which reflects the relative "evenness" of two groups within each tract and indicates the percentage of one group that would have to move to a new tract for there to be an "even" distribution of

members from both groups in each tract of the city. As Massey and Denton (1988, p. 284)

point out, "evenness is maximized and segregation minimized when all units have the same

relative number of minority and majority members as the city as a whole." Put differently,

this index indicates the relative number of residents "who would have to change tracts in

order to achieve an even residential distribution" (Denton and Massey, 1988, p. 802; see also

Massey and Denton, 1988). In the formula presented below, *bj* and *wj* represent the number

of members of black and white groups residing in tract *j*, while *B* and *W* are the total number

of each group in the city. The equation can be expressed as follows:

$$D_{bw} = \left[.5 * \sum_{j=1}^{n} \left| \frac{bj}{B} - \frac{wj}{W} \right| \right] * 100$$

City-level control variables. In addition to segregation, I also incorporate

macrostructural characteristics that prior work considers influential for neighborhood crime

and other social dislocations (Wilson 1987, 1996; Crutchfield, 1989; Shihadeh & Ousey,

1996; Parker & McCall, 1999). I include city disadvantage ($\alpha = .92$) and city residential

turnover, which are measured in parallel fashion to the neighborhood-level predictors. To

capture labor market activity or "climate" for the city, I incorporate a measure of city

manufacturing, defined as the percent of the employed civilian population age 16 and over

employed in manufacturing industries. To account for cities with larger African American

populations, I added a city measure of percent black. Finally, I include two measures for

census region (South and West) with the rest of the country as the reference category in

order to capture any regional differences crime (e.g., Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967; Nelsen,

Corzine, & Huff-Corzine, 1994). Descriptives for all variables used can be found in Table 1.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

The analysis presented here proceeds in two stages. I first present three city maps,

which offer a descriptive "aspatial" examination (Jargowsky, 1996) into the relationship

between the black middle class, neighborhood crime, and segregation. Each map contains a

city characterized by a different degree of segregation. Jacksonville, Florida (Figure 1.1) was

delineated as a city with "low" segregation, since its segregation index score (42) falls

approximately one standard deviation below the mean index score. Charlotte, NC (Figure

1.2) has an average segregation index score (57) and was therefore deemed a "moderately"

segregated city. Lastly, Washington, D.C. (Figure 1.3) represents a city that is "highly"

segregated, as it has a segregation index score (80) that is approximately one standard

deviation above the mean.[6] This map sequence offers a broad view of how black middle

class and crime neighborhood patterns may operate in a low, moderate, and highly

segregated urban context. All map tracts are symbolized using a quantile classification

method provided by ArcGIS. This particular classification scheme was utilized because it

distributes each variable into groups that contain an equal number of values. Specifically, all

tract-level data presented are split into three quantiles: the "low" category symbolizes all

tracts in the bottom third of the black middle class household distribution (0-18

households), the "average" category contains the tracts located in the middle third of the

distribution (19-91 households), and the "high" category captures the remaining tracts in the

top third of the distribution (92 households or greater).[7] The NNCS crime count data was

transformed into rates by dividing the sum number of violent and property crimes for each

---

[6] These three cities were also selected based on the percent of the population that is black. Jacksonville,
Charlotte, and Washington D.C. all have black populations that consist of at least 30% of the total city
population. This was done to more meaningfully examine the relationships of interest between the black
middle class, segregation and crime.
[7] Four and five category quantile classification schemes revealed similar tract patterns to the maps presented
here.

tract by their corresponding tract-level population. The quantile data classification method used to create the black middle class symbology was also used to delineate the high crime and high disadvantage areas on each of the maps. For these two variables, only the high crime and highly disadvantaged areas are symbolized (i.e. the "low" and "moderate" tracts contain no color). Since all variables use the same classification scheme, it is possible to see if —and to what extent— tracts containing the top third of the black middle class households "map onto" tracts in the top third of the crime and disadvantage distribution.

The second stage of analysis is split into two modeling components. All four models presented examine the relationship between the black middle class and neighborhood crime using the subset of 69 cities. Given the multi-level structure of the data, a traditional OLS regression was deemed inappropriate, as the observations for the tracts (level-one units) nested within the cities (level-two units) are not independent from one another. Therefore, a multilevel modeling approach with random intercepts was estimated, as it can simultaneously assess the effects of both neighborhood and city characteristics on local crime rates.[8] Prior to running the full multilevel models, two unconditional models were estimated to determine whether there is significant variation in violent and property crime across the cities. The resulting variance components demonstrate that a mixed-effects model is favorable to a fixed model for both crime types.[9] Since I am analyzing relative rare events within relatively small tract units, I estimate a multi-level mixed-effects negative binomial model with counts of violent and property crime as my dependent variables. Moreover, since the variances of my dependent variables are considerably larger than their means, a negative binomial model

---

[8] Tests of variance inflation revealed that multicollinearity is not an issue for the variables examined. This was estimated Stata using variance inflation factor (VIF) command. The average VIF was 2.22 and no individual variable VIF score was above 4, as recommended by other literature (e.g., Obrien, 2007).
[9] Results from the unconditional model demonstrate that approximately 19 percent (LR = 1341, p<.001) of the variation in violent crime is accounted for at the city-level and 14 percent (LR = 1046, p<.001) of the variation in property crime is accounted for at the city-level.

can also account for this overdispersion. All models presented include tract population as an exposure measure. Specifying crime counts with variable exposure by tract population is the equivalent of analyzing differences in violent crime rates across neighborhoods (Osgood, 2000).

The first set of multi-models considers the relationship between the black middle class and neighborhood crime. I estimate a two-level model for violent (Table 2, column 1) and property crime (Table 2, column 2) respectively. Both models include my measures of black middle class, segregation, and all other neighborhood and city-level predictors. The second set of models considers to what extent city segregation conditions the relationship between the black middle class and neighborhood crime.[10] Parallel to the first two models, I estimate a separate cross-level interaction for each crime type. The first interaction model answers the question of whether the association between the black middle class and neighborhood property crime varies across cities with differing levels of segregation (Table 2, column 3). The second tests whether the association between the black middle class and neighborhood property crime varies across cities with differing levels of segregation (Table 2, column 4). To further examine these moderating effects, I graph an interaction for violent crime (Figure 1) as well as property crime (Figure 2).

<div align="center">RESULTS</div>

Results from the spatial analysis support Pattillo's (1999, 2000) contention that many middle class blacks have not been able to spatially separate themselves from extremely disadvantaged areas of the city or high crime neighborhoods. No matter the level of segregation, there is a considerable amount of "tract-overlap" between the black middle class
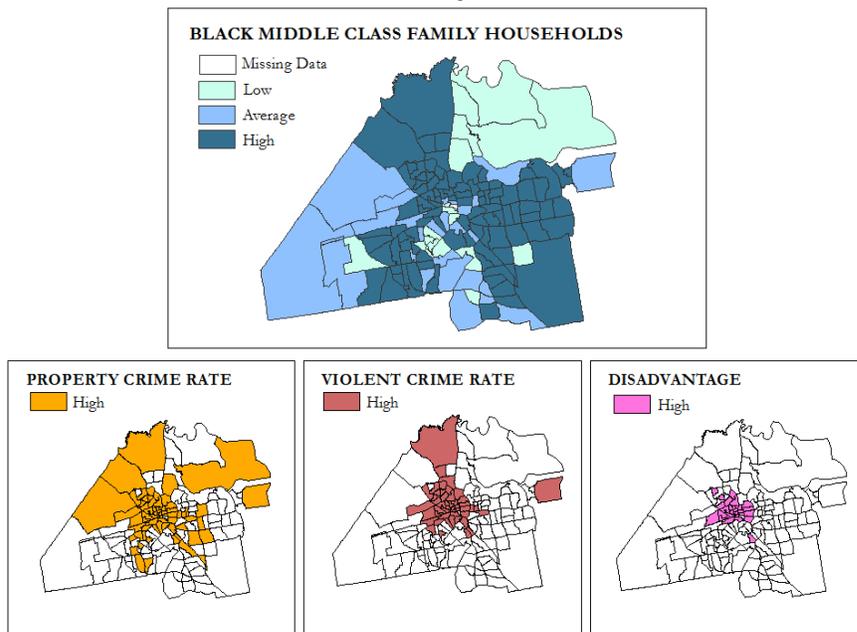
---

[10] Variables estimated in the cross-level interaction models are uncentered (i.e. the intercept represents zero).

and both crime types. In other words, many tracts that contain a large number of black middle class residents also contain a high amount of crime.

A closer examination also reveals that there is a stronger tract-association between the black middle class and violent crime than there is for property crime. This pattern is not all that surprising, as black neighborhoods are not only at greater risk of violence stemming from their own internal neighborhood characteristics, but they are also far less likely to benefit from external violence-reducing investments, structures, and processes (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Lastly, and as expected, level of segregation does appear to alter the relationship between the black middle class and crime at the tract-level. The moderately and highly segregated cities of Charlotte, N.C. and Washington D.C. have greater tract-overlap between the black middle class and crime than does Jacksonville, FL, a city with relatively low levels of segregation.
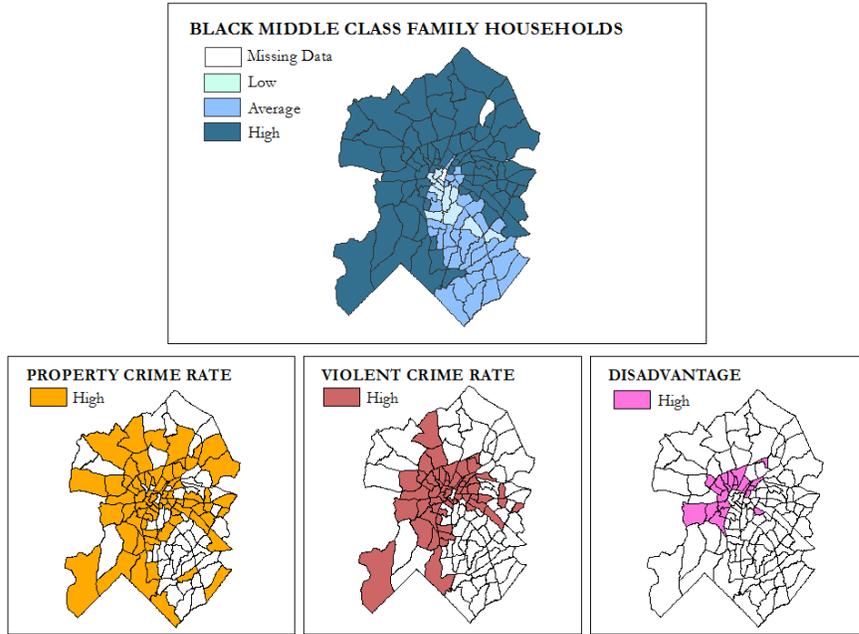

LOW SEGREGATION: JACKSONVILLE, FL — Figure 1.1

AVERAGE SEGREGATION: CHARLOTTE, NC

Figure 1.2

BLACK MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

- Missing Data
- Low
- Average
- High

PROPERTY CRIME RATE
- High

VIOLENT CRIME RATE
- High

DISADVANTAGE
- High

HIGH SEGREGATION: WASHINGTON, DC

Figure 1.3

BLACK MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

- Missing Data
- Low
- Average
- High

PROPERTY CRIME RATE
- High

VIOLENT CRIME RATE
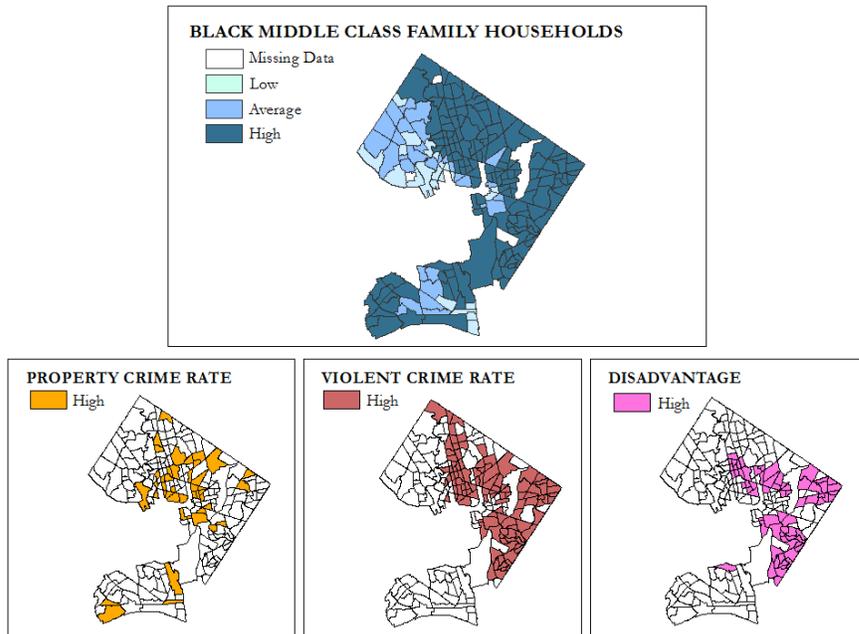- High

DISADVANTAGE
- High

Table 2 presents the results from the multilevel model for both neighborhood violent and property crime, which includes the effects of the black middle class on crime along with tract-and city-level control characteristics.[11] Overall, the neighborhood predictors for both the violent and property crime are quite similar. As expected, all level 1 (tract) predictors are positively associated with violent and property crime and highly significant (p<.001). The variable of interest, the black middle class, is negatively associated with both crime types, suggesting that the black middle class does play an important "crime reduction" role. Specifically, a standard deviation increase in black middle class family households is associated with a 16 percent $[(e^{(-.001 \times 178)} -1) * 100]$ decrease in both the violent and property crime rate.[12] Conversely, the percent of the tract that is black is positively associated with both crime types, but stronger for violent crime. While both residential turnover and racial heterogeneity have comparable effects for both crime types, disadvantage is much more strongly associated with violent crime than property crime at the neighborhood-level. A standard deviation (.86) increase in the disadvantage index yields a 64 percent increase in the local violence rate and only a 6 percent increase in the local property crime rate. When moving to level two, I find that while local rates of criminal violence are significant and higher in more segregated cities, this does not hold true for property crime. A one standard deviation increase in the black-white segregation index is associated with a 14 percent (p<.05) increase in neighborhood violence, even when taking into account strong neighborhood predictors of crime. Interestingly, city-disadvantage was also significant at level-two, but only for property crime. A one standard deviation (.73) increase in the city

---

[11] Standard errors for all coefficients are in parentheses.
[12] In addition to utilizing black middle class family households as a raw count, I also estimated multi-level models with black middle class family households as a proportion of the neighborhood population. Both measures are negatively and significantly associated with both crime types.

disadvantage index is associated with approximately a 9 percent increase in neighborhood

property crime.

Table 2: Multilevel Mixed Effects Negative Binomial Models of Neighborhood Violent and Property Crime, Including Cross Level Interactions (NNCS, 2000)

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Cross-level interaction Violent Crime	Cross-level interaction Property Crime
Tract-Level				
Black Middle Class	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.002***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Disadvantage	0.578***	0.063***	0.579***	0.057***
	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Residential Turnover	0.013***	0.015***	0.013***	0.015***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	0.0006	(0.000)
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity	0.865***	0.506***	0.890***	0.562***
	(0.047)	(0.041)	(0.047)	(0.041)
Percent Black	0.011***	0.007***	0.011***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
City-Level				
Disadvantage	0.054	0.123*	0.059	0.128*
	(0.075)	(0.055)	(0.076)	(0.055)
Percent Manufacturing	-0.022	-0.013	-0.023	0.001
	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.003)
Segregation	0.008*	0.003	0.006	-0.012
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.008)
Percent Movers	-0.006	0.005	-0.006	0.005
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Percent Black	0.006	-0.001	0.007	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
West	0.165	-0.226	0.168	-0.212
	(0.130)	(0.105)	(0.130)	(0.105)
South	-0.0154	-0.068	-0.009	-0.042
	(0.127)	(0.094)	(0.127)	(0.094)
Black Middle Class x Segregation			0.000***	0.000***
			(0.000)	(0.000)
Intercept	-5.02***	-3.00***	-4.95***	-2.94***

Coefficients presented are unstandardized; standard errors in parentheses; tract population 2000 as variable exposure
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 2 also presents the cross-level interactions between tract-level black middle

class households and the city-level measure of segregation on local crime rates. The

direction, size, and significance of all the predictors in the interaction models are similar to those in the full models. The interaction coefficients for both crime types are significant and slightly positive, indicating that the protective association between the black middle class and local rates of crime may depend on whether neighborhoods are located in segregated cities.

For illustration, Figures 1 and 2 graph the conditional relationship between the black middle class, segregation, and violent and property crime. On the x-axis, high or low values for the black middle class and segregation refer to one standard deviation above or below the mean. Neighborhood crime counts for each crime type are represented on the y-axis. In general, the patterns revealed by these graphs demonstrate that both neighborhood violent and property crime decrease as the number of black middle class family household's in the neighborhood increases, and that these relationships are most pronounced in cities with less segregation. Therefore, while high levels of black middle class family households may always be "protective," it is clear that neighborhoods with fewer households in highly segregated cities have the most crime. Alternatively, cities with the least amount of segregation and a greatest number of black middle class family households have the lowest neighborhood crime rates. There are also noteworthy differences in how segregation moderates the relationship between black middle class family households for each of the two crime types.

Figure 1 shows that neighborhood violent crime decreases as black middle class increases, and that this is similar regardless of level of segregation. This lack of interaction is somewhat surprising, as segregation has been shown to be one of the strongest macro-level sources of differential levels of criminal violence (Krivo et al., 2009). Conversely, Figure 2 shows that segregation does appear to moderate the relationship between the black middle class and property crime. This suggests that the inverse relationship between neighborhood property crime and black middle class residents is significantly stronger in cities with the less

segregation. In sum, these graphs show mixed statistical support that city segregation

moderates the inverse relationship between the black middle class and crime at the

neighborhood level.

Figure 1. Predicted Values for Cross-Level Interaction between Neighborhood Black Middle Class
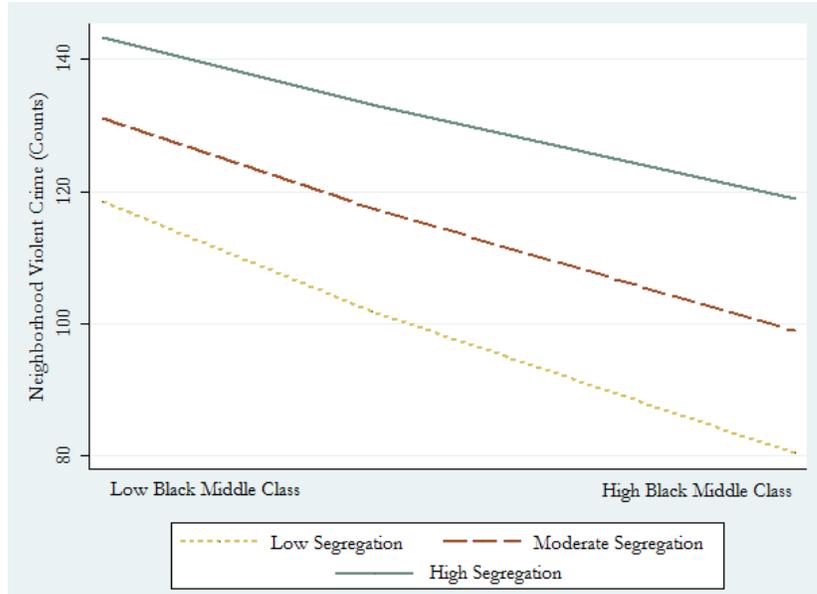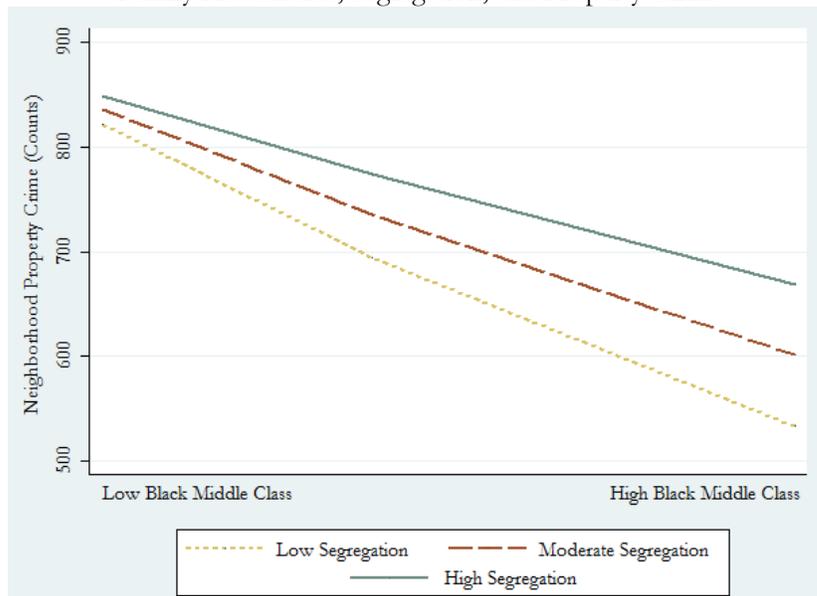Family Households, Segregation, and Violent Crime

Figure 2. Predicted Values for Cross-Level Interaction between Neighborhood Black Middle Class
Family Households, Segregation, and Property Crime

DISCUSSION

Early studies on the progress of the "new black middle class" were optimistic that the gap between whites and blacks would soon close (e.g. Moynihan, 1972; Wilson, 1978). Many forecasted that early racial progress would continue unabated, especially for blacks with adequate training and access to education. In this post-civil rights optimism poverty — not race— was seen as the sole victim of urban social ills. To illustrate the role city structure in shaping neighborhood dynamics beyond the urban poor, I examined the relationship between the black middle class and neighborhood crime. Initial descriptive map analysis explored the extent to which members of the black middle class are spatially connected to high crime neighborhoods and how this relationship changes by level of city segregation. The subsequent multi-level models found support for Wilson's (1987) "buffer" hypothesis: indicating that black middle class families do help reduce the amount of neighborhood property and violent crime located there. Subsequent cross-level interaction models demonstrated that the violent crime reduction capacity of the black middle class is a contingent process: cities with higher levels of segregation weaken the social control functions of the black middle class. However, while segregation does appear to moderate the relationship between the black middle class and property crime, there was little evidence of a moderating effect on violent crime.

The results found here suggest a need to broaden our understanding of neighborhood crime to include the entire black community that contains lower-, middle-, and upper-middle class residents. This observation is consistent with other research, which suggests that while out-migration has been a consistent process— that is, middle class African Americans attempting to translate their economic gains into residential mobility (Massey & Denton 1993)— they often don't get very far (Jargowsky & Bane 1991; Morenoff

28

& Sampson 1997). Research on the "sifting and sorting" of economic classes within the context of racial residential structures can be traced back to the work of Franklin Fazier (1939) and St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton ([1945], 1993). They observe, "There are no restrictive covenants compelling the lower class to inhabit specified slum areas… the restrictions of the white world and of poverty do not allow the Negro middle class to sort itself out as can the white middle class" (Drake & Clayton, 1993; p. 602). Thus, unlike their white counterparts, the search for better neighborhoods for non-poor blacks largely happens within a highly segregated housing market. As Massey and Denton assert (1993, p. 9): 'Middle class households – whether they are black, Mexican, Italian, Jewish, or Polish – always try to escape the poor. But only blacks must attempt their escape within a highly segregated, racially segmented housing market' (see also Logan, 2000). To be sure, black urban environs have been shaped by a long history of segregationist policies, institutional practices, and social attitudes, and represent unequal transformations in the urban landscape that perpetuate neighborhood decline for African Americans, who remain excluded by race and income from leaving the poverty and crime conditions of the urban core (Kasarda, 1989; Massey & Denton 1993). For many middle class blacks, urban racial structures not only makes upward mobility less likely, but place urban middle class blacks at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to protecting gains made in social and economic status in one generation and transmitting these gains to the next generation (Rainwater, 1970) and heighten the risk for downward social or economic mobility (Isaacs, 2007; Sharkey, 2009). As demonstrated by the map sequence, for many middle class blacks a high income does not necessarily translate or buy entree to safer residential environs. Indeed, being black and middle class in contemporary America does not allow for much excess in terms of either meeting ordinary expenses (Landry, 1987) or accumulated wealth (Oliver & Shapiro 1995).

Simply, middle class status is unique for African-Americans in the United States, as it does not translate as directly into spatial advantage and spatial separation from crime.

When attention is given to these role models that *already* exist within the inner city, it becomes clear that middle class do make a real difference in making their communities safer. While neighborhoods that have retained black middle class families have lower crime rates because of it, the results presented here also suggest broader forces of segregation hinder that relationship. Thus, an effective and comprehensive explanation of the crime context of inner-cities must not only (re)consider the black middle class's location in the city and their "crime reduction capacities," but also how a broader racialized social order determines both outcomes. Unless racial residential segregation is addressed— and the social segregation it engenders— whatever improvements and resources the black middle provide will tend to be subsumed by disadvantaged neighborhood conditions they live in and near. As Fernandez and Harris (1992) state, "the total isolation of the nonworking poor from the people with mainstream characteristics is far from complete (p. 274). Such diversity is rarely conveyed in the literature, as poor African Americans are often portrayed as being nearly completely cut off by black middle class interaction (Wilson, 1987). As Sampson (2012) notes, "The implication is sobering: when African American communities generate collective efficacy their residences still face the added challenge of being situated in a wider spatial environment characterized by social disadvantage in addition to economic disadvantage"(p. 250). Conversely, the situation of white neighborhoods is nearly the opposite— even when they are at high risk because of internal characteristics, their resident's benefit from high levels of control and cohesion in nearby areas, as well as economic privilege (Sampson, 2012). Such "ecological dissimilarity" demonstrates how extra-neighborhood and citywide racial

dynamics work in concert with those already at play in the neighborhood to impact conditions favorable or unfavorable to crime.

While this study provided important insight into the link between the black middle class, segregation and crime, there are some limitations. For one, my measure of the black middle class is broad and inclusive of a wide array of "nonpoor" black residents. In reality, the black middle class as a whole varies dramatically in income, occupation, education and the range of this population is broad enough to include terminal high school graduates as well as those with household incomes of over $100,000 a year (see Karen Lacy, 2007 for a full discussion). For example, the lower-middle-class blacks often consist of those who occupy a fragile nonpoor status and therefore may have limited capacity to act as a "social buffer" to crime in their neighborhoods. Future research could address this issue by conducting a sensitivity analysis, which would help pull out potentially meaningful income brackets within the black class structure that may be driving the relationships found here. Moreover, the cross-sectional nature of these data poses some challenges to causal inference. Prior research has suggested that differential levels of crime across racially distinct neighborhoods also affect and reinforce racial residential segregation (e.g. Liska & Bellair 1995). Adding crime data from and earlier or later time points could more clearly capture out how the black middle class fits into those processes. A final limitation worth noting is that this study does not include spatially lagged models. Future research on black middle class neighborhoods might benefit from incorporating tests of spatial autocorrelation in order to fully account for the effect that adjacent neighborhoods may have on one another.

Despite these drawbacks, the results found here offer insight into new and important research directions. If black communities are in fact not bereft of middle class families, policies that address inner-city crime issues must too be reframed. As Stephen Gregory

(1998) notes, "The exodus of the middle classes has not only obscured the struggles that black urbanites have continued to wage against racial injustices; more broadly, it has also elided the role that race relations of power and political processes play in determining the significance of race, class and place in contemporary American society" (p. 10). Just as poor black neighborhoods continue to face community decline caused by structural inequalities, so do non-poor black families. Socio-economic diversity within black urban communities bolsters the argument made by many liberal scholars that the solution to urban crime lies in race-based systemic changes— an agenda that moves beyond simply arguing for the lessening of social isolation of poor blacks vis-à-vis middle class blacks "social buffer." If policies that hurt the black poor inevitably hurt the black nonpoor, measures must be taken to improve the neighborhood conditions of African Americans where they are. As the findings presented here suggest, it is only possible to piece together and solve the broad impact of segregation for all classes by exploring the interconnections among the neighborhood conditions in which groups reside, the overall level of racial residential segregation found in the city in which these neighborhoods are situated that, together, provide a complete context for community crime (Krivo et al. 2009). In light of these findings, neighborhood studies on the black middle class should work to build sufficient theoretical understanding of the multi-level or "higher order" of race processes that shape neighborhood crime conditions. For example, practices of bank "redlining" in black communities, race-based disparities in the provision of public services, and equally racialized practices of environmental "dumping" continue to not only impede the ability of African Americans to achieve economic, social and physical security, but determine their ability to collectively organize, define, and act on common goals (e.g. Kubrin and Weitzer 2003). Moving forward, it is recommended that scholars continue to develop the most appropriate

and contextually grounded explanations to address the multitude of ways in which black

residents— poor and nonpoor— disproportionately bear the crime burden.

Appendix A. List of Cities

Albuquerque, NM	Glendale, AZ	Pasadena, TX
Alexandria, VA	Hartford, CT	Pembroke Pines, FL
Arlington, TX	Houston, TX	Phoenix, AZ
Austin, TX	Inglewood, CA	Pittsburgh, PA
Boston, MA	Jacksonville, FL	Plano, TX
Buffalo, NY	Kansas City, MO	Portland, OR
Carrollton, TX	Knoxville, TN	San Bernardino, CA
Chandler, AZ	Lincoln, NE	San Diego, CA
Charlotte, NC	Livonia, MI	Santa Rosa, CA
Cincinnati, OH	Long Beach, CA	Seattle, WA
Cleveland, OH	Los Angeles, CA	Simi Valley, CA
Columbus, OH	Louisville, KY	St. Louis, MO
Coral Springs, FL	Madison, WI	St. Petersburg, FL
Dayton, OH	McAllen, TX	Stamford, CT
Denver, CO	Memphis, TN	Tempe, AZ
Des Moines, IA	Milwaukee, WI	Toledo, OH
Detroit, MI	Nashville, TN	Topeka, KS
Eugene, OR	New Haven, CT	Tucson, AZ
Evansville, IN	Norfolk, VA	Virginia Beach, VA
Fort Wayne, IN	Oakland, CA	Waco, TX
Fort Worth, TX	Ontario, CA	Washington, DC
Fullerton, CA	Overland Park, KS	Waterbury, CT
Garden Grove, CA	Pasadena, CA	Worcester, MA

REFERENCES

Alba, Richard D., and John R. Logan. 1991. "Variations on two themes: Racial and ethnic patterns in the attainment of suburban residence." *Demography* 28, no. 3: 431-453.

Alba, Richard D., and John R. Logan. 1992. "Assimilation and stratification in the homeownership patterns of racial and ethnic groups." *International migration review*: 1314-1341.

Anderson, Elijah. 1999. *Code of the Street*. New York: Norton.

Adelman, Robert M. 2004. "Neighborhood opportunities, race, and class: The Black middle class and residential segregation." *City & Community* 3, no. 1: 43-63.

Bobo, L.D., 2004. Inequalities that endure? Racial ideology, American politics, and the peculiar role of the social sciences. *The changing terrain of race and ethnicity*, pp.13-42.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2001. *White supremacy and racism in the post-civil rights era*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Browning, Christopher R., Seth L. Feinberg, and Robert D. Dietz. 2004. "The paradox of social organization: Networks, collective efficacy, and violent crime in urban neighborhoods." *Social Forces* 83, no. 2: 503-534.

Bursik, Robert J. 1998. "Social disorganization and theories of crime and delinquency: Problems and   prospects." *Criminology* 26, no. 4: 519-552.

Bursik, Robert J. Jr., and Harold G. Grasmick. 1993. *Neighborhoods and Crime*. New York: Lexington.

Caraley, Demetrios. 1992. "Washington Abandons the Cities."*Political Science Quarterly*, 107: 1-30.

Carr, Patrick J., 2005. *Clean Streets: Controlling Crime, Maintaining Order, and Building Community Activism*. New York University Press, New York

Collins, Chiquita and Williams, David 1999 'Segregation and mortality: the deadly effects of racism?', *Sociological Forum*, vol. 14, pp. 405–523

Crutchfield, Robert D. 1989. "Labor stratification and violent crime." *Social Forces* 68, no. 2: 489-512.

Cutler, David M., Edward L. Glaeser, and Jacob L. Vigdor. 1999. "The rise and decline of the American ghetto." *Journal of political economy* 107, no. 3: 455-506.

Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty." *American Journal of Sociology* 118, no. 1: 88-133.

Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton. 1993. *Black Metropolis*. The University of Chicago Press.

Du Bois, William Edward Burghard. 1935. *The souls of black folk*. Oxford University Press.

Durant, Thomas J., and Joyce S. Louden. 1986. "The black middle class in America: Historical and contemporary perspectives." *Phylon,* 47, no. 4: 253-263.

Feagin, Joe R., and Melvin P. Sikes. 1994. *Living with racism: The black middle-class experience.* Beacon Press.

Fernandez, Roberto, and David Harris. 1992. "Social isolation and the underclass." In *Drugs, crime, and social isolation: Barriers to urban opportunity*: 257-293.

Frazier, Franklin E. 1939. *The Negro family in the United States.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Green, Donald P., Dara Z. Strolovitch, and Janelle S. Wong. 1998. "Defended neighborhoods, integration, and racially motivated Crime 1." *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 2: 372-403.

Gregory, Steven. 1999.*Black corona: Race, class and the politics of place*: Princeton University Press.

Hagan, John, Carla Shedd, and Monique R. Payne. 2005. "Race, ethnicity, and youth perceptions of criminal injustice." *American sociological review* 70, no. 3: 381-407.

Haynes, Bruce D. 2001. *Red lines, black spaces: The politics of race and space in a black middle-class suburb.* Yale University Press.

Hirsh, Arnold R. 1983. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Holloway, Steven R., and Elvin K. Wyly. 2001. "" The Color of Money" Expanded: Geographically Contingent Mortgage Lending in Atlanta." *Journal of Housing Research* 12, no. 1: 55.

Ianni, Francis AJ. 1974. *Black mafia: Ethnic succession in organized crime*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Iceland, John. 1997 'Urban labor markets and individual transitions out of poverty', *Demography*, vol. 34, pp. 429–41

Isaacs, Julia. 2007. *Economic mobility of families across generations*. Economic Mobility Project.

Jargowsky, Paul. 1994. "Ghetto Poverty Among Blacks in the 1980s", *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 13: 288- 310.

Jargowsky, Paul. 1997. *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Jargowsky, Paul, and Mary Jo Bane. 1991. "Ghetto poverty in the United States." *The urban underclass*, 235: 251-252.

Jencks, Christopher and Paul Peterson. 1991. *The Urban underclass.* Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution.

Kasarda, John D., and Morris Janowitz. 1974. "Community attachment in mass society." *American Sociological review*: 328-339.

Kasarda, John D. 1989. "Urban industrial transition and the underclass." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501, no. 1: 26-47.

Kluegel, James R., and Lawrence Bobo. 1993. "Dimensions of whites' beliefs about the black-white socioeconomic gap." *Prejudice, politics, and the American dilemma*: 127-147.

Kornhauser, Ruth Rosner. 1978. *Social sources of delinquency: An appraisal of analytic models*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krivo, Lauren J., and Ruth D. Peterson. 1996. "Extremely disadvantaged neighborhoods and urban crime." *Social forces*: 619-648.

Krivo, Lauren J., Ruth D. Peterson, Helen Rizzo, and John R. Reynolds.1998. "Race, segregation, and the concentration of disadvantage: 1980–1990." *Social Problems* 45, no. 1: 61-80.

Krivo, Lauren J., Ruth D. Peterson, and Danielle C. Kuhl. 2009. "Segregation, Racial Structure, and Neighborhood Violent Crime." *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 765–802.

Kubrin, Charis E., and Ronald Weitzer. 2003. "New directions in social disorganization theory." *Journal of research in crime and delinquency* 40, no. 4: 374-402.

Krivo, Lauren J., Heather M. Washington, Ruth D. Peterson, Christopher R. Browning, Catherine A. Calder, and Mei-Po Kwan. 2013. "Social isolation of disadvantage and advantage: The reproduction of inequality in urban space." *Social forces*: 141-164.

Lacy, Karyn R. 2007. *Blue-Chip Black: Race, Class, and Status in the New Black Middle Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LaFree, Gary. 1998. *Losing Legitimacy: Street Crime and the Decline of Social Institutions in America*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview

Landry, Bart. 1987. *The New Black Middle Class*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Liska, Allen E., and Paul E. Bellair. 1995. "Violent-crime rates and racial composition: Convergence over time." *American Journal of Sociology*, no. 3: 578-610.

Logan, John R., and Harvey Molotch. 1987. *Urban fortunes*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Logan, John R., and Richard D. Alba. 1995. "Who lives in affluent suburbs? Racial differences in eleven metropolitan regions." *Sociological Focus* 28, no. 4: 353-364.

Long, J. Scott. 1997. *Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE

Loury, Glenn. 2002, *The Anatomy of Racial Inequality,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Massey, Douglas S., Gretchen A. Condran, and Nancy A. Denton. 1987. "The effect of residential segregation on black social and economic well-being." *Social Forces* 66, no. 1: 29-56.

Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Harvard University Press.

Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1988. "The dimensions of residential segregation." *Social Forces* 67, no. 2: 281-315.

Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1989. "Hypersegregation in US metropolitan areas: Black and Hispanic segregation along five dimensions." *Demography* 26, no. 3: 373-391.

Massey, Douglas, Condran, Gretchen A. and Nancy A. Denton. 1987 'The effect of residential segregation on black social and economic well-being', *Social Forces*, vol. 66, pp. 29–57

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1994. "An evaluation of international migration theory: The North American case." *Population and development Review*: 699-751.

Massey, Douglas S., and Mary J. Fischer. 2000. "How segregation concentrates poverty." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 4: 670-691.

Massey, Douglas S., and Mitchell L. Eggers. 1990. "The ecology of inequality: Minorities and the concentration of poverty, 1970-1980." *American journal of Sociology*: 1153-1188.

Miller, Jerome G. 1996. *Search and destroy: African-American males in the criminal justice system*. Cambridge University Press

Minnesota Population Center. 2016. National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 11.0 [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V11.0. NHGIS site: http://www.nhgis.org.

Moynihan, Daniel P. 1972. "The schism in black America." *The Public Interest* 27: 3.

Morenoff, Jeffrey D., Robert J. Sampson, and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 2001."Neighborhood inequality, collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence." *Criminology* 39, no. 3: 517-558.

Nelsen, Candice, Jay Corzine, and Lin Huff-Corzine. 1994. "The violent West reexamined: A research note on regional homicide rates." *Criminology* 32, no. 1: 149-161.

O'brien, Robert M. 2007. "A caution regarding rules of thumb for variance inflation factors." *Quality & Quantity* 41, no. 5: 673-690.

Oliver, Melvin L., and Thomas M. Shapiro. 1995. *Black wealth/white wealth*: Routledge.

Orfield, Gary. 1985. "Ghettoization and its alternatives." *The new urban reality*: 161-196.

Osgood, D. Wayne. 2000. "Poisson-Based Regression Analysis of Aggregate Crime Rates." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 16:21–43.

Owens, Michael Leo, and David J. Wright. 1998. *The diversity of majority-Black neighborhoods*. Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, State of University of New York.

Parker, Karen F., and Patricia L. McCall. 1999. "Structural conditions and racial homicide patterns: A look at the multiple disadvantages in urban areas." *Criminology* 37, no. 3: 447-478.

Pattillo, Mary. 1998. "Sweet mothers and gangbangers: Managing crime in a black middle-class neighborhood." *Social Forces*: 747-774.

Pattillo, Mary. 1999. *Black picket fences: Privilege and peril among the Black middle class*. University of Chicago Press.

Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 2000. "The limits of out-migration for the black middle class." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22, no. 3: 225-241.

Pattillo, Mary. 2003. "Extending the boundaries and definition of the ghetto." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 26, no. 6: 1046-1057

Peterson, Ruth D., and Lauren J. Krivo. 2000. The National Neighborhood Crime Study, 2000 [Computer file]. ICPSR27501-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010.

Peterson, Ruth D., and Lauren J. Krivo. 2010. *Divergent social worlds: Neighborhood crime and the racial-spatial divide*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1: 1-24.

Quillian, Lincoln. 2003. "How long are exposures to poor neighborhoods? The long-term dynamics of entry and exit from poor neighborhoods." *Population Research and Policy Review* 22, no. 3: 221-249.

Rainwater, Lee. 1970. *Behind ghetto walls*. Transaction Publishers.

Ramey, David M. 2013 "Immigrant revitalization and neighborhood violent crime in established and new destination cities." *Social Forces* 92, no. 2: 597-629.

Rosenfeld, Richard, Eric P. Baumer, and Steven F. Messner. 2001. "Social capital and homicide." *Social Forces* 80, no. 1: 283-310.

Rosenfeld, Richard. 2002. "Crime decline in context." *Contexts* 1, no. 1: 25-34.

Ross, Stephen L., and John Yinger. 2002. "The color of credit: Mortgage discrimination, research methodology, and fair-lending enforcement." *MIT Press Books*.

Ross, Stephen L., and Margery Austin Turner. 2005. "Housing discrimination in metropolitan America: Explaining changes between 1989 and 2000." *Social Problems* 52, no. 2: 152-180.

Sampson, Robert J. 2012. *Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect*. University of Chicago Press.

Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy." *Science* 277, no. 5328: 918-924.

Sampson, Robert J., and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 1999. "Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban Neighborhoods." *American journal of sociology* 105, no.: 603-651.

Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy." *Science* 277, no. 5328: 918-924

Sharkey, Patrick. 2014. "Spatial segmentation and the black middle class." *American Journal of Sociology* 119, no. 4: 903-954.

Sharkey, Patrick. 2013. *Stuck in place: Urban neighborhoods and the end of progress toward racial equality*. University of Chicago Press.

Shaw, Clifford R., and Henry D. McKay. 1969. *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shihadeh, Edward S., and Graham C. Ousey. 1996. "Metropolitan expansion and black social dislocation: The link between suburbanization and center-city crime." *Social Forces*: 649-666.

Skogan, Wesley. 1986. "Fear of crime and neighborhood change." *Crime and justice* 8: 203-229.

South, Scott J., and Kyle D. Crowder. 1997. "Residential mobility between cities and suburbs: Race, suburbanization, and back-to-the-city moves." *Demography* 34, no. 4: 525-538.

Squires, Gregory D., and Sally O'Connor. 2001. *Color and money: Politics and prospects for community reinvestment in urban America*. SUNY Press.

Squires, Gregory D., and Charis E. Kubrin. 2005. "Privileged places: Race, uneven development and the geography of opportunity in urban America." *Urban Studies* 42, no. 1: 47-68.

Squires, Gregory D., and Charis E. Kubrin. 2006. *Privileged Places: Race, Residence, and the Structure of Opportunity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Squires, Gregory D., Larry Bennett, and Kathleen McCourt. 1989. *Chicago: Race, class, and the response to urban decline*. Temple University Press.

South, Scott J., and Kyle D. Crowder. 1997. "Escaping distressed neighborhoods: Individual, community, and metropolitan influences." *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 4 (1997):1040-1084.

Taylor, John, and R. Jay Turner. 2002. "Perceived discrimination, social stress, and depression in the transition to adulthood: Racial contrasts." *Social Psychology Quarterly*: 213-225.

Tyler, Tom R., and Yuen Huo. 2002. *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts through.* Russell Sage Foundation.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1997., *The State of Cities.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1999), *The State of Cities.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wacquant, Loïc JD. 1997. "Three pernicious premises in the study of the American ghetto." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21, no. 2: 341-353.

Wacquant, Loic JD, and William Julius Wilson .1989. "The cost of racial and class exclusion in the inner city." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501, no. 1: 8-25.

Wacquant, Loic JD, and William Julius Wilson. 1989. "Poverty, joblessness, and the social transformation of the inner city." Welfare Policy for the 1990s: 70-102.

Whyte, William Foote. 1937. *Street corner society: The social structure of an Italian slum.* University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William H. 1998 *Hamilton Park: A Planned Black Community in Dallas*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press

Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago*: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William Julius. 1978. "The declining significance of race." Society 15, no. 2: 56-62.

Wilson, William Julius. 2011. *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor.* Vintage.

Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and inequality in America.* Russell Sage Foundation.

Wolfgang, Marvin Eugene, and Franco Ferracuti. 1967. *The Subculture of Violence: Toward an Integrated Theory in Criminology.* Tavistock Publications.

Yinger, John. 1995. *Closed doors, opportunities lost: The continuing costs of housing discrimination.* Russell Sage Foundation.

U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey. 2000. Summary File 3, Census of Population and Housing
http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml