SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION REVISITED: MAPPING THE RECENT IMMIGRATION AND BLACK HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP IN NORTHERN MIAMI

# SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION REVISITED: MAPPING THE RECENT IMMIGRATION AND BLACK HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP IN NORTHERN MIAMI*

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*This critical case study assesses the utility of spatial analysis based on maps rather than statistics for evaluating a fundamental premise of the social disorganization perspective: that immigration and ethnic heterogeneity weaken social control and increase community levels of crime. We investigate the relationship between the most recent wave of immigration and community levels of black homicide in the northern part of the city of Miami, an area that has received a large number of recent arrivals from Haiti and contains an established African American community. While quantitative methods have been used to explore this issue as part of an ongoing city-wide analysis, the current focus is on visual representations of the immigration/homicide linkage in the subsection of the city where the theoretically important target populations of African Americans and Haitians reside. Key findings are consistent with previous quantitative analyses that have demonstrated that immigration is not generally associated with higher community levels of homicide. These results call into question basic tenets of the social disorganization perspective while lending support to the concentrated disadvantage and immigration revitalization perspectives.*

Seventy years ago, scholars associated with the social disorganization perspective developed spatial analytical techniques that continue to inform contemporary studies of violent crime (see Lind 1930a,b; Shaw and McKay 1931). Disorganization theorists were particularly concerned about the potentially adverse impacts that social processes such as immigration, internal migration, and ethnic heterogeneity might have on the ability of neighborhood institutions to control the behavior of their residents. Contemporary research has supported the hypothesis that disorganization facilitates crime and has contributed a deeper understanding of the ways in which social control

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at the neighborhood level is affected by both internal and external social processes (cf. Bursik and Grasmick 1993).

This paper presents a case study building on the social disorganization framework in order to test the proposition that immigration and ethnic heterogeneity increase levels of crime at the neighborhood level. Specifically, we use maps to explore spatial issues surrounding immigration and black homicide in two northern neighborhoods in the city of Miami by focusing attention on an understudied immigrant group — Haitians — relative to native-born African Americans. Our visual presentation of data conveys information about the geographic distribution of homicide events relative to neighborhood boundaries that cannot be expressed in statistical work (Lee, Martinez, and Rosenfeld 2001). We also hope to sensitize scholars to the theoretical potential of using spatial analysis as the basis of a critical case study in order to refine theory or test competing hypotheses.

## SPATIAL ANALYSES OF IMMIGRATION, HETEROGENEITY, AND CRIME

Spatial analysis has had a long history in social science, with well-known early works by Charles Booth (1882–1897), Jane Addams (1895), and W. E. B. DuBois ([1899] 1996) providing the foundation for a style of scholarship later associated with the Chicago school of sociology. Early maps constructed by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay (1931; [1942] 1969) provide some of the most compelling evidence we have that delinquency is not vitally related to race/ethnicity but rather to enduring social circumstances such as poverty, population turnover, and ethnic heterogeneity. One major contribution of that work was the empirical foundation it provided for contemporary research on *violent places*, rather than *violent people* — a focus with important implications for black communities (Covington 1999; Lauritsen and White 2001).

This research also suggested that crime could not be "explained" by theories that were derived from studies of large, undifferentiated aggregations (i.e., cities, states, or nations). For example, Lind (1930a,b) focused on within-city variations and pointed out that an examination of two neighborhoods with similar poverty characteristics revealed widely differing rates of crime. He used maps and other methods to investigate the differences of ethnically homogeneous but poor "ghettos" compared to heterogeneous, disorganized, and poor "slums." According to Lind's view, crime might flourish in slums but not in ghettos, even though both were characterized by economic deprivation and other deleterious social conditions, because ghetto residents exerted a degree of control over neighbors that was missing in disorganized slums. Lind (1930b) argued that the "social atmosphere" was markedly different in ghettos and slums:

> One [the ghetto] breathes of warmth, intimacy, color; the other of anonymity, chilling distances, drabness. In the one life is on the plane of close, compelling, family and neighborhood disciplines and in the other of impersonal relationships and private convenience. (P. 208)

As an example, Lind discussed patterns of Japanese delinquency in two neighborhoods in Honolulu, Hawaii. One, an exclusively Japanese community, exhibited a "complete absence of juvenile delinquency" (Lind 1930b, p. 209). The other, an

ethnically heterogeneous area, was characterized by a high level of delinquency for all groups living there, including the Japanese.

The notion that compositional heterogeneity disrupts a community's regulatory capacity has since been elaborated and widely disseminated by contemporary social disorganization scholars (Bursik 1999). Warner (1999) has concisely summarized current thinking: "Heterogeneity also diminishes community ties, as racial and ethnic differences among people may impose barriers to friendships and broad-based organizational ties, thereby limiting the breadth of neighborhood networks and the consequential potential for informal control" (p. 101). Crime rates are likely to be much higher under these conditions.

On the other hand, recent research on African-American ghettos has indicated that homogeneous areas are not better organized for social control (Anderson 1990); rather, residents in these areas suffer from the concentration of multiple social problems (Wilson 1987; Sampson and Wilson 1995). Furthermore, the economic experiences of some groups of recent immigrants in ethnic enclaves differ markedly from those of earlier generations, suggesting that established ideas about immigration require updating (Portes and Stepick 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Ethnically heterogeneous immigrant communities, while often quite poor, have contributed to a revitalization of familial, social, and economic institutions that offers their residents significant advantages.

Thus, existing research suggests two contradictory views of "ghettos" and "slums." Proponents of the *social disorganization perspective* have argued that crime should flourish in heterogeneous slums in which immigrants settle. However, advocates of the *concentrated disadvantage perspective* would respond that levels of crime should be higher in homogeneous ghetto areas that suffer from long-standing economic deprivation. Scholars associated with the recently emerging *immigration revitalization perspective* tend to support the latter perspective through research showing that ghetto residents have not benefited from the "enclave economies" that have revitalized some immigrant slums (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The predictions and explanations of these perspectives are summarized in Table 1.

## THE CURRENT STUDY: BLACK HOMICIDE IN TWO MIAMI NEIGHBORHOODS

Two neighborhoods in the northern part of the city of Miami represent strategic sites for a direct test of these competing hypotheses. The present case study uses spatial analysis to examine the extent to which maps of two predominantly black neighborhoods (Liberty City and Little Haiti) support the predictions of the social disorganization, concentrated poverty, or immigration revitalization models. We also seek to use maps to replicate the statistical findings of an earlier work (Lee et al. 2001). In the previous study (which included Miami as well as San Diego, California, and El Paso, Texas) we found that in five out of six regression models, recent immigration did not increase the presence of group-specific (i.e., black or Latino) homicide at the census tract level, independent of other commonly cited factors (such as poverty, male joblessness, and female-headed families). Immigration was a *negative* and significant predictor of black homicide in Miami and Latino homicide in El Paso; it had no effect on black homicide in El Paso and Latino homicide in Miami and San Diego. The lone exception to this trend was the model for black homicide in San Diego.

**TABLE 1**

**PREDICTIONS ABOUT IMMIGRATION, ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY, AND CRIME**

| Perspective | Prediction | Explanation |
|---|---|---|
| Social Disorganization | Heterogeneous slums will exhibit higher levels of crime than homogenous ghettos. Therefore, homicide levels will be higher in Little Haiti. | Immigration increases *residential instability* and *ethnic heterogeneity,* which weakens social control, thereby increasing crime. |
| Concentrated Disadvantage | Homogeneous ghettos will exhibit higher levels of crime than heterogeneous slums. Therefore, homicide levels will be higher in Liberty City. | *Concentrated disadvantage* associated with *ethnic homogeneity* weakens social control, thereby increasing crime. |
| Immigration Revitalization | Homogeneous ghettos will exhibit higher levels of crime than heterogeneous slums. Therefore, homicide levels will be lower in Little Haiti. | Immigration revitalizes poor areas and strengthens social control (thereby decreasing crime) due to *strong familial and neighborhood institutions* and enhanced job opportunities associated with *enclave economies.* |

Note: The social disorganization model predictions were derived from the classical work of Shaw and McKay (1931) and Lind (1930a; 1930b); concentrated disadvantage draws on Wilson (1987) and Sampson and Wilson (1995); immigration revitalization is based on Portes and Stepick (1993), Portes and Rumbaut (2001), and Lee et al. (2001).

Because the focus of the current paper is on black homicide in Miami, we briefly discuss the black statistical model in more detail (Lee et al. 2001). Three variables had a positive and significant effect on black homicide across all census tracts: the number of black residents, the level of black poverty, and the level of black male joblessness. The percentage of recent immigrants was the only significant predictor with a negative effect. Residential instability, the percentage of black female-headed families, the percentage of young, black males, and a spatial autocorrelation term that captured the levels of black homicide in surrounding tracts all had no significant effect on black homicide in Miami.

With these city-wide statistical results as a starting point, the current study uses maps to compare and contrast characteristics of the intra-city area in which large numbers of Haitians had recently settled with an adjacent African American community in order to ascertain how immigration and ethnic heterogeneity might be related to a given community's level of homicide. After all, even though immigration was negatively associated with city-wide levels of black homicide in Miami in our previous work, this fact may provide little consolation to residents who may be more concerned about the crime characteristics of the neighborhood in which they live than with overall city trends. For example, it is possible that the lowered black homicide rate due to immigration reflected an effect contributed by the large numbers of Cuban and Central American immigrants who settled in Miami. Their contribution might obscure a more localized, neighborhood-specific positive impact on homicide of a smaller group of immigrants (i.e., Haitians). Also, because poverty was a statistically significant predictor of black homicide in our previous work, in the current study we present a spatial analysis of a limited number of tracts to uncover patterns in the

distribution of poverty in areas with high black homicide levels and in which a recent immigrant group has settled.

Although some scholars have presented compelling evidence that some consistencies exist in the structural covariates of homicide across units of analysis (Land, McCall, and Cohen 1990), others have demonstrated the utility of disaggregating by race and place (Hawkins 1999; Lauritsen and White 2001). Theoretically important variations are obscured by methods that aggregate all "black" homicides, for example, in the Miami context, without conducting within-group comparisons (e.g., African Americans and Haitians) or examining differences across specific neighborhoods (e.g., Liberty City and Little Haiti). This paper speaks not only to the theoretical issues raised in Table 1 but also to the methodological debate over racial and spatial disaggregation. Finally, because recent immigrants, such as Haitians, Central Americans (e.g., Salvadorans, Nicaraguans), and various groups of Asians (e.g., Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese) often reside in a single neighborhood in large urban centers, researchers must move beyond city-wide analyses or run the risk of overlooking unique opportunities for theoretical elaboration and refinement.

## MIAMI: THE STUDY CONTEXT

Despite its public image as a violent city, research on homicide in Miami does not support popular and sociological stereotypes of crime-prone immigrants or immigration as a disorganizing social process (Martinez and Lee 1998, 2000; Martinez, Lee, and Nielsen 2001). As one of the nation's most ethnically diverse cities, Miami represents a unique social laboratory for scholars interested in social disorganization — similar to the role played by Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s.

The focus of this study is northern Miami, which has historically been the largest black area in the city (Dunn 1997). Although Haitians have a different cultural and geographical background than Miami's African Americans, it was hardly a coincidence that they settled in northern Miami when they arrived in large numbers in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Stepick 1998). This process was part self-selection and part segregation. Many Haitians were initially assisted by a small group of ministers centered in adjacent Liberty City and directed by advocates to the less populated, cheaper, and more dilapidated community originally known as Lemon City (Dunn 1997). Little Haiti emerged in the 1980s from the Lemon City area to become the "geographical center of Haitian life in the United States" (Stepick 1998, p. 5). Despite Little Haiti's cultural prominence, its residential areas remain impoverished and populated mainly by younger immigrants, many unemployed or employed in the low-paying secondary labor market (Stepick 1998). Divided by Interstate 95, the adjacent neighborhoods of Liberty City and Little Haiti are almost exclusively "black," with Haitians and some African Americans residing in Little Haiti, dominating much smaller pockets of Jamaicans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans, and the Liberty City area remaining largely African American. These two high-poverty areas — one ethnically diverse and the other homogeneous — provide a unique opportunity to explore Lind's (1930a,b) hypothesis in the modern era.

### HAITIANS

Miami's Haitian population represents a theoretically important group for scholars interested in crime. Haitians in Miami have experienced discrimination due to skin color, language barriers, immigration status, and a series of deleterious stereotypes. In fact, Stepick (1998) has described Haitians as "triple minorities" (p. 4). They have struggled to gain acceptance in a new country that did not welcome them, and they have been stigmatized in the popular media along with other recent arrivals. Their circumstances have contributed to a state of economic and social marginalization that rivals any group in this country, yet initial research suggests that Haitians remain relatively under-involved in crime compared to other groups in Miami (Martinez and Lee 1998, 2000). This finding raises important questions about the role of economic and social conditions in shaping homicide patterns, and the current study uses maps to explore these questions further.

## METHODS

### DATA COLLECTION

To compare and contrast the macro level conditions influencing black homicide events in the two Miami neighborhoods, we collected original data on all homicides that occurred in this area during 1985–1995 directly from the homicide investigations unit of the Miami police department. The 11-year time period was chosen in order to generate sufficient numbers of the rare event of homicide. Access to the detailed internal files allowed us to distinguish Haitians from other ethnic groups, a process not fully possible with the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Most widely available data sets are useless for the purposes of this study because crime surveys do not capture homicides, while race-specific homicide data sets that include groups like Haitians are rare. Access to original data is especially relevant when the ethnicity of participants in an incident is a central concern, because multiple sources of information can be used to assess the accuracy of the ethnicity recorded by police detectives. For example, in Miami a few Haitians were coded as "black" in the police files, but other information in the internal supplemental reports, such as their French Creole surnames and mention of country of birth, allowed us to identify and recode them as Haitians.

Equally important for the present analysis, the street address of each homicide incident is contained in the police files, information that enabled the mapping of the spatial distribution of homicide events and allowed each case to be linked to data from the 1990 decennial census. City-wide, over 98 percent of all homicide incident addresses were successfully geocoded with *Arcview GIS 3.2a* software (available from the Environmental Systems Research Institute at www.esri.com). The remaining addresses (2 percent) were located in areas no longer in the city limits (e.g., Key Biscayne) or were not captured in *Arcview's* map database.

### SAMPLE

In order to test the competing ideas discussed above regarding immigration, ethnic heterogeneity, and homicide, our selection of census tracts is purposive, not

random, because the populations of interest (Haitians relative to African Americans) tend to be concentrated in two adjacent neighborhoods. An additional guideline for selection included dropping tracts with comparatively small numbers of black residents (fewer than 500) or black homicide events (2 or fewer), which would render homicide rates meaningless. Five tracts in Liberty City (1501, 1901, 1903, 1904, and 2300) and seven in Little Haiti (1401, 1402, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2201, and 2202) met the study criteria, with 418 total black homicides, a tract-level homicide range from 16 to 80, and populations ranging from 3,726 to 7,109 residents. Both neighborhoods were overwhelmingly "black" (on average, the population of the 12 tracts is 88.7 percent black).

### CODING

In the visual presentations, census tract-level black homicide rates are expressed per 100,000 residents, as measured by the 1990 census (STF3A), and "annualized" by dividing the number of tract-specific homicides by the number of years (11). In constructing the maps, we aggregated African Americans, Haitians, and Jamaicans into a single "black homicide rate" for each tract. These rates are based on victimization data because such data are more complete than those on offenders and the social processes we are concerned with address the *presence* of black homicide in the 12 tracts in Liberty City and Little Haiti, not the rates of offending. Data on Haitian offending, for example, are too unreliable for the construction of meaningful rates because about a quarter of offenders are not identified and others are coded as "black," which may or may not include Haitians. In addition, because homicides tend to be intraracial, a focus on victims is, generally, a focus on offenders also. Finally, the theories tested in this study apply to either criminal vulnerability or criminal offending (see also Krivo and Peterson 1996).

Following earlier work (Lee et al. 2001), tract-level "recent" immigration was defined as immigrants who arrived during the 1980–1990 time period, as measured by the "year of entry" variable in the 1990 census. Poverty levels for the 12 tracts were created from the 1990 census and defined as the proportion of individuals living below the federal poverty guideline. Although some tracts in this section of Miami are listed as "high poverty" relative to others, 26 percent of residents live in poverty even in the "lowest" poverty tract (2300).

### ANALYTIC TECHNIQUE

Our analytical strategy presents maps of two northern Miami neighborhoods to evaluate the immigration/homicide relationship. Our analysis tests a key proposition of the social disorganization perspective, which predicts a positive relationship between immigration, ethnic heterogeneity, and homicide, relative to the competing claim supported by the concentrated disadvantage and immigration revitalization perspectives. Because we are testing a theory (social disorganization) with a clearly specified set of propositions, along with circumstances under which the propositions are assumed to be true, we are conducting a version of the single case study method known as the *critical case* (Yin 1994). Northern Miami is perhaps the most directly relevant research setting in the United States for testing the relationship between

immigration/heterogeneity and black homicide because it contains two high-poverty black neighborhoods that exhibit similar levels of structural disadvantage while differing greatly in the key variable of interest. If social disorganization is operating as the theory expects, its effects should be most clearly evident in our sample of tracts.

Before we present the spatial analysis, we first provide an overall assessment of group-specific homicide victimization in the census tracts selected for study. While the visual presentation that follows directs attention to the effects of *immigration as a social process* on tract levels of "black" homicide (which includes both African Americans and Afro Caribbeans), group-specific homicide rates speak to the relative proportions of *native and immigrant individuals* involved in homicide. After addressing this issue, we then treat homicide rates, recent immigration, and black poverty as interval variables in the first three maps, with darker shading indicating higher levels of a given variable. This shading provides visual evidence of spatial patterns that cannot be revealed by the use of spatial statistics alone. The fourth map presents the numerical values of variables from the previous maps.

Spot maps offer another way to display the spatial distribution of crime and can provide a means of identifying crime-facilitating ecological areas, or "hot spots," for future study (Bellair, Krivo, and Peterson 1999). Public housing projects, a collection of "nuisance" bars, or drug trafficking areas have all been identified as hot spots that may affect neighborhood levels of crime above and beyond the structural characteristics of the community. While the previous figures aggregated variables to the tract level, spot maps display each event as a single data point and allow the identification of spatial patterns of events *within* a given tract. These spot maps serve several functions, including verifying that census tract boundaries are socially meaningful (i.e., events are not clustered on the borders or in one corner of a tract). Therefore, in the final map we plot individual African American and Haitian homicides to display the within-tract location of homicide events. Taken together, the five maps provide detail about the tract-level (and within-tract) geographic distribution of black homicide that cannot be easily conveyed with quantitative methods.

## RESULTS

### GROUP-SPECIFIC HOMICIDE RATES

In the 12-tract sample used in this study, the overall African American homicide rate (176.26 per 100,000) is almost four and a half times higher than the Haitian rate (39.34). This comparison provides strong evidence that recently arrived Haitians are less involved in homicide incidents than native-born African Americans in northern Miami. We also constructed offender rates, but they are not presented here because they are much *lower* than victimization rates, and as discussed above, much less reliable. Having considered the group-specific rates, we now turn to an examination of the macro-level effects of immigration on black homicide, as well as the spatial distribution of African American and Haitian homicide incidents.

## SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK HOMICIDE AND HAITIAN IMMIGRATION

The first map (Figure 1) explores patterns of black homicide in the 12 predominantly African American and Haitian census tracts in the northern part of Miami for the years 1985–1995. The shading is based on combined rates for African Americans, Haitians, and Jamaicans, with darker areas representing higher homicide rates. Figure 2 presents the spatial distribution of recent (1980–1990) immigration in the same section of the city, with darker areas indicating higher levels of immigration. Note that most immigrants who settled in this area are Haitian. By comparing these two maps, we can determine whether the city-wide relationship between recent immigration and black homicide holds for this subset of Miami census tracts.

**FIGURE 1**

**BLACK HOMICIDE RATES IN NORTHERN MIAMI, 1985–1995**

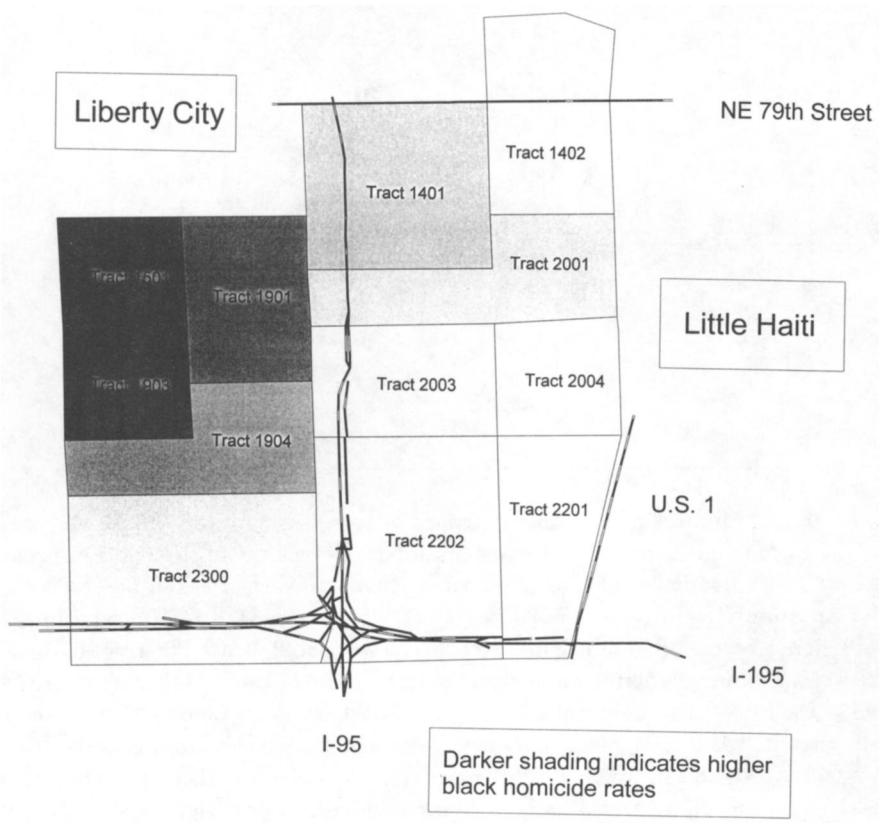
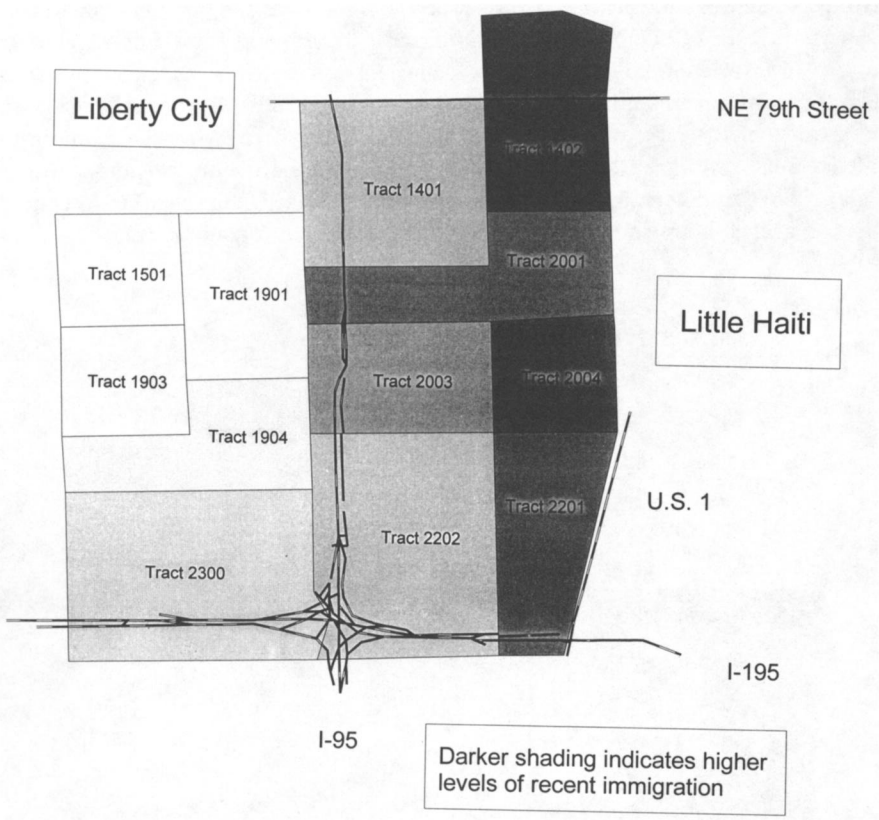


**FIGURE 2**

**RECENT IMMIGRATION IN NORTHERN MIAMI, 1980–1990**



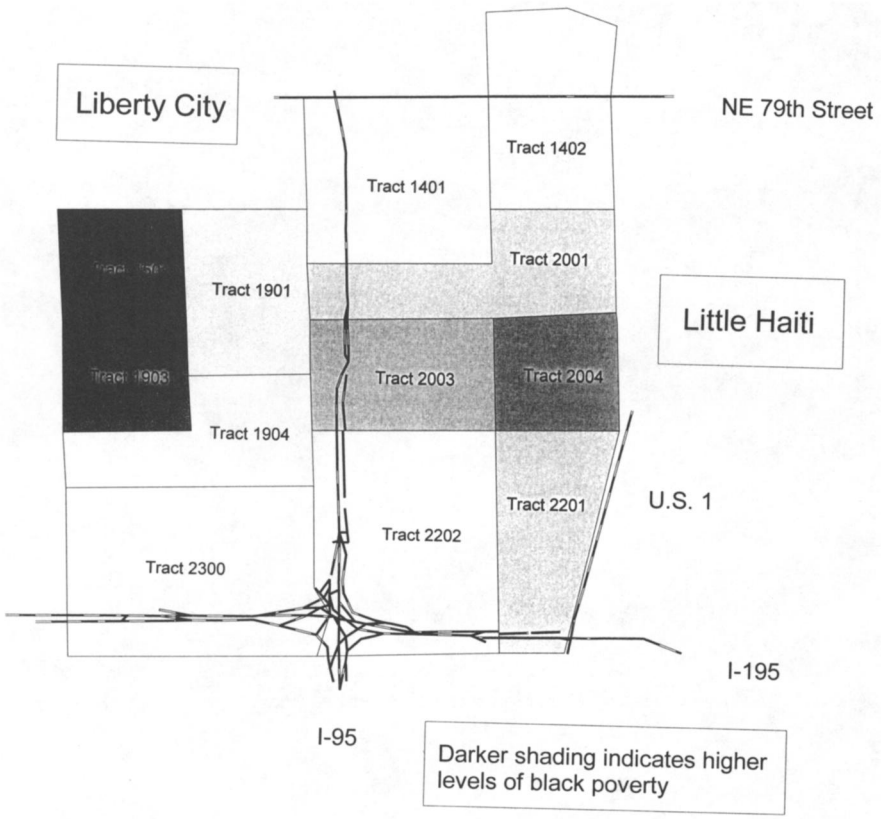

As the two figures show, moving from left to right across the map (i.e., west to east), the total black homicide rate systematically decreases as the Haitian presence increases. Black homicide rates are highest in the northwest part of Liberty City (tract 1903 = an annualized rate of 159.24 per 100,000; tract 1501 = 149.03) and lowest in the southeast corner of Little Haiti (tract 2201 = 23.22; tract 2004 = 26.53). Conversely, recent immigration is highest in eastern tracts of Little Haiti (tract 1402 = 42 percent; tract 2004 = 38 percent) and lowest in northwestern Liberty City (tract 1501 = 0.82 percent; tract 1901 = 4.5 percent). Thus, the presence of immigrants does not appear to have the disorganizing effect predicted by the social disorganization theory, at least as measured by tract levels of black homicide. These figures verify that the negative effect of the immigration variable in previous research on city-wide black homicide in Miami (Lee et al. 2001) holds for the predominantly African American and Haitain section of the city. These variables included all immigrants although, as stated above, most in this part of northern Miami were Haitians.

Figure 3 examines how poverty may be spatially related to the two variables of interest displayed in the previous maps. Note that the percentage of black poverty

varies, with the highest poverty tracts located in both Liberty City and immigrant-heavy Little Haiti. The highest homicide tracts (1903 and 1501) also exhibit high levels of poverty (58 percent and 68 percent, respectively). But comparatively low homicide rate tracts in Little Haiti have similarly high levels of poverty (e.g., tract 2004 = 57 percent; tract 2003 = 50 percent). As Figure 3 demonstrates, the relationship between homicide and poverty is by no means linear in the two neighborhoods. Furthermore, tract 1904 in Liberty City has a relatively high level of homicide but low levels both of recent immigration and poverty. It appears from a tract-by-tract comparison of the three figures that poverty is positively related to black homicide in some tracts in northern Miami but that this association is not as strong as the inverse relationship between immigration and black homicide.

**FIGURE 3**

**BLACK POVERTY IN NORTHERN MIAMI, 1990**

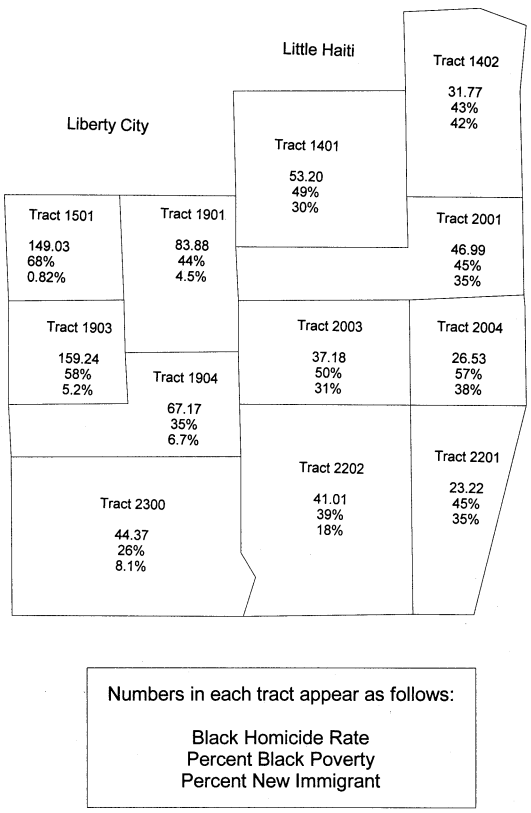



Of course, the maps do not statistically control for other structural covariates of homicide, and indeed this is not possible given the small number of tracts. However, they do provide a visual sense of the spatial distribution of immigration and homicide that cannot be wholly accounted for by tract levels of one prominent predictor (i.e.,

poverty). In fact, maps of other variables used in the citywide statistical model (Lee et al. 2001) do not show the same degree of systematic variation with homicide in this part of the city as the immigration variable does. These include maps of the percentage of female-headed families, young males, and male joblessness (not presented here). This evidence indicates that the magnitude of the negative immigration/homicide relationship is even stronger in these 12 tracts than the moderate relationship found in the city-wide regression model. Figure 4 combines the three variables from the previous maps and presents the results numerically rather than by using shading. Although it is not as easy to discern the geographic trends in this map, a visual presentation of this kind is still superior to a tabular presentation because it conveys a sense of spatial distribution.

**FIGURE 4**

**BLACK HOMICIDE (1985–1995), BLACK POVERTY (1990), AND RECENT IMMIGRATION (1980–1990) IN NORTHERN MIAMI**



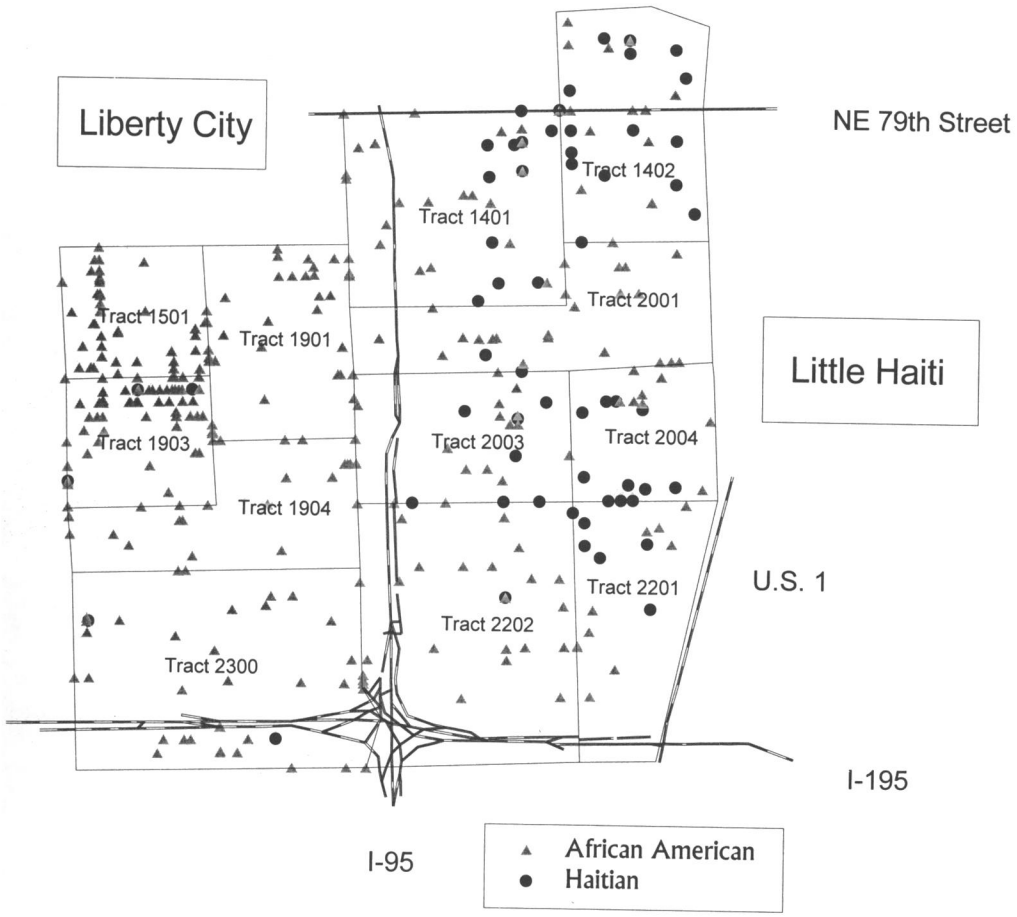

Turning to the spot map technique described above as useful for identifying crime "hot spots," Figure 5 shows the locations of all of the African American and Haitian homicides in northern Miami. Note that multiple homicides sometimes

occurred at roughly the same location over the years, which means that the symbols on the map are stacked and thus not all are visible. This may give the impression that there are fewer homicides in a given tract. This stacking is an issue mainly for Liberty City tracts 1501, 1903, and 1904, but even with this problem the spot map still conveys the fact that homicide levels are high in these tracts.

While some overlap between African American and Haitian homicide is apparent, it is also clear that African American homicides are densely concentrated in the northwest corner of Liberty City, while Haitians are killed almost exclusively in the Little Haiti section of this area. Thus, homicide victimization strongly reflects settlement patterns, and African American homicide is especially prevalent in a handful of tracts (i.e., hot spots) where few or no Haitians are killed (e.g., tracts 1501 and 1903).

**FIGURE 5**

**AFRICAN AMERICAN AND HAITIAN HOMICIDE VICTIMS IN NORTHERN MIAMI, 1985–1995**



## DISCUSSION

This paper demonstrated the utility of maps for overcoming limitations of statistical methods when studying populations of recent immigrant groups (e.g., Haitians) concentrated in a single area of a city. This strategy allowed us to move beyond the "black/white dichotomy" that has formed the basis of many large-scale quantitative studies of race and crime. Our critical case study provided a test of the predictions of three theoretical perspectives regarding immigration, ethnicity, and crime. The social disorganization model predicts that ethnically heterogeneous immigrant "slums" should exhibit higher rates of crime than similarly impoverished but homogeneous "ghettos"; the concentrated disadvantage and immigration revitalization perspectives predict the opposite.

At least in terms of the violent crime of homicide, the maps did not support the disorganization thesis. Black homicide was inversely related to immigration. Haitians had much lower rates of homicide involvement than similarly located African Americans, despite comparable levels of poverty in specific tracts and the fact that Haitians in south Florida "encounter even more prejudice than other blacks" (Stepick 1998, p. 115). If immigration and associated ethnic heterogeneity were positively related to homicide levels in contemporary society, we would expect to see this relationship most strongly in these 12 census tracts from northern Miami. We do not, and that result suggests that the social disorganization perspective on crime may be overdue for reformulation. The maps support a concentrated disadvantage view of Liberty City, while providing initial evidence that Haitians have revitalized, rather than disorganized, the area of northern Miami in which they have settled. Factors contributing to the high rates of homicide in black ghettos such as Liberty City are well-known (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Wilson 1987). Less understood are the ways in which immigration may revitalize an area and thereby suppress violent crime. We speculate on this issue in the hope that other scholars will begin to test these ideas empirically.

Placed in the context of other recent studies on immigration and crime (see Hagan and Palloni 1999; Lee et al. 2001; Martinez and Lee 2000), the current findings support two related propositions derived from the immigration revitalization perspective that could guide future research on immigration, ethnic heterogeneity, and crime. First, *contemporary immigration may encourage new forms of social organization that mediate the potentially crime-producing effects of the deleterious social and economic conditions found in urban neighborhoods*. These new forms of social organization may include ethnically situated informal mechanisms of social control and enclave economies that provide stable jobs to co-ethnics. In terms of ethnically situated informal mechanisms of social control, we have discussed the use of shaming and stigmatization in Little Haiti (see Adler and Clark 2003). More generally, we hypothesize that the cultural traditions of recent immigrant groups facilitate stronger family bonds and fortify parental authority to a greater degree than similarly situated native groups, a possibility that has obvious implications for effective networks of informal social control.

Regarding enclave economies, research has demonstrated the importance of ethnic-based economic networks in impoverished immigrant communities (Portes 1997). In Miami, for example, the effect of immigration has been to stabilize and

revitalize Miami's economic and cultural institutions (Portes and Stepick 1993). Historically, African Americans in Liberty City have been largely excluded from enclave economies organized by immigrant groups, whereas Haitians have established their own economic institutions in Little Haiti. The larger issue here is social capital, "the ability to gain access to resources by virtue of membership in social networks and social structure" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, p. 353). Immigrants may be able to draw on a dense network of social ties, both in the United States and abroad, that are unavailable to native groups. Although impoverished, immigrant enclaves rich in social capital may adapt more effectively to the deleterious effects of economic deprivation (e.g., family disruption and crime).

The second proposition is that, regardless of the nativity of the residents, *neighborhoods may have a distinctive character, often unmeasured by variables commonly included in statistical models, that influences the relationship between structural conditions and crime.* Crutchfield, Glusker, and Bridges (1999) found a similar effect at the city level, particularly with regard to a city's historically situated niche in a changing economy. In their study of homicide in three cities, they found strong effects for education in a "high-tech city" (Seattle), both education and the presence of an underclass in an "old rust belt city" (Cleveland), and a more straightforward underclass effect in a "service sector" city (Washington, DC). These researchers have identified a "milieu effect" at the city level, an issue that has often concerned ethnographers at the neighborhood level. We argue that research in the social disorganization tradition would profit from a methodological approach, similar to Lind's (1930a,b), that attempts to determine elusive qualities of "character" in high-crime, high-poverty neighborhoods.

Part of Lind's method was to document the "social atmosphere" of the slums and ghettos he analyzed. Of course, Little Haiti is not one of Miami's major tourist attractions, as it remains mired in poverty, although efforts are being made to advertise it as the next "Little Havana." Stepick (1998) provides this description of Little Haiti:

> The Little Haiti storefronts leap out at passersby. Bright blues, reds, and oranges seem to vibrate to the pulsing Haitian music blaring from sidewalk speakers. The multilingual signs advertise distinctively Haitian products — rapid money transfer to any village in Haiti, the latest Haitian music, custom-tailored, French-styled fashions, and culinary delights such as *lambi* and *griot*. Pedestrians fill the streets. . . . [lined with] a majority of deteriorating homes. . . . For many, grass lawns have turned to dirt. Most blocks have a trash pile in front of at least one house. Cars are parked on the lawns of a few houses on each block. (P. 33)

Stepick's description suggests Little Haiti is a poor but lively community. Conversely, Liberty City has been described as a poor neighborhood with virtually no viable business district (Dunn 1997). This social context may help account for the uncovered differential homicide patterns in our figures.

Ethnographic research may be able to provide additional insight into the distinct social processes at work in these two neighborhoods that contribute to quite different social atmospheres. Perhaps this kind of analysis will discover that relative deprivation is a key variable that has gone unmeasured in quantitative work. Haitians in Little Haiti, comparing their impoverished situation in Miami to even worse conditions in Haiti, may experience less strain and frustration than African Americans, whose reference groups may include economically well-off Cubans and non-Latino

whites in nearby neighborhoods. Because of their shared culture and history of living in a Third World country rife with political repression, it is possible that Haitian immigrants have a more optimistic outlook on their life chances in Little Haiti. This outlook may also be partly a function of the enclave economies in Little Haiti and surrounding areas, discussed above, which provide at least some low-paying jobs and upward mobility for the recent arrivals.

The data from this study are suggestive, at best, of these kinds of explanations. Of course, a single case study does not negate decades of previous research, nor was this our intention. As with any method, we must discuss the limitations inherent in our analytic strategy. As a reviewer of the paper pointed out, the most important limitation is that an over-time analysis was not possible because of the lack of available data on population characteristics on an annual or semi-annual basis. The ideal test of the immigration/crime link is to compare changes in crime rates in the same tract before and after significant immigration, rather than comparing an immigrant area to a non-immigrant one in a cross-sectional design. But our data were limited to the decennial census figures. A longitudinal design would better test the immigration/ethnicity and crime relationship; unfortunately, Haitians were not present in Miami in sufficient numbers in 1980 for this test to be conducted, and 2000 census and homicide data are not available. Even if 2000 data were available, the vast majority of the Haitian influx into Little Haiti occurred between the 1980 and 1990 censuses, and these data would be of limited value for the present study.

Although we were unable to implement a longitudinal strategy fully due to these data limitations, we did examine annual counts of homicides for the period under study and discovered no systematic pattern in the change in homicide levels over time. In some years (e.g., 1988, 1990) the counts of both African American and Haitian homicides were relatively high in the 12 tracts in this study, while in other years (e.g., 1987, 1989) the counts were comparatively low. These fluctuations cannot be explained in terms of population shifts related to immigration but more likely reflect random variation, processes of retaliation, or social contagion that vary from year to year.

Future research should test the ideas discussed in this paper more directly by examining other racial/ethnic groups and geographic areas. The current study could provide a model for bringing spatial analytic techniques to bear on competing theoretical propositions, although other quantitative and qualitative methods should also be used. We have offered two propositions that could guide this research: (1) Immigration encourages new forms of social organization that mediate disorganizing influences in inner city communities, and (2) immigration and ethnic heterogeneity shape a neighborhood's character or social atmosphere in ways that suppress crime. While it is premature to generalize from this study of two neighborhoods in a single city, our findings do suggest that more research is needed to specify the conditions under which these propositions hold. At minimum, we have added to the critique of the "racial invariance assumption," that structural conditions equally affect the crime rates of all ethnic groups, which continues to guide crime research (Ousey 1999). Our finding speaks to the need to move beyond the traditional conceptions of race and develop theories of crime that capture the social and historical contexts of particular groups and areas. We should explore explanations for the finding that areas in northern

Miami, such as the Haitian one, experience similar levels of poverty as African American areas but have much lower levels of homicide.

In conclusion, this study demonstrated ways in which mapping the spatial distribution of homicide and its covariates can complement the quantitative analyses that have come to dominate recent research on the topic. Currently, the integration of quantitative and qualitative methodologies is an under-utilized strategy for advancing our understanding of crimes such as homicide. Given the spatial concentration of groups such as Haitians (and other immigrants, such as subgroups of Asians) into a small number of tracts, quantitative methods are often of limited value. Therefore, crime maps represent one useful strategy for elaborating theory, moving beyond conventional notions of race and crime, and reestablishing a tradition that dates back to the work of Addams, DuBois, Shaw and McKay, Lind, and other pioneers of American sociology.

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