Residential Stability, Neighborhood Racial Composition, and the Subjective Assessment of Neighborhood Problems*

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* This research is supported by an NIA grant award AG17461 (Leonard I. Pearlin, P.I.). Address correspondence to Scott Schieman, Department of Sociology, 725 Spadina Ave, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON M5S 2J4; E-mail: scott.schieman@utoronto.ca.

Word count:

RUNNING HEAD: NEIGHBORHOOD COMPOSITION STABILITY AND PROBLEMS

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ABSTRACT

Is the racial composition of the neighborhood associated with subjective assessments of neighborhood problems? If so, does that association depend on the residential stability of the community? Among a sample of adults aged 65 years and older, findings indicate that the patterns are contingent upon race. For whites, residential stability is associated negatively perceived neighborhood problems—but only when the percent black in the neighborhood is low. Those patterns hold irrespective of individual socioeconomic circumstances and community-level structural disadvantage. By contrast, for blacks, residential stability and the percentage of blacks in the neighborhood are both associated negatively with perceived neighborhood problems for individual-level socioeconomic characteristics and community-level disadvantage fully account for those patterns. These findings have implications for theories about the interplay between residential mobility and racial composition, as well as race differences in the links between contextual conditions and subjective assessments of neighborhood problems.

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A tradition of scholarship in urban sociology and criminology, and more recently, the sociological study of mental health, has examined the assessment and consequences of neighborhood context (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Ross and Mirowsky 1999; Sampson 1988; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Shaw and McKay 1942). One common theme emerges: Community-level indicators of neighborhood disadvantage and individual-level perceptions of local problems influence personal and social functioning (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996; Ross 2000). In this study, I seek to contribute to those literatures by documenting the relevance of two core contextual factors: residential stability and racial composition, asking: 1) Does residential stability and racial composition of the neighborhood influence subjective assessments of neighborhood problems? 2) If so, are those effects additive or interactive? and 3) Does that association also depend on race of the individual resident? Although numerous studies have addressed the link between racial composition and individuals' neighborhood evaluations (i.e., St. John and Bates 1990), none have considered the additive and interactive effects of residential stability and racial composition among blacks and whites. In addition, given the wellestablished race differences in the experience of residential segregation and mobility (Crowder 2000; Farley et al. 1993, 1994), and the exposure to neighborhood structural disadvantages (Schieman 2004), I examine those focal associations separately for blacks and whites.

Although neighborhood problems can be detrimental for individuals of all ages, it may impose especially stressful burdens on adults in later life and compound the risk for social isolation (Pearlin and Skaff 1996). Many elders may encounter increased feelings of vulnerability because of the loss of control, increasing impairments, and declining health

(Mirowsky 1995). Neighborhood problems may elevate feelings of threat and isolation for older residents, especially those who spend more time in the neighborhood. The discouragement of out-of-doors activities may further reduce physical activities and increase seclusion (Bazargan 1994; Covington and Taylor 1991). Moreover, neighborhood disadvantage often reflects chronic structural strains associated with inferior or scarce shopping, medical, transportation, and leisure services (LeClere et al. 1997). Older residents, for whom such resources can be accessed only at a distance, are more likely to be penalized, feeling greater abandonment from mainstream social institutions and formal service organizations (LaGrange et al. 1992; Sampson and Groves 1989; Robert 1998). Some evidence suggests that the threat of personal assault, one core influence on perceived safety, may be greater among people age 65 and older (Skogan and Maxfield 1981; St. John and Bates 1990; Taub et al. 1984). For those reasons, I test the above-cited focal associations among a sample of black and white adults age 65 and older.

BACKGROUND

Perceived Neighborhood Problems

Neighborhoods, like other domains such as the workplace, can be a blessing or a curse. The unpleasant features of neighborhood life entail visible problems that residents encounter in their pursuit of activities in the major social roles of work and family life, as well as in leisure and informal relationships. The repeated, chronic exposure to problems such as noise, traffic, vandalism, and trash on the streets represent potential indicators of physical decay and/or social disorder (Ross and Mirowsky 1999). The stress process model identifies such contextual strains, or "ambient hazards," as among the chief determinants of psychological functioning (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996; Pearlin 1999). The concept of neighborhood problems shares conceptual

terrain with constructs like "neighborhood disorder" (Ross and Mirowsky 1999; Skogan 1990), "social and physical incivilities" (LaGrange, Ferraro, and Supancic 1992), and the "lack of social control" in a particular area (Lewis and Maxfield 1980; Lewis and Salem 1986).

Subjective assessments of neighborhood problems are correlated positively with more structural disadvantages of neighborhoods (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996; Geis and Ross 1998; Perkins, Meeks, and Taylor 1992; Ross, Reynolds, and Geis 2000; Taylor, Shumaker, and Gottfredson 1985). Structural disadvantages include indicators such as the percentages of households below poverty, households receiving public assistance, single-parent female-headed households, adults without a high school education, and other census tract indicators (Robert 1998; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Wilson 1987; 1996). Among those factors, the concentration of families in poverty is often viewed as the nucleus of a constellation of other indicators of social and economic disadvantage in the community (Jargowsky 1997; Massey, Gross, and Shibuya 1994). Taken together, structural disadvantage and perceived problems are associated negatively with neighborhood satisfaction (Guest and Lee 1983; Herting and Guest 1985; LaGory, Ward, and Sherman 1985). Moreover, the empirical consensus is that both individual- and community-level forms of neighborhood stress elevate the risk for psychological distress and/or disorder (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996; Ross 2000), physical health problems (Ross and Mirowsky 2001; Sooman and Macintyre 1995), low birthweight (Collins et al. 1998), feelings of powerlessness (Geis and Ross 1998), and the sense of mistrust (Ross, Mirowsky and Pribesh 2001). Little is known, however, about the ways that two other community-level characteristics, residential stability and racial composition, independently and jointly influence individual-level assessments of neighborhood problems-and if any observed effects persist net of structural disadvantages.

The Potential Impact of Residential Stability and Racial Composition

Shaw and McKay (1942) underscored residential stability as a critical neighborhood condition because of its impact on social organization. Measures of stability typically involve the percentage of individuals in a census tract who have lived in the same household for the past five years (Ross et al. 2000). Like structural disadvantage, residential stability has social implications. Louis Wirth (1938) claimed that "a transitory habitat does not generate binding traditions and sentiments" (p. 17). More recently, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) noted that "since the assimilation of newcomers into the social fabric of local communities is necessarily a temporal process, residential mobility operates as a barrier to the development of extensive friendship and kinship bonds and widespread local associational ties" (p. 330).

Drawing upon those themes, social disorganization theory posits that residential stability enhances social integration and the likelihood that residents know each other (Sampson 1988, 1991), while residential mobility raises the likelihood that neighbors feel estranged from each other and weakens the capacity for collective action with respect to local issues (Sampson et al. 1997). A greater concentration of long-term residents may foster a social climate in which people establish familiar, enduring bonds (Freudenberg 1986). Some research supports the integrative functions of stability. In a survey of residents of England and Wales, Sampson (1988) found that residential stability is associated positively with local friendship ties, net of urbanization, density, and other community-level controls. Among a sample of adolescents, Aneshensel and Sucoff (1996) found that residential stability is associated positively with perceived social cohesion. Likewise, among Illinois adults, Ross, Reynolds, and Geis (2000) found that residential stability is associated positively with social ties to neighbors. Smith and Jarjoura (1988) document a negative relationship between residential stability and violent crime, but only in neighborhoods

with a higher level of disadvantage area. They suggest that stability may enable residents in disadvantaged areas to reduce crime. Collectively, these ideas imply that higher levels of residential stability yield more favorable social outcomes in the neighborhood. Those benefits may enhance the overall quality of neighborhood life, leaving little tolerance for the presence and persistence of local neighborhood problems.

Alternatively, some scholars have also identified the potentially deleterious impact of residential stability in combination with higher levels of structural disadvantage (Anderson 1992; Jargowsky 1997). Drawing upon Wilson's (1996) research on urban poverty, the social isolation view suggests that residential stability solidifies the deleterious effects of structural disadvantage because it keeps residents stuck in a bad situation with little hope of escape (South and Crowder 1997; Warner and Pierce 1993). Testing this idea among Illinois residents, Ross, Reynolds, and Geis (2000) found that residential stability is associated with higher levels of distress in areas with greater economic disadvantages. Therefore, higher levels of residential stability may have more negative implications for the presence and persistence of local neighborhood problems in areas that contain more structural disadvantages.

The issue of neighborhood racial composition is closely linked, both objectively and subjectively, to the presence and severity of structural disadvantages in the community. Research indicates that blacks and whites perceive as less favorable residential areas with that contain a high concentration of black residents—although those disparities are probably for different reasons (Stipak and Hensler 1982; St. John and Bates 1990). For whites, the perceived link between the presence of black residents and higher crime rates and more structural disadvantages may be fueling such negative evaluations (Taylor 1979). According to St. John and Bates (1990),

"residents use neighborhood racial composition as a symbol representing, or even explaining, crime and deterioration" (48).

The potential for race differences in the focal associations outlined above is underscored by Berry and Kasarda's (1977) contention that race remains a "master status" for many whites, net of socioeconomic conditions. Racial composition influences the status of neighborhoods. Therefore, the central thesis is that as the proportion of black residents in the neighborhood increases, the neighborhood itself becomes less desirable. Collectively, these ideas yield the prediction that the percentage of black residents in the neighborhood should have a more negative association with perceived neighborhood problems among whites as compared to blacks, *even net of individual- and community-level socioeconomic conditions*.

Some research also documents that blacks tend to prefer residing in areas that are more equally integrated, as opposed to neighborhoods that are on one extreme or the other in terms of racial composition (Farley et al. 1978). That finding indirectly implies a potential curvilinear relationship between percent black in the neighborhood and perceived neighborhood problems. More recently, Krysan and Farley (2002) documented that blacks tend to prefer integrated areas, contending that blacks are more willing to reside in a neighborhood if there is a visible black presence. However, they argue that white individuals tend to be more "reluctant to move into neighborhoods with more than a few blacks" (p. 937). Others have documented an interaction between race and neighborhood racial composition such that percentage black is associated negatively (and linearly) with neighborhood evaluation among whites; by contrast, for blacks, neighborhood evaluations are more favorable as the proportion black increases up to a point (St. John and Bates 1990). However, levels of neighborhood desirability diminish as the concentration of blacks increases to more highly segregated levels. That study, which used

vignettes instead of the real experiences of residents in their actual neighborhoods, found evidence suggestive of the lower status of neighborhoods with high concentration of blacks because the effects remained net of other neighborhood conditions.

METHODS

Sample

The data in this sample derive from in-person interviews with people 65 years and older residing in the District of Columbia and two adjoining Maryland counties, Prince George's and Montgomery. Consistent with the purpose of the project to investigate status inequality and health disparities, we sought a sample that is socially and economically diverse. The three locales subsume this diversity. Sample selection and recruitment began with the Medicare Beneficiary files for the three areas. In addition to the names of all people 65 years and older who are entitled to Medicare, the files provided information about the race and gender of each beneficiary. The next step entailed selection from the large pool of potential participants. To maximize the social and economic diversity, we randomly selected a total of 4,800 names equally divided among the three locales, blacks and whites, women and men, creating twelve groups, each containing 400 names. The goal was to enlist a sample of 1,200 people living independently, with approximately 100 in each of the 12 groups. Approximately 65 percent of all eligible respondents who were contacted (1,741) agreed to participate, yielding a total sample of 1,167 cases. For the present analysis, I exclude cases with missing responses to the focal measures (described below), leaving 1,138 cases. Although the sample by no means is representative of the general community over age 65, we did discover that the age, sex, and race distributions of the sample approximate those of the three study areas in the 2000 Census (analyses available upon request).

Focal Measures

Perceived neighborhood problems. To measure participants' subjective assessment of neighborhood problems, I use a modified version of the Ross and Mirowsky (1999) "neighborhood disorder" scale. A list of the items and factor loadings from principal components analysis is shown in Appendix Table 1. Respondents were asked the degree to which the following statements describes what they see and experience in their neighborhood ("the area around where you live"). The response categories are "not at all" (1), "somewhat" (2), "quite a bit" (3), and "very much" (4). I averaged the items to create the index; higher scores indicate a greater extent of perceived neighborhood problems.

Residential stability. An item from the Census 2000, residential stability, assesses the percentage of people in a tract who have resided in the same location for the past five years. Higher scores indicate greater residential stability.

Percentage of black residents in the neighborhood. Another item from the Census 2000 assesses the percentage of individuals in the census tract population who are black. Higher scores indicate that the tract contains a higher percentage of black individuals.

Control Measures

Gender is coded 1 for women and 0 for men. *Age* is coded in years. A question about *educational attainment* asks respondents: "Can you tell me how far you went in school?" Response choices are "8th grade or less" (1), "some high school but did not graduate" (2), "high school graduate or GED" (3), "specialized (vocational) training" (4), "some college but no degree earned" (5), and "college graduate or more" (6).

I also included a measure of *household income*: "Would you please tell me the number that gives the best estimate of your total household income before taxes, last year (2000). By total household income we mean the total salaries for all of the people living in your home plus all other sources of income. Other sources of income would include such things as money market funds, social security, pensions, real estate, or government entitlements." Respondents were shown a card that contained the following categories: "less than \$10,000," "\$10,000 - \$19,999," "\$20,000 - \$29,999," "\$30,000 - \$39,999," "\$40,000 - \$49,999," "\$50,000 - \$59,999," "\$60,000 - \$69,999," "\$70,000 - \$79,999," "\$80,000 - \$89,999," "\$90,000 - \$99,999," and "\$100,000 or more." I imputed the mean value (\$50-59,999) for the 8.65 percent of missing cases and included a dummy code to adjust for it in our models (1 = missing, 0 = not missing).²

Five items ask respondents about *economic hardship*: "Thinking of current times, how difficult is it for you to meet the following needs?" Items include housing, food, transportation, medical, and clothing expenses. Response choices are "not at all difficult" (1), "somewhat difficult" (2), and "very difficult" (3). I standardized and averaged the items to create the index; higher scores indicate more economic hardship ($\alpha = .787$).

To assess *residential tenure*, one item asks respondents the number of years that they have resided in the same residence.

Home ownership is coded "1" if the participant owns a home, "0" otherwise.

Neighborhood structural disadvantage. The index of *neighborhood structural disadvantage* is composed of the six items from the Census 2000 (see Appendix Table 2). Items are similar to measures in prior research (e.g., Land, McCall, and Cohen 1990; Sampson et al. 1997). A principal components factor analysis indicates that items load on one construct. To

create the index, I standardized and averaged the items; higher scores indicate more disadvantage.

Analytical Strategy

In a series of regression models, I regress perceived neighborhood problems on residential stability (model 1), neighborhood racial composition (model 2), both of those conditions simultaneously (model 3), and their interaction (model 4). Those steps allow the assessment of unique and independent effects, as well as interactive effects. In models 5, I include individual-level conditions associated with socioeconomic statuses, economic hardship, residential tenure, and home ownership to assess their influence on the focal associations. Likewise, model 6 adds the community-level assessment of structural disadvantages. Both models 5 and 6 test hypotheses that any observed effects of residential stability and racial composition occur indirectly via those control variables. I centered the residential stability measure prior to including it in the analyses; Tables 2 and 3 and Figures 1 and 3 reflect those centered values. Centering involves subtracting each score from the mean, producing deviation scores with a mean of zero. This reduces multicollinearity between the interaction coefficient and lower-order terms (Aiken and West 1991; Mirowsky 1999).

I use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression techniques. Hierarchical linear model techniques tend to be used to analyze multilevel data. In some instances of multilevel analyses, traditional OLS regression methods may yield somewhat less efficient estimates than hierarchical linear models. However, Robert (1998) asserts that such techniques "were designed for data sets that have both within-group and between-group variation, requiring many cases within each of many groups" (p. 24). In my study, the majority of census tracts have fewer than 5

cases, 7 tracts contain more than 10 cases, and only 1 tract has more than 20 cases. According to Duncan, Connell, and Klebanov (1997), using census data as indicators of community-level socioeconomic conditions, such as neighborhood disadvantage, should not raise too much concern about inefficiency. At most, the serial correlations produced by clustering cases in the census tracts can be handled with adjustments that yield more robust standard errors. Standard OLS regression assumes that observations are uncorrelated. However, because some census tracts contain more than 1 case, I utilize a clustering technique (in Stata; see Hamilton 2004, p. 258) that relaxes the assumptions that observations are independent and allows observations to be correlated within census tracts. Estimates reported in Tables 2 and 3 are re-weighted by the variance-covariance matrix which allows for correlations across observations within census tracts.

RESULTS

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for the total sample and by race. Overall, blacks report a significantly higher level of perceived neighborhood problems than whites. However, there are no race differences in residential stability. In terms of race differences in racial composition of the neighborhood, whites are much more likely to reside in census tracts with a low percentage of blacks (0 to 24 percent), while blacks are much more likely to reside in tracts with a high percentage of blacks (75 to 100 percent). By contrast, roughly the same proportion of whites and blacks reside in census tracts in which blacks comprise 25 to 49 percent or 50 to 74 percent of the population. In addition, whites report significantly higher levels of education, income, and home ownership, while blacks report higher levels of economic hardship and are

much more likely to reside in census tracts with a higher level of structural disadvantage. Blacks and whites do not differ, however, in their average level of residential tenure.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Findings among Whites

Model 1 of Table 2 shows that residential stability is associated negatively with perceived neighborhood problems, net of sex and age. The association is strong and statistically significant at the .001 level. In addition, model 2 shows that whites who reside in neighborhoods with a higher concentration of blacks tend to report more neighborhood problems compared to those in neighborhoods with fewer black residents. In particular, the non-significant coefficient for "percentage black 25 - 49" indicates that there is a sharp distinction between whites who reside in tracts in which less than fifty percent of the residents are black and whites who reside in neighborhoods in which fifty percent or more of the residents are black.

A suppression effect emerges in model 3 with the simultaneous inclusion of residential stability and racial composition. The residential stability coefficient increases from -.610 to -.747, indicating that the negative association between residential stability and perceived neighborhood problems would be even more negative were it not for the fact that residential stability is associated *positively* with the percentage black in the neighborhood (see Figure 1).

Model 4 shows that residential stability and racial composition interact in their influence on perceived neighborhood problems. Specifically, as the top panel of Figure 2 illustrates, the negative association between residential stability and perceived problems occurs only among whites who reside in neighborhoods that have few black residents (under 24 percent). By contrast, the positive and significant interaction coefficients for residential stability × percentage black 25 - 49 and residential stability × percentage black 50 - 74 undermine the negative

association between stability and perceived problems; the flat lines in the top panel of Figure 2 illustrate those patterns. Likewise, although the residential stability × percentage black 75 - 100 coefficient is positive, it is only marginally significant (p = .056). In sum, it appears that the association between residential stability and perceived neighborhood problems is only negative among white elders who reside in neighborhoods with a low concentration of blacks.

In model 5, among the individual-level socioeconomic conditions and residential statuses, only economic hardship is associated negatively with perceived neighborhood problems. Likewise, in model 6, neighborhood structural disadvantage is associated positively with perceived problems. Adjustments for individual- and community-level socioeconomic conditions reduces the overall association between residential stability and perceived neighborhood problems among whites who reside in neighborhoods with a low concentration of black residents (comparing predictions in the top and bottom panels of Figure 2). However, those same adjustments increase the coefficient for residential stability \times percentage black 75 – 100 from .932 (model 4) to 1.388 (model 6) and the effect becomes statistically significant at the p < .01level. Specific controls for economic hardship and structural disadvantage contribute to that suppression effect. In a separate analysis (not shown), I found that whites who reside in neighborhoods that have a high concentration of blacks tend to report levels of economic hardship that are similar to whites who reside in neighborhoods with the low concentration of blacks. Moreover, although percentage black is associated positively with structural disadvantage (see Figure 3), the level of structural disadvantage is also not much higher than it is among whites who reside in the middle two categories of "percent black". This pattern may be attributable to the fact that some areas of Prince George's and Montgomery counties in Maryland contain a high concentration of middle- and upper-class black residents (low structural

disadvantage). Whites who reside in those areas are also probably well-off economically. Conversely, whites are probably much more likely to have left areas that contain both a higher concentration of blacks and higher level of structural disadvantage.

[INSERT TABLE 2 AND FIGURES 1 – 3 ABOUT HERE]

Findings among Blacks

The nonsignificant coefficient for residential stability (b = -.174) in model 1 of Table 3 implies that residential stability is unrelated to perceived neighborhood problems among blacks, net of sex and age. Model 2 indicates that blacks who reside in neighborhoods that have a higher concentration of black residents report a higher level of neighborhood problems compared to those in neighborhoods with fewer blacks. Unlike for whites, black residents in areas with 74 to 100 percent black report more problems than the residents in areas with 50 to 74 percent black.

The simultaneous inclusion of residential stability and racial composition in model 3 reveals a substantial suppression effect: The size of the negative residential stability coefficient *increases* in the negative direction from -.174 to -.540 and the effect becomes statistically significant at the p < .01 level. Those patterns indicate that residential stability would have a negative association with perceived neighborhood problems were it not for the fact that residential stability is associated positively with percentage black in the neighborhood (see Figure 1). In addition, model 4 indicates that the association between racial composition and perceived neighborhood problems does not vary across levels of residential stability.

Models 5 and 6 include individual- and community-level conditions. Those adjustments fully account for the effects of residential stability and the racial composition of the neighborhood. The top and bottom panels of Figure 4 illustrate the impact of individual and community conditions as mediators. The predicted slopes flatten, indicating that individual and

community conditions account for the negative effect of residential tenure. Moreover, the gap between the predicted lines decreases dramatically, reflecting the reduction in the size of the percentage black coefficients. Overall, neighborhood structural disadvantage accounts for most of that mediating influence. In sum, then, blacks who reside in areas with a higher concentration of black residents tend to experience a higher level of structural disadvantage, which, in turn, contributes to their higher level of perceived neighborhood problems.

It is also noteworthy that residential tenure is associated positively with perceived problems. It may be that black residents who have remained at the same place of residence longer are more sensitive to neighborhood problems. By contrast, home owners tend to report fewer neighborhood problems than elders who do not own a home. A separate analysis (not shown) indicates that without residential tenure in the model, the coefficient for home ownership is not statistically significant (b = -.051, p = .351). However, home owners have a longer average residential tenure. Therefore, simultaneous inclusion yields a suppression effect.

[INSERT TABLE 3 AND FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

DISCUSSION [Incomplete...in progress]

There is increasing interest in the study of neighborhood effects. Although many prior studies have documented important consequences of an array of contextual conditions on a diverse range of psychological and social outcomes, few studies (if any) have addressed the complex linkages among residential stability, racial composition, and perceived neighborhood problems—net of individual- and community-level socioeconomic and residential circumstances. In the present study, I document that residential stability and racial composition have additive and interactive effects, although those patterns are contingent upon race.

Among whites, residential stability and racial composition of the neighborhood combine such that stability is associated negatively with perceived neighborhood problems irrespective of individual and community conditions. By contrast, among blacks, residential stability is associated negatively with neighborhood problems only after racial composition is accounted for, suggesting that the measure of residential stability among blacks who reside in neighborhoods with a higher concentration of blacks may have dramatically different meanings than stability among those in areas with fewer blacks residents. Specifically, the fact that the adjustment for neighborhood structural disadvantage accounts for the negative effects of residential stability and racial composition implies that residential "stability" may indicate concentrated structural disadvantages, residential segregation, and restricted access to residential mobility.

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c	
Scale Items	Factor Loadings
Perceived Neighborhood Problems ^a	
Your neighborhood is noisy.	.706
There is vandalism.	.698
There are run-down houses or buildings.	.656
There is trash on the streets.	.702
People hang around on the streets.	.797
There is crime.	.768
There is alcohol and drug use.	.854
There is heavy traffic.	.485

APPENDIX TABLE 1. Principal Components Factor Analysis of Perceived Neighborhood Problems Items

^a Response categories are "not at all" (1), "somewhat" (2), "quite a bit" (3), and "very much" (4); averaged to create index ($\alpha = .816$).

APPENDIX TABLE 2. Correlations among a	and Factor L	padings for	r Census Ite	ems in the N	Veighborho	od Structura	al Disadvanta	ige Index by H	lace
(Statistics for Blacks	Shown are E	elow the I	Diagonal an	d Above th	e Diagonal	for Whites			
							Fa	ctor Loadings	
Item	1	2	ŝ	4	5	9	Blacks ^b	Whites ^c	Total
1. Households Below Poverty Line	I	.303	.278	.488	555	382	.922	.638	.880
2. Female-Headed Households	.770	I	.536	.517	457	529	.851	.736	.854
3. Individuals Receiving Public Assistance	.832	.748		.470	375	603	.842	.718	.832
4. Overcrowded Households	.554	.534	.457	I	522	750	.748	.840	.795
5. Median Household Income ^a	726	677	583	583	I	.515	849	749	792
6. High School Education ^a	775	583	633	731	.744	I	878	850	887
Note: All correlation coefficients are statistic	cally signific	ant at $p <$.0001 (two-	tailed test).					

^a Item is reverse coded in the neighborhood structural disadvantage index ($\alpha = .917$). ^b $\alpha = .922$. ^c $\alpha = .850$.

TABLE 1. Descriptive Statistics for the To	otal Sample and by Rac	e					
	Total Sample (N	l = 1, 138)	White	s (n = 575)	Blacks	(n = 563)	I
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	I
Perceived Neighborhood Problems	1.364^{**}	.428	1.324	.361	1.403	.485	
Residential Stability	.549	.124	.531	.124	.568	.122	
Percentage Black 0 – 24 ^a	.461***		.682		.236		
Percentage Black 25 – 49 ^a	.151		.141		.162		
Percentage Black 50 – 74 ^a	.120		.108		.133		
Percentage Black $75 - 100^{a}$.267***		.070		.469		
Women ^a	.502		.501		.503		
Age	75.553	6.494	76.183	6.565	74.909	6.363	
Years of Education	4.418***	1.700	4.939	1.401	3.866	1.812	
Household Income	5.699**	3.140	6.659	3.162	4.718	2.797	
Economic Hardship	002^{***}	808.	072	.751	690.	.858	
Residential Tenure	24.843	14.780	25.787	14.720	23.879	14.791	
Home Owner ^a	.793***		.856		.728		
Neighborhood Disadvantage	005***	.837	375	.512	.373	.931	
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .01$ (Tests f	or differences between	means or p	roportions fo	or whites and bl	acks)		
^a Proportion.							

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	1	2	3	4	5	9
Focal Associations						
Residential Stability	610^{***}		747***	-1.067***	-1.097 * * *	816^{***}
•	(000)		(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)
Percentage Black 25 – 49 ^a	Ì	.050	.056	.084	.065	005
		(.315)	(.273)	(.082)	(.182)	(.914)
Percentage Black 50 – 74 ^a		.135*	.186**	.152**	.135*	.078
		(.030)	(.004)	(.007)	(.017)	(.180)
Percentage Black $75 - 100^{a}$.159*	.221***	.205**	.185**	.065
1		(.019)	(.001)	(.002)	(.005)	(.396)
Residential Stability \times Percentage Black 25 – 49 ^a				1.165^{**}	1.235^{**}	1.121**
				(.013)	(800.)	(.013)
Residential Stability × Percentage Black $50 - 74^{a}$				1.502^{***}	1.516^{***}	1.559^{***}
				(000)	(.001)	(.001)
Residential Stability × Percentage Black 75 – 100^{a}				.932	1.121^{**}	1.388^{**}
				(.056)	(.015)	(.003)
asic Sociodemographic Variables						
Women = 1	000	005	013	021	041	038
	(.994)	(.866)	(.652)	(.435)	(.161)	(.190)
Age	006**	005*	006**	007***	008***	008***
	(.007)	(.042)	(900)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
ndividual-Level Conditions						
Years of Education					.015	.023
					(.259)	(.068)
Household Income					008	003
					(.166)	(.605)
Economic Hardship					.062**	.055*
					(600)	(010)

TABLE 2. (Continued)						
	1	2	с,	4	5	6
Residential Tenure					.002	.001
					(.115)	(.241)
Home $Owner = 1$					026	027
					(.662)	(.665)
Community-Level Conditions						
Neighborhood Structural Disadvantage						.165***
,						(.001)
Constant	1.317	1.297	1.277	1.272	1.313	1.392
\mathbb{R}^2	.052	.032	.094	.127	.156	.185
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed tests)						

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. ^a Compared to respondents who reside in census tracts where the percentage black is 0 - 24.

	, -	7	m	4	5	9
Focal Associations						
Residential Stability	- 174		-540**	- 868***	- 447**	-0.31
	(.377)		(.003)	(.001)	(.008)	(.857)
Percentage Black 25 – 49 ^a		.019	.003	.014	015	079*
)		(.702)	(.943)	(.749)	(.717)	(.049)
Percentage Black 50 – 74 ^a		.187**	.210***	.215**	.154**	.080
		(.005)	(.001)	(.002)	(.011)	(.137)
Percentage Black 75 – 100 ^a		.367***	.395***	.392***	.287***	.093
		(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)	(.057)
Residential Stability × Percentage Black 25 – 49 ^a				.579		
				(.106)		
Residential Stability × Percentage Black 50 – 74 ^a				.240		
				(.674)		
Residential Stability × Percentage Black $75 - 100^{a}$.432		
				(.325)		
Basic Sociodemographic Variables						
Women = 1	044	026	035	033	047	039
	(.327)	(.515)	(.383)	(.409)	(.241)	(.307)
Age	004	005	004	004	010^{**}	009**
	(.261)	(.183)	(.207)	(.188)	(.002)	(.004)
Individual-Level Conditions						
Years of Education					034	024*
					(.008)	(.038)
Household Income					011	002
					(.143)	(.805)
Economic Hardship					.034	.035
					(.208)	(.197)

TABLE 3. (Continued)						
	1	2	ю	4	5	6
Residential Tenure					***900'	.005***
					(.000)	(.001)
Home $Owner = I$					14/**	122
					(.012)	(.026)
Community-Level Conditions						
Neighborhood Structural Disadvantage						.178***
						(000)
Constant	1.427	1.214	1.215	1.212	1.367	1.392
\mathbb{R}^2	.007	.124	.141	.144	.213	.280
* <i>p</i> < .05; ** <i>p</i> < .01; *** <i>p</i> < .001 (2-tailed tests)						

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. ^a Compared to respondents who reside in census tracts where the percentage black is 0 - 24.



FIGURE 1. Residential Stability and Percentage Black in Neighborhoods



FIGURE 2. Percentage Black in the Neighborhood, Residential Stability, and Perceived Neighborhood Problems among Whites

Note: Top panel illustrates unadjusted predictions from Model 3 in Table 3; Bottom panel illustrates adjusted predictions from Model 6 in Table 3. Values on the residential stability index are centered (observed score – mean).



FIGURE 3. Percentage Black in the Neighborhood and Structural Disadvantage



FIGURE 4. Percentage Black in the Neighborhood, Residential Stability, and Perceived Neighborhood Problems among Blacks

Note: Top panel illustrates unadjusted predictions from Model 3 in Table 3; Bottom panel illustrates adjusted predictions from Model 6 in Table 3. Values on the residential stability index are centered (observed score – mean).