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WORKING PAPER

Black People Don't Exercise in my
Neighborhood: Relationship between Perceived
Racial Composition and Leisure-time Physical
Activity among Middle Class Blacks and Whites

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Author :

Rashawn Ray
University of
Maryland



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ABSTRACT

Using a sample of middle class blacks and whites living in urban and suburban areas, this paper focuses on how perceptions of the racial composition of neighborhoods influence leisure-time physical activity. Using a composite variable that measures the perceived percentage of blacks and whites in respondents' neighborhoods, the results show that black men, relative to white men, white women, and black women, are less likely to be physically active in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white. Alternatively, they are more likely to be physically active in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black. Conversely, black women, relative to other race-gender groups, are less likely to engage in physical activity in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black. Drawing upon the intersectionality framework, I discuss how perceptions of criminalization and safety lead to different levels of leisure-time physical activity for middle class black women and men relative to their white middle class counterparts.

HIGHLIGHTS

- The intersectionality framework is important for research on health disparities.
- This study uses a sample of middle class blacks and whites to examine physical activity.
- Black men are less physically active in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white.
- Black women are less physically active in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black.
- The influence of criminalization and safety on physical activity is discussed.

Black People Don't Exercise in my Neighborhood: Perceived Racial Composition and Leisure-time Physical Activity among Middle Class Blacks and Whites

Physical activity is linked to reducing obesity, morbidity, mortality, chronic diseases, and depression (National Center for Health Statistics 2010; Stensvold et al. 2011; Katzmarzyk and Lear 2012; Lee et al. 2012). Despite these benefits, most Americans do not engage in the recommended amount of physical activity (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2008b; Mendes 2009; National Center for Health Statistics 2010). As is the case with other health-related behavior, there are racial differences in physical activity. Approximately half of blacks and one-third of whites over 18 are physically inactive (National Center for Health Statistics 2010). Research shows that, in general, the higher one's social class, the more likely he or she is to be physically active (Tudor-Locke and Bassett, Jr. 2004). However, among blacks, social class does not explain the high prevalence of physical inactivity (Bennett et al. 2007; Coogan et al. 2011).

So why are middle class blacks less physically active than their white middle class counterparts? This focus on the middle class, and the black middle class in particular, is important for two reasons. First, it permits holding social class constant to compare individuals with similar occupations, levels of education, and income. Second, the black middle class is viewed as an example of racial progress. In this case, the high level of obesity and physical inactivity among middle class blacks stalls this progress because a higher social class status does not seem to provide the same health benefits to blacks as it does to whites.

While neighborhood resources (Williams and Collins 2001; Schulz et al. 2002; Bennett et al. 2006; Gordon-Larsen et al. 2006) are shown to be an important factor in increasing or decreasing physical activity, Oka, Link, and Kawachi (2012) found that the physical activity and food environments of local areas do not sufficiently explain the obesity rates of local residents.

In other words, there are other factors (in addition to neighborhood resources) contributing to these differences. I argue that one key factor that may contribute to this problem is how individuals perceive the racial composition of their neighborhoods. These perceptions manifest in schemas related to criminalization and safety. These schemas may, in turn, decrease leisure-time physical activity for black men relative to whites in certain neighborhoods and black women relative to whites in others.

Utilizing the intersectionality framework and using a sample of middle class blacks and whites living in urban and suburban neighborhoods, I examine how perceptions of neighborhood racial composition influence racial and gender differences in leisure-time physical activity. I do not assume racial or gender homogeneity and instead explicitly compare the experiences of black women, black men, white women, and white men. I first discuss the theoretical and methodological utility of the intersectionality framework for this analysis. Then, I use existing literature on neighborhood segregation and discrimination to interrogate how the racial composition of neighborhoods may lead to different levels of leisure-time physical activity for middle class blacks and whites. I do not purport to provide an exhaustive review of the literature. Rather, the background section focuses on research that speaks to the role of perceptions and racial composition in decision-making processes and behavior.

BACKGROUND

Utility of Intersectionality for Health Disparities

The intersectionality framework can be a useful theoretical and methodological tool for broadening the breadth of research on health disparities and intersectional identities (Wilkins 2012). The purpose of the intersectionality framework is to provide a lens to construct a space

for the multiplicity of social identities that provide context-specific scripts for marginalized groups (Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett 2003; McCall 2005). The multiplicity of social identities is the initial race X gender interaction variable that “focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories” (McCall 2005, p. 1786). Rather than simply controlling for race or gender in a statistical model, the analysis in this paper compares the level of leisure-time physical activity of four race-gender groups—black women, black men, white women, and white men. In this case, interaction variables or separate models (one for each race-gender group) can be used to examine intergroup and intragroup differences. The context-specific scripts are the perceptions that individuals form about their neighborhoods. These perceptions stem from the social interactions individuals have with others in and around their neighborhoods. These social interactions are often influenced by the race and gender identities of the individuals in the interaction.

This intersectional perspective is what McCall (2005) calls the “intercategorical complexity” (or categorical) approach. Choo and Ferree (2010, p. 134) call this approach the “process-centered model of intersectionality.”¹ As I do here, this sort of analysis is able to explicitly compare the outcomes of black women, black men, white women, and white men. This analysis can also examine the effects of specific covariates for each group. This approach

¹ Admittedly, McCall (2005) takes a fairly pessimistic view that quantitative intersectionality research employing the categorical approach can get published in “top peer-reviewed journals” (p. 1787). In fact she states, “Indeed, there is much hostility toward such complexity; most journals are devoted to additive linear models and incremental improvements in already well-developed bodies of research” (McCall 2005:1787). However, there are some examples to draw upon to push this agenda forward, including McCall’s (2001) own work that employs the categorical approach. Another example is Noy and Ray’s (2012) quantitative examination of graduate students’ perceptions of their advisors that provides a blueprint of the categorical approach. Using a data set of roughly 4,000 doctoral students in 11 disciplines at 27 universities, Noy and Ray (2012) utilize the intersectionality framework to test whether women of color report less advisor support than White women, men of color, and White men. Thus, this analysis is specifically comparing the experiences of four different groups in different disciplines. These scholars found that women of color (across all disciplines) report less instrumental support (compared to White women and White men) and less respect for their ideas (compared to White women, White men, and men of color). Representing the categorical approach to intersectionality, I employ the same type of analysis in this article for examining racial and gender differences in physical activity.

“begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the center of analysis... The subject is multigroup, and the method is systematically comparative” (McCall 2005, p. 1784-1786). This approach is in some ways similar to previous research examining the relationship between the racial composition of neighborhoods and the race and social class of local residents (Alba and Logan 1993; Logan, Alba, and Leung 1996). I extend this work by focusing on how the intersection of race, gender, and social class identities as well as perceptions of neighborhood racial composition and neighborhood resources influences physical activity. Accordingly, I compare how the perceived racial composition of neighborhoods impacts leisure-time physical activity across four race-gender groups.

Ferree and Choo (2010) argue that the categorical or process-centered approach to intersectionality “runs the risk of focusing on abstract structures” by downplaying individuals’ agency who are simultaneously “experiencing the impact of micro- and meso-interactions” (p. 134). They state that researchers can overcome this limitation by focusing on “cultural meanings and the social construction of categories” (Choo and Ferree 2010, p. 134). Taking the concrete steps outlined here overcomes this limitation by grounding this analysis in perception measures that capture how social constructions manifest to shape physical activity. In this regard, individual agency is inherently present in the study.

Collectively, the intersectionality framework suggests that race- and gender-based experiences affect how perceptions of the racial composition of neighborhoods impact leisure-time physical activity. These perceptions shape the process that black women, black men, white women, and white men undergo to make determinations about which spaces to engage in physical activity. If these spaces are racialized or gendered, physical activity may decrease for

certain groups while increasing for others. Although intersectionality is normally applied to black women, it is also applicable to black men. Similar to black women, black men's identities straddle the intersection of race and gender. While black women are sexualized, black men are criminalized. Criminalization may lead to less leisure-time physical activity for black men depending on the racial composition of the neighborhood.

Intersectional Variations of the Middle Class Neighborhood Experience

Middle class neighborhoods, compared to lower class neighborhoods, are normally more desirable because they have better schools, higher appreciating homes, and less crime (Charles 2003, 2006). For leisure-time physical activity, middle class neighborhoods normally offer more facilities, organized programs, and green, walkable, and safe spaces (Bennett et al. 2007; Papas et al. 2007). Based on these characteristics, it is expected that leisure-time physical activity may increase in these neighborhoods for individuals regardless of race. However, research on segregation, discrimination, and criminalization suggest that we cannot assume that the experiences and behaviors of whites and blacks in the same neighborhood context is similar (Alba and Logan 1993; Loga, Alba, and Leung 1996; La Veist and Wallace 2000; La Veist et al. 2011).

Most neighborhoods, regardless of the social class of the residents, are plagued by racial segregation leading to most being either predominately white or predominately black, even in the suburbs (Alba and Logan 1993; Massey and Denton 1993; Charles 2003). Accordingly, there are some key differences between predominately black and white neighborhoods that may structure leisure-time physical activity. First, on average, predominately black neighborhoods have fewer resources than predominately white neighborhoods (Pattillo 1999; Charles 2003). More

specifically, predominately black neighborhoods have fewer facilities for leisure-time physical activity and fewer green and walkable spaces. Second, predominately black neighborhoods are typically objectively less safe. Objective forms of safety can be measured as a resident's exposure to violent crime (e.g., murder, vandalism, robbery) and other factors like poverty rates. However, subjective forms of safety also matter. Research shows that a lack of lighting and open spaces as well as the mere presence of blacks increases perceptions that a neighborhood is less safe (Bennett et al. 2007; Feagin 2008; McConaughy and White 2011). Furthermore, perceptions of less safety increase in predominately black neighborhoods because they are more likely to be situated in or closer to working class or poor areas (Pattillo 1999; Sharkey 2014). This positioning leads to a spillover effect that suggests predominately black neighborhoods are ubiquitously less safe than predominately white neighborhoods (Pattillo 1999, 2008). Additionally, neighborhoods that are black and middle class tend to be lower middle class relative to white middle class neighborhoods (Pattillo 1999; Sharkey 2014). Research shows that neighborhoods with fewer facilities and less safety have less leisure-time physical activity and worse health outcomes among their residents (LaVeist and Wallace 2000; Papas et al. 2007). *Therefore, I hypothesize that neighborhoods perceived as predominately black will also be perceived as having fewer resources and less safety.*

Based on the neighborhood profiles detailing above, it seems that individuals living in predominately white neighborhoods would engage in more physical activity regardless of race. However, researchers note that the implications of segregation operate differently by race (Alba and Logan 1993; Logan, Alba, and Leung 1996). I am arguing that segregation may also operate differently at the intersection of race and gender. Although middle class white men as well as women (as women are primarily affected by safety and perceptions of safety more than men)

may engage in more physical activity in predominately white neighborhoods (Bennett et al. 2007), black men may experience a heightened level of criminalization in predominately white neighborhoods that results in less physical activity. Research on black men in public spaces asserts that predominately white environments lead to a heightened level of visibility and racial profiling for black men that may result in less community engagement (Feagin and Sikes 1995; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Feagin 2010; Ray and Rosow 2012). In his examination of the social relations between whites and blacks in the 21st century, Feagin (2010) found that whites have limited social class cues to tell differences among black men (i.e., professor, lawyer, delivery man, criminal). Feagin states, “Many whites have fearful reactions to a black man encountered on streets, in public transport, and in elevators” (Feagin 2010, p.108). Compared to other race-gender groups, McConnaughy and White (2011) find that whites perceive black men as more violent, unpleasant, promiscuous, unintelligent, and less ambitious and nurturing. Psychologists have found that some whites are more likely to perceive black men as aggressive, have a similar fear of black men as they do of snakes and spiders, and are more likely to pull the trigger of a gun quicker on an unarmed, black man compared to an unarmed, white man, and even at times an armed white man (Eberhardt et al. 2004; Correll et al. 2006; Trawalter et al. 2008). Consequently, most black men become criminalized, even those who live next door to whites in middle class neighborhoods.

Middle class black men’s experiences with whites start long before they move into predominately white neighborhoods. As teenagers, blacks are more likely to be perceived as adults (Ratta et al. 2012). Experiences in college often help shape middle class black men’s perceptions of interacting in predominately white environments. While collegiate white men are able to gain purchase on their high-status because a white racial identity affords them certain

advantages in public spaces and predominately white environments (e.g., ability to blend into a crowd, interact as individuals, and experience a lack of accountability for the behavior of other white men), collegiate black men experience a hyper-level of visibility and more policing in these same spaces (Ray and Rosow 2012; Ray 2013). This heightened level of visibility increases the likelihood of unjust treatment, which leads to more stress and less community engagement. If black men are less likely to engage in their community due to profiling and policing, they also may be less likely to walk, run, or engage in other forms of leisure-time physical active in these neighborhoods. *Therefore, I hypothesize that middle class black men will be less likely to engage in physical activity in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white.*

Although middle class black men may be less physically active in predominately white neighborhoods, they may actually be more physically active in predominately black neighborhoods. Predominately black neighborhoods may provide a level of comfort as black men are less likely to be hyper-visible and racially marked (Pattillo 1999). Some of these public spaces include parks and gyms. While predominately black neighborhoods are often less safe, Bennett and colleagues (2007) found that safety concerns do not affect men's level of physical activity.

Yet, the benefits that predominately black neighborhoods afford black men in terms of comfort for leisure-time physical activity may not exist for black women. First, women, unlike their male counterparts, are affected by safety concerns. Bennett and colleagues (2007) found that women are significantly less likely to be physically active as safety concerns increase. Second, well-resourced neighborhoods, which are also more likely to be middle class and predominately white areas, have facilities and programs that cater specifically to women. These "women-only" zones may provide protection from "catcalling" and the male gaze while women

engage in physical activity (Ray 2014). On average, predominately black neighborhoods, regardless of social class composition, have fewer facilities and programs that cater to the childcare needs of working mothers (Charles 2003). Childcare is important considering that the family-work life literature shows “that women are still pulling the ‘second shift’ at home by having to do most of the caregiving and housework after they come home from their paid jobs. Black women, compared to white women, are more likely to work full-time, less likely to be married, and more likely to have children in the home” (Ray 2014, p. 783). *Take together, I hypothesize that black women will be less likely to engage in physical activity in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black.*

METHODS

In order to test the three hypotheses detailed above, I used data from a larger study entitled the “The Barriers and Incentives to Physical Activity Survey.” I constructed the survey and hired Qualtrics to use their pre-existing national panel of Americans to obtain a sample of college-educated blacks and whites. To my knowledge, “The Barriers and Incentives to Physical Activity Survey” is the only dataset that includes a sample of blacks and whites who have obtained a bachelor’s degree or above, an oversample of middle class black women, and measures on neighborhood perceptions and physical activity. Qualtrics recruited respondents through various sources using techniques and online campaigns designed to attract a sample of middle class blacks and whites. Qualtrics’ techniques are able to tap into how individuals are motivated to participate in research studies in an online environment. Based on these techniques, Qualtrics has compiled a participant community for online surveys. All panel participants are

pre-screened to fit a specific study and consent to participate. Panel members are provided with various methods to opt-out of a survey.

Similar to other online panel platforms, such as GfK Knowledge Networks Panel, Qualtrics allows researchers to make sample specifications to maximize group comparisons. To examine barriers to physical activity among middle class blacks and whites using an intersectionality framework, this study oversampled black women, included only college-educated respondents, limited the age range to 22-64, included only employed respondents (full- or part-time) living in either urban or suburban neighborhoods, and targeted all regions of the United States.

Given the utility of the intersectionality framework, oversampling black women allowed me to focus on this group. Additionally, it allowed me to overcome the limitations of previous studies that have relied on small samples to make claims about blacks (see Tudor-Locke and Bassett, Jr. 2004). Given respondents' income and education levels, they are considered to be well within the middle class category (Hout 2008; Hunt and Ray 2012). The age restriction allowed me to capitalize on individuals who are beyond college but not to retirement age, most likely to have children, and most likely to work for pay (U.S Census Bureau 2010). Considering that the United States was in the middle of a recession during data collection, I restricted the analysis to individuals currently in the paid labor force. This decision reduces the chance that a respondent's unemployment status may decrease leisure-time physical activity due to links with depression and other stressors (Camacho et al. 1991). Finally, the literature on physical activity and racial differences often compares individuals living in urban and suburban areas, frequently without ensuring that the social class of the respondents is comparable (see Tudor-Locke and Bassett, Jr. 2004; Sharkey 2014). This study sampled black and white respondents with similar

occupations, levels of education, and income living in urban or suburban areas in order to properly assess the association between perceived racial composition and physical activity.

In spite of the viability of these data, there are some limitations. First, some may have concerns about the total number of respondents. Using the *powerlog* command in STATA, the power analysis reveals that over 100 cases are sufficient to compare black women to other groups. Considering that Long (1997) argues that 500 cases are adequate in most situations, the 482 observations used in this study should not be a concern since each group has enough respondents to make the comparisons shown in the paper. Second, the survey was conducted online. Given the increasingly low response rate of telephone surveys, researchers are starting to realize the potential of online surveys. Research shows that Internet-based panel studies are more reliable than in-person convenience samples. Besides online samples being more educated and politically engaged, they are similar to national probability samples (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2010). Considering my focus on the middle class, these sample differences can actually be considered a strength. Next, the survey relies on self-reported data. Obviously, it is ideal to have actual behavior when gauging physical activity. This study, however, is more about how self-perceptions shape leisure-time physical activity. Furthermore, very little is known about the relationship between the perceived racial composition of neighborhoods and leisure-time physical activity, particularly across race and gender lines among the middle class.

Data

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

The findings presented here are based on 482 respondents.² Fifty-four percent of respondents are black women, while the remaining 46 percent are black men (16.2%), white women (13.5%), and white men (16.0%). To put in perspective how suitable this survey is for this analysis, the 2010 wave of the General Social Survey, which is the most widely used data set in sociology, only includes about 50 Blacks with a college degree (Hunt and Ray 2012).

The descriptive statistics for the sample can be seen in Table 1. In this sample, self-reported health ranging from 1 {poor} to 5 {excellent} is similar across groups. Whites are older and blacks are more likely to have graduate degrees. A higher percentage of white men, compared to black women and white women, are more likely to be employed full-time and have a household income of \$75,000 to \$99,999 a year. While white women are more likely to make \$50,000 to \$74,999 a year compared to other race-gender groups, they are less likely to make \$100,000 a year or more. Given that a 2011 Pew Study found that blacks have to make \$75,000 a year, compared to just \$40,000 a year for whites, in order to live in what most would consider "good" neighborhoods (e.g., high percentage of homeowners, low crime rate, above average schools, sufficient community resources like workout facilities and parks, and on par appreciating home values), the percentage of black women and black men in this sample with high levels of education and household income suggests that they may be less likely to live in the poor neighborhoods that are ubiquitously classified as predominate black.

While white women are slightly less likely to be currently married than black women, a much larger percentage of black women are never married (40.5%) compared to white women (21.5%). Similar to national trends (U.S. Census Bureau 2010; Banks 2011), black women are more likely than white women to have children living in the home. Expectedly, a larger

² The original sample was 500 respondents, but 18 respondents were omitted because they identified as multiracial. There are no differences when coding these respondents as black. However, I chose to restrict the analysis to those who identified as either black or white.

percentage of blacks live in the South. All groups are more likely to live in the suburbs fitting the description of middle class individuals currently living in the United States.

[Table 1 about here]

Of obvious importance to a study on leisure-time physical activity is weight. The survey asked respondents their weight and height. I then computed BMI with the following equation: $BMI = (\text{Weight (lbs)} / (\text{Height (in)}^2) \times 703$. Although body fat percentage is best measured with DEXA scans or hydrostatic underwater weighing (most fitness centers still use skin-fold calipers), BMI is commonly used by the CDC, healthcare professionals, and researchers as a quick and predictable way to determine a person's health risks and assess group differences (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2009). Table 1 shows the percentage of black women, black men, white women, and white men who fit into each BMI category. Similar to national trends (National Center for Health Statistics 2010), black women are more likely to be obese, white women are more likely to be in the normal range, and men are more likely to be overweight.

Dependent Variable

To examine leisure-time physical activity, I used a survey question that asked the following: "Within the past 7 days, how many times did you engage in at least 30 minutes of physical activity? Some activities may include running, swimming, walking, lifting weights, or cycling." Physical activity is coded into three main categories: little, moderate, and extreme. Little physical activity encompasses 0-2 times of exercise per week, moderate physical activity encompasses 3-5 times of exercise, and extreme encompasses 6-7 times per week.

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

While the survey includes physical activity measures for home, work, and commuting, there were no significant differences across race-gender groups for these measures (with the exception of white women for physical activity at work because they are less likely to work full-time). As I detailed above, respondents have high levels of socioeconomic status and have very similar professional and family lives. This sampling design was purposeful. For example, over 85% of the sample report driving their own car to work. As a result, I am only concerned with leisure-time physical activity classified as exercise and fitness rather than physical activity at home or work. If I was comparing blacks and whites among the broader U.S. population, occupation may become important, particularly among men where manual labor jobs may increase physical activity. Considering that I am focusing strictly on the middle class, most professional jobs require very little physical activity. This is the case with this sample.

Independent Variables

For the perceived racial composition of neighborhoods, respondents were asked, “What percentage of the families in your neighborhood is white, black, or other minority group?” People view family to include an assortment of different household arrangements (Powell et al. 2010). Each group (white, black, other minority) had its own bar line in the online survey. Qualtrics set up the question where respondents were able to move a bar line left or right depending on the percentage they wanted to select for each category. Respondents had to select percentages that totaled all three bar lines to 100 percent. For example, one respondent selected 75 percent for black, 15 percent for white, and 10 percent for other minority. I only include perceptions of black and white families in the neighborhood in the analysis. I also created a composite variable from these two measures where 0=predominately black as 80-100% black;

1=moderately black as 60-79% black; 3=racially diverse as less than 60% black and less than 60% white; 4=moderately white as 60-79% white; and 5=predominately white as 80-100% white.

Respondents were also asked Likert-scale questions about their neighborhoods. Ranging from strongly disagree { 1 } to strongly agree { 6 }, respondents were asked, “How much do you agree that [programs, facilities, transportation, safety, or affordability] decrease your physical activity?” These questions correspond to previous research on barriers to physical activity that simply provide respondents with a list of barriers and ask how important each barrier is to maintaining physical activity (Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Research Institute 1996; Chinn et al. 1999; O’Dea 2003).

Analysis

First, I conducted mean testing on the variables used in the analysis. I performed a series of t-tests on the descriptive statistics, physical activity categories, and perceive racial composition categories to determine differences across race-gender groups for key sociodemographic factors, the dependent variable, and independent variables (Tables 1, 2, and 3). Second, I performed a series of t-tests on perceptions of neighborhood resources by the perceived racial composition categories (Table 4 directly testing hypothesis 1). Third, based on ordered logistic regression models, I present a predicted probability graph showing the association between perceived racial composition and leisure-time physical activity for the four race-gender groups.

Next, I present two tables that include ordered logistic regression models. These tables directly test hypotheses 2 and 3. Table 5 focuses on whether black men are significantly less

likely to engage in physical activity in predominately white neighborhoods relative to other race-gender groups. Using a stepwise approach, the first model includes a variable for perceiving a neighborhood as predominately white and variables for all race-gender groups (with white men serving as the reference group). Model 2 includes interaction variables for each race-gender group for respondents who perceive living in predominately white neighborhoods. Model 3 includes environmental barriers, model 4 includes sociodemographic variables, and model 5 includes controls for all variables including environmental barriers, sociodemographic variables, health-related variables, type of neighborhood, and region. Table 6 follows a similar approach to what is discussed above but focuses directly on neighborhoods perceived as predominately black. Table 6 also includes two models with a triple interaction variable for black women who perceive living in predominately black and urban neighborhoods.

The analysis described above focuses on intergroup differences in physical activity. Another important approach to properly testing the intersectionality framework is to perform analysis that capture intraracial differences in the association between perceived racial composition and physical activity. For the online appendix, I present ordered logistic regression models for all four race-gender groups of the association between perceiving a neighborhood as predominately white and physical activity (Appendix A). Then, since a small number of whites report perceiving their neighborhoods as predominately or moderately black, I present ordered logistic regression models of the association between perceiving a neighborhood as predominately black and physical activity for black women and black men only (Appendix B). Using a stepwise method, the first three models control for barriers to physical activity (safety, facilities, and environmental barriers), model 4 controls for sociodemographic variables, and model 5 controls for all variables including environmental barriers, sociodemographic variables,

health-related variables, type of neighborhood, and region. It should be noted that I conducted analyses using a continuous physical activity measure as well as dichotomous measures with various cut points and the results are similar to those presented for the ordered categorical variable.

RESULTS

Leisure-time Physical Activity

Table 2 shows the percentage of black women, black men, white women, and white men who are engaged in a little, moderate, or extreme levels of physical activity. Black women have the lowest level of physical activity. At 52.3 percent, black women are significantly more likely than black men and white men ($p < .05$) to engage in a little physical activity. Black women also have the highest percentage of physical inactivity (21%). Over 70 percent of black men report engaging in a moderate or extreme level of physical activity. Nearly 54 percent of white women report engaging in at least a moderate level of physical activity compared to slightly over 60 percent of white men. If I was only examining racial differences in physical activity, the low rate of physical activity for black women and the high rate of physical activity for black men would mute each other. By disaggregating race-gender groups, the vitality of the intersectionality framework is highlighted.

[Table 2 about here]

Perceived Racial Composition and Neighborhood Resources

Table 3 shows the perceived racial composition of families in respondents' neighborhoods. Over 50 percent of black respondents perceive living in neighborhoods that are

racially diverse, which I classify as neighborhoods that are less than 60 percent white as well as less than 60 percent black. However, less than half of white respondents perceive living in racially diverse neighborhoods. A majority of white women and white men perceive living in neighborhoods that are predominately or moderately white. In fact, white women (40%) and white men (39%) are significantly more likely than black women (13.7%) and black men (6.4%) to perceive living in predominately white neighborhoods. Nearly 12 percent of black men and 6 percent of black women perceive living in moderately white neighborhoods. Conversely, black women (22.5%) and black men (21.8%), compared to white women (1.5%) and white men (0%), are significantly more likely to perceive living in predominately black neighborhoods. Although a small percentage of respondents report living in moderately black neighborhoods, no white women perceive living in this type of neighborhood. In fact, only three of the 142 white respondents (2%) report living in neighborhoods perceived to be at least 60 percent black.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that neighborhoods perceived as predominately black are simultaneously perceived as having fewer resources and being less safe than neighborhoods perceived as predominately white. Table 4 shows perceptions of neighborhood resources by perceived racial composition. Higher values represent fewer resources. Respondents who perceive living in predominately black neighborhoods report having significantly less safety, fewer facilities, and more environmental barriers than respondents who perceive living in predominately white neighborhoods. Respondents who perceive their neighborhoods as racially diverse also report having significantly fewer resources than respondents who perceive living in predominately white neighborhoods. Black women who perceive their neighborhoods as predominately or moderately black report significantly less safety than those who perceive living in white neighborhoods. Black men who perceive living in predominately black neighborhoods

report having significantly fewer facilities compared to all other racial composition categories as well as less safety than black men in moderately white neighborhoods. Overall, hypothesis 1 is supported. It should be noted, however, that while there are significant relative differences across racial composition categories, respondents, on average, report living in neighborhoods with environmental resources.

[Table 3 about here]

[Table 4 about here]

Association between Perceived Racial Composition and Leisure-time Physical Activity

Figure 1 shows the effect of the perceived racial composition of neighborhoods on the predicted probability of physical activity for all four race-gender groups. While the probability of physical activity increases as perceptions of the racial composition of neighborhoods shifts from predominately black to predominately white for black women and white men, the probability of physical activity for black men decreases. For white women, the probability is more similar across racial composition categories. This figure lends some credence to hypotheses 2 and 3, but the tables below provide further insight.

[Figure 1 about here]

Given the findings that much of the differences perceived among race-gender groups occurs in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white or predominately black and aligns with hypotheses 2 and 3, I isolate these racial composition categories in the tables below. Table 5 shows ordered logistic regression models of the association between living in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white and physical activity. Model 1 shows that neighborhoods

perceived as predominately white have no statistical association with physical activity. Black women, however, are significantly less likely to engage in physical activity ($B = -.65$; $p < .05$).

Model 2 includes a series of interaction variables for each race-gender group. Model 2 reveals two important patterns. First, the coefficient for black women is now non-significant. Second, the interaction variable between black men and neighborhoods perceived as predominately white is significant and negative ($B = -2.60$; $p < .05$). In fact, neighborhoods perceived as predominately white is associated with a 93 percent decrease in the relative odds of black men engaging in at least a moderate level of physical activity. Models 3 and 4 show similar results when controlling for environmental barriers and sociodemographics. Model 5 shows a moderately significant and negative association between physical activity and black men who perceive living in predominately white neighborhoods ($B = -2.21$; $p < .10$).³ Model 5 also shows significant associations with physical activity for environmental barriers ($B = .16$; $p < .05$), self-rated health ($B = .57$; $p < .001$), and BMI ($B = -.16$; $p < .10$). As noted in Table 4, the significance of environmental barriers speaks more to the importance of resources rather than implying that fewer neighborhood resources lead to more physical activity given the mean values across racial composition categories.

[Table 5 about here]

Table 6 shows ordered logistic regression models of the association between living in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black and physical activity. Considering the low

³ Due to the small number of black men in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white, I ran additional analysis by creating another interaction term that isolates black men in neighborhoods perceived as 70 percent white or higher. This interaction term is significant and negative ($B = 1.63$; $p < .05$) suggesting that black men in neighborhoods perceived as 70 percent white or higher are significantly less likely to engage in physical activity than other respondents. Actually, living in neighborhoods perceived as 70 percent white or higher is associated with an 81 percent decrease in the relative odds of black men engaging in physical activity compared to other respondents.

number of white men and white women who report living in predominately black neighborhoods, I only isolate black men and black women though the models include all respondents. Model 1 shows that neighborhoods perceived as predominately black have no statistical association with physical activity. Black women are marginally significantly less likely to engage in physical activity ($B = -.37$; $p < .10$), while black men are significantly more likely ($B = .47$; $p < .10$). Model 2 includes an interaction variable for black women who perceive living in predominately black neighborhoods. The coefficient is negative and marginally significant ($B = -.95$; $p < .10$). In Model 2, the coefficients for black men and black women are non-significant.

Models 3-5 show a non-significant association between physical activity and black women who perceive living predominately black neighborhoods. Yet, in addition to environmental barriers, self-rated health, and BMI being significant like in Table 5, urban neighborhood shows a significant and positive association with physical activity ($B = .32$; $p < .10$). Therefore, I perform an additional analysis that includes a triple interaction term for black women who perceive living neighborhoods that are predominately black and urban. Model 6 shows a significant and negative association between physical activity and black women who perceive living in predominately black and urban neighborhoods ($B = -1.07$; $p < .05$). Living in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black and urban is associated with 65 percent lower odds of black women engaging in at least a moderate level of physical activity. Controlling for other factors, Model 7 shows a marginal decrease in magnitude and significance ($B = -.88$; $p < .10$).⁴ There is a substantial gap in engaging in at least a moderate level of physical activity when comparing black women in neighborhoods perceived to be urban and black (35%),

⁴ Online Appendices A and B show ordered logistic regression models for each race-gender group to more precisely address intraracial differences. The models show similar trends to the interaction models presented in the paper.

compared to other types of neighborhood with varying forms of racial composition (50%).

Altogether, Tables 5 and 6 support hypotheses 2 and 3.

[Table 6 about here]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper examined the association between the perceived racial composition of neighborhoods and leisure-time physical activity among middle class blacks and whites. My findings continue to show the relevancy of self-rated health and BMI on physical activity. Self-rated health was the only variable showing significance for all race-gender groups. Supporting hypothesis 1, predominately black neighborhoods were perceived as having fewer neighborhood resources than neighborhoods perceived to be predominately white. Similar to previous research on racial segregation (Alba and Logan 1993), I found that social class affluence does little to change the pattern that a majority of middle class blacks and whites live in racially segregated neighborhoods that are at times distinctly different in terms of resources. Supporting hypotheses 2 and 3, I found that black men's level of physical activity significantly decreases in neighborhoods perceived to be predominately white whereas black women's physical activity significantly decreases in neighborhoods perceived to be predominately black.

Although urban neighborhoods are often framed as less safe than suburban neighborhoods, my findings show that it is not just about urbanicity but also about blackness. Respondents were more likely to engage in physical activity in neighborhoods perceived to be urban areas. Black women, however, were significantly less likely to engage in physical activity in neighborhoods perceived as urban and black. Middle class black women who perceive living in predominately black and urban neighborhoods report significantly less safety. Based on the

social organization of neighborhoods that blur the lines between middle class black and poor black neighborhoods (Pattillo 1999; Charles 2003), neighborhoods with a higher perceived percentage of blacks are also often perceived as less safe. These findings support literature on the importance of neighborhood resources for shaping physical activity (Williams and Collins 2001; Schulz et al. 2002; Bennett et al. 2006; Gordon-Larsen et al. 2006).

For women, however, safety as a barrier to physical activity may not only capture perceptions of being victims of crime but also gendered and sexualized vulnerabilities of trying to engage in physical activity in dense spaces where they may experience catcalling and the male gaze (Ray 2014); or as bell hooks (1992) states, the ability for men to rape women with their eyes. This is not to say that this type of behavior and interaction between men and women does not occur in predominately white spaces. Evidence exists on the vulnerabilities of women in male-dominated spaces on predominately white campuses (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Ray and Rosow 2010). For physical activity, however, more well-resourced neighborhoods, which according to my findings are more likely to be perceived as predominately white, are more likely to have spaces where women can engage in physical activity without the purview of men. For example, fitness centers in more affluent neighborhoods are creating “women-only zones” where women can forgo male-dominated spaces (Ray 2014).

Black men have a different social reality from their black female counterparts. Supporting literature on criminalization (Feagin and Sikes 1995; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Feagin 2010; Ray and Rosow 2012), black men are significantly less likely to be physically active as the perceived percentage of whites in a neighborhood increases. Although middle class black men may experience policing in predominately black neighborhoods, they may not feel or experience the safety and comfort of well-resourced, predominately white neighborhoods either.

As a coping response to experiencing criminalization, middle class black men may undergo a signaling process where they feel the need to signal their middle class status in predominately white spaces. For example, Staples (1986) discussed how he would whistle melodies from classical composers while walking through Hyde Park to the University of Chicago in order to make whites feel less threatened by his presence. For middle class black men engaging in leisure-time physical activity, this signaling process may mean always carrying a driver's license or other form of identification, wearing an alumnus shirt of a notable university, walking along busy or well-lit streets, running during daylight hours, and smiling and waving at neighbors. Consequently, this signaling process may lead to less leisure-time physical activity for middle class black men in neighborhoods perceived to be predominately white.

Unlike black men, whites may not undertake (or feel the need to undertake) this signaling process when they simply want to run or walk a couple of miles around their neighborhood. Although facing their own stereotypes, black women are not criminalized as being violent predators to the same degree as black men (McConnaughy and White 2011). In turn, they are less threatening to the social order of predominately white neighborhoods.

The signaling process that middle class black men undergo has implications for self-presentation theory (Goffman 1959). Middle class black men in neighborhoods perceived to be predominately white are aiming to present themselves as having earned the right to belong like their white male counterparts. Goffman (1959) states that the initial definition of the situation is determined by preconceived notions or inferences about the other in the social interaction. Middle class black men are well aware of the negative stereotypes about black men (Feagin and Sikes 1995; Ray and Rosow 2012). By aligning their self-presentations with the norms of predominately white neighborhoods, middle class black men are aiming to counter the negative

inferences about their race-gender group (Staples 1986; Ray and Rosow 2012). Unfortunately, research shows that black men's social class cues are unable to substitute for the intersection of their black skin and maleness. As part of their self-presentation, middle class black men's intersectional identity is unable to overcome the main inference that provides relief from negative stereotyping and this signaling process—an ideal white racial identity (Hughey 2012).

Conversely, neighborhoods perceived to be predominately black (even those perceived as having less safety and fewer facilities and programs focused on leisure-time physical activity) may allow black men to engage in the community without experiencing a heightened level of visibility and racial stereotyping. Given the high level of racial segregation in the United States, a majority of black males grow up in and around predominately black neighborhoods (Pattillo 1999). Unlike predominately white neighborhoods where a black male face becomes a perceived threat to the social order (Feagin 2010), predominately black neighborhoods provide black men a sense of belonging. In turn, they may increase their community engagement and leisure-time physical activity.

My research also has implications for scholars interested in intersectional identities (Wilkins 2012). Perceptions of race, gender, and social class identities guide individuals' interactions with others. Perceptions of the most salient feature(s) of an intersectional identity may be significant at determining social interactions and their consequences. Middle class black men perceive that the intersection of their race and gender identities frequently trumps their social class identity. The perceptions of others constrain black men's social world and influence black men's social interactions with co-workers and neighbors. As a result, these perceptions structure a unique form of relative deprivation that not only leads to less physical activity in neighborhoods perceived to be predominately white but also a different set of coping responses

to unjust treatment, benign neglect, and perceived discrimination. In this regard, the intersectionality framework becomes useful for illuminating black men's multiplicities and vulnerabilities.

Although my research extends our understanding of how race-, gender-, and class-based perceptions influence leisure-time physical activity, I could not examine which types of physical activities respondents currently participate in. Existing research shows that blacks are more likely to engage in team sports (e.g., baseball, basketball, volleyball, soccer, and football), while whites are more likely to engage in fitness sports (e.g., walking, running, aerobics, stretching, weight lifting, cycling, and stair climbing) or facility sports (e.g., swimming, golf, and tennis) (Saint Onge and Krueger 2011). My survey, however, did have data on which sports respondents participated in before age 18. Over 80 percent of black men and white men in my sample report playing sports as children. Black men were more likely to participate in basketball, track, and football, while white men were more likely to participate in baseball, golf, and soccer. However, a similar percentage of black and white men participated in biking, swimming, and tennis. The variety of sports that black men participated in, and might still engage in, may be related to the high level of education of the respondents' parents. Over 35 percent of the sample has parents with at least a college education with 56 percent of the black men's mothers having at least a college degree. Again, this is a middle class sample and the intergenerational transmission of educational capital may surface in cultural capital related to sports played in childhood and adulthood.

This study also could not examine the relationship between the racial composition and class composition of neighborhoods. Some might conjecture that the middle class blacks in the sample live in lower income neighborhoods so the findings may be a function of the social class

of neighborhoods rather than the racial composition of neighborhoods. Even though a relative significant difference existed in perceptions of resources between neighborhoods perceived as predominately white and predominately black, both neighborhood types were perceived as pretty safe in absolute terms. This suggests that other factors—such as perceived racial composition— influence physical activity. In fact, black men in neighborhoods perceived as predominately black reported having the least amount of neighborhood resources yet they reported having the highest levels of physical activity. This is why the intersectionality framework is vital. It allows researchers to examine the multiplicity of intersectional complexities to aggregate race, gender, and other proximal factors to illuminate their collective impact on a particular outcome.

In conclusion, some middle class blacks may be limited to live in neighborhoods perceived to be either predominately white or predominately black. Consequently, the health of black men or black women (depending on where they live) may also be at risk. In an ideal neighborhood, LaVeist and colleagues (2011) argue that more racial integration is desirable to equalize health disparities. After all, black women in neighborhoods perceived as racially diverse, compared to black women in neighborhoods perceived as predominately white or predominately black, reported more physical activity. However, less than one percent of U.S. census tracts have at least 35 percent of blacks and whites who also have similar levels of income and education (LaVeist et al. 2011). To overcome this challenge, researchers should continue to explore social environments that are comfortable to blacks and operate as intervention sites that may lead to more physical activity regardless of the racial composition of a neighborhood. Existing research suggest that worship sites, hair salons, and barbershops can serve as catalysts for physical activity and health-related behaviors among blacks (Young and Stewart 2006; American Association of Retired Persons 2009; Thompson 2010). These

environments are comfortable as pastors, hair stylists, and barbers serve as community trustees (Ray 2014; Sewell and Ray 2015). Exercise groups can be formed in these settings to decrease how social environments are racialized and gendered.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Sample

	Black Women¹	Black Men	White Women	White Men	Description
Percentage of Sample	54.4%	16.2%	13.5%	16.0%	
Number of Respondents	262	78	65	77	
Self-reported Health	3.5 (.89) ²	3.4 (.99)	3.4 (.95)	3.5 (.93)	1=Poor, 2=Fair, 3=Good, 4=Very Good, 5=Excellent
Age	41.1 ^{WW, WM}	41.8 ^{WW, WM}	45.6 ^{BW, BM}	46.3 ^{BW, BM}	Age of Respondent; 22-64
Bachelor's Degree	43.5% ^{WW, BM, WM}	60.3% ^{BW}	64.6% ^{BW}	61.0% ^{BW}	
Master's Degree	45.0% ^{BM, WM}	28.2% ^{BW}	32.3%	32.5% ^{BW}	
M.D./Ph.D./J.D.	11.5% ^{WW}	11.5%	3.1% ^{BW}	6.5%	
Full-time	83.2% ^{WM}	88.5%	80.% ^{WM}	92.2% ^{BW, WW}	
Work Hours	42.7 (12.32) ^{WM}	43.9 (10.21)	40.7 (11.92) ^{WM}	46.0 (10.10) ^{BW, WW}	Number of Work Hours
Household Income					
Less than \$20,000	5.3%	3.9%	6.2%	1.3%	
\$20,000-\$29,999	5.7%	6.4%	7.7%	3.9%	
\$30,000-\$49,000	22.1%	15.4%	23.1%	14.3%	
\$50,000-\$74,999	23.7% ^{WW}	29.2%	41.5% ^{BW, WM}	26.0% ^{WW}	
\$75,000-\$99,999	17.2%	12.8% ^{WM}	12.3% ^{WM}	24.7% ^{BM, WW}	
\$100,000 or more	26.0% ^{WW}	32.1% ^{WW}	9.2% ^{BW, BM, WM}	29.9% ^{WW}	
Marital Status					
Married	40.5% ^{BM, WM}	57.7% ^{BW, WW}	38.5% ^{BM, WM}	58.4% ^{BW, WW}	
Never Married	40.5% ^{WW, WM}	30.8%	21.5% ^{BW}	27.3% ^{BW}	
Cohabit	5.0% ^{WW}	6.4% ^{WW}	20.0% ^{BW, BM, WM}	6.5% ^{WW}	
Divorced	14.1% ^{BM}	5.1% ^{BW, WW}	20.0% ^{BW, BM}	7.8% ^{WW}	
Children Living in Household	50.8% ^{WW}	47.40%	35.4% ^{BW}	41.60%	
Region					
East	27.9% ^{BM}	16.7% ^{BW, WW}	35.4% ^{BM}	27.30%	
West	6.5% ^{WW, BM, WM}	19.2% ^{BW}	26.2% ^{BW}	15.6% ^{BW}	
Midwest	22.5%	14.1%	13.8%	26.0%	
South	43.1% ^{WW}	50.0% ^{WW, WM}	24.6% ^{BW, BM}	31.2% ^{BM}	
Urban	39.3% ^{WM}	43.6% ^{WM}	35.4%	23.4% ^{BW, BM}	
Suburban	60.7% ^{WM}	56.4% ^{WM}	64.6%	76.6% ^{BW, BM}	

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

BMI	Body Mass Index according to CDC standards			
Underweight	3.4%	1.3%	3.1%	2.1%
Normal	29.4% ^{WW}	23.1% ^{WW}	44.6% ^{BW, BM, WM}	28.6% ^{WW}
Overweight	33.2%	44.9% ^{WW}	21.5% ^{BM, WM}	42.9% ^{WW}
Obese	34.0%	30.8%	30.8%	26.5%

Notes: ¹BW=Black Women; WW=White Women; BM=Black Men; WM=White Men;
 Superscripts show significant differences at the .05 level with two exceptions; For the \$75,000-\$99,999 category, p-value is .059 for black men and white men and .062 for white women and white men.
²Standard Deviations in parentheses

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Table 2: Level of Physical Activity

	Black Women	Black Men	White Women	White Men
Little (0-2 days per week)	52.3% ^{BM, WM}	28.2% ^{BW, WW}	46.2% ^{BM}	37.7% ^{BW}
Moderate (3-5 days per week)	35.9% ^{BM}	53.9% ^{BW}	43.1%	42.9%
Extreme (6-7 days per week)	11.8%	18.0%	10.8%	19.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Superscripts show significant differences at the .05 level BW=Black Women; WW=White Women; BM=Black Men; WM=White Men

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Table 3: Perceived Racial Composition¹ of Families in Neighborhood

	Black Women²	Black Men	White Women	White Men
Predominately Black	59 22.5% ^{WW, WM}	17 21.8% ^{WW, WM}	1 1.5% ^{BW, BM}	0 0.0% ^{BW, BM}
Moderately Black	6 2.3%	2 2.6%	0 0.0%	2 2.6%
Racially Diverse	146 55.7%	45 57.7%	29 44.6%	36 46.8%
Moderately White	15 5.7% ^{WW}	9 11.5%	9 13.9% ^{BW}	9 11.7%
Predominately White	36 13.7% ^{WW, WM}	5 6.4% ^{WW, WM}	26 40.0% ^{BW, BM}	30 39.0% ^{BW, BM}
Total	N=262 100.0%	N=78 100.0%	N=65 100.0%	N=77 100.0%

Notes: ¹Predominately Black is 80-100% Black; Moderately Black is 60-79% Black; Racially Diverse is less than 60% Black and less than 60% White; Moderately White is 60-79% White; Predominately White is 80-100% White

²BW=Black Women; WW=White Women; BM=Black Men; WM=White Men; Superscripts show significant differences at the .05 level

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Table 4: Perceptions of Neighborhood Resources¹ by Perceived Racial Composition; Mean (S.D.)²

	Black Women	Black Men	White Women	White Men	Total
Predominately Black³					
Lack of Safety	2.7 (1.6) ^{MW, PW}	3.5 (2.1) ^{MW}	2 (--)	N/A	2.9 (1.7) ^{MW, PW}
Lack of Facilities	2.6 (1.6)	3.9 (1.6) ^{MB, RD, MW, PW}	2 (--)	N/A	2.9 (1.7) ^{PW}
Environmental Barriers ⁴	2.5 (1.4)	3.6 (1.6)	2 (--)	N/A	2.7 (1.5) ^{PW}
Moderately Black					
Lack of Safety	3.0 (1.1) ^{MW}	1.5 (0.7)	N/A	3.0 (1.4)	2.7 (1.2)
Lack of Facilities	3.7 (1.9)	1.5 (0.7) ^{PB}	N/A	3.5 (2.1)	3.2 (1.8)
Environmental Barriers	3.0 (1.3)	1.5 (0.7)	N/A	3.5 (2.1)	2.8 (1.4)
Racially Diverse					
Lack of Safety	2.4 (1.6)	2.8 (1.6) ^{MW}	2.9 (1.5)	2.6 (1.6)	2.6 (1.6) ^{PW}
Lack of Facilities	2.6 (1.6)	3.0 (1.6) ^{PB}	3.0 (1.7) ^{PW}	2.9 (1.5)	2.7 (1.6) ^{PW}
Environmental Barriers	2.4 (1.4)	2.8 (1.6) ^{MW}	2.7 (1.3)	2.6 (1.4)	2.5 (1.4) ^{PW}
Moderately White					
Lack of Safety	1.7 (1.3) ^{PB, MB}	1.7 (0.7) ^{PB, RD}	3.2 (1.6)	2.6 (1.0)	2.2 (1.3) ^{PB}
Lack of Facilities	2.3 (1.5)	2.2 (1.5) ^{PB}	2.7 (1.5)	2.7 (1.2)	2.4 (1.4)
Environmental Barriers	2.1 (1.3)	1.8 (0.8) ^{PB, RD}	2.8 (1.4)	2.4 (0.5)	2.2 (1.1)
Predominately White					
Lack of Safety	2.0 (1.3) ^{PB}	2.2 (1.8)	2.2 (1.4)	2.1 (1.2)	2.1 (1.3) ^{PB, RD}
Lack of Facilities	2.4 (1.7)	2.0 (1.4) ^{PB}	2.0 (1.3) RD	2.4 (1.4)	2.3 (1.5) ^{PB, RD}
Environmental Barriers	2.1 (1.3)	2.0 (1.4)	2.1 (1.0)	2.2 (1.3)	2.1 (1.2) ^{PB, RD}

Notes: ¹Range for all variables is 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) that barriers are present; Standard Deviations in parentheses

²Superscripts show significant differences at 0.5 level within each race-gender group and for the total sample;

³PB=Predominately Black; MB=Moderately Black; RD=Racially Diverse; MW=Moderately White; PW=Predominately White;

⁴Environment barriers include a lack of facilities, safety, programs, costs, and transportation.

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Table 5: Ordered Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Perceived Predominately White Neighborhood on Physical Activity (N=482)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Neighborhood Perceived as Predominately White	-0.12 (0.23)	0.26 (0.44)	0.30 (0.44)	0.28 (0.44)	0.46 (0.46)
Black Women	-0.65* (0.26)	-0.48 (0.31)	-0.47 (0.31)	-0.51 (0.32)	-0.42 (0.32)
Black Men	0.18 (0.31)	0.46 (0.36)	0.45 (0.36)	0.41 (0.36)	0.51 (0.37)
White Women	-0.44 (0.32)	-0.39 (0.41)	-0.39 (0.41)	-0.38 (0.42)	-0.31 (0.43)
Black Women who Perceived Neighborhood as Predominately White		-0.46 (0.56)	-0.48 (0.56)	-0.45 (0.56)	-0.75 (0.58)
Black Men who Perceived Neighborhood as Predominately White		-2.60* (1.22)	-2.56* (1.22)	-2.45* (1.22)	-2.21+ (1.25)
White Women who Perceived Neighborhood as Predominately White		-0.11 (0.65)	-0.11 (0.65)	-0.04 (0.66)	-0.25 (0.67)
Environmental Barriers			0.08 (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)	0.16* (0.07)
Age				-0.03 (0.12)	0.12 (0.13)
Work Hours				0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Income				0.13 (0.14)	0.09 (0.14)
Never Married				0.22 (0.21)	0.28 (0.22)
Children Living in Household				0.01 (0.19)	0.06 (0.20)
Self-rated Health					0.57*** (0.11)
BMI					-0.16+ (0.08)
Urban Neighborhood					0.24 (0.19)
South					-0.08 (0.19)
R2	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.07

Notes: White men are the reference group;
 ***<.001; **<.01; *<.5; +<.10; Standard Deviations in parentheses

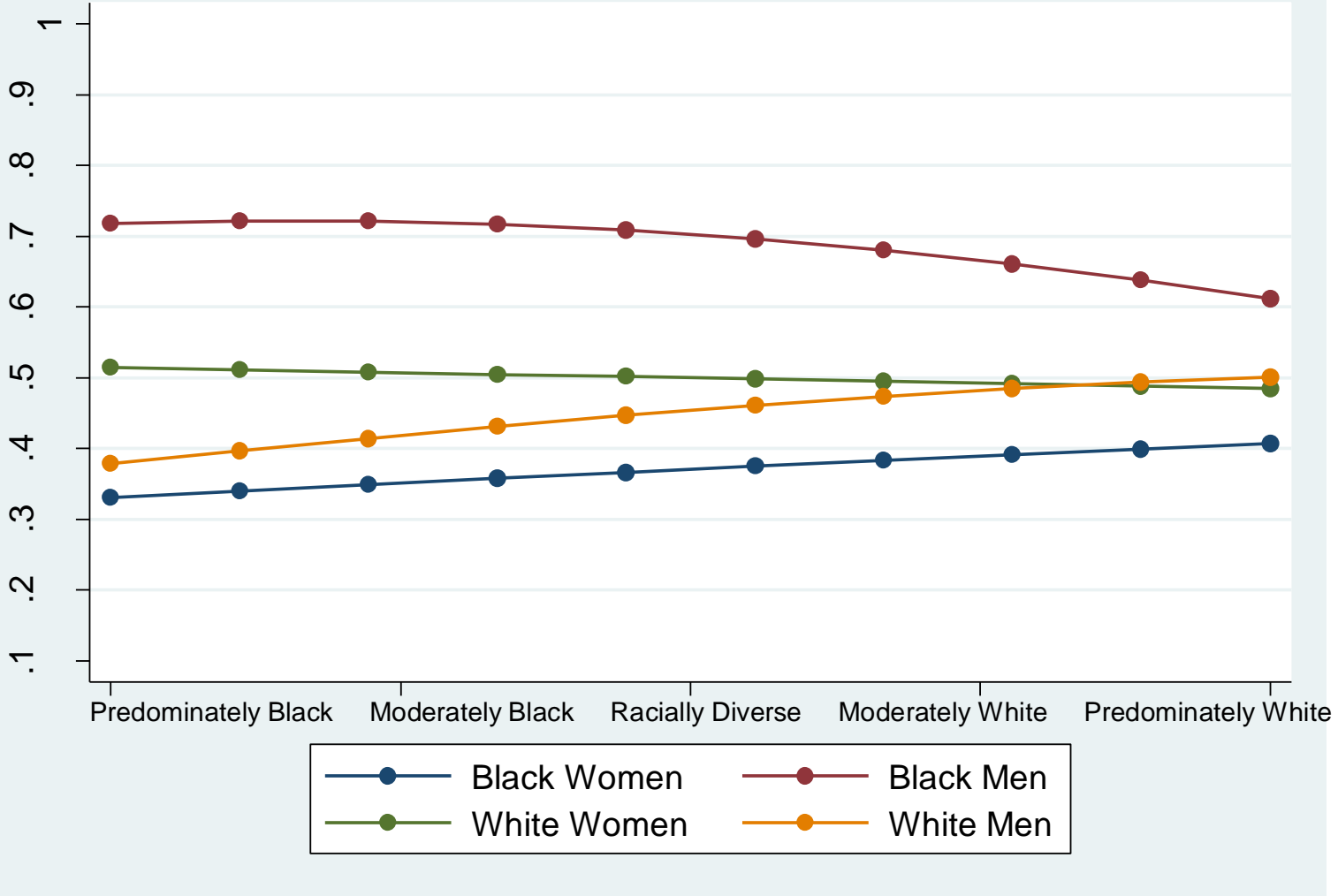
Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Table 6: Ordered Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Perceived Predominately Black Neighborhood on Physical Activity (N=482)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Neighborhood Perceived as Predominately Black	-0.19 (0.25)	0.52 (0.49)	0.45 (0.50)	0.42 (0.50)	0.31 (0.50)	0.19 (0.34)	0.17 (0.35)
Black Women	-0.37+ (0.21)	-0.32 (0.21)	-0.31 (0.21)	-0.38+ (0.22)	-0.38+ (0.22)	-0.35+ (0.21)	-0.40+ (0.22)
Black Men	0.47+ (0.27)	0.32 (0.28)	0.31 (0.28)	0.27 (0.29)	0.33 (0.29)	0.34 (0.27)	0.35 (0.28)
Black Women who Perceived Neighborhood as Predominately Black		-0.95+ (0.58)	-0.90 (0.58)	-0.85 (0.59)	-0.73 (0.59)		
Black Women who Perceived Neighborhood as Predominately Black and Urban						-1.07* (0.49)	-0.88+ (0.51)
Environmental Barriers			0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.15* (0.07)		0.15* (0.07)
Age				-0.02 (0.12)	0.13 (0.13)		0.13 (0.13)
Work Hours				0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)		0.00 (0.01)
Income				0.16 (0.13)	0.12 (0.14)		0.12 (0.14)
Never Married				0.26 (0.21)	0.32 (0.22)		0.33 (0.22)
Children Living in Household				0.07 (0.19)	0.11 (0.20)		0.12 (0.20)
Self-rated Health					0.57*** (0.11)		0.56*** (0.11)
BMI					-0.15+ (0.08)		-0.15+ (0.08)
Urban Neighborhood					0.32+ (0.20)	0.44* (0.19)	0.41* (0.21)
South					-0.03 (0.19)		-0.04 (0.19)
R2	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.07

Notes: White men are the reference group;
 ***<.001; **<.01; *<.5; +<.10; Standard Deviations in parentheses

Figure 1: Effect of Perceived Neighborhood Racial Composition on the Predicted Probability of Physical Activity



These predicted probabilities based on ordered logistic regression models control for BMI, self-rated health, age, workhours, income, marital status, children in the house, urban, and environmental barriers

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Appendix A: Ordered Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Perceived Predominately White Neighborhood on Physical Activity

	Black Women (n=262)					Black Men (N=78)				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Neighborhood Perceived as Predominately White	-0.17 (0.35)	-0.18 (0.35)	-0.17 (0.35)	-0.15 (0.35)	-0.18 (0.37)	-2.49* (1.16)	-2.41* (1.15)	-2.40* (1.16)	-2.22+ (1.20)	-2.14 (1.38)
Lack of Safety	0.07 (0.08)					0.245+ (0.14)				
Lack of Facilities		0.13+ (0.08)					0.12 (0.14)			
Environmental Barriers			0.11 (0.09)		0.15+ (0.09)			0.21 (0.15)		0.45* (0.18)
Age				0.34+ (0.18)	0.42* (0.19)				-0.16 (0.30)	0.19 (0.37)
Work Hours				0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)				0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Income				-0.15 (0.18)	-0.15 (0.19)				0.56 (0.35)	0.784+ (0.40)
Never Married				0.15 (0.27)	0.23 (0.28)				1.134+ (0.62)	1.05 (0.68)
Children Living in Household				0.00 (0.26)	0.05 (0.27)				0.74 (0.51)	0.34 (0.56)
BMI					-0.09 (0.11)					-0.18 (0.28)
Self-rated Health					0.41** (0.16)					1.30*** (0.34)
Urban Neighborhood					0.23 (0.26)					-0.13 (0.55)
South					0.06 (0.26)					-0.19 (0.53)
R2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.26

Notes: ***<.001; **<.01; *<.5; +<.10; Standard Deviations in parentheses

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Appendix A Continued: Ordered Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Perceived Predominately White Neighborhood on Physical Activity

	White Women (N=65)					White Men (N=77)				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Neighborhood Perceived as	0.00	-0.06	-0.01	0.29	0.60	0.36	0.26	0.29	0.14	0.37
Predominately White	(0.51)	(0.51)	(0.50)	(0.51)	(0.62)	(0.45)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.46)	(0.49)
Lack of Safety	-0.20					0.19				
	(0.17)					(0.16)				
Lack of Facilities		-0.24					0.03			
		(0.17)					(0.15)			
Environmental Barriers			-0.31		-0.02			0.08		0.08
			(0.21)		(0.27)			(0.16)		(0.18)
Age				-0.31					-0.95**	-0.86*
				(0.34)					(0.33)	(0.35)
Work Hours				-0.02	-0.03				-0.03	-0.02
				(0.02)	(0.02)				(0.03)	(0.03)
Income				0.55	0.28				0.54	0.49
				(0.43)	(0.52)				(0.39)	(0.42)
Never Married				-0.38	-0.27				0.16	0.17
				(0.69)	(0.79)				(0.68)	(0.71)
Children Living in Household				0.24	0.74				-0.69	-0.84
				(0.57)	(0.65)				(0.57)	(0.60)
BMI					-0.71**					-0.14
					(0.27)					(0.21)
Self-rated Health					0.727+					0.48+
					(0.37)					(0.26)
Urban Neighborhood					0.77					0.38
					(0.62)					(0.56)
South					-1.61*					0.22
					(0.74)					(0.55)
R2	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.10

Notes: ***<.001; **<.01; *<.5; +<.10; Standard Deviations in parentheses

Perceived Racial Composition of Neighborhoods and Physical Activity

Appendix B: Ordered Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Perceived Predominately Black Neighborhood on Physical Activity

	Black Women (n=262)					Black Men (N=78)				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Neighborhood Perceived as Predominately Black	-0.45 (0.30)	-0.43 (0.30)	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.51+ (0.30)	-0.57+ (0.32)	0.22 (0.54)	0.21 (0.55)	0.18 (0.55)	0.43 (0.59)	0.18 (0.67)
Lack of Safety	0.08 (0.08)					0.249+ (0.14)				
Lack of Facilities		0.13+ (0.08)					0.155 (0.14)			
Environmental Barriers			0.12 (0.09)		0.15+ (0.09)			0.23 (0.15)		0.44* (0.18)
Age				0.38* (0.18)	0.46* (0.19)				-0.25 (0.30)	0.09 (0.36)
Work Hours				0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)				0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Income				-0.19 (0.18)	-0.19 (0.19)				0.62+ (0.34)	0.82* (0.40)
Never Married				0.15 (0.27)	0.20 (0.27)				1.157+ (0.61)	0.98 (0.67)
Children Living in Household				0.03 (0.26)	0.11 (0.27)				0.95+ (0.50)	0.48 (0.56)
BMI					-0.08 (0.11)					-0.24 (0.29)
Self-rated Health					0.39* (0.16)					1.27*** (0.34)
Urban Neighborhood					0.38 (0.27)					0.06 (0.54)
South	0.19 (0.23)	0.33 (0.24)	0.28 (0.25)	0.54 (0.65)	2.41 (1.00)					-0.15 (0.52)
R2	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.24

Notes: ***<.001; **<.01; *<.5; +<.10; Standard Deviations in parentheses