

2021-12-01

"And Some, I Assume, Are Good People:" A Closer Look At Hispanic Immigration And The Code Of The Street

Nicole Cebak
University of Texas at El Paso

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.utep.edu/open_etd



Part of the [Criminology Commons](#), and the [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cebak, Nicole, "'And Some, I Assume, Are Good People.'" A Closer Look At Hispanic Immigration And The Code Of The Street" (2021). *Open Access Theses & Dissertations*. 3396.
https://scholarworks.utep.edu/open_etd/3396

This is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UTEP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Open Access Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UTEP. For more information, please contact lweber@utep.edu.

“AND SOME, I ASSUME, ARE GOOD PEOPLE:” A CLOSER LOOK AT HISPANIC
IMMIGRATION AND THE CODE OF THE STREET

NICOLE CEBAK

Master’s Program in Criminology and Criminal Justice

APPROVED:

Theodore R. Curry, Ph.D., Chair

Egbert Zavala, Ph.D.

Maria Cristina Morales, Ph.D.

Stephen L. Crites, Jr., Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

Copyright ©

by

Nicole Cebak

2021

AND SOME, I ASSUME, ARE GOOD PEOPLE:” A CLOSER LOOK AT HISPANIC
IMMIGRATION AND THE CODE OF THE STREET

by

NICOLE CEBAK, B.A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at El Paso

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Criminal Justice

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

December 2021

Abstract

Although research shows that increasing neighborhood levels of immigration tend to be associated with lower crime, little attention has been paid to why this is the case-- in essence what variables might help account for, or explain, these findings. Thus, the focus of this study is to explore a cultural explanation, specifically whether adherence to the code of the street helps to explain this relationship. Further, this study is looking to find the differences between immigrant generations as well as recent and established immigrants as it pertains to adherence to the code of the street. Using a random sample of 46 neighborhood clusters in El Paso, Texas, with merged survey and census data, the present research explores the relationship between a variety of neighborhood level measures of immigration and crime and to what extent the code of the street explains these relationships. The results and implications are discussed.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Statement of Problem	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	9
Code of the Street.....	9
Immigration and Crime.....	18
Generational Differences	23
Chapter 3: Hypotheses	28
First Set of Hypotheses that Includes Percent Generational Status	28
Second Set of Hypotheses that Includes Percent Recent and Established Immigrants	28
Chapter 4: Methodology	30
Sampling and Participants.....	30
Measurement.....	31
Dependent Variables	31
Perceptual crime.....	31
Code of the street	32
Independent Variables	33
Immigrant generation.....	33
Percent recent immigrants.....	33
Percent established immigrants.....	33
Control Variables	33
Concentrated poverty	34
Residential Stability	34
Mexican enculturation.	34
American acculturation	35

Analytical Plan	36
Chapter 5: Results	39
Descriptive Statistics	39
Bivariate Correlations	40
Regression Analysis of Percent Immigrant Generations	44
Regression Analysis of Recent and Established Immigrants	46
Chapter 6: Discussion	50
References	56
Appendix	63
Vita	72

List of Tables

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics	40
Table 2: Correlation Matrix, First Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests).....	43
Table 3: Correlation Matrix, Second Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests)	44
Table 4: OLS Regression of Code of the Street.....	46
Table 5: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime	46
Table 6: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime	49
Table 7: OLS Regression of Perceptual Crime.....	49
Table 8: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Social Disorder (N= 42) ..	63
Table 9: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Physical Disorder (N= 42)	64
Table 10: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Fear of Crime (N= 42) ..	65
Table 11: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Perceived Neighborhood Crime (N= 42).....	66
Table 12: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Measuring Code of the Street (N= 42)	67
Table 13: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Mexican Acculturation (N= 42).....	68
Table 14: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items American Acculturation (N= 42).....	69

List of Figures

Figure 1: Scree Plot for Mexican Enculturation	71
Figure 2: Scree Plot for American Acculturation	71

Chapter 1: Statement of Problem

In August of 2006, Pat Buchanan, a former politician and political commentator, deemed the influx of Hispanic immigrants into American society as having been swayed by the American subculture, stating: “They are not assimilated into America. Many Hispanics, as a matter of fact, you know what culture they are assimilating to? The rap culture, the crime culture, anti-cops, all the rest of it.” This forceful denunciation makes it seem as if Hispanic immigrants are not only contributing significantly to crime but to the culture of crime as well.

But this research is not simply a response to Pat Buchanan’s sentiment. This is merely an example of the possible misconceptions surrounding the impact of Hispanic immigration and crime. In order to explore such claims about immigration, crime and culture, the following research utilizes Elijah Anderson's (2000) Code of the Street theory to examine whether neighborhoods with higher levels of immigration are more likely to adopt code-related criminal attitudes in El Paso, Texas, and, if so, if these attitudes are related to increased crime in these neighborhoods. By testing the credibility of Pat Buchanan’s controversial sentiment, as well hypotheses related to the code of the street, this research will explore the connections between culture and crime in immigrant neighborhoods, as well as the impact of structural barriers such as poverty. While past research has indicated that neighborhoods with higher levels of immigrants have tended to have lower crime (Davies & Fagan, 2012; Lee & Martinez, 2009; Lyons, Velez & Santoro, 2013; Martinez, Stowell & Lee, 2010; Ousey & Kubrin 2009, 2014, 2018; Ramey 2013; Sampson, 2008; Vaughn-Salas-Wright, DeLisi & Maynard, 2014; Wadsworth, 2010; Xie & Baumer, 2018), research is still in the process of exploring why such a relationship appears. One possible answer pertains to culture, whether immigrants on a neighborhood-level are adopting the code of the street or resisting it, and how this might be

implicated in explaining lower levels of crime. This then leads to several competing responses regarding how and if immigrants respond to the code of the street. Are they portraying themselves as what Anderson (2000) calls "decent people?" Could they be code-switching? Or are immigrants creating neighborhood enclaves that shield them from contact with the code of the street such that they do not need to abide by its violent precepts? This research also holds importance in regards to immigrant generations and acculturation more broadly. For, as Sampson (2008) finds, Latino immigrants are more likely to adopt the code of the street to the extent they are more acculturated into American society, suggesting that second and later generation Latino Americans are more likely to adhere to norms connected to the code of the street. Further, the present research gets at whether immigrant culture or immigrant enclaves (or both) serve as protective shields from the adoption of the code of the street.

Despite low crime rates among immigrants, public perception and political discourse often misconstrue immigrants as having a strong connection to crime (Wadsworth, 2010). An example of this dangerous political rhetoric is the above quote from Pat Buchanan in 1996. However, when the United States was experiencing its largest influx of immigrants in the 1990's, the country was also experiencing an unprecedented drop in crime. Relevant research suggests that this increase in immigrants partly contributed to the reduction in America's violent crime rate (Wadsworth, 2010; Glister, Booth, Meier, Torres-Cacho, 2019). For, in the 1990s over 13 million new immigrants entered the United States (Wadsworth, 2010). Additionally, Flores (2017) and Glister et al. (2019) stated that, more recently in 2015, Latino immigrants grew to a 17.6% share of the United States population, whereas in 1980 Latino immigrant population was standing at 6.5% of the United States population. This is significant because, even when controlling for other factors, findings show that the increase in immigration accounted for about

nine percent of the reduction of homicide rates and twenty-two percent of the reduction in robbery rates (Wadsworth, 2010). These results do not merely undermine political rhetoric, but they suggest the complete opposite: that immigrants are part of the cause of the reduction in violent crime across the country.

Latinos make up the largest minority group in the United States (Hurtado-de-Mendoza, Gonzales, Serrano & Kaltman, 2014), making the proper understanding of this group vital to the understanding of immigrant communities. Moreover, cities with large Hispanic populations, like Los Angeles, San Jose, Dallas, and Phoenix, saw dramatic reductions in crime in the 1990s alongside their increase in Latino immigrants (Sampson, 2008). Low crime cities also include those located directly on the border, such as San Diego and El Paso (Sampson, 2008). Even in poor communities and in economically disadvantaged situations, Latino immigrants appear to remain a low crime group (Sampson, 2008). This situation begs the question as to why, throughout the 20th century, and specifically in political discourse, immigrants have been accused of causing crime and other problems in the communities they settle in? Shaw and McKay (1942) and Wilcox, Cullen and Feldmeyer (2018) both argued that the residential mobility and population heterogeneity generated by immigration would in itself impact neighborhoods' vulnerability to crime. However, recent studies have shown that this is not the case, becoming what researchers term the immigrant paradox (Vaughn, Salas-Wright, DeLisi 2014; Curry, Morales, Zavala, & Hernandez, 2018; Velez, 2006; Sampson, 2008). The immigrant paradox argues that, despite the fact that immigrants are typically low income and live in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods (Davies & Fagan, 2012), their crime rates are much lower than expected. This paradox inspires researchers to understand why immigrants commit low levels of crime when they tend to live in disadvantaged communities and face other

significant structural and cultural barriers that research shows are typically associated with more crime.

Immigrants often come from a country that limited their opportunities to better themselves and which was rife with violence and corruption. This, in turn, creates a number of structural barriers that immigrants may face when arriving in the U.S., for in many cases, they arrive with little money, few job skills and low educational attainment and often lack English language proficiency (Curry, Morales & Hosch, 2015). Having a low income and starting in a new country leads them to typically reside in disadvantaged neighborhoods, where housing costs are low. Additionally, the lack of English skills and familiarity with American society could hinder the ability of immigrants to access different social institutions, and their comfort with doing so. The initial difficulty of accessing basic institutions, such as education or means of obtaining employment, can be an issue for many immigrants arriving in a foreign country. For example, minority immigrant parents were less likely to participate in activities at their children's school than foreign-born white parents (Turney, & Kao, 2009).

Regarding cultural barriers, it is important to note that many immigrants have to deal with language barriers (low English skills), which can further affect their ability to access Local governmental institutions for example, or the social networks necessary to be successful. Latina immigrants, for instance, were shown to face numerous psychological barriers, including an increased level of stress, partly due to the socioeconomic pressure of paying their own rent while simultaneously sending money to their own countries (Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014). More barriers can emerge through a sense of isolation, where interacting with others for long enough to create meaningful relationships is difficult and the social support they were used to in their own country is no longer available, thus creating feelings of depression (Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al.,

2014). Language barriers can even impact the health of immigrants, for when contrasted with US citizens who speak English, immigrants with language barriers have poorer health (Ding & Hargraves, 2009). This also has had an impact on the educational success of their children as well, as immigrant parents who had been in the United States longer, or had more experience with English, were more likely to show involvement in school activities (Turney & Kao, 2009).

These cultural disadvantages may also contribute to structural barriers, such as lacking access to healthcare or lacking knowledge of the criminal justice system. It has been found that immigrants with language barriers will only seek professional healthcare as a last resort (Wafula & Snipes, 2014). Black immigrants on the other hand, report cultural and religious barriers as their main reasons for delayed healthcare (Wafula & Snipes, 2014). Perreira et al. (2012) cites a lack of multilingual staff, and staff that is well-versed in the immigrant's cultural nuances, as part of the reasons for inaccessibility. Similar to the healthcare system, the criminal justice system can also be difficult to navigate. Davies and Fagan (2012) found that police became frustrated and impatient when working with immigrant communities because of language challenges. However, it is essential to note that this frustration from the police can create fear, particularly a fear of deportation, within immigrant communities. Many immigrants are fleeing from countries where corruption, violence, and ineptitude are widespread in the police (Davies & Fagan, 2012). Therefore, this can also translate into a fear of being judged regarding their status (legal or illegal) by police in the U.S.

However, despite these barriers, researchers have found that immigrant neighborhoods have lower crime. This then becomes the recurring question: how could this be the case? Velez (2006) found that immigrants who effectively utilize social networks may form an "ethnic enclave economy" within their neighborhoods, which allows these immigrants to have an

advantage upon arrival. These enclaves are developed by forming communities with co-ethnic immigrants who have already settled. Interestingly, through these enclaves, immigrants choose to live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods (Davies & Fagan, 2012). Sampson (2008) expands on this, saying that immigrants are naturally predisposed to lower crime and better community conditions because they are selecting cities and communities where they know they can thrive. This, in turn, increases their opportunities for creating extensive social networks and comfort, thus allowing themselves to feel less isolated within a new nation. This calls into question that if immigrants are creating these enclaves, are they utilizing them to shield themselves from contact with the code of the street in their neighborhood? Are these immigrants less likely to abide by the code if they are surrounded by a higher density of fellow immigrants in their neighborhoods? Or could they be adopting a code we have yet to find out?

Further, as Kubrin and Ishizawa (2012) and Wolff, Intravia, Baglivio and Piquero (2018) argue, immigrants not only have close social networks through enclaves, they also tend to have a high level of familial ties. Immigrants are more likely to have a two-parent household, which contributes to a reduction in crime (Kubrin & Ishizawa 2012; Wolff et al., 2018). Combined with these ties are also a collection of more intangible attributes, such as motivation and optimism. Butcher and Piehl (2006) and Wolff et al (2018) stated that immigrants tend to have a greater motivation to build a better life for themselves and their family in a new nation. Many of these immigrants have also come from a nation that offers fewer opportunities than they are afforded in the United States, giving them the inclination to not only have high optimism for the future, but a desire to keep a low profile in order to avoid deportation (Butcher & Peihl, 1998; Kubrin & Ishizawa, 2012; Wolff et al., 2018). Therefore, we see that this tendency to have close familial ties, greater motivation and optimism, and a desire to keep a low profile, can collectively work to

counteract the numerous structural and cultural barriers immigrants encounter on a neighborhood-level. However, it is also essential to keep in mind that not all immigrants are alike, and their experiences differ across racial and ethnic groups (Davies and Fagan, 2012), location, as well as immigrant generation, further complicating the immigrant paradox.

There is also the question of immigrants' relationship to crime as they become acculturated into American society. Sampson (2008) discovered that there was an increase in crime as acculturation occurs across generations. First generation immigrants were 45% less likely to commit crime than third generation immigrants, and 22% less likely than second generation. Lee & Martinez (2009) hold that this increase across generations could be attributed to a change in cultural attitudes and beliefs. They suggest that first generation immigrants' display of positivity lessens across generations as second and third generation Americans may use America as their only benchmark for comparison. Moreover, first and second generation Latino immigrants are more likely to be questioned about their citizenship than third generation Latinos (Morales, Delgado, & Curry, 2018). Thus, this fear of being questioned about citizenship status could be a strong motivator for first and second generation immigrants to avoid crime.

This research will address the presence of the code of the street in these immigrant neighborhoods to determine (1) the extent to which these neighborhoods are adopting the code of the street, (2) the levels of adoption into code of the street across immigrant generations, and (3) how much of the crime in these immigrant neighborhoods are explained or attenuated by the presence of the code of the street. Therefore, I shall venture to answer whether the low crime rates discovered in literature regarding Latino immigrants, in spite of their cultural and structural disadvantages, also translate to a lower adoption of the code of the street. Moreover, I shall seek to see if Pat Buchanan's assertion that Latino immigrants are assimilating to "the rap culture, the

crime culture, anti-cops, all the rest of it,” holds merit, or rather, if it is simply a misguided political soundbite.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

CODE OF THE STREET

An enduring question in criminology pertains to why violence and other crimes are more prevalent in some neighborhoods, particularly poor, inner-city neighborhoods. Two broad answers have emerged in the literature. One focuses on social control and asserts that some neighborhoods have structural conditions that weaken social control, leading to more crime. A second approach considers culture and argues that the presence of criminal subcultures that encourage criminal behavior accounts for higher levels of crime in some neighborhoods. The present research is most heavily focused on this latter approach, particularly the code of the street perspective advanced by Elijah Anderson.

Now, it must be noted that this present research into the influence of culture on criminal behaviors is looking less at culture as a value system or a collection of morals, but rather, as Kirk and Papachristos (2017) describe it: as a frame or lens that can explain the decision making and action of criminal behavior in neighborhoods. Rather this perspective asserts that individuals in disadvantaged neighborhoods are not operating with instilled moral corruption but instead are making decisions that align with the persisting complexities of their environment. For, if youth in particular are analysed as being inherently morally corrupt, this could lead to the risk of hypercriminalization, wherein individuals everyday behaviors and styles are treated as deviant or criminal, thus increasing the stigmatization of youth and aggravating the issue further (Rios, 2011).

Before Anderson could expand on the code of the street, the earlier subcultural traditions created an understanding that allowed researchers to explore different oppositional traditions in neighborhood research. Cohen's (1955) work on delinquent boys' subculture plays a distinct role

in understanding the oppositional subculture that Anderson also expands on later in the code of the street. Cohen (1955) proposed that gang involvement in lower-class boys emerges in communities where there are high levels of frustration—frustration because of an inability to obtain mainstream, middle-class measures of success, particularly success in school. This frustration ultimately led to the rejection of these middle-class values (Cohen, 1955). When delinquent boys go to school, their teachers hold them up to middle-class standards, which they often cannot attain, which causes them to reject these values and, instead in a reaction formation, develop new values and standards of success such as hedonism and maliciousness as well as toughness, risk-taking and autonomy as alternative norms to achieve status (Wilcox et al., 2018; see Miller 1958). Cohen (1955) suggests that these norms and values are in direct opposition to the mainstream and emerge because of structural inequalities, particularly poverty, and that gang culture would wither if it were not for structural inequalities present in communities.

Oppositional subcultures can be contrasted with criminal subcultures where pro-crime values and norms are endemic to certain groups and places. For example, Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) subculture of violence thesis argued that specific groups had adopted pro-violence norms and values, creating a value system of support in utilizing violence. Dixon and Lizotte (1987) and Ellison (1991) both suggest that individuals who reside in the South are more likely to learn the use of violence in certain situations as part of honor and reputation. Ellison (1991) mentions the potential drive for the creations of subculture of violence due to the South's defeat in the military, and the continuation of political and economic domination by the North, that could in turn, fuel the rise in interpersonal violence that later becomes acceptable and even encouraged in some situations.

The Truly Disadvantaged, studied by Wilson (1987) explored the social problems in African American communities, such as being disproportionately involved in violent crime, having high amounts of female-headed households, high amounts of non-marital births and teenage pregnancies, and lastly, low amounts of educational attainment. Due to the lack of jobs and social isolation, people utilized alternatives such as welfare and crime that came to be seen as viable ways of life, as this became normal over a long period of time (Wilcox et al., 2018). This then trickles down to the relationship between education and post-education employment, questioning whether they should go to school if there are no jobs, and then as a result creating a vicious cycle of less opportunity (Wilcox et al., 2018). Interestingly, this vicious cycle, for Hispanic immigrants living in disadvantaged communities, does not seem to lead to a subculture of violent crime. But why is this the case? And how do the behaviors surrounding the code of the street fit into the answer?

Another aspect of theory and research into cultural influences on neighborhood crime pertains to attenuated culture. Warner (2003) found that neighborhood levels of social ties and cultural strength positively correlated to informal social control. Warner (2003) argued that as there was increased concentrated disadvantage, the opportunity to exhibit behavior that aligns with mainstream values was decreased, thereby reducing the cultural strength and informal social control. As a result of Cohen's (1955), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), Miller (1958), Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), and Wilson (1987) all represent the understanding of different subcultural traditions in neighborhood research; this, in turn, allowed Anderson (2000) to expand on the idea of code of the street and how it falls within the oppositional subcultural tradition. Furthermore, while some research (Kornhauser, 1978; Warner, 2003; Wilcox Rountree and Land, 2000) has referred to the code of the street as more of an attenuated culture, with reduced access to

mainstream values, the idea of it as part of the oppositional culture is still significant. Kornhauser (1978) and Warner (2003) both state that attenuated culture is the reduced form of the normative culture because the community does not have the means or realization of common values that then weakens informal social control; whereas, oppositional subculture is the form of acting out against the conventional society.

Building off of Kornhauser (1973), and their research regarding attenuated culture, an ethnography conducted by Bourgois (2003) on the street attitudes of residents in East Harlem, known as “El Barrio,” provides an interesting example of how street attitudes can emerge from a culture that is not distinctly oppositional. The Puerto Ricans that had relocated to East Harlem during WW2 formed a dense community where their employment relied upon factory positions. When WW2 ended, and an influx of European immigrants arrived to pursue factory jobs themselves, the job competition became stiffer, and the area eventually became deindustrialized (Rojas-Gaona, 2016). This time of deindustrialization coincided with the implementation of housing projects and the consequent segregation of Blacks and Latinos in the area (Bourgois, 2003). These structural changes led to many young males to join the underground drug economy, particularly the crack trade, and exhibit all of the street-related behaviors that go with it (Rojas-Gaona, 2016). But the critical point is that this resort into the underground drug economy was not one of oppositional culture—the Latinos in this community valued education, wished for upward mobility, retained nuclear families—their behaviors were merely the by-product, Bourgois (2003) suggests, of an attenuated culture. Therefore, as this section transitions into Anderson (2000)’s code of the street, it is important to keep in mind that code-related behaviors can emerge from both attenuated cultures and oppositional cultures within neighborhoods.

Based on his ethnographic research in disadvantaged inner-city neighborhoods in Philadelphia during the 1990s, Anderson (2000) sheds light on how violent oppositional subcultures, those that reject social conventional status (such as jobs, education, etc....), seek honour and respect via acts of violence. This subculture was deemed as the “Code of the Street” by Anderson (2000) and is argued to influence much of the crime and violence, where trust in the police ends, the Code of the Street begins that occurs in these neighborhoods.

The Code of the Street is a system of norms and beliefs that governs behavior in the neighborhood and which rewards violence, giving to individuals who successfully act in a violent manner a type of earned social status termed “juice” within the neighborhood (Anderson, 2000). The code then becomes a set of informal rules that includes violence as a common way of life. Earning respect on the streets through violence, also includes the lack of trust in the police is, in part, the cause of the code of the street, because it leads people into taking the laws into their own hands (Anderson, 2000).

An important element of Anderson’s (2000) Code of the Street is campaigning for respect, one of the key elements of establishing a reputation within the community. One of the ways in which an individual campaigns for respect, Anderson (2000) states, is through the possession of a trophy (which is some sort of object taken by force from someone or “stealing” his girlfriend). This may consist of verbal intimidation, the winning of a fight, or the stealing of someone else’s honor. These kinds of trophy possessions are often flaunted at what Anderson calls “staging areas,” key locations where individuals spend time and where affiliations and hierarchies are established (Anderson, 2000).

Anderson (2000) also found that drug culture, the idea of alienation, and the fascination with rap music and the lifestyle described in its lyrics, contribute to the Code of the Street.

Through de-industrialization, Anderson (2000) notes that individuals in disadvantaged communities often fall through the cracks, unable to capitalize on limited opportunities available to those in their neighborhood. This can lead to employment in the illegal drug trade, which is a lucrative industry in underground economies. Anderson (2000) suggests that this reliance on the drug industry has a significant impact on the level of violence, the lack of respect for police, and the ways in which individuals campaign for respect. And, in a dangerous industry like the drug trade, weapons such as guns can also impact the code of the street, particularly as it pertains to reputation. The type of gun, in combination with the gun's record of use in previous crime, can either serve to supplement or diminish an individual's reputation on the street (Anderson, 2000). But the influence of the gun doesn't begin and end within the drug industry, either. Anderson (2000) argues that it begins even in childhood, when kids become accustomed to holding and seeing guns in their neighborhood, and, also, hearing gunshots without the accompaniment of police or ambulance sirens. Anderson (2000) also mentions the significance of rap music on the code of the street. Rap music often addresses guns, killing, dealing and taking drugs, distaste for the police, and, Anderson (2000) argues, it further reinforces the oppositional culture – and the perceived alienation – of individuals on the street.

Another important element of Anderson's (2000) Code of the Street is his ethnographic study of families and relationships. Family and relationship dynamics, Anderson (2000) found, make up a critical portion of the code of the street. The first is what Anderson (2000) calls "The Mating Game" (p.150). The Mating Game is the encouragement of the fast life, where individuals earn respect on the street through early sexual activity and drug usage. If an individual gets a woman pregnant, they earn additional credit by leaving the girl alone – commitment towards paternity can put the individual at risk of losing respect. Within families,

Anderson (2000) also found that in disadvantaged neighborhoods there are decent families and street families, terms that are used in the neighborhoods themselves. Decent families tend to more closely follow mainstream values and seek to inculcate it in their children; however, they are forced to confront and adapt to the “code of the street” when necessary. Street families, on the other hand, are more disorganized, and instill aggression and a lack of consideration for mainstream values and indeed actively buy into the code of the street and teach it to their kids (Anderson, 2000).

Anderson (2000) argues that the code of the street is a type of oppositional culture, which stems from a variety of causes, such as an alienation from society, and experiences with violence that cause them to live on the more ‘on the edge’. As well as distrust toward the police. These families do not merely choose to adapt to the code of the street, but rather become accustomed to a lack of opportunities, an isolation from job networks, the crumbling of basic institutions, and an overall feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness that can pass from generation to generation (Anderson, 2000). These structural barriers in the neighborhood are even further emphasized by a negative cycle of education, where individuals who live in disadvantaged communities have less opportunity, and therefore do not recognize the importance of education, which further lessens future opportunities and leads to cultural adaptation—the code of the street.

However, it is important to note that Anderson (2000) identified community members that play an important role in the discouragement of oppositional culture and the morals within their family. Moreover, a majority of parents and families have a decent orientation. And while the street families are smaller in number, they have a big impact on the neighborhood as a whole. This includes the “decent daddy” and the “black inner-city grandmother in transition” (Anderson, 2000). The decent daddy is defined by Anderson (2000) as a hard-working,

supportive father—typically working in an industrial position—who encourages the youth to pursue a similar hard-working lifestyle. Additionally, the black inner-city grandmother, according to Anderson (2000) plays an important maternal role regarding the code of the street. Often emerging as a highly admired individual, the black inner-city grandmother takes responsibility for children without parents and is the provider of wisdom and moral lessons. Anderson (2000) also examines the fractured relationship between youth and role models in society. Role models—older individuals—are not as revered in Anderson’s (2000) Code of the Street. He found that these “old heads” (p. 324) have a difficult time believing in oppositional culture norms and see the youth who do as troublemakers. The youth, in turn, lack respect for the “old heads” and do not see their seniority as worthy of admiration (Anderson, 2000).

Research has both expanded on the ideas of Anderson and undermined some of his concepts. Some research has notably found that some of Anderson’s theories go beyond what he had originally anticipated. Firstly, research has found that the codes may not be exclusive to inner city residents, as masculine traits such as toughness and violence may be prevalent across America (Matsueda, Drakulich & Kubrin, 2006). However, it may be that the code only becomes an established part of a group when structural barriers in a neighborhood inhibit access to conventional societal norms and where a cynical view of law enforcement is entrenched (Matsueda et al., 2006). It’s also been found that Midwestern and non-urban neighborhoods were just as likely to adopt the code of the street as those living in Southern urban neighborhoods (Stewart & Simons, 2006). This suggests that the code of the street may not be restricted to only urban areas like Anderson originally thought (Stewart & Simons, 2006). Both of these pieces of research suggest that the code of the street is not something that is strictly for inner-city residents

in disadvantaged communities, rather it has the potential of being established anywhere that access to conventional societal norms is limited and particularly where trust in the police is low.

Research suggests that the code of the street is sustained in communities through social disorganization (Matsueda et al., 2006). Weakened social institutions like disrupted families and chaotic schools make delinquent traditions in a neighborhood easier to pass through generations (Matsueda et al., 2006). It's also been discovered that Black victims who thought there was a violent code in their neighborhood were less likely to report crime to the police, leading to an increase in retaliatory violence between community members (Kwak, Dierenfeldt, & McNeeley, 2019). This can serve to create a vicious cycle that instills an increased distrust in the police and reinforces the code within the neighborhood. Another factor that could serve to create and maintain the code of the street within a neighborhood is the presence of discrimination. Stewart & Simons (2006) found that the elements of family dynamics and racial discrimination were strong predictors of the code of the street. This can be taken a step further, as adolescents that were victims of discrimination were found to be more likely to adopt the code of the street (Stewart & Simons, 2006).

Additional research has also displayed that code switchers, or decent families, may be particularly susceptible to the presence of the code of the street in their neighborhood. It's suggested that when street culture is widespread in a neighborhood, then each individual is required to conform to it in at least some situations (Stewart & Simons, 2010). Then, the system forces each individual to utilize their toolkit and adapt to the environment (Stewart & Simons, 2010). However, further research has shown that code switchers may be more likely to be victimized than members of street families (Stewart, Schreck, & Simons, 2006). A potential reason for this is that gang members or other individuals may see them as not fully ingrained in

the culture and thus unable to protect themselves. Also, it is important to note that a neighborhood dominated by the code can force individuals who don't abide by the code to get involved in violent interactions with those who do (Matsueda et al., 2006). Therefore, the code of the street, when it becomes established in a neighborhood, can especially impact individuals who code switch and act decent.

IMMIGRATION AND CRIME

The Immigrant Revitalization theory states that immigration in urban neighborhoods can serve to reduce crime and increase the prosperity of the neighborhoods they occupy and also may, in so doing, insulate immigrant neighborhoods from criminal subcultures like the code of the street. These outcomes are predicted because immigrants utilize multiple traits and strategies in order to revitalize their neighborhoods. Feldmeyer, Madero-Hernandez, Rojas-Gaona and Sabon (2019) hold that immigrants use social networks, social capital, and collective efficacy in order to improve their neighborhoods and, indirectly, reduce crime. Latino immigrant neighborhoods in San Diego, El Paso, Houston, Chicago, and Miami, were found to have lower crime than African American neighborhoods, particularly due to social integration. Social integration displays that by having multiple protective effects, like motivation, optimism, and enclaves, Latino immigration strengthens social networks. Ongoing waves of migration revitalize enclaves through the creation of interpersonal relationships with immigrants who have already settled in the United States. Those who are there to accommodate the incoming immigrants, by growing the newcomers' networks in local communities, providing resources and social support, and helping to overcome assimilation, these members of the community are critical to the social integration process (Burchfield & Silver, 2013). Latino immigrants, specifically, display further social integration via their labor market involvement, this allows them to have more employment

opportunities that could in turn discourage them from criminal involvement in their neighborhood (Burchfield & Silver, 2013).

Immigrants, and Mexican immigrants in particular, relocate to the United States with a predetermined location in mind (Nolan, 2019). This selection bias, known as chain migration, occurs when new migrants settle in neighborhoods where their friends and family have already settled (Wilcox et al., 2018). Chain migration is different for certain ethnicities of immigrants as well. Latino immigrants, for instance, are more likely to reside near White and Asian individuals than are Black immigrants (Davies & Fagan, 2012). Moreover, white immigrants, mostly from Eastern European nations, tend to migrate to areas with lower crime and greater economic resources, while also capitalizing on the social support of family members in the area (Davies & Fagan, 2012; Feldmeyer et al., 2019) Therefore, it seems that immigrants can determine from merely this selection process how susceptible they may be to crime and the exposure they may have to economic opportunities.

This process of chain migration allows immigrants to quickly create extensive ties and networks with other members of their ethnic community (Wilcox et al., 2018). These networks are known as enclaves. This phenomenon helps to understand why crime rates could be significantly lower than the neighborhoods that surround them. Glister et al (2019) found that enclaves are a location in which a certain ethnic group has gravitated towards a neighborhood, or cluster of neighborhoods, thus separating themselves from the ethnic majority of that area. Some enclaves are smaller communities, while others have a large, sustained ethnic enclave economy within a certain neighborhood or area (Velez, 2006). From when immigrants first arrive, enclaves can be incredibly beneficial in assisting immigrants with the language, new culture, and immigration procedures (Feldmeyer et al., 2019). Velez (2006) adds that the dense presence of

immigrants in a certain area forms the capital to create new economic opportunities. This point seems to suggest that the essential element of enclaves is the economic support for those in the community. Velez (2006) builds on this, stating that enclaves serve to create social capital for those who are within them. This includes a greater array of job opportunities and higher wages (Velez, 2006). The economic benefits are also important as it pertains to the low crime rate of immigrants, as greater job opportunities may reduce the chances of criminal involvement.

Ethnic enclaves are identified as a significant factor within the conversation of Latino immigration in the United States. With regards to Latino immigrants, these ethnic enclaves have proven to be economically advantageous for Latinos moving to the United States, as their social networks can facilitate employment and transmit information about new job opportunities (Shihadeh and Barranco, 2010). Further, Aguilera and Massey (2003) have found that these enclaves even assist in providing information on which jobs to avoid, what wages to negotiate, and where to apply. The result of this is the opportunity for social mobility. Leveraging the collaborative nature of the ethnic enclave, the migrants are able to reduce uncertainty and strive for upward social mobility (Shihadeh and Barranco, 2010). However, contrary to Black communities, when migrant flow is directed towards Latino communities, there is a reduction in violence (Shihadeh and Barranco, 2010). On the other hand, Shihadeh and Barranco (2010) found that when Latinos relocate to Latino enclaves, the result is a sharp decrease in violence in the community. This is in line with my first hypothesis, wherein it is predicted that a concentrated enclave of Latino immigrants will lead to lower adherence to the code of the street. Additionally, another important distinction between the ethnic enclaves of Latino migrants and Black migrants was, as described by Shihadeh and Barranco (2010), the presence of hope. For even though the daily existence in these neighborhoods could often be bleak, the opportunity for

social mobility in Latino enclaves remained present. Moreover, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) suggested that receptive cities, ones who establish strong social ties between immigrants and government, and immigrants and labor markets, result in lower crime than what is expected in the impoverished neighborhoods that immigrants often settle in.

Furthermore, ethnic enclaves and immigrant revitalization theory may create synergy together. These ethnic enclaves serve not only as a buffer from high levels of concentrated disadvantaged neighborhoods in which Latinos reside, but are also served to reinvigorate the neighborhood by providing social and economic benefits within (Martínez et al., 2010; Ramey, 2013; Sampson 2008).

By moving to the U.S., many immigrants have improved their life socioeconomically in comparison to their home country. With that perspective, immigrants may have an intense desire to retain their upgrade in livelihood in comparison to their home country, even if it means remaining in poor neighborhoods (Davies & Fagan, 2012). This perspective is emphasized by immigrants' desire for conformity and having high levels of motivation to maintain their jobs and provide the best life possible for their family and community (Sampson, 2008). This motivation has allowed immigrants to forge their own space in local economies (Burchfield & Silver, 2013). Davies & Fagan (2012) and Ramey (2013), state that immigrants' entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to participate in niche economies makes them valuable in their neighborhoods by providing low wage labor and consumption. Moreover, immigrant enclaves aid the retention of traditions and cultures which Davies & Fagan (2012) suggest create more extensive social networks with others in the neighborhood. This combination of a desire to conform, motivation for a better way of life, and desire to retain cultural traditions, are all factors that contribute to immigrant revitalization.

Transitioning from the buffer immigrants create through motivation, desire for conformity, and the creation of extensive social networks, the immigration revitalization theory also mentions immigrant ties to key community actors. Velez (2006) and Burchfield and Silver (2013) found that Latino immigrants have more established ties to key actors like politicians, economic officials, and the police than do native-born African Americans. These important ties allow Latino immigrant communities to not only earn more loans from banks, but to have access to a greater array of community institutions (Velez, 2006). These institutions may include churches, schools, programs for youth, and recruitment of resources beyond the community (Velez, 2006). Access to institutions like these are critical for limiting crime in neighborhoods, as they keep children, teenagers, and adults occupied with events occurring either after school or after work. Ramey (2013) had also found that an increase in immigrant appearance over a period of time, in established destinations developed key relationships and ties to the city's political, social and economic institutions that eventually fuses their ability to bring more immigrants. Having connections with basic institutions can help restore neighborhoods from crime (Ramey, 2013).

Immigrant ties with local politicians can also be entryways into enhanced political trust and opportunities. Feldmeyer et al. (2019) indicated that locations with open-minded political environments could increase trust, public social control, and social organization throughout immigrant communities. This, in turn, becomes important, as in today's events political destinations affect the immigrant and crime relationship. Research has found that when immigrants trust the political structure in their neighborhood they are more likely to become more accountable for their neighborhoods' well-being, which leads to more immigrants taking action to solve neighborhood issues (Lyons et al., 2013). Therefore, political ties and political

trust increase the strength of immigrant neighborhoods even more, possibly reducing crime in the process. Moreover, if immigrants are granted political opportunities, then political trust can go up even more, as it will generate communication between immigrants and politicians and a greater likelihood of legislation that supports immigrant interests (Lyons et al., 2013). Trust in public officials and police is of paramount importance in crime control efforts, as it can create informal social control, allowing them to lower their household and personal victimization (Lyons et al., 2013). It's because of these reasons that an influx of immigrants within a community is often a sign of lower crime, greater social control, and an increased access to community institutions. In contrast, locations with more punitive/anti-immigrant policies and less political opportunity find that these locations decrease immigrant revitalization benefits (Lyons et al., 2013). This could potentially mean that immigrants who feel disconnected from the political community due to anti-immigration policies can create legal cynicism. Perhaps, future research should be looking into relationships that compare disparate political climates across states and cities to see if these political differences influence the relationship between immigrants and crime.

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

The presence of the generational effect are also characteristics that may change adherence to the code of the street. The second hypothesis will look at this relationship directly. So why is it the case that as levels of second or third plus generation immigrants in a neighborhood increases, their likelihood to engage in criminal behaviors increases? Why does previous research suggest that as immigrants acculturate into mainstream American culture, their risk of engaging in crime increases? Perhaps this has to do with an increase in media exposure, or even an increase in negative stories passed on from family and friends (Correia, 2010). They also create more

networks through the assimilation of going to school and making friends with native born Americans. Whereas the immigrant parents are more likely to continue practicing their original culture and customs (Han et al., 2020).

An important aspect to take into consideration is immigrant generation trajectories, and their potential assimilation into oppositional subculture or adaptation to attenuated culture. Scholars have argued that certain paths referred to segmented assimilation where children of immigrants, such as 1.5 and second generation immigrants, who either arrive or who were born in the United States will experience one of three types of segmented assimilation: one of them being assimilation into mainstream society, second being selective acculturation, and third being downward assimilation (Golash-Boza, 2015). Immigrants who obtain low educational status, live in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and do not have ethnic enclaves are more likely to encounter downward assimilation (Golash-Boza, 2015). Surprisingly, the children of these immigrant families are incapable of achieving middle-class status, identifying themselves more towards the attitudes of native-born Latinos and African Americans. This includes adopting to oppositional culture, rather than adopting the optimism that their immigrant parents hold onto (Golash-Boza, 2015). You may ask how do the immigrant parents keep their optimism, meanwhile, their children do not? It is possible that the parents have an anchor of comparison; meanwhile, their children do not. First generation immigrant parents have different social capital and different composition of their enclaves due to their shift in perspective. Their children often compare themselves to lower-class and middle-class status, whereas their parents compare themselves to third-world countries rather than to lower-class Americans. The experiences and perceptions are what divides the first generation immigrant parents and their children in the United States society.

Often, it is thought that social capital is a necessary component to social mobility and a shelter from crime. However, those who told their stories displayed that social capital may not be as advantageous depending on the composition of the network. The youth (1.5 and second generation immigrants) displayed an underground social capital that exposed them to their peers' acquisition of easy and fast money (Golash-Boza, 2015). This then leads the 1.5 and second generation immigrant youth susceptible to falling into criminal behaviours. Essentially, their social enclaves have changed compared to their first generation immigrant parents by receiving resources from the underground culture. Interestingly, there is a misalignment among 1.5 and second generation immigrant values and the low wage jobs (restaurant work, cashiers, office staff, messengers) that are available to many of them in their neighborhood (Golash-Boza, 2015). For these individuals to quickly achieve the high expectations of the American dream, and the expensive goods that come with them, many will resort to the underground economy through dealing and selling drugs (Golash-Boza, 2015).

Bersani (2014) adds to the generational disparity in offending, highlighting the experiences of second-generation immigrants compared to first generation immigrants. By understanding this pattern, researchers have often used segmented assimilation theory in which reflects the distinctive assimilation experiences that are faced by second generation immigrants (children of first generation) (Bersani, 2014). While the results of different experiences may be a major point in why second-generation immigrants assimilate to the American culture, Bersani (2014) mentions the offending gap could simply be that second generation immigrants socialized in the US, and have thus assimilated to their native-born friends. Which could explain why second-generation immigrants involve themselves in crime.

Typically residing in disadvantaged communities, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) and Bersani (2014) point out that these immigrant youth are already facing an increased chance of dropping out of school, using drugs, and joining gangs, which are some of the key norms of the inner city. In these situations, second generation immigrants seem to be caught between the world of the American Mainstream and the traditional values of their immigrant family (Portes & Zhou, 1993). This leaves the second generation immigrants more susceptible to downward assimilation into the American counterculture, and adoption into neighborhood code of the street, than first generation immigrants, who tend to be more rooted in the cultural traditions of their home country. Further, Bersani (2014) finds that the second generation immigrants tend to start catching up to the offending profile of the typical native-born population.

Downward assimilation also seems more likely for immigrant families in disadvantaged neighborhoods who do not have strong co-ethnic ties or preservation of their ethnic culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Herbst, 2013). By reducing their traditional culture and co-ethnic community, immigrants lower the shield that protects them from crime and leaves them exposed to code of street-type behaviors. The same goes for integration into gangs. Earlier generations of Hispanic immigrant youth are less likely to join a gang, especially when residing in a neighborhood with a high concentration of immigrant residents (Herbst, 2013). Yet when a third-plus generation Hispanic youth is residing in one of these high concentration immigrant neighborhoods, they see a dramatically increased risk of joining a gang compared to first and second generation immigrants (Herbst, 2013). This may be due to the fact that third-plus generation immigrants still residing in this community lack the co-ethnic social capital that can afford them social mobility. Instead, they fall susceptible to downward assimilation (Herbst, 2013). This is a highly important insight as this study will look into how adherence to the code of

the street in immigrant neighborhoods changes across generations. Another key element of the generational effect in immigrant communities is language. Samaniega and Gonzales (1999) and Krohn and colleague's (2011) found that if Hispanic immigrants who spoke English over Spanish at home and were of a later generation faced higher rates of offending. Khron and colleagues (2011) and Herbst (2013) further explains that by engaging in speaking Spanish at home would result in lower rates of delinquency and would act as a protective factor against delinquency for Hispanic youth immigrants, specifically first-generation Hispanic immigrants.

Chapter 3: Hypotheses

FIRST SET OF HYPOTHESES THAT INCLUDES PERCENT GENERATIONAL STATUS

H1: Increasing levels of Latina/o immigrants in a neighborhood will be associated with a decrease in the adoption of the code of the street.

H2A: Increasing levels of one-and-a-half generation Latina/o in a neighborhood will have a weak positive association with adherence to the code of the street.

H2B: Increasing levels of second generation Latina/o in a neighborhood will be moderate positive association with adherence to the code of the street.

H2C: Increasing levels of third generation Latina/o in a neighborhood will be strong positive association with adherence to the code of the street.

H3: Adherence to the code of the street will act as an intervening variable that explains or attenuates the relationship between neighborhood percent immigrants and measures of crime.

SECOND SET OF HYPOTHESES THAT INCLUDES PERCENT RECENT AND ESTABLISHED IMMIGRANTS

H4A: Increasing levels of recent immigrants in a neighborhood will be associated with a decrease in the adoption of the code of the street.

H4B: Increasing levels of established immigrants in a neighborhood will be associated with a decrease in the adoption of the code of the street.

H5A: Adherence to the code of the street will act as an intervening variable that explains or attenuates the relationship between neighborhood percent recent immigrants and measures of crime.

H5B: Adherence to the code of the street will act as an intervening variable that explains or attenuates the relationship between neighborhood percent recent immigrants and measures of crime.

These five hypotheses all predict that neighborhoods with a higher density of Latino immigrants will resist street-related attitudes and consequently levels of crime. This prediction aligns with previous research on the Immigrant Paradox and the fact that immigrants tend to protect themselves from crime-related behaviors in their neighborhood. The second hypothesis predicts that adherence to the code of the street will increase as the population of one-and-a-half, second, and third generation immigrants in a neighborhood increase, aligning with the research on downward assimilation and acculturation into the American Mainstream culture. The third hypothesis predicts that code of the street will mediate the relationship between percent first generation immigrants and crime. The fourth hypothesis predicts that both recent and established Latino immigrants will be negatively associated with street related attitudes within a neighborhood. Lastly, the fifth hypothesis aligns with that of the third hypothesis, predicting that code of the street will mediate the relationship between recent immigrants and crime and established immigrants and crime.

Chapter 4: Methodology

SAMPLING AND PARTICIPANTS

This study draws on multiple sources of data in order to properly assess neighborhood characteristics. The El Paso Neighborhood Survey (EPNS) (2014) consisted of adults; there were 1143 face to face interviews collected in 42 neighborhood clusters in El Paso County, Texas. This study's sampling design replicates the insights from Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997) Community Survey Component of the Project on Human Development for Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) dataset. The neighborhood clusters were identified by aggregating 1-3 census tracts in terms of demographics from the American Community Survey (ACS) (2012-2015) and were designated based on geographic boundaries such as interstates (I-10) and roads. 95 neighborhood clusters were identified in EP county and were stratified into high, medium, and low immigration levels and 14 clusters were randomly selected from each stratum. Random sampling was then used to select 30 households within each neighborhood

Based on a list of residential addresses provided by a marketing company that removed businesses from the list. After selection, letters were mailed to notify the respondents that their house was randomly chosen to participate in the study. The respondents had a choice to either call and schedule an appointment or, if they did not, then a research assistant would show up at their house within 3-4 days to assess their desire to participate. The survey took an average of 45 minutes and consisted of 261 questions and the adult in the house who had the most recent birthday would answer the survey. Lastly, the interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish. Utilizing Dillman's (2000) Tailored Design Method, they paid respondents \$20.00 for participating. The response rate was 74.9%. The data for EPNS was collected from March-August of 2014 in El Paso, Texas, US, was collected by CITI certified, 50

graduate/undergraduate students.

A sample size of 20 within a neighborhood cluster is sufficient, as Raudenbush and Sampson (1999) argue in their analysis, pointing out that the reliability of a 20-participant cluster (0.70 - 0.90) is comparable to that of a 40-participant cluster (0.83 - 0.95). Although it is from over 20 years ago, their data (PDHCN) is still widely used and has been used in 1228 publications. Of the sample, approximately 30% identified as immigrant and this compares favorably with US census data on El Paso County (24.1 %). Moreover, statistics such as the percent immigrant were merged with ACS data (2012-2015) on certain demographic measures discussed below.

MEASUREMENT

Dependent Variables

Perceptual crime

Perceptual crime is a neighborhood aggregate measure of the perceptions of social disorder (9 items), physical disorder (4 items), fear of crime (4 items), and perceived neighborhood crime (8), which is summed for each individual and then averaged for the individuals in each neighborhood. Social disorder and physical disorder were measured using a scale of 1= not a problem, 2= somewhat of a problem, and 3= a big problem. Fear of crime was measured using a scale of 1= not at all worried, 2=somewhat worried, 3=very worried. Lastly, perceived neighborhood crime was measured using a scale of 1=not happened, 2=happened once, 3=happened more than once. The means and standard deviations for the items are presented in appendix one. Cronbach's reliability for the perceptual crime total in the current study was .92 Descriptive results for the neighborhood-level scale used in analyses are in Table 1. ($M = 5.30$, $SD = .41$). Social disorder consists of neighborhood features that display a breakdown of order and social control that can disrupt a community's quality of life. Physical

disorder is the physical, visible features of a neighborhood that may signal a breakdown of order or social control. To measure fear of crime, participants were asked the extent to which they were worried about various crimes occurring to themselves or within their neighborhood. Perceived neighborhood crime is the measure of how much crime participants believe have been occurring within their neighborhood.

Code of the street

A second dependent variable is the code of the street which sheds light on how violent oppositional subcultures, those that reject social conventional status, such as jobs, education, etc., distrust the police and seek honor and respect via acts of violence (Anderson, 2000). This variable was measured using the code of the street scale developed by Stewart, Simons, & Conger, 2002, 2006, 2010; Matsueda, Drakulich & Kubrin, 2006. This scale includes 10 items that measure perceptions of the prevalence of the code of the street in respondent's neighborhood. Some examples of items include "Teenagers and young adults in your neighborhood must be willing to fight to gain respect among their peers," "Young men in your neighborhood try to act tough," and "People in your neighborhood will seek revenge even if it means resorting to violence if a loved one is disrespected." Higher scores mean higher perceptions of prevalence of the code of the street in their neighborhood, while lower scores mean a lower perception of prevalence. Originally there were 11 items in the scale, however, one item was removed to increase scale reliability. A principal component analysis yielded a single component solution, where the lowest loading is 0.59 found in Table 12. The alpha reliability found for code of the street in the current study was 0.90. The means and standard deviations for these items are in Table 1. To create the neighborhood-level measure, the scores for the respondents in each neighborhood were averaged. Descriptive results for the neighborhood-level measure are in Table 1.

Independent Variables

Immigrant generation

Immigrant generation is a series of dummy variables where 1= yes and 0= no for whether or not respondents are first generation immigrant ,1.5 generation immigrant, second generation immigrant, or third + generation immigrant. First generation are respondents who were born in another country (20%), the one point five generation were born outside the U.S. but migrated here before the age of 15 (9%), second generation are respondents who were born in the US, whose mother was born outside the U.S (26%). Third plus generation respondents were born in the US and whose mother was also born in the US (45%). Scores on these measures were aggregated to percentages for each neighborhood cluster, table 1 shows the mean and standard deviation for these measures.

Percent recent immigrants

Percent recent immigrants are available at the tract level and for neighborhood clusters with more than one tract from the American Community Survey, which is averaged from 2012-2015. Immigrants qualify as recent if they had spent 5 years or less in the US.

Percent established immigrants

Percent established immigrants are available at the tract level and for neighborhood clusters with more than one tract from the American Community Survey, which is averaged from 2012-2015. Immigrants qualify as established if they had spent 5 years or more in the US.

Control Variables

Data from the American Community Survey, averaged from 2012-2015, was used for the following control variables. These data are available at the tract-level and for neighborhood clusters with more than one tract, scores on the various measures were averaged across the

tracts.

Concentrated poverty

Concentrated poverty is an index that was created using an exploratory factor analysis of a variety of ACS (2012-2015) measures that tap into poverty. The results identified 7 measures that yielded a single factor solution with factor loading being the highest at 0.95. These specific measures, gathered at the neighborhood level, are: median income in dollars, percent low education (less than high school or high school equivalent), percent unemployed, percent receiving public assistance, percent below poverty level, single mother headed households, percent crowding (more than one person per room in housing unit). Scores on these component parts were converted to z-scores, then summed and averaged by the number of component parts in order to gather a neighborhood level measure. A similar process was used for indices for residential stability.

Residential Stability

Residential Stability is an index that was created using an exploratory factor analysis which identified 4 measures that yielded a single factor solution with factor loadings above 0.91. These specific measures are: percent housing units vacant, percent housing units rented, percent residential instability, moved in 2010 or later, and parent divorced. Component parts were converted to z-scores, then summed and averaged to gather at the neighborhood level.

Mexican enculturation.

Mexican enculturation is the extent to which respondents embrace the ideals and culture of Mexico and was measured with the Brief Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995). This scale includes 17 items that measure the level of Mexican acculturation. Some of these examples include “I enjoy reading in Spanish (e.g., books,

magazines, and newspapers),” “My thinking is done in Spanish Language.” The items were designed as a Likert scale ranging from (1) not at all, (2) very little or not very often, (3) moderately, (4) much or very often, and (5) extremely often or almost always. The alpha reliability for the 17 items measuring Mexican acculturation was 0.95 found in Table 13. The principal component analysis extracted a two-component solution, however, the results of a scree plot indicates a single component, where the lowest loading is 0.47 (see figure 7). Scores on these items were summed for each respondent and then averaged for the respondents in each neighborhood level to create the neighborhood-level measure of Mexican enculturation ($M = 58.83$, $SD = 17.74$).

American acculturation

American acculturation is the extent to which individuals embrace the ideals and mainstream culture of the US. American acculturation was measured with the Brief Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995) which includes 13 items that measure the level of American acculturation. Some of these examples include “I enjoy listening to English language music,” and “I associate with Anglos.” The items were designed as a Likert scale ranging from (1) not at all, (2) very little or not very often, (3) moderately, (4) much or very often, and (5) extremely often or almost always. A principal component analysis extracted a two component solution, however a scree plot shows a pronounced “elbow” after the first component, indicating single component solution, where the lowest loading is 0.38 (see figure 8). These items were then summed for each respondent and then averaged on a neighborhood level to calculate American acculturation ($M = 47.42$, $SD = 11.18$).

Analytical Plan

All of the hypotheses will utilize OLS Regressions in order to evaluate the findings.

Analysis of the relationship for H1, of percent first generation immigrants with the code of the street is done by using the independent variable percent first generation, the control variables concentrated poverty and residential stability, and examining the effects of the predictor variable on the dependent variable code of the street. When using these measures, the regression equation will be:

$$Y_i = b_0 + b_1X_{i1} + b_2X_{i2} + b_3X_{i3} + \epsilon_i$$

Where Y_i is the outcome of the dependent variable code of the street, X_{i1} is the independent variable of percent first generation immigrants, X_{i2} is the control variable of concentrated poverty, and X_{i3} is the control variable of residential stability.

The models for hypotheses 2A, 2B, 2C, and 4A follow the same equation as above, however the independent variable is changed for each. For hypothesis 2A, X_{i1} is percent 1.5 generation, for 2B, X_{i1} is percent second generation, for 2C, X_{i1} is percent third plus generation, and for 4A, X_{i1} is percent recent immigrants. All of the above equations act on code of the street as the dependent variable and use the same control variables of concentrated poverty and residential stability.

Further, hypothesis 4B follows the same equation but with percent established immigrants as X_{i1} . Additionally, it excludes X_{i2} , the control variable of concentrated poverty. Concentrated poverty will be removed from the model because of the risk of multicollinearity and thus a risk of unreliable results.

Analysis on the mediation of code of the street on the relationship between percent first generation immigrants and perceptual crime will be done by using two separate models, known as the Baron and Kenny (1986) approach.

The first model will use percent first generation immigrants as the independent variable, and control variables concentrated poverty and residential stability, to act on the dependent variable of perceptual crime total. This model will assess the strength of the relationship between percent first generation immigrants and perceptual crime, with a particular focus on the standardized coefficient beta. When using these measures, the regression equation will be:

$$Y_i = b_0 + b_1X_{i1} + b_2X_{i2} + b_3X_{i3} + \epsilon_i$$

Y_i represents the outcome of the dependent variable, perceptual crime total, X_{i1} is the independent variable of percent first generation immigrants, X_{i2} is the control variable of concentrated poverty, and X_{i3} is the control variable of residential stability.

The second model will be the same as the first but with the addition of the independent variable, code of the street. With code of the street held at a constant, I will assess if there has been any change in the standardized coefficient beta in order to determine if there is any mediation found. When using these measures, the regression equation will be:

$$Y_i = b_0 + b_1X_{i1} + b_2X_{i2} + b_3X_{i3} + b_4X_{i4} + \epsilon_i$$

Therefore, Y_i and X_{i1} will remain as perceptual crime total and percent first generation, respectively. X_{i2} will become the code of the street and X_{i3} and X_{i4} will be the control variables of concentrated poverty and residential stability.

Hypothesis 3 is not the only hypothesis using the Baron and Kenny (1986) approach to mediation, however. Hypotheses 5A and 5B follow the same models above, but with some minor

adjustments. In 5A, recent immigrants will be used as the independent variable instead of percent first generation, and in 5B it will be established immigrants that are used in place of percent first generation. Lastly, hypothesis 5B will exclude concentrated poverty in both models due to the risk of multicollinearity and unreliable results.

Chapter 5: Results

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

According to the descriptive analysis, El Paso neighborhoods generally possess low adherence to the code of the street given a range of 18.20-30.00 and mean score of 23.71 which indicate a clustering toward the lower end of the range. ($M= 23.71$, $SD= 2.51$) (Table 1 below). Further, the mean for perceptual crime total was 5.30, with all of the categories (social disorder, physical disorder, fear of crime, and perceived neighborhood crime), when divided by the number of items, was between 1.2 and 1.51, closest to (1) not at all worried. The neighborhoods averaged 20% first generation immigrants, 9% 1.5 generation, 26% second generation, and 45% were third + generation participants. Moreover, the neighborhoods averaged 1% for percent recent immigrants and 26% for percent established immigrants. Their respective standard deviations were .01 for percent recent immigrants and .10 for percent established immigrants. Due to El Paso's close proximity to the United-States-Mexican border, the high immigrant population within these neighborhoods is unsurprising. The mean score for Mexican acculturation was 59.00, and the standard deviation was 8.06. For American acculturation, the mean was 47.20 and the standard deviation was 4.96.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics				
	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variables				
Perceptual Crime	5.30	.41	4.38	6.02
Code of the Street	0.09	0.29	18.20	30.00
Independent Variables				
Percent First Generation	.20	.14	.00	.71
Percent 1.5 Generation	.09	.06	.00	.23
Percent Second Generation	.26	.10	.09	.50
Percent Third + Generation	.45	.18	.04	.80
Percent Recent Immigrant	.01	.01	.00	.07
Percent Established Immigrant	.26	.10	.08	.64
Control Variables				
Concentrated Poverty	.00	.86	-1.42	2.16
Residential Stability	.00	.79	-2.64	1.17
Acculturation to US	47.20	4.96	33.90	54.60
Enculturation to Mexico	59.01	8.06	42.90	72.31

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS

Table 2 presents bivariate correlation coefficients for the dependent, independent, mediating, and control variables for the first set of my hypotheses (1, 2A, 2B, 2C, and 3). Regarding the first hypothesis, increasing levels of percent first generation immigrants in a neighborhood had no relationship with the code of the street, despite having a moderately strong relationship to concentrated poverty. This did not align with predictions as it was anticipated that increasing levels of percent first generation would have a negative relationship with the code of the street.

Predictions for the second hypothesis partially aligned with the results. Percent first generation immigrants showed no relationship to the code of the street, while percent 1.5 generation and second generation showed moderately weak positive associations with the code of the street, each with scores of ($r = .24$). Percent third plus generation, however, was the only

generational variable that had a negative relationship to the code of the street ($r = -.23$). Therefore, as predicted, percent 1.5 and second generation showed a greater relationship to the code of the street than percent first generation, however, third plus generation showed a surprisingly negative relationship. This may have to do with the fact that percent third plus generation had a moderately strong negative relationship with concentrated poverty ($r = -.64$), while percent first ($r = .56$), percent 1.5 ($r = .21$), and percent second generation ($r = .26$) were each positively related to concentrated poverty.

The percent first generation immigrants was strongly negatively associated with acculturation to the US ($r = -.86$) and it also showed a strong positive relationship with enculturation to Mexico ($r = .75$). Percent 1.5 generation immigrants showed a moderately weak negative relationship ($r = -.24$) to acculturation to the US, and a moderately weak positive relationship ($r = .31$) to enculturation to Mexico. Percent second generation displayed similar results but with a weaker negative relationship ($r = -.17$) to acculturation to the US and ($r = .24$) to enculturation to Mexico. Lastly, percent third plus generation has a strong positive association to acculturation to the US ($r = .83$), and a strong negative relationship to enculturation to Mexico ($r = -.81$). Percent third plus generation and its relationships with acculturation to the US and enculturation to Mexico are sufficiently high enough to warrant concern about the potential for multicollinearity that can adversely influence the multivariate analyses if these measures are included together.

The findings for my third hypothesis that code of the street explains the relationship between percent first generation and perceptual crime. Perceptual crime and code of the street had positive moderate association ($r = .42$), supporting this hypothesis. Percent first generation had a positive moderate relationship with ($r = .41$) perceptual crime. This result is interesting

because the percent first generation measure showed no association with the code of the street yet showed a moderate and significant relationship with perceived crime. This could potentially mean that street related attitudes are not contributing to crime in neighborhoods that are highly concentrated with percent first generation immigrants and poverty. While there may be crime in their neighborhoods, that does not necessarily mean it's enough to contribute to street related attitudes.

When these results are assessed as a whole, it appears that as immigrants move across generations, their neighborhoods become more acculturated to the US, and tend to live in less impoverished neighborhoods that have lower levels of perceived crime and lower adoption of the code of the street.

Results pertaining to the acculturation measures lend insight into the second hypothesis. While it was predicted that increasing levels of percent third plus generation would have a higher association to the code of the street than percent 1.5 and second generation, the opposite was found. Therefore, as there is greater acculturation to the US in a neighborhood, it seems that there is less concentrated poverty and less adoption to the code of the street. Meanwhile, code of the street shows a moderately weak positive association with enculturation to Mexico ($r = .30$) and a moderately weak negative association with acculturation to the US ($r = -.25$). These relationships align well with the findings above, but seem to stray from previous literature.

Table 2: Correlation Matrix, First Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests)

Table 2. Correlation Matrix, First Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests)		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10
X1	Perceptual Crime	—									
X2	Code of the Street	.42 **	—								
X3	Percent One Generation	.41 **	.03	—							
X4	Percent One-and-a-Half Generation	.12	.24 *	.25 **	—						
X5	Percent Second Generation	.32 **	.24 *	-.07	-.15	—					
X6	Percent Third Plus Generation	-.52 **	-.23 *	-.81 **	-.43 **	-.45 **	—				
X7	Acculturation to US	-.53 **	-.25 **	-.86 **	-.24 *	-.17	.83 **	—			
X8	Enculturation to Mexico	.56 **	.30 **	.75 **	.31 **	.24 *	-.81 **	-.80 **	—		
X9	Concentrated Poverty	.65 **	.47 **	.56 **	.21 *	.26 **	-.64 **	-.75 **	.80 **	—	
X10	Residential Stability	-.23 *	-.13	.10	.01	-.04	-.06	.03	.00	-.34 **	—

N = 46

Note: Bivariate associations (Pearson's r); ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

Table 3 presents bivariate correlation coefficients for the dependent, independent, mediating, and control variables for the second set of my hypotheses (4A, 4B, 5A, and 5B). For the fourth hypothesis, higher levels of percent recent immigrants in a neighborhood are weakly negatively associated with higher levels of the code of the street ($r = -.16$). Percent established immigrants offered the opposite finding, as they were positively associated with neighborhood code of the street ($r = .43$). This result partially aligns with the predictions, as recent immigrants showed a negative relationship, meanwhile established immigrants displayed a positive one.

Percent recent immigrants displayed a moderately weak negative relationship to acculturation to the US ($r = -.22$) and showed no association to enculturation to Mexico. Interestingly, the percent established immigrants have a much stronger negative association to acculturation to the US ($r = -.65$) and a much stronger positive association to enculturation to Mexico ($r = .66$) than the percent recent immigrants did. This may be due to an influx of immigrants coming from El Paso's border city, Juarez, which lost an estimated 230 000 of its population to the US, most of which were middle-upper class, during the year preceding data collection. Therefore, the percent recent immigrants may have a lower relationship to

concentrated poverty, and thus a lower association to code of the street, for this very reason (Morales, Morales, Menchaca and Sebastian, 2013).

Regarding hypothesis five, recent immigrants had no relationship to perceptual crime, while percent established immigrants had a moderately strong association with it. Percent established immigrants also had the strongest relationship with concentrated poverty ($r = .77$), among all of the immigrant independent variables. This could indicate that percent established immigrants may not be on the road to pursue middle class values, as they have a positive relationship to code of the street and perceptual crime.

Table 3: Correlation Matrix, Second Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests)

Table 3. Correlation Matrix, Second Set Hypotheses (One-Tailed Tests)		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8
X1	Perceptual Crime	—							
X2	Code of the Street	.42 **	—						
X3	Percent Recent Immigrant	.09	-.16	—					
X4	Percent Established Immigrant	.52 **	.43 **	.20 *	—				
X5	Acculturation to US	-.53 **	-.25 *	-.22 *	-.65 **	—			
X6	Enculturation to Mexico	.56 **	-.30 *	.08	.65 **	-.80 **	—		
X7	Concentrated Poverty	.65 **	.47 **	.18	.77 **	-.75 **	.80 **	—	
X8	Residential Stability	-.23 *	-.13	-.17	-.30 **	.03	.00	-.34 **	—
<i>N</i> = 46									

Note: Bivariate associations (Pearson's r); ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PERCENT IMMIGRANT GENERATIONS

The relationship of neighborhood percent first generation and the neighborhood adherence to the code of the street are presented in Table 4. For hypothesis 1, the code of the street is regressed on percent first generation immigrants and the control variables of concentrated poverty and residential stability. The results display that increasing levels of percent first generation immigrants have a negative association with the code of the street. The model fits the data well, as the predictors explain 33% of the variance of the code of the street

($R^2 = .33$). The standardized coefficient beta was ($\beta = -.41$), meaning that for each standard deviation increase in percentage first generation immigrants, neighborhood adherence to the code of the street decreased by $-.41$ standard deviations. This is a strong negative relationship. The findings align with the predictions in hypothesis 1, as increasing levels of percent first generation are related to a reduction in the code of the street. A notable control variable in this equation is concentrated poverty which had a standardized coefficient beta of ($\beta = .76$), a strong positive relationship with code of the street, meaning that for every standard deviation increase in concentrated poverty, there is an increase in $.76$ standard deviations of the code of the street. Residential stability, however, did not have nearly as strong of a relationship ($\beta = .17$). However, in separate regression models, the relationships between neighborhood adherence to the code of the street and the independent variables of neighborhood percent 1.5 generation, percent second generation, and percent third plus generation yielded results that were not significant, meaning that, in these data, these variables were not associated with the code of the street and, as such, these findings did not align with the predictions in hypotheses 2A, 2B, and 2C. Furthermore, there was no mediation found regarding hypothesis 3 (see Table 5), as percent first generation immigrant showed no significant association with neighborhood perceptual crime either before or after adding the intervening variable of code of the street into the regression model. The findings do not align with the predictions in hypothesis 3.

Table 4: OLS Regression of Code of the Street

Table 4: OLS Regression of Code of the Street (N = 46)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE
Percent First Generation	-7.38 **	-.41							
Percent 1.5 Generation				6.06	.14	5.91			
Percent Second Generation							3.14	.13	3.52
Percent Third Plus Generation									
Code of the Street									
Concentrated Poverty	2.21 **	.76	.51	1.31 **	.45	.42	1.31 **	.45	.43
Residential Stability	.54	.17	.46	.08	.02	.45	.10	.03	.45
R^2	.33			.24			.24		.24
F	6.74 **			4.50 **			4.39 **		4.35 **
R^2_{adj}	.28			.19			.18		

* $p \leq .1$; ** $p \leq .05$.

Table 5: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime

Table 5: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime (N = 46)

	Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE
Percent First Generation				.23	.08	.44	.47	.16	.47
Percent 1.5 Generation									
Percent Second Generation									
Percent Third Plus Generation	2.18	.16	2.59						
Code of the Street							.03	.20	.02
Concentrated Poverty	1.75 **	.60	.58	.28	.59	.08	.21	.44	.09
Residential Stability	.27	.09	.49	-.02	-.04	.07	-.04	-.07	.07
R^2	.24			.43			.45		
F	4.35 **			10.38 **			8.47 **		
R^2_{adj}	.18			.39			.40		

* $p \leq .1$; ** $p \leq .05$.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RECENT AND ESTABLISHED IMMIGRANTS

To investigate further the relationship between code of the street and first generation immigrants, this variable was divided into two categories: percent recent immigrants, which are defined as having lived less than 5 years in the US, and percent established immigrants which are defined as having lived more than 5 years in the US. Percent recent immigrants and percent established immigrants are regressed separately on the dependent variable code of the street in

separate models. The results in Table 6 show that increasing levels of neighborhood percent recent immigrants have a negative association with neighborhood adherence to the code of the street ($\beta = -.25$). The proportion of the variance in the code of the street that is explained by the predictors in the model is $R^2 = 28\%$. Furthermore, the standardized coefficient beta was $\beta = -.25$, meaning that as percent recent immigrants increase a standard deviation, code of the street decreases $-.25$ standard deviations. This relatively strong relationship supports the prediction of hypothesis 4A. Interestingly, increasing levels of percent established immigrants actually had the opposite relationship to code of the street compared to recent immigrants, as they were related to an increase in adherence to the code of the street ($\beta = .43$) (see Table 6). The proportion of the variance explained by the predictors in the model was $R^2 = 18\%$. The standardized coefficient beta was $\beta = .43$, meaning that with every standard deviation increase in established immigrants, the code of the street increases $.43$ standard deviations, indicating a strong positive relationship between established immigrants and code of the street. Note that the control variable concentrated poverty was not included in the model for hypothesis 4B as it represents a source of multicollinearity, as indicated by a positive correlation of $r = .77$ with percent established immigrant. Therefore, if concentrated poverty was included in the model, the results would be unreliable.

As it pertains to hypothesis H5A, the code of the street displayed no mediation on the relationship between percent recent immigrants and perceptual crime, as percent recent immigrant was not significantly associated with perceptual crime both before and after adding the intervening variable of code of the street to the model. Alternatively, there was mediation for hypothesis H5B. Code of the street accounted for a 22% change in the relationship between established immigrants and perceptual crime. Initially, the relationship between established

immigration and perceptual crime the standardized coefficient beta was $\beta = .50$. When this equation was re-run after adding code of the street, the value of Beta dropped to $\beta = .39$, meaning the strength of the relationship was reduced when code of the street was held constant. The variance of perceptual crime that can be explained by the predictors in the model was 32% ($R^2 = .32$). Established immigrants showed a significant positive relationship with perceptual crime total before and after adding code of the street to the model. It is important to note that once again the control variable concentrated poverty was not included in these models because of potential multicollinearity. This mediation displays that 22% of the relationship between established immigrants and perceptual crime can be explained by neighborhood adherence to the code of the street.

A particularly impactful control variable was concentrated poverty, as it displayed particularly high betas for the mode in hypothesis 1, and hypothesis 4A, as shown in table 4 and 6. Moreover, concentrated poverty was removed from the model in hypothesis 4B and 5B as those models include the independent variable established immigrants and thus posed a risk of multicollinearity.

A robustness check was performed by re-running the analyses with acculturation to the US and, separately, enculturation to Mexico control variables included as control variables. Based on the findings it was decided that these variables be removed from the model as they had little impact on the findings and, if removed, created the best parsimonious model available. Additionally, for the regressions including established immigrants, acculturation to the US and enculturation to Mexico were removed as their high correlation risked potential multicollinearity and unreliable results.

Table 6: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime

Table 6: OLS Regression of Code of the Street and Perceptual Crime (N = 46)

	Model 7			Model 8			Model 9		
	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE
Percent Recent Immigrant	-.47 *	-.25	.25				-.01	-.03	.04
Percent Established Immigrant				.11 **	.43	.04			
Code of the Street									
Concentrated Poverty	1.51 **	.52	.41				.31 **	.65	.06
Residential Stability	-.02	.01	.44	.00	.00	.46	-.01	-.01	.06
R^2	.28			.18			.42		
F	5.55 **			4.81 **			10.26 **		
R^2_{adj}	.23			.15			.38		

* $p \leq .1$; ** $p \leq .05$.

Table 7: OLS Regression of Perceptual Crime

Table 7: OLS Regression of Perceptual Crime (N = 46)

	Model 10			Model 11			Model 12		
	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE	<i>b</i>	B	SE
Percent Recent Immigrant	.00	.01	.04						
Percent Established Immigrant				.02 **	.50	.01	.02 **	.39	.01
Code of the Street	.02	.15	.02				.04 *	.24	.02
Concentrated Poverty	.27 **	.57	.07						
Residential Stability	-.01	-.02	.06	-.04	-.08	.07	-.04	-.08	.07
R^2	.44			.28			.32		
F	8.02 **			8.18 **			6.71 **		
R^2_{adj}	.38			.24			.28		

* $p \leq .1$; ** $p \leq .05$.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Anderson's (2000) theory of the code of the street has advanced our understanding of neighborhood oppositional subcultures and how a rejection of conventional societal norms and beliefs can lead to a culture of violence. Anderson (2000) explains how the street culture encourages a lack of trust in police, campaigning for respect through violence, and engagement in drug culture. However, this ethnographic research was done on inner city neighborhoods of relatively high concentrated poverty mainly populated by African Americans in Philadelphia. Anderson's (2000) research strongly suggests that adherence to the code can lead to violence, crime, and a clear lack of trust in the police. Further, the street code has been found to mediate the effects of neighborhood discrimination and violent youth delinquency (Stewart and Simons, 2007), as well as having a positive association with fear of crime (McNeeley and Yuan, 2017).

Immigrants, who also tend to live in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, typically reduce the crime rates of the neighborhoods in which they occupy (Feldmeyer et al., 2019). The Immigrant Paradox and immigrant revitalization theory assert that this stems from a variety of factors, including dynamics stemming from immigrant enclaves such as high levels of social capital, extensive networks of social ties, and collective efficacy as well as a culture that promotes a strong work ethic, high levels of motivation and optimism, and strong families (Lee and Martinez, 2009; Sampson, 2008). However, prior research has largely overlooked immigrant relationships to the code of the street, despite its relevance for neighborhood crime. In addition, little has been done to look at adherence to the code of the street across immigrant generations, especially as further introduction to mainstream American culture often occurs over time.

Using a unique dataset that incorporates survey data aggregated to the neighborhood level to measure the code of the street, perceptions of crime, and acculturation as well as ACS data

(2012-215) on concentrated poverty and residential stability, the present research seeks to expand knowledge on these issues as well as contribute to the broader understanding of the connection between immigration and low levels of crime. Through testing a set of previously unexplored relationships between neighborhood immigration, the code of the street, and crime, the present research has implications on the unique cultural attributes that immigrants possess. Accordingly, two major conclusions require discussion.

The results show that increasing levels of percent first generation immigrants in a neighborhood are negatively related to levels of the code of the street. This aligns with both of my predictions and relates to insights regarding the Immigrant Paradox (Vaughn, Salas-Wright, DeLisi & Maynard, 2014; Curry, Morales, Zavala, & Hernandez, 2018; Velez, 2006; Sampson, 2008). There are several factors that may contribute to the first generation's negative relationship with the code of the street. Previous research suggests that first generation immigrants may adhere more to the traditional norms and values of the home country than later generations, and since the code of the street is largely rooted in American culture, this may create a misalignment between immigrant's ability to connect to the street code (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Also, relating to the immigrant paradox, it may also be that immigrant attributes, such as motivation, work ethic, and optimism (Butcher & Peihl, 1998; Kubrin & Ishizawa, 2012; Wolff et al., 2018), are disconnected from the values of Anderson's oppositional code of the street. Notably, the immigrant outlook appears to be aspirational and focused on tangential economic goals, while the street culture is in opposition to conventional society and more focused on perceptual goals, especially respect and reputation, that are hard won and easily lost (Anderson, 2000).

While important, these findings on immigrants and the code of the street may be refined by comparing different immigrant generations as well as considering recent versus established

immigrants. While first generation immigrants displayed a negative association to the code of the street, 1.5, second, and third plus generation showed no significant associations with neighborhood code of the street. This suggests that they may possibly be less sheltered from street-related attitudes than first generation immigrants. However, since the results did not show a significant positive relationship with the code of the street for 1.5, second, or third plus generations, then it can be assumed that they are not falling susceptible to the level of downward assimilation that some immigrant generations encounter. This may be due to the unique attributes of El Paso, wherein children of immigrants may continue to have support from their parents, and even still live with their first generation parents, thus allowing them to be protected from a positive association with the code of the street.

However, when first generation immigrants were divided into two categories: recent immigrants (less than 5 years) and established immigrants (more than 5 years), the breakdown yielded findings that are quite different. Findings for recent immigrants were consistent with first generation immigrants more broadly as they were associated with a reduction in the code of the street, however neighborhoods with higher levels of established immigrants were actually associated with an increase in adherence to the code of the street. Such a disparity between the two categories may be related to the unique circumstances of the sample in 2015. El Paso is bordered on the Mexican city Juarez, which was at the time rated among the most dangerous cities in the world. As a result of the violence that had overtaken the city, Juarez experienced an exodus of nearly 125 000 residents, and those that fled to the US were primarily middle to upper class (Morales et al., 2013). Therefore, to the extent that these individuals migrated to El Paso, then members of this group may have accounted for a high percentage of the recent immigrant group in these data. This could lead to fewer recent immigrants living in concentrated poverty

areas than established immigrants (which is supported by the correlations), and as a result be less likely to encounter a strong presence of the code of the street in the neighborhood they settled in. Thus, recent immigrants who had fled Juarez for the very reason of escaping violence and crime, may also be more likely to avoid street-related attitudes upon arrival.

But why do established immigrants display such a stark contrast with the recent immigrants? Perhaps it is because established immigrants in our sample have experienced a type of downward assimilation, wherein they are living in concentrated poverty and thus encountering an attenuated culture in their neighborhoods.

Therefore, they seem to actually be experiencing a situation similar to that of the individuals in East Harlem's El Barrio (Bourgois, 2003). Finding themselves embedded in areas of concentrated poverty, it can be speculated that these established immigrants are retaining nuclear families who value social cohesion yet have been unable to obtain the social mobility required to rise out of these impoverished areas. As a result, they may be encountering higher levels of neighborhood crime and increased exposure to street-related attitudes.

Overall, the major findings of this research are the following: for one, the research supports previous findings related to the immigrant revitalization theory, but with a distinct focus on neighborhood subcultures. The research suggests that first generation immigrants are serving to reduce levels of the code of the street in their neighborhoods, opening avenues for more research into the attitudes and cultural aspects of the immigrants that serve to create that reduction. Furthermore, when the percent first generation immigrants were divided into two categories, recent and established immigrants, competing results were found. For while recent immigrants aligned with first generation immigrants as a whole in their reduction of the code of the street, established immigrants were related to an increase in the code of the street. This

finding directs attention toward the differing cultural and structural qualities of immigrants within the first generation immigrant category. Further research on this divide between recent and established immigrants, and their characteristics that may contribute to neighborhood crime or the code of the street, may be necessary to better understand the immigrant paradox and the immigrant revitalization theory. The last major finding for this study was that when code of the street was held constant, there was a reduction in the relationship between established immigrants and perceived crime. This result displays that while some immigrant groups appear to shelter themselves from the street code, others still show that the code of the street plays a role in their relationship with crime. Finding the factors that distinguish these differing immigrant groups may be a factor to research in the future.

However, the findings produced by the present research should be considered in light of their limitations. Perhaps the biggest shortcoming is the inability to draw causal inferences from these cross-sectional data. The results here are discussed only in terms of the strength and direction of associations rather than the causality specified by theories such as immigrant revitalization theory. Yet, this is a perennial problem for social science research which relies heavily on cross-sectional data, and not unique to the current research. Other limitations concern the presence of multicollinearity between certain measures in these data, which prevented the inclusion of concentrated poverty, an important variable for the present research, in some multivariate models.

If there is a transition between recent and established immigrants that is one of downward assimilation, then it would be essential in future research to incorporate a longitudinal design in order to measure the mechanisms that contribute to the downward movement. Future research should also seek to incorporate direct measures of the intervening mechanisms that lead to

immigrants who experience downward assimilation to both crime and the code of the street. Furthermore, acculturation to the US, enculturation to Mexico, and concentrated poverty were highly correlated with established immigrants and could not be included in the final regression models. However, exploring these variables and its connection to specifically established immigrants is an important area for future research.

Future research should look into exploring various neighborhood-level factors that can help account for the immigration and crime relationships that were not examined directly in this study, such as gang membership and even relationships with the local police. It may also be beneficial to look at immigrant relationships to crime with a different crime measure, as perceptual crime total, which is an aggregated measure, had drastically different relationships with immigrants depending on the four categories that make up the measure.

References

- Aguilera, M. B., & Massey, D. S. (2003). Social capital and the wages of Mexican migrants: New hypotheses and tests. *Social forces*, 82(2), 671-701.
- Anderson, E. (2000). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. WW Norton & Company.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 51(6), 1173.
- Bersani, B. E. (2014). A game of catch-up? The offending experience of second-generation immigrants. *Crime & Delinquency*, 60(1), 60-84.
- Bourgois, P. (2003). *In search of respect: Selling crack in El Barrio* (No. 10). Cambridge University Press.
- Burchfield, K. B., & Silver, E. (2013). Collective efficacy and crime in Los Angeles neighborhoods: Implications for the Latino paradox. *Sociological Inquiry*, 83(1), 154-176.
- Butcher, K. F., & Piehl, A. M. (1998). Cross-city evidence on the relationship between immigration and crime. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management: The Journal of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management*, 17(3), 457-493.
- Butcher, K., & Piehl, A. (2007). Why are immigrants' incarceration rates so low? Evidence on selective immigration, deterrence, and deportation.
- Cloward, R. A., and Ohlin, L. E. (1960). *Delinquency and opportunity: A theory of delinquent gangs*. New York: Free Press.
- Cohen, A. K. (1955). *Delinquent boys; The culture of the gang*.
- Correia, M. E. (2010). Determinants of attitudes toward police of Latino immigrants and non-immigrants. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(1), 99-107.

- Cuellar, I., Arnold, B., & Maldonado, R. (1995). Acculturation rating scale for Mexican Americans-II: A revision of the original ARSMA scale. *Hispanic journal of behavioral sciences, 17*(3), 275-304.
- Curry, T. R., Morales, M. C., & Hosch, H. M. (2015). Why are Immigrant Neighborhoods Low Crime Neighborhoods? Testing Immigrant Revitalization Theory and Cultural Explanations.
- Curry, T. R., Morales, M. C., Zavala, E., & Hernandez, J. L. (2018). Why is family violence lower among Mexican immigrants? The protective features of Mexican culture. *Journal of family violence, 33*(3), 171-184.
- Davies, G., & Fagan, J. (2012). Crime and enforcement in immigrant neighborhoods: Evidence from New York City. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 641*(1), 99-124.
- Dillman, D. A. (2000). Procedures for conducting government-sponsored establishment surveys: Comparisons of the total design method (TDM), a traditional cost-compensation model, and tailored design. In *Proceedings of American Statistical Association, Second International Conference on Establishment Surveys* (pp. 343-352).
- Ding, H., & Hargraves, L. (2009). Stress-associated poor health among adult immigrants with a language barrier in the United States. *Journal of immigrant and minority health, 11*(6), 446.
- Dixon, J., & Lizotte, A. J. (1987). Gun Ownership and the " Southern Subculture of Violence". *American Journal of Sociology, 93*(2), 383-405.
- Ellison, C. G. (1991). An eye for an eye? A note on the southern subculture of violence thesis. *Social Forces, 69*(4), 1223-1239.
- Feldmeyer, B., Madero-Hernandez, A., Rojas-Gaona, C. E., & Sabon, L. C. (2019). Immigration, collective efficacy, social ties, and violence: Unpacking the mediating mechanisms in immigration effects on neighborhood-level violence. *Race and Justice, 9*(2), 123-150.

- Flores, A. (2017). Facts on U.S. Latinos, 2015: Statistical portrait of Hispanics in the United States. Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2017/09/18/facts-on-u-s-latinos/>
- Golash-Boza, T. M. (2015). *Deported: Immigrant policing, disposable labor and global capitalism* (Vol. 6). nyu Press.
- Gilster, M. E., Booth, J. M., Meier, C. L., & Torres-Cacho, H. R. (2020). Assessing the role of ethnic enclaves in the relationship between neighborhood conditions and participation in neighborhood-focused activism among Latinos in Chicago. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 30*(2), 158-172.
- Han, S., Hwang, E., Nobles, M. R., Basham, S. L., & Piquero, A. R. (2020). Immigrants' Confidence in the Police in 34 Countries: A Multilevel Analysis. *Police quarterly, 23*(1), 106-137.
- Herbst, E. (2013). *The likelihood of gang membership: Immigrant generational differences among Hispanic youth*. Bowling Green State University.
- Hurtado-de-Mendoza, A., Gonzales, F. A., Serrano, A., & Kaltman, S. (2014). Social isolation and perceived barriers to establishing social networks among Latina immigrants. *American journal of community psychology, 53*(1-2), 73-82.
- Kirk, D. S., & Papachristos, A. V. (2017). Concentrated disadvantage, the persistence of legal cynicism, and crime: Revisiting the conception of "culture" in criminology. In *Challenging Criminological Theory* (pp. 259-274). Routledge.
- Kornhauser, R. R. (1978). Social sources of delinquency: An appraisal of analytic models.
- Krohn, M. D., Schmidt, N. M., Lizotte, A. J., & Baldwin, J. M. (2011). The impact of multiple marginality on gang membership and delinquent behavior for Hispanic, African American, and white male adolescents. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 27*(1), 18-42.
- Kubrin, C. E., & Ishizawa, H. (2012). Why some immigrant neighborhoods are safer than others: Divergent findings from Los Angeles and Chicago. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 641*(1), 148-173.

- Kwak, H., Dierenfeldt, R., & McNeeley, S. (2019). The code of the street and cooperation with the police: Do codes of violence, procedural injustice, and police ineffectiveness discourage reporting violent victimization to the police?. *Journal of criminal justice*, 60, 25-34.
- Lee, M. T., & Martinez, R. (2009). Immigration reduces crime: An emerging scholarly consensus. *Sociology of crime, law and deviance*, 13, 3-16.
- Lyons, C. J., Vélez, M. B., & Santoro, W. A. (2013). Neighborhood immigration, violence, and city-level immigrant political opportunities. *American Sociological Review*, 78(4), 604-632.
- Martinez Jr, R., Stowell, J. I., & Lee, M. T. (2010). Immigration and crime in an era of transformation: A longitudinal analysis of homicides in San Diego neighborhoods, 1980–2000. *Criminology*, 48(3), 797-829.
- Matsueda, R. L., Drakulich, K., & Kubrin, C. E. (2006). Race and neighborhood codes of violence. *The many colors of crime: Inequalities of race, ethnicity, and crime in America*, 334-356.
- McNeeley, S., & Yuan, Y. (2017). A multilevel examination of the code of the street's relationship with fear of crime. *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(9), 1146-1167.
- Morales, M. C., Delgado, D., & Curry, T. (2018). Variations in Citizenship Profiling by Generational Status: Individual and Neighborhood Characteristics of Latina/os Questioned by Law Enforcement About Their Legal Status. *Race and Social Problems*, 10(4), 293-305.
- Morales, M. C., Morales, O., Menchaca, A. C., & Sebastian, A. (2013). The Mexican drug war and the consequent population exodus: transnational movement at the US-Mexican border. *Societies*, 3(1), 80-103.
- Nolan, T. (2019). *Perilous policing: Criminal justice in marginalized communities*. Routledge.
- Ousey, G. C., & Kubrin, C. E. (2009). Exploring the connection between immigration and violent crime rates in US cities, 1980–2000. *Social problems*, 56(3), 447-473.

- Ousey, G. C., & Kubrin, C. E. (2014). Immigration and the changing nature of homicide in US cities, 1980–2010. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 30(3), 453-483.
- Ousey, G. C., & Kubrin, C. E. (2018). Immigration and crime: Assessing a contentious issue. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 1, 63-84.
- Perreira, K. M., Crosnoe, R., Fortuny, K., Pedroza, J., Ulvestad, K., Weiland, C., ... & Chaudry, A. (2012). Barriers to immigrants' access to health and human services programs. *ASPE Issue Brief*. Washington, DC: Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 530(1), 74-96.
- Ramey, D. M. (2013). Immigrant revitalization and neighborhood violent crime in established and new destination cities. *Social Forces*, 92(2), 597-629.
- Raudenbush, S. W., & Sampson, R. J. (1999). Ecometrics: toward a science of assessing ecological settings, with application to the systematic social observation of neighborhoods. *Sociological methodology*, 29(1), 1-41.
- Rios, V. M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of Black and Latino boys*. NYU Press.
- Rojas-Gaona, C. E. (2016). *Adoption of street code attitudes among Latinos and its effects on criminal offending* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati).
- Samaniego, R. Y., & Gonzales, N. A. (1999). Multiple mediators of the effects of acculturation status on delinquency for Mexican American adolescents. *American journal of community psychology*, 27(2), 189-210.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *science*, 277(5328), 918-924.
- Sampson, R. J. (2008). Rethinking crime and immigration. *Contexts*, 7(1), 28-33.

- Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. (1942). Juvenile delinquency and urban areas.
- Shihadeh, E. S., & Barranco, R. E. (2010). Leveraging the power of the ethnic enclave: Residential instability and violence in Latino communities. *Sociological Spectrum, 30*(3), 249-269.
- Stewart, E. A., & Simons, R. L. (2006). Structure and culture in African American adolescent violence: A partial test of the “code of the street” thesis. *Justice Quarterly, 23*(1), 1-33.
- Stewart, E. A., Simons, R. L., & Conger, R. D. (2002). Assessing neighborhood and social psychological influences on childhood violence in an African-American sample. *Criminology, 40*(4), 801-830.
- Stewart, E. A., Schreck, C. J., & Simons, R. L. (2006). “I Ain't Gonna Let No One Disrespect Me” Does the Code of the Street Reduce or Increase Violent Victimization among African American Adolescents?. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 43*(4), 427-458.
- Stewart, E. A., & Simons, R. L. (2010). Race, code of the street, and violent delinquency: A multilevel investigation of neighborhood street culture and individual norms of violence. *Criminology, 48*(2), 569-605.
- Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged?. *The Journal of Educational Research, 102*(4), 257-271.
- Vaughn, M. G., Salas-Wright, C. P., DeLisi, M., & Maynard, B. R. (2014). The immigrant paradox: Immigrants are less antisocial than native-born Americans. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology, 49*(7), 1129-1137.
- Velez, M. B. (2006). Toward an understanding of the lower rates of homicide in Latino versus Black neighborhoods. *The many colors of crime, 91-107*.
- Wadsworth, T. (2010). Is immigration responsible for the crime drop? An assessment of the influence of immigration on changes in violent crime between 1990 and 2000. *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(2), 531-553.
- Wafula, E. G., & Snipes, S. A. (2014). Barriers to health care access faced by black immigrants in the US: theoretical considerations and recommendations. *Journal of immigrant and minority health, 16*(4), 689-698.

- Warner, B. D. (2003). The role of attenuated culture in social disorganization theory. *Criminology*, *41*(1), 73-98.
- Wilcox, P., Cullen, F. T., & Feldmeyer, B. (2018). *Communities and crime: An enduring American challenge* (Vol. 84). Temple University Press.
- Wilcox Rountree, P., & Land, K. C. (2000). The generalizability of multilevel models of burglary victimization: A cross-city comparison. *Social Science Research*, *29*(2), 284-305.
- Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged—The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. The University of Chicago Press Chicago.
- Wolfgang, M. E., Ferracuti, F., & Mannheim, H. (1967). *The subculture of violence: Towards an integrated theory in criminology* (Vol. 16). London: Tavistock Publications.
- Wolff, K. T., Intravia, J., Baglivio, M. T., & Piquero, A. R. (2018). The protective impact of immigrant concentration on juvenile recidivism: A multilevel examination of potential mechanisms. *Crime & Delinquency*, *64*(10), 1271-1305.
- Xie, M., & Baumer, E. P. (2018). Reassessing the breadth of the protective benefit of immigrant neighborhoods: A multilevel analysis of violence risk by race, ethnicity, and labor market stratification. *Criminology*, *56*(2), 302-332.

Appendix

Table 8: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Social Disorder (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
how big of a problem in your neighborhood is alcohol consumption?	1.44	.64	.74
how big of a problem in your neighborhood is drug use?	1.35	.62	.75
how big of a problem... is people making threats to others?	1.18	.46	.75
how big of a problem... is people being rowdy?	1.36	.60	.80
how big of a problem... is loud music from cars or homes?	1.50	.66	.69
how big of a problem... are any other types of noise made by your neighbors?	1.33	.56	.66
how big of a problem... is people hanging around on the streets?	1.22	.50	.66
how big of a problem... is people begging or asking for money?	1.16	.44	.59
how big of a problem... is people bothering or causing problems for others?	1.16	.44	.73

Table 9: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Physical Disorder (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
how big of a problem in your neighborhood is destruction of property or vandalism?	1.23	.50	.81
how big of a problem... is graffiti?	1.26	.54	.81
how big of a problem... is litter or trash? Including animal waste or feces.	1.43	.64	.77
how big of a problem... is poorly maintained or abandoned buildings, apartments, homes and cars?	1.32	.59	.76

Table 10: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Fear of Crime (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
how worried are you about your or a member of your household being the victim of a burglary?	1.52	.68	.90
how worried are you about your or a member of your household being the victim of theft, including auto theft?	1.55	.69	.91
how worried are you about your or a member of your household being robbed by someone?	1.48	.69	.92
how worried are you about your or a member of your household being physically attacked or assaulted (including sexual assault)?	1.43	.68	.87

Table 11: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Perceived Neighborhood Crime (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
a violent argument between neighbors?	1.34	.61	.58
a gang fight?	1.11	.37	.60
a fight involving weapons?	1.09	.34	.64
a sexual assault or rape?	1.04	.23	.40
a robbery or mugging?	1.25	.54	.78
an auto theft or some type of theft?	1.28	.54	.72
a burglary?	1.25	.53	.74
any other type of crime?	1.21	.51	.62

Table 12: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Measuring Code of the Street (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
teenagers and young adults in your neighborhood must be willing to fight to gain respect among their peers	2.38	1.07	.65
parents in your neighborhood teach their kids to fight back if they are insulted or threatened.	2.77	1.06	.64
people in your neighborhood will seek revenge even if it means resorting to violence if a loved one is disrespected.	2.31	1.04	.74
young men in your neighborhood try to act tough.	2.50	1.14	.80
young women in your neighborhood try to act tough.	2.31	1.04	.78
young men... who own guns or other weapons are often looked up to and respected by others.	2.04	.96	.77
young women... who own guns or other weapons are often looked up to and respected by others.	2.01	.93	.75
people in your neighborhood do not respect a young man who is afraid to fight physically.	2.35	.97	.78
people in your neighborhood do not respect a young woman who is afraid to fight physically.	2.29	.95	.76
in your neighborhood, it is important to show others	2.74	1.20	.59

that a person cannot be intimidated.

Table 13: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items Mexican Acculturation (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
I speak spanish	3.61	1.30	.87
I enjoy speaking spanish	3.64	1.35	.85
I associate with Mexicans and/or Mexican americans	4.27	.87	.47
I enjoy listening to spanish language music	3.54	1.38	.79
I enjoy spanish language tv	3.11	1.50	.83
I enjoy spanish language movies	3.04	1.49	.81
I enjoy reading in spanish	2.87	1.50	.83
I write in spanish	2.97	1.54	.85
my thinking is done in the spanish language	3.02	1.55	.87
my contact with people in the mexico has been...	2.60	1.43	.57
my father identifies or identified himself as "mexicano"	3.64	1.66	.77
my mother identifies or identified herself as "mexicana"	3.74	1.62	.78
my friends, while I was growing up, were of mexican origin	3.93	1.25	.71
my family cooks mexican foods	4.26	1.06	.69

my friends now are of mexican origin	4.02	.97	.58
I like to identify myself as a mexican american	3.43	1.62	.54
I like to identify myself as a mexican	3.13	1.62	.74

Table 14: Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings for Items American Acculturation (N= 42)

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Factor Loading
I speak English	4.04	1.26	.88
I associate with Anglos	3.16	1.29	.58
I enjoy listening to English language music	4.15	1.04	.75
I enjoy English language tv	4.15	1.08	.77
I enjoy English language movies	4.27	1.03	.80
I enjoy reading in English	3.91	1.30	.84
I write in English	4.06	1.32	.87
my thinking is done in the English language	3.85	1.43	.86
my contact with people in the USA has been...	4.55	.78	.44
my friends, while growing up, were Anglo origin	2.68	1.34	.59
my friends now are of anglo origin	2.84	1.18	.55
I like to identify myself			

as an anglo american	2.00	1.39	.38
I like to identify myself as an american	3.76	1.51	.69

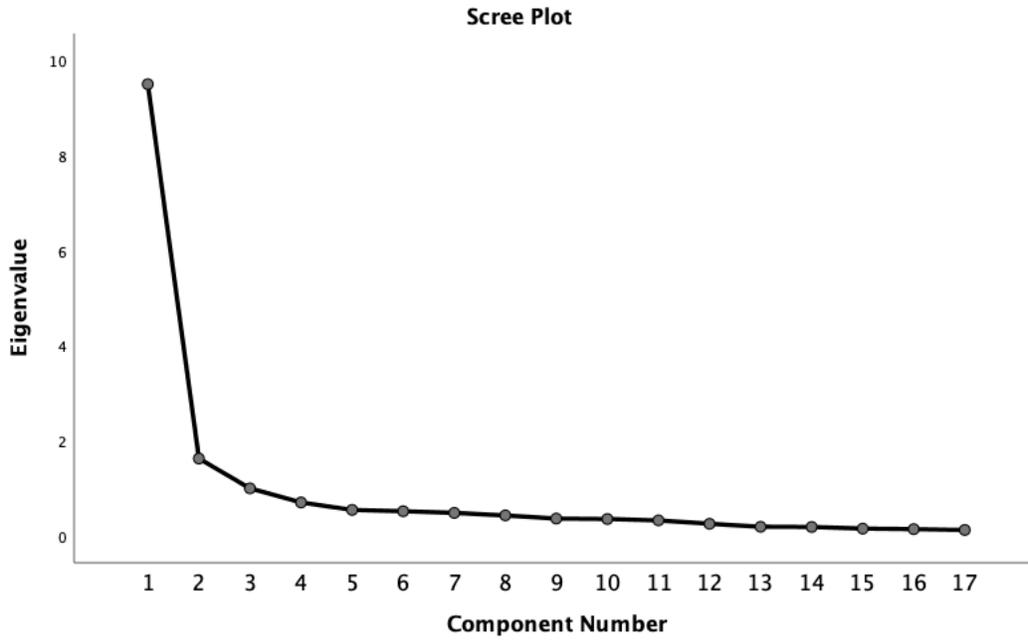


Figure 1: Scree Plot for Mexican Enculturation

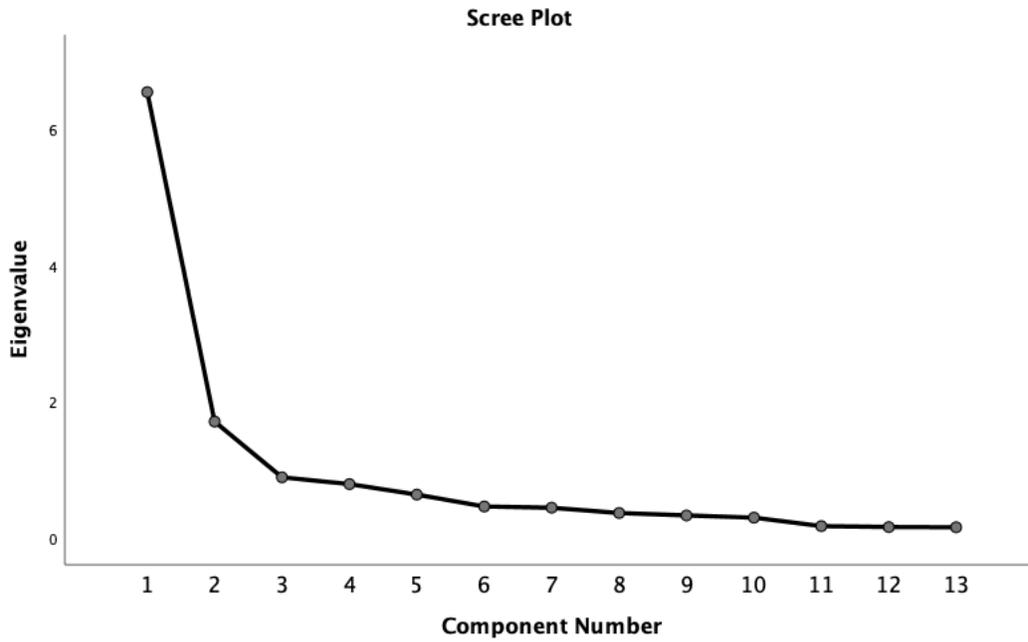


Figure 2: Scree Plot for American Acculturation

Vita

Nicole Cebak was born in Calgary, Alberta, Canada and moved to El Paso, Texas in 2015 to pursue her bachelor's degree in criminal justice. She was brought to the University of Texas at El Paso via a NCAA D1 scholarship in volleyball, where she eventually played 4 full seasons. In 2019, Nicole graduated cum laude with her bachelor's degree and soon after began her master's degree in the University of Texas at El Paso criminology program. There, she studied under Dr. Theodore R. Curry in the thesis track, and achieved a 4.0 GPA. She is currently working on an Oxford Bibliographies publication with Dr. Leanne F. Alarid on pretrial diversion. Further, she is working on a potential publication with Dr. Mario Cano and Dr. Theodore R. Curry on individual-level and neighborhood-level effects of perceived police cooperation, which was also presented at the American Society of Criminology conference. Upon graduation, Nicole was awarded the Graduate Student Marshall for 2021. In 2022 she has accepted offers to work for the 384th District Drug Court Intern as a Data Analyst and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Texas at El Paso, before potentially attending to a PhD program in the Fall.