



Attachment as a source of informal social control in urban neighborhoods

Keri B. Burchfield *

Department of Sociology, Northern Illinois University, 908 Zulauf Hall, DeKalb, IL 60115, United States

A B S T R A C T

Studies had suggested that informal social control is key to understanding neighborhood crime rates. Yet little is known about sources of informal social control in urban neighborhoods, and less is known about the role of neighborhood attachment in fostering informal social control. To fill this gap, this study addressed three questions: (1) Does neighborhood attachment, operationalized as a multidimensional construct, contribute to neighborhood levels of informal social control? (2) Does neighborhood attachment help explain the lower levels of informal social control typically observed in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods? (3) If so, what dimensions of neighborhood attachment are most important and how? Using multilevel data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) results indicated that systemic ties and attitudinal attachment were positively associated with neighborhood levels of informal social control, and that these dimensions of neighborhood attachment explained some of the associations between neighborhood structural conditions and informal social control.

© 2008 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Introduction

Recent studies of neighborhood effects had identified informal social control as a concept in need of theoretical and empirical development (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; Silver & Miller, 2004; for a review, see Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). These studies had suggested that informal social control, defined as the willingness of neighborhood residents to intervene in local problems, is an important mediator between neighborhood structural conditions and crime. Despite the substantive significance of this line of research for community control and crime prevention, compelling questions remain, including those surrounding the processes by which neighborhood structural conditions attenuate informal social control. Most importantly, research has not adequately explored the origins of informal social control in urban neighborhoods.

This article examines the role of neighborhood attachment, operationalized as a multidimensional construct comprised of systemic ties and attitudinal attachment, as a neighborhood-level source of informal social control. The purpose of this research was to address recent criticisms of the systemic model, questioning the role of social ties as a source of informal social control in urban neighborhoods. Critics of the systemic model have called for the need to identify and examine social contexts in which social ties may be necessary, but not

be sufficient, to develop and maintain neighborhood informal social control (for a review, see Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003).

Fig. 1 shows two dimensions of neighborhood attachment—systemic ties and attitudinal attachment—that are proposed as sources of informal social control. Systemic ties represent a behavioral dimension of attachment and reflect family, friendship and neighbor ties, familiarity with neighborhood residents, and organizational participation. Attitudinal attachment represents the feelings residents have about their neighborhoods and how they evaluate them as places to live. As also shown in Fig. 1, this research then examined the extent to which these dimensions of attachment mediate the relationship between neighborhood structure and informal social control.

Accordingly, this article will address three research questions: (1) Does neighborhood attachment contribute to neighborhood levels of informal social control? (2) Does neighborhood attachment help to explain the lower levels of informal social control typically observed in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods? (3) If so, what dimensions of neighborhood attachment are most important?

Background

In recent years, studies of neighborhood effects proliferated in the criminological literature. Central to this line of research is the belief that residents' use of social ties and their willingness to exercise informal social control may mediate the relationship between neighborhood structural characteristics and local crime and disorder. Despite the theoretical prominence of informal social control for neighborhood organization and well-being, empirical researchers have yet to

* Tel.: +1 815 753 0302; fax: +1 815 753 6302.
E-mail address: kburchfield@niu.edu.

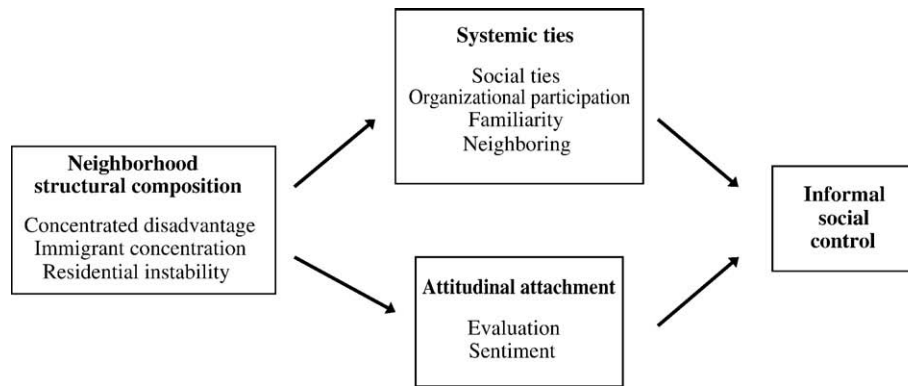


Fig. 1. Conceptual model of the relationship between neighborhood structure, attachment, and informal social control.

adequately examine neighborhood sources of informal social control (for an exception, see Silver & Miller, 2004; for reviews, see Carr, 2003; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002).

Measuring the effects of neighborhood structure

Past theory and research examining neighborhood informal social control was grounded in the systemic model of social organization and accorded theoretical prominence to the role of neighborhood social ties (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; see also, Bursik, 1988; Sampson, 1987). With the introduction of the systemic model of social disorganization in the late 1980s by Bursik (1988) and Sampson (1987), neighborhood research began to document how neighborhood structural conditions lead to increased crime and delinquency rates because they disrupt neighborhood social networks, which undermine neighborhood informal social control (Sampson, 1988; see also Bellair, 1997; Rountree & Warner, 1999; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Veysey & Messner, 1999; Warner & Rountree, 1997). These studies advanced the idea that local social ties constitute a mechanism through which informal social control is exercised.

Recent research, however, has begun to suggest that the role of social ties as a determinant of informal social control may be more complex than previously thought (Bellair, 1997; Pattillo, 1998; Sampson et al., 2002; Sampson et al., 1997; Warner & Rountree, 1997). A growing body of evidence indicates that strong social ties in a neighborhood do not inevitably translate into, and may sometimes even inhibit, effective social controls (Bellair, 1997; Browning, Feinberg, & Dietz, 2004; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Wilson, 1996). Critics of the systemic model have suggested that neighborhood theory and research need to explicate the ways in which neighborhood social ties are activated and engaged for purposeful social action. Sampson et al. (1997) developed a measure of “collective efficacy,” represented by two components: social cohesion and mutual trust among neighbors, and informal social control, or neighbors’ willingness to intervene for the good of the community (Sampson et al., 1997). The concept of collective efficacy expands the understanding of the role of social ties by explaining the “mechanisms that facilitate social control without requiring strong ties or associations” (Morenoff et al., 2001, p. 520). Collective efficacy was found to have an inverse relationship with neighborhood violence, even when controlling for neighborhood disadvantage and prior rates of violence (Sampson et al., 1997).

As just mentioned, the construct “collective efficacy” is comprised of two components, one of which is informal social control. In this research, the component informal social control is separated from the other component of collective efficacy, social cohesion and mutual trust, because informal social control is empirically and theoretically more relevant to the research questions examined here. Informal social control is about proactive behaviors, and this research explores

neighborhood attachment as a predictor of those behaviors. It would be difficult to explore attachment as a source of social cohesion and mutual trust because the two are heavily confounded. Also, informal social control has received more theoretical attention in the neighborhood effects literature and has stronger implications for crime prevention and control (Silver & Miller, 2004; Warner, 2007). Finally, recent studies have called for a need to conceptually distinguish informal social control from other related measures, including social capital, collective efficacy, attachment to place and social ties (see Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003; Taylor, 2002); thus, this research is an attempt to provide a much-needed empirical contribution to this body of work.

Neighborhood attachment and informal social control

Given the documented importance of neighborhood informal social control for crime prevention and control, along with the disputed contribution of social ties to informal social control, this research seeks to identify other sources of informal social control, while also more fully examining the ways in which social ties may contribute to informal social control. Specifically, this research examines neighborhood attachment as a source of informal social control. Few studies have empirically examined the role of attachment as a neighborhood-level independent variable that may give rise to informal social control (for an exception, see Silver & Miller, 2004), and no study has explored the relationship between social ties and attitudinal attachment as sources of informal social control.

Also, though prior research examining neighborhood attachment has generally relied on measures that capture residents’ feelings about their neighborhood, it has more recently been suggested that neighborhood attachment be operationalized as a multidimensional construct (Bolan, 1997; Woldoff, 2002). A multidimensional approach to neighborhood attachment is useful because it highlights the distinction between *behaviors* of neighborhood residents and the *feelings* about the neighborhood that may or may not accompany those behaviors; this approach reflects the fact that neighborhoods themselves are multidimensional, providing, among other things, sustenance needs, a place for neighborly interactions, and a sense of identity (Hunter, 1974; Woldoff, 2002). This research will examine the effects of two dimensions of neighborhood attachment—systemic ties and attitudinal attachment—on informal social control.

Systemic ties

Systemic ties, indicators of neighborhood behavioral attachment, reflect residents’ degree of integration into neighborhood life, and include *social ties, neighbor familiarity, neighboring, and local*

organizational participation. Each of these indicators draws theoretical support from the systemic model of social ties and is expected to facilitate collective participation and responsibility in the neighborhood, and thus enhance informal social control (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974).

According to the systemic model, community attachment and informal social control are rooted in social ties, including networks of family and friends (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). In neighborhoods characterized by residential stability and where residents report having friends and relatives living nearby, residents are likely to feel more invested in the neighborhood and more responsible for activities that occur there, for their own well-being, as well as for that of their kith and kin. In addition, behavioral norms and expectations, as well as informal sanctions against violations of those expectations, are more easily enforced, thus facilitating informal social control (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993).

The systemic model also suggests that participation in neighborhood organizations is an indicator of neighborhood attachment that may enhance neighborhood informal social control (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). Several studies had assessed the impact of neighborhood organizational participation on informal social control. These studies generally found that neighborhood residents' participation in neighborhood organizations had an inverse effect on neighborhood violence and self-reported delinquency (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986; Taylor, Gottfredson, & Brower, 1984). It is suggested that organizational participation reflects the extent to which local residents choose to be involved and invested in neighborhood activities and work together to solve local problems.

Few studies of neighborhood informal social control had explored the role of familiarity among neighborhood residents as a source of informal social control. Those that had been done, however, suggested that residents' ability to identify others living in their neighborhood, as well as residents' informal surveillance of neighborhood activities, were indicators of neighborhood interaction and an essential component of informal social control (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Silver & Miller, 2004). Also, familiarity may contribute to feelings of mutual obligation between residents; residents who are familiar with their neighbors are more likely to be aware that they and their behavior are known by other residents. For example, in a study of urban street blocks, Taylor (1997) found that, in areas where neighbors were better acquainted, they were better able to recognize outsiders and were more likely to feel responsible for local events. This ability to distinguish neighborhood residents from outsiders may also promote feelings of neighborhood safety (Taylor, 1997). In neighborhoods where residents recognize and take note of suspicious strangers and inform their neighbors when such persons are noticed, other neighbors may become more willing to do the same. Thus, familiarity among neighborhood residents is hypothesized to promote informal social control.

Systemic ties are also conceptualized as structured activity in the form of neighboring behaviors, such as borrowing tools, helping with home repairs, watching each other's homes, and the like. The positive influence of neighboring behaviors on neighborhood informal social control has been demonstrated in a few key studies. Using data from one hundred Seattle census tracts, Warner and Rountree (1997) found that a scale of neighboring behaviors had a significant inverse effect on assault rates. In an examination of serious crime in sixty urban neighborhoods, Bellair (1997) reported that frequent and infrequent interaction with neighbors had significant inverse effects on burglary, motor vehicle theft, and assault rates.

Evidence about the effectiveness of *systemic ties* in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods draws considerable support from the systemic model and suggests that neighborhood structural conditions, including poverty, residential instability, and immigrant concentration, impede and limit such ties thereby reducing informal social

control (Bursik, 1988; Sampson, 1987). As mentioned previously, however, the contribution of systemic ties to informal social control had been questioned in recent research. Research examining the role of social ties had suggested that it was not the number of ties that matters, but the quality of those ties (Granovetter, 1983; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). Some studies found that these ties were limited in producing informal social control because they often connected to people in similarly disadvantaged situations, and thus could not compensate for or overcome negative neighborhood contexts such as poverty and social isolation (Barnes, 2003; Smith, 2005). In a recent study of social ties in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods, Rankin and Quane (2000) asked respondents how many of their close friends held steady jobs, were on public assistance, and were college graduates. Neighborhood poverty predicted all three measures, leading the researchers to conclude that residents of poor neighborhoods are socially isolated and "lack contact with persons with the knowledge, experience, and most important, the valuable social connections to aid them in their efforts to improve their life circumstance" (Rankin & Quane, 2000, p. 141). Ethnographic research also suggested that neighborhood social control might actually be undermined in neighborhoods where systemic ties connect law-abiding residents to non-law-abiding residents, such as drug dealers and gang members (Pattillo, 1998).

Though this qualitative dimension of systemic ties is a new and emerging research question, most current neighborhood surveys, including the one used as a source of data for this research, are more concerned with social ties between friends and relatives that have long been hypothesized to enhance informal social control. In neighborhoods characterized by high levels of disadvantage, residential instability, and immigrant concentration, social networks are constantly changing and such ties are difficult to foster and maintain. Accordingly, it is hypothesized that the number of systemic ties will be lower in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods, thereby reducing informal social control.

Systemic ties reflect residents' involvement and investment in their local neighborhood, which is hypothesized to increase the likelihood that residents will take responsibility for local problems and exercise informal social control. Further, perhaps residents living in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods will be less likely to establish social and organizational ties, recognize strangers or other outsiders in the dense and crowded city streets, or interact with their neighbors. Thus, disadvantaged neighborhoods should be characterized by fewer systemic ties, and consequently, lower levels of informal social control.

Attitudinal attachment

This research also examined the attitudinal dimension of neighborhood attachment, which consists of an *evaluative* and a *sentimental* component. The distinction between evaluation and sentiment reflects the difference between residents' assessments of objective characteristics of their neighborhood and residents' emotional feelings about their neighborhood (Guest & Lee, 1983a; Hunter, 1974; Woldoff, 2002). Attitudinal attachment represents residents' satisfaction and pride in their neighborhoods; when attitudinal attachment is high, residents may be more willing to prevent and control local problems.

The evaluation component of neighborhood attachment indicates the degree to which residents are satisfied with their neighborhoods as a place to live. It is conceptualized as an assessment of objective characteristics of the neighborhood, such as housing stock, local services, and crime rates, and is a more rational and less emotional judgment than neighborhood sentiment, which is described below (Guest & Lee, 1983a). Research investigating the correlates of neighborhood evaluation has found that quality housing, a lack of nearby commercial property, and social and organizational ties were associated with more positive evaluations of the neighborhood, while

physical and social disorder were associated with low evaluations of the neighborhood (Guest & Lee, 1983a; Woldoff, 2002). Accordingly, positive neighborhood evaluations, which reflect the better quality of life in a neighborhood and the investments that people have in maintaining the neighborhood as a positive place to live, should be associated with more informal social control.

Beyond objectively evaluating a local neighborhood as “good” or “bad,” residents may experience more emotional reactions to their neighborhood. This sentimental attachment is defined as a positive (or negative) *feeling* about one's neighborhood (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). The literature regarding sentimental attachment to the neighborhood has a long tradition; several studies (see Ahlbrandt, 1984; Guest & Lee, 1983a, 1983b; Hunter, 1974, 1975) examined the ways in which social ties, neighboring, and other local activities foster feelings of neighborhood affect.

Research investigating the negative influence of neighborhood structural conditions on *attitudinal attachment* suggests that residents of structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods are likely to feel unsatisfied and discontented with their neighborhoods as places to live (Skogan, 1990; Woldoff, 2002). These studies documented lower levels of attitudinal attachment in neighborhoods characterized by high levels of poverty, and social and physical disorder (Ahlbrandt, 1984; Silver & Miller, 2004; Taylor, 1996; Woldoff, 2002). Since residents will likely feel less satisfaction and pride in living in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods, disadvantaged neighborhoods are expected to elicit less attitudinal attachment, and as a result, less informal social control.

Data and measures

Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods community survey

The primary source of data for this research was the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) community survey (for survey design, see Earls & Visser, 1997; Sampson et al., 1997). The community survey of the PHDCN was conducted in 1995 and contained information on 8,782 Chicago residents' assessments of the social and structural characteristics of their neighborhoods. The survey had three stages of sampling: city blocks within neighborhood clusters, dwelling units within city blocks, and adult residents within dwelling units. Interviews were conducted in the residents' homes. The final response rate was 75 percent and the final number of respondents available for analysis was 7,380 residents nested within 342 neighborhood clusters.

U.S. Census and Chicago Police Department homicide data

Tract-level census data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing were used to provide neighborhood structural characteristics, including concentrated disadvantage, residential instability, and immigrant concentration. The use of aggregated demographic data from the census is common in studies of neighborhood effects (for a review, see Sampson et al., 2002). Using census data had several advantages. The census was collected independent of the PHDCN community survey. Also, census data were collected five years prior to the PHDCN community survey, thus permitting temporal sequencing between the effects of neighborhood structural characteristics and respondents' neighborhood assessments reported in the community survey. Chicago Police Department homicide data from 1991 to 1993, consisting of aggregate homicide counts geocoded to match the neighborhood clusters within which the homicide incidents occurred, were also used.

It should be noted that these PHDCN data were cross-sectional. The design of the analyses was improved by using homicide and census data that were measured prior to the PHDCN survey items; however,

the use of cross-sectional data complicated the assessment of causal ordering. The model employed in this research relied on the assumption that neighborhood structure affects neighborhood attachment which affects informal social control, but reverse causality is also a possibility. It is possible that informal social control influences attachment; that is, residents may report higher levels of neighborhood attachment because they perceive their neighbors as willing to intervene in local problems.

Though this research could not definitively assess causal ordering, it could be justified as an important step towards assessing causality. As this research utilized one of the best data sources for these research questions, if no associations are found between the variables, this would suggest that the causal relationships hypothesized in this research did not exist. If associations are found to support the research hypotheses, however, the theoretical arguments outlined herein, and related research (see Sampson et al., 2002; Silver & Miller, 2004; Warner, 2007), this would provide justification to further explore these relationships in future research.

Neighborhood-level variables

Each neighborhood-level explanatory variable consisted of individual-level items and scales created as follows. First, individual-level items and scales that make up the *systemic ties* scale and the *attitudinal attachment* scale were computed, as described below.¹ The mean value of these individual-level variables for each neighborhood cluster was then computed by aggregating the individual-level variables to the neighborhood level. To create the systemic ties scale and attitudinal attachment scale at the neighborhood level, means of the z-scores of each aggregated individual-level variable were computed (see Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999; Sampson et al., 1997). Thus, each neighborhood-level scale was a neighborhood-level measure computed from the means of standardized, aggregated individual-level items and scales.

Systemic ties

This scale was calculated as the mean of z-scores for the following four scales, after aggregating them to the neighborhood level by calculating a mean value for all respondents in a neighborhood cluster. The variable, *social ties*, was calculated as an average of two items asking the number of friends and relatives that residents reported living in the neighborhood. *Neighbor familiarity* was represented by a three-item scale measuring residents' familiarity with other residents and outsiders. The first and second item asked residents to identify the number of adults or children they knew or recognized by sight, 1 = none to 4 = a great many. The third item asked residents how difficult they found it to identify outsiders, ranging from 1 = very difficult to 4 = very easy. *Neighboring behaviors* was represented by a five-item scale measuring the frequency of the following activities: (1) do you and people in your neighborhood do favors for each other, (2) do you and other neighbors watch each other's property, (3) do you and people in your neighborhood ask each other for advice, (4) do you and people in your neighborhood have parties or other get-togethers, and (5) do you and people in your neighborhood visit in each other's home or in the street. *Organizational participation* was represented by a six-item scale indicating residents' membership in local organizations including churches, neighborhood watch groups, block groups, business or civic groups, ethnic clubs, and local political organizations. At the neighborhood level, alpha for the four items in the *systemic ties* scale was 0.71.

Attitudinal attachment

This scale was calculated as the mean of z-scores for the following two aggregated variables: to represent *evaluation of the neighborhood*, residents were asked how their neighborhood compared with others in the city, coded as 1 = worse, 2 = about the same, and 3 = better.

To represent sentiment about one's neighborhood, the variable *neighborhood sentiment* was measured by calculating the mean of two items. The first item indicated residents' like or dislike of their neighborhood, and the second item indicated whether residents would miss the neighborhood if forced to move. At the neighborhood-level, the two variables in the *attitudinal attachment* scale, *evaluation* and *sentiment*, were correlated at 0.76 ($P < .001$).

Neighborhood structural characteristics

Following prior research and theory, three variables were included to represent neighborhood structural characteristics. These variables were calculated using data from the 1990 census. Scales were constructed using factor loadings as weights (see also Sampson et al., 1997; Silver & Miller, 2004). *Concentrated disadvantage* was a factor comprised of percentage of families in poverty, percentage of families receiving public assistance, percentage of unemployed individuals, percentage of female-headed families with children, and percentage of residents who were Black. *Residential instability* was defined as the percentage of residents five years or older who did not live in the same house five years earlier, and the percentage of homes that were renter-occupied. *Immigrant concentration* included the percentage of Latino and foreign-born residents.

In addition to these neighborhood structural characteristics, the prior homicide rate within each neighborhood cluster was included as a control variable. Homicide is the most accurately reported crime, and it is theoretically and empirically linked to many other forms of crime and social disorder (Morenoff et al., 2001; Skogan, 1990). The use of homicide data measured temporally prior to the survey-based items helped to eliminate any potential spurious effects between the explanatory variables and informal social control due to the effects of violent crime in the neighborhood. For example, in neighborhoods with high levels of violence, which also tend to be highly disadvantaged, residents may feel unsafe, and may be unlikely to feel attached to the neighborhood, or be unwilling to engage in behaviors associated with informal social control. Controlling for the prior homicide rate removed this potential confound.

Informal social control

The dependent variable in this study, *informal social control*, was measured by a four-item scale.² Residents were asked about the likelihood that their neighbors could be counted on to intervene if (1) children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, (2) children were spray painting graffiti on a local building, (3) children were showing disrespect to an adult, and (4) a fight broke out in front of their house.³ Responses ranged from 1 = very unlikely to 5 = very likely. The individual-level mean for this scale was 3.37, indicating that, on average, individual residents reported that other neighborhood residents would be slightly likely to intervene in local disturbances. Alpha for the *informal social control* scale was 0.80.

Individual-level control variables

Though this study was concerned with neighborhood-level processes, it was important to control for compositional differences between neighborhoods in the kinds of people they contain. This allowed the author to separate the effects of neighborhood characteristics from the effects of characteristics of people within those neighborhoods. Thus, the following individual-level control variables were computed: dummy variables for male, Black, Hispanic, and married, as well as variables representing age, socioeconomic status (first principal component of education, income, and occupational prestige), the number of moves in the past five years, length of residence in the neighborhood, and whether the respondent owned his/her home.

Statistical methods

This was a multilevel analysis of the PHDCN community survey. The multilevel design of the data allowed for the analysis of the effects of the neighborhood-level variables while taking into account compositional differences between neighborhood clusters. Hierarchical linear modeling was used to correct for the lack of independence among nested observations (HLM). Since the research questions focused on neighborhood-level phenomena, the models included individual-level controls and neighborhood-level explanatory variables to predict mean levels of informal social control across neighborhood clusters.

Results

Descriptive results

Table 1 contains descriptive statistics for the neighborhood-level and individual-level variables. The neighborhood-level variables showed considerable variation across the neighborhood clusters in levels of neighborhood attachment, disadvantage, mobility, and ethnic composition. The systemic ties variable ranged from -1.75 to 2.94. The attitudinal attachment variable ranged from -2.47 to 1.95. Regarding the neighborhood structural variables, concentrated disadvantage ranged from -1.65 to 3.81, residential instability ranged from -2.38 to 2.04, and immigrant concentration ranged from -1.63 to 3.07. (Neighborhood-level means for all scale items are presented in Appendix A.)

Regarding the individual-level variables, 41 percent of the respondents were male, 26 percent were Hispanic, 41 percent were Black, 42 percent were married, the average age was fifty years, 45 percent owned their homes, the average length of neighborhood residence was 12.2 years, and the average number of moves per respondent in the previous five years was approximately one. The mean for the dependent variable, informal social control, was 3.37, with values ranging from 1 to 5.

Table 2 presents the neighborhood-level correlations among the independent variables representing dimensions of attachment and the dependent variable, informal social control. These correlations indicate that, although the variables are significantly related to each other, the moderate to weak positive relationships justify treating these variables as *separate* dimensions of attachment. (All neighborhood-level correlations are presented in Appendix B.)

Table 1
Descriptive statistics for analytical variables

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
<i>Neighborhood level (n=342)</i>				
Systemic ties	-1.75	2.94	0.00	0.74
Affective attachment	-2.47	1.95	0.00	0.94
Concentrated disadvantage	-1.65	3.81	0.00	0.99
Residential instability	-2.38	2.04	0.00	1.00
Immigrant concentration	-1.63	3.07	0.00	0.97
Homicide rate	1.30	5.10	3.14	0.96
<i>Individual level (n=7,380)</i>				
Informal social control	1.00	5.00	3.37	1.00
Male	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.49
Hispanic	0.00	1.00	0.26	0.44
Black	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.49
Age	24.00	107.00	49.52	16.72
Married	0.00	1.00	0.42	0.50
SES	17.00	97.00	44.25	18.06
Number of moves	0.00	11.00	0.96	1.39
Length of residence	0.00	91.00	12.15	12.91
Own home?	0.00	1.00	0.45	0.50

Table 2
Neighborhood-level correlations among dimensions of attachment and informal social control

		Systemic ties	Affective attachment	Informal social control
Systemic ties	Pearson correlation	1.00	0.37	0.48
	Sig. (two-tailed)		0.00	0.00
Affective attachment	Pearson correlation	0.37	1.00	0.73
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00		0.00
Informal social control	Pearson correlation	0.48	0.73	1.00
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00	0.00	

Note: N=342.

Multivariate results

Since this research involved multilevel analyses that assessed the effects of neighborhood-level variables while controlling for individual-level variation between neighborhood clusters, the amount of variance in the outcome measure, informal social control, which existed between and within the 342 neighborhood clusters was first determined. For the null model, with no covariates included, the between-neighborhood variance component was 0.126 ($p < .001$), indicating significant variation in levels of informal social control between neighborhoods. The within-neighborhood variance component was 0.873. Thus, more than 12 percent of the variance in informal social control was between rather than within neighborhood clusters (.126/[.126 + .873]).

Next, individual-level controls were added to the null model to determine how much of the 12 percent variation was due to compositional differences between neighborhoods. Adding these controls reduced the between-neighborhood variance component to 0.091 ($p < .001$); the within-neighborhood variance component was unchanged at 0.87. These results indicated that only 28 percent of the between-neighborhood variance in informal social control in the null model was due to compositional differences in the kinds of people the neighborhoods contained $([0.126 - 0.091]/0.126)$. Thus, a large

amount of the observed between-neighborhood variation in informal social control was due to residents' collective sense of their neighbors' willingness to engage in informal social control, independent of their own individual characteristics, such as gender, race, age, and the like.

Table 3 presents the results of the HLM analyses predicting neighborhood levels of informal social control. The neighborhood-level coefficients produced by each model reflect changes in the mean level of perceptions of informal social control across neighborhood clusters. Though the main theoretical focus was on the neighborhood-level variables (the upper portion of the table), each model also includes individual-level controls.

The analyses consisted of four models predicting informal social control. Referring back to Fig. 1, this research examined the main effects of attachment on informal social control, and the mediating effects of attachment on the relationship between neighborhood structure and informal social control. Model A included the structural characteristics (concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration, residential instability) and controlled for the homicide rate. Models B and C added each dimension of attachment separately. Model D included both dimensions of attachment together.

As shown in Model A, each of the neighborhood structural characteristics was significantly and inversely related to informal social control. Neighborhoods characterized by greater socioeconomic disadvantage, immigrant concentration, residential instability, and a higher crime rate exhibited less informal social control. At the individual level, number of moves and home ownership were significantly related to respondents' perceptions of neighborhood informal social control in the expected directions. Model A explained 56 percent of the between-neighborhood variance in informal social control that remained after controlling for individual-level characteristics.

The remainder of Table 3 (Models B through D) examined the effects of dimensions of neighborhood attachment. Model B included the systemic ties variable, a scale including social ties, neighbor familiarity, neighboring behaviors, and neighborhood organizational participation. As shown in Model B, systemic ties were significantly and positively related to informal social control. Together, social ties, familiarity among residents, neighboring behaviors, and organizational participation

Table 3
Hierarchical linear models predicting informal social control (standard errors in parentheses)

	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
<i>Neighborhood-level variables</i>				
Intercept	3.398 (0.016)	3.399 (0.015)	3.399 (0.014)	3.400 (0.014)
Concentrated disadvantage	-0.126*** (0.030)	-0.122*** (0.028)	-0.010 (0.030)	-0.030 (0.031)
Residential instability	-0.109*** (0.018)	-0.036 (0.020)	-0.085*** (0.017)	-0.052* (0.020)
Immigrant concentration	-0.064** (0.020)	-0.073*** (0.019)	-0.029 (0.019)	-0.041* (0.019)
Homicide rate	-0.134*** (0.032)	-0.141*** (0.030)	-0.063* (0.030)	-0.081** (0.030)
Systemic ties		0.169*** (0.025)		0.086** (0.027)
Affective attachment			0.241*** (0.028)	0.194*** (0.031)
Neighborhood variance explained ^a	56%	66%	71%	73%
<i>Individual-level controls</i>				
Male	-0.011 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.022)	-0.012 (0.022)	-0.12 (0.022)
Hispanic	0.051 (0.036)	0.056 (0.036)	0.059 (0.036)	0.061 (0.036)
Black	0.032 (0.041)	0.039 (0.041)	0.066 (0.041)	0.060 (0.041)
Age	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Married	0.003 (0.023)	0.001 (0.023)	0.004 (0.023)	0.003 (0.023)
Number of moves	-0.039*** (0.009)	-0.038*** (0.009)	-0.039*** (0.009)	-0.039*** (0.009)
SES	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Number of years in neighborhood	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Own home	0.127*** (0.027)	0.131*** (0.027)	0.133*** (0.027)	0.134*** (0.027)

^aThe denominator for this calculation is the neighborhood-level variance component, controlling for person-level characteristics (.091).

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

contributed positively to neighborhood levels of informal social control. Adding this variable to the model increased the between-neighborhood explained variance to 66 percent. Also, comparing the coefficients for the structural variables before and after adding the systemic ties variable showed evidence of mediation. Specifically, the variable for residential instability was reduced by 67 percent and became nonsignificant when systemic ties was added to the model. As hypothesized, and in accordance with the systemic model, this finding suggests that it may be difficult for residents to engage in informal social control in neighborhoods characterized by high levels of residential instability, where systemic ties are weak. Interestingly, the coefficient for concentrated disadvantage was not significantly reduced, suggesting that fewer systemic ties do not account for the lower levels of informal social control observed in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Model C included the attitudinal attachment variable, a scale including neighborhood evaluation and neighborhood sentiment. Neighborhood attitudinal attachment was significantly and positively related to informal social control. Thus, levels of informal social control were higher in neighborhoods in which residents were generally satisfied with their local environment and felt positively about living there. Adding attitudinal attachment to the model increased the between-neighborhood explained variance to 71 percent. Also, comparing the coefficients for the structural variables before and after adding the attitudinal attachment variable showed evidence of mediation. The coefficients for concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration, and residential instability were all reduced. Specifically, the coefficient for disadvantage was reduced by 92 percent (from -0.126 in Model A to -0.010 in Model C), and the coefficient for immigrant concentration was reduced by 54 percent (from -0.064 to -0.029); both became nonsignificant.

These results indicated that low levels of attitudinal attachment are a key factor contributing to the low levels of informal social control reported in neighborhoods characterized by concentrated disadvantage, residential instability, and immigrant concentration. Thus, these results suggest that residents living in neighborhoods characterized by low levels of residential satisfaction and sentiment are unlikely to perceive local residents as willing to take action in the prevention of local problems.

Finally, the net effect of each of the two attachment variables on neighborhood levels of informal social control was assessed by including them in the model together. As shown in Model D of Table 3, both attachment variables remained significantly and positively related to informal social control, though the coefficient for systemic ties was reduced by 49 percent (from 0.169 to 0.086) and the coefficient for attitudinal attachment was slightly reduced (20 percent, from 0.241 to 0.194).

Also, a comparison of the coefficients for the structural variables—disadvantage, immigrant concentration, and residential instability—before and after the inclusion of both of the attachment variables (Models A and D) indicated considerable evidence of mediation. The coefficients for disadvantage, residential instability, and immigrant concentration were reduced. The coefficient for disadvantage was reduced by 76 percent (from -0.126 in Model A to -0.030 in Model D), the coefficient for residential instability was reduced by 52 percent (from -0.109 to -0.052), and the coefficient for immigrant concentration was reduced by 36 percent (from -0.064 to -0.041). Adding all of the neighborhood attachment variables to the model increased the between-neighborhood explained variance to 73 percent.

The results in Model D suggested that neighborhood attachment is a key factor explaining variations in neighborhood levels of informal social control. Specifically, low levels of neighborhood systemic ties and attitudinal attachment contribute to low levels of informal social control observed in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods. Further, it appears that attitudinal attachment acts as a mediator in the relationship between systemic ties and informal social control,

such that systemic ties give rise to informal social control when they help to facilitate attitudinal attachment.

Discussion and implications

With the proliferation of studies of neighborhood effects, researchers are seeking to understand the links between neighborhood structural characteristics, residents' attitudes and behaviors, and social disorder. This research sought to contribute to the study of neighborhood effects by addressing a key gap in the literature: though it is postulated, and some studies demonstrated, that informal social control matters for crime prevention and control, it is not yet known where it comes from. This research was motivated by a desire to understand the complex role that neighborhood attachment plays in producing informal social control in urban neighborhoods.

This research addressed three research questions: (1) Does neighborhood attachment contribute to neighborhood levels of informal social control? (2) Does neighborhood attachment help explain the lower levels of informal social control typically observed in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods? (3) If so, what dimensions of neighborhood attachment are most important and how? Accordingly, this research empirically examined two dimensions of neighborhood attachment—systemic ties and attitudinal attachment—as sources of informal social control. Further, it assessed the extent to which neighborhood systemic ties and attitudinal attachment mediated the relationship between neighborhood structural conditions and informal social control.

After controlling for individual-level compositional effects, support was found for the hypothesis that neighborhood systemic ties and attitudinal attachment were positively related to informal social control. These findings indicate that neighborhoods characterized by extensive friend and neighbor networks, familiarity among residents, local organizational participation, and residents' positive evaluations and sentiment about the neighborhood exhibit higher levels of informal social control. Also, results suggest that attitudinal attachment acts as a mediator between neighborhood systemic ties and informal social control, providing much-needed evidence that systemic ties matter for neighborhood informal social control because they facilitate residents' pride and satisfaction with their neighborhood as a place to live.

As hypothesized, neighborhood attachment also explained a substantial portion of the effects of the neighborhood structural characteristics. The effects of all of the neighborhood structural variables were reduced, and the effect of concentrated disadvantage was rendered nonsignificant when the neighborhood attachment variables were added to the model. These findings provide important evidence that the low levels of informal social control observed in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods are the result of limited attachments among residents in these neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods, high levels of disadvantage, residential instability, and immigrant concentration are suggested to not only disrupt valuable neighborhood social networks and interaction, but also diminish residents' feelings of pride, satisfaction, or responsibility in their neighborhood, which then makes it unlikely that residents will be willing to intervene in the prevention of local problems.

This research advanced the understanding of the development of informal social control in neighborhoods by clarifying the contributions of attachment, conceptualized as a multidimensional neighborhood-level construct. Results indicate that in neighborhoods where attachment is high, (e.g., local ties and organization participation are strong, neighboring behaviors are common, familiarity among residents is easy, and residents feel good about living there), residents may feel encouraged, or even obligated, to engage in behaviors that sustain and promote the neighborhood as a positive place to live. Results also indicate that residents of structurally disadvantaged

neighborhoods may not fully develop these dimensions of neighborhood attachment, and, as a result, are unlikely to feel invested in their neighborhood or be willing to prevent or intervene in local problems. This argument draws support from the concept of the community of limited liability, in which residents may only form partial attachments in their neighborhood to the extent that those attachments fulfill certain utilitarian needs, and yet be prepared to move out when the neighborhood stops meeting those needs, or when they are financially able to do so.

As discussed previously, the use of cross-sectional data in this research prohibited a precise determination of causal ordering. Though the relationships in this research were justified by prior theory and research, it was possible that neighborhood informal social control might work to promote attachment. To the extent that neighborhood residents take pride in their neighborhood, engage in forms of informal social control, and perceive other residents as just as proud and willing to address local problems, these perceptions of neighborhood informal social control may facilitate feelings of attitudinal attachment, including an increase in positive neighborhood sentiment and evaluations of the neighborhood and its resources. Further, the cooperation engendered by informal and other social control efforts, such as the formation of local voluntary associations and relationships with agents of social control, may help to enhance systemic ties in the form of increased neighborly interaction and familiarity. Neighborhood-level longitudinal data are needed to explore potential reciprocal relationships between neighborhood attachment and informal social control.

Despite this limitation, this research indicated several useful directions for neighborhood theory. First, it utilized a multidimensional conceptualization of attachment that has its roots in classic urban sociological research, specifically Hunter's (1974) work on "symbolic communities." Though several urban sociological studies treated attachment as a multidimensional construct (for a review, see Woldoff, 2002) and criminological research has suggested that neighborhood attachment is an important predictor of informal social control (see Silver & Miller, 2004), no other studies had explored attachment as a source of informal social control in such a complete way. The multidimensional conceptualization of neighborhood attachment is useful to studies of informal social control because it distinguishes between the thoughts, feelings, and actions that residents may have about their neighborhoods and how those dimensions of attachment may translate into residents' willingness to engage in the prevention of local problems.

Second, this research showed that community is not "lost," that the social nature of neighborhood life is still viable, and that it has important implications for neighborhood crime prevention and control (Wellman, 1979). The social nature of neighborhood life, however, may be more complex than previously thought. Neighborhood research in the social disorganization tradition has generally relied on the systemic model of social ties to explain the mechanisms mediating the effects of neighborhood structural conditions on crime rates. Work conducted by Sampson et al. (1999) and Sampson et al. (1997) has generated a new line of research that attempts to specify the content of social ties, and how those ties may be activated and engaged—through the mechanism of collective efficacy—to promote neighborhood informal social control. The theoretical innovation of collective efficacy lies in differentiating the "process of activating or converting social ties to achieve desired outcomes from the ties themselves" (Sampson et al., 1999, p. 635, italics in the original).

This research provided support for the collective efficacy framework, as well as the systemic model of social ties. First, it is important to remind readers that, in this research, the components of Sampson et al.'s (1997) collective efficacy scale were separated, with theoretical and empirical attention focusing on informal social control, defined as residents' willingness to take social action, arguably the most important facet of collective efficacy. Further,

the measure of systemic ties included social ties and there was empirical support for their positive effects on informal social control. Finally, the results indicated that attitudinal attachment is another significant predictor of neighborhood informal social control, and in fact, mediated some of the effects of systemic ties on informal social control.

As Sampson et al. (1997) and others have argued, social ties are not enough for crime prevention and control. Moving beyond the singular influence of systemic ties and interactions, the results of this research indicate that it is just as important that residents feel positive, satisfied, and invested in their neighborhoods for them to be willing to engage in behaviors to promote neighborhood safety and crime prevention, and that this attitudinal attachment may be the mechanism through which systemic ties are activated or converted into the desired outcome of informal social control. Thus, this research suggests a transition from sole reliance on the systemic model of social ties to other explanations of the mechanisms mediating the relationship between neighborhood structural disadvantage and crime; rather than reject social ties as a source of informal social control, they must be viewed as part of a higher order concept—neighborhood attachment—that attempts to clarify corresponding neighborhood-level processes that residents utilize to achieve neighborhood informal social control. Arguably, the two predominant explanations of the development of neighborhood informal social control—the systemic model and collective efficacy—might be subsumed under this broader concept of neighborhood attachment.

Conclusion

In sum, it appears that neighborhood informal social control is due to attitudinal attachment and accompanying systemic ties. Results also suggest that residents of structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods are unlikely to develop positive forms of neighborhood attachment, and as a result, are unlikely to feel invested in their neighborhood or be willing to prevent or intervene in local problems. Future neighborhood research and policy should thus be attentive to a more nuanced view of neighborhood attachment, as described in this research, and consider work that will encourage socializing in the neighborhood, promote positive feelings about the local neighborhood, and ultimately enhance informal social control.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks go to Eric Silver, Fred Markowitz, Deirdre Oakley, and anonymous reviewers for commenting on earlier drafts of this work.

Appendix A. Neighborhood-level descriptive statistics for scale items

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Social ties	1.59	3.71	2.53	0.34
Familiarity	2.02	3.62	2.67	0.27
Neighboring	1.85	3.38	2.53	0.26
Organizational participation	0.05	2.23	0.92	0.31
Evaluation	1.32	3.00	2.38	0.39
Sentiment	2.03	3.81	2.98	0.33
Percent of families in poverty	-1.02	7.16	0.92	1.62
Percent households with public assistance	1.00	75.00	17.54	15.06
Percent unemployed	2.00	58.50	13.91	9.55
Percent female-headed households	6.67	95.00	33.03	18.43
Percent Black	0.00	100.00	41.59	43.84
Percent not in same house	18.00	73.00	43.97	12.68
Percent renter-occupied housing	6.49	94.21	51.41	19.60
Percent Latino	0.00	96.00	19.80	26.01
Percent foreign-born	0.00	65.00	16.56	15.76

Appendix B. Neighborhood-level correlations

		Informal social control	Concentrated disadvantage	Residential instability	Immigrant concentration	Homicide rate	Systemic ties	Attitudinal attachment
Informal social control	Pearson correlation	1.00						
	Sig. (two-tailed)							
Concentrated disadvantage	Pearson correlation	-0.57	1.00					
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00						
Residential instability	Pearson correlation	-0.48	0.14	1.00				
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00	0.01					
Immigrant concentration	Pearson correlation	-0.06	-0.22	0.25	1.00			
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.27	0.00	0.00				
Homicide rate	Pearson correlation	-0.55	0.83	0.13	-0.33	1.00		
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00			
Systemic ties	Pearson correlation	0.48	-0.08	-0.55	-0.10	-0.09	1.00	
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.06	0.10		
Attitudinal attachment	Pearson correlation	0.73	-0.78	-0.25	0.06	-0.74	0.37	1.00
	Sig. (two-tailed)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.00	0.00	

Note: N = 342.

Notes

1. A series of factor analyses were conducted to test the appropriateness of operationalizing the attachment construct with two dimensions, rather than one underlying dimension. Comparison of chi-square statistics for the one-factor model versus the two-factor model indicated that the two-factor model represented a significant improvement in model fit. The eigenvalue for Factor 1 was 2.64 and for Factor 2 was 1.58. Additional results are available from the author. Further, the resulting factors were highly correlated (above .9) with the neighborhood attachment scales that were computed. The computed scales were utilized because they were easily re-created and thus were robust across a range of studies related to this research topic.

2. It is important to note that informal social control, as described in this data set, is particularly focused on child-centered activities. As discussed previously, a relationship between local youth misbehavior and neighborhood disorder is predicted by prior theory and research (Osgood & Anderson, 2004; Osgood, Wilson, Bachman, O'Malley, & Johnston, 1996; Sampson & Groves, 1989). Minor disturbances involving neighborhood children, such as loitering and vandalism, often lead to more serious delinquency and crime, and thus it is suggested that the supervision and socialization of local youth have important implications for preventing and controlling neighborhood crime and deviance (Bursik, 1988).

3. Though other studies using these data had used a measure of informal social control which included an item asking residents how likely their neighbors would be to organize against the closing of a local fire station, this item was omitted because it did not reflect informal social control over neighborhood disorder and deviance. When the analyses presented here were performed with the social control measure with the fire station item included, however, results identical to those reported below were obtained (available from author).

References

- Ahlbrandt, R. (1984). *Neighborhoods, people, and community*. New York: Plenum.
- Barnes, S. L. (2003). Determinants of individual neighborhood ties and social resources in poor urban neighborhoods. *Sociological Spectrum*, 23, 463–497.
- Bellair, P. E. (1997). Social interaction and community crime: Examining the importance of neighbor networks. *Criminology*, 35, 677–703.
- Bolan, M. (1997). The mobility experience and neighborhood attachment. *Demography*, 34, 225–237.
- Browning, C. R., Feinberg, S. L., & Dietz, R. D. (2004). The paradox of social organization: Networks, collective efficacy and violent crime in urban neighborhoods. *Social Forces*, 83, 503–534.
- Bursik, R. J., Jr. (1988). Social disorganization and theories of crime and delinquency: Problems and prospects. *Criminology*, 26, 519–551.
- Bursik, R. J., Jr., & Grasmick, H. G. (1993). *Neighborhoods and crime: The dimensions of effective community control*. New York: Lexington.
- Carr, P. J. (2003). The new parochialism: The implications of the Beltway case for arguments concerning informal social control. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 1249–1291.
- Earls, F. J., & Visher, C. A. (1997). *Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods: A research update* (NCJ 163603). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.
- Granovetter, M. (1983). The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1, 201–233.
- Guest, A. M., & Lee, B. A. (1983a). Sentiment and evaluation as ecological variables. *Sociological Perspectives*, 26, 159–184.
- Guest, A. M., & Lee, B. A. (1983b). Social organization of local areas. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 19, 217–240.
- Hunter, A. (1974). *Symbolic communities: The persistence and change of Chicago's local communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hunter, A. (1975). The loss of community: An empirical test through replication. *American Sociological Review*, 40, 537–552.
- Kasarda, J., & Janowitz, M. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. *American Sociological Review*, 39, 328–339.
- Kubrin, C. E., & Weitzer, R. (2003). New directions in social disorganization theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 40, 374–402.
- Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2001). Neighborhood inequality, collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology*, 39, 517–559.
- Osgood, D. W., & Anderson, A. L. (2004). Unstructured socializing and rates of delinquency. *Criminology*, 42, 519–549.
- Osgood, D. W., Wilson, J. K., Bachman, J. G., O'Malley, P. M., & Johnston, L. D. (1996). Routine activities and deviant behavior. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 635–655.
- Pattillo, M. (1998). Sweet mothers and gangbangers: Managing crime in a Black middle class neighborhood. *Social Forces*, 76, 747–774.
- Pattillo-McCoy, M. (1999). *Black picket fences: Privilege and peril among the Black middle class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rankin, B. H., & Quane, J. M. (2000). Neighborhood poverty and the social isolation of inner-city American families. *Social Forces*, 79, 139–164.
- Rountree, P. W., & Warner, B. D. (1999). Social ties and crime: Is the relationship gendered? *Criminology*, 37, 789–812.
- Sampson, R. J. (1987). Communities and crime. In M. R. Gottfredson & T. Hirschi (Eds.), *Positive criminology* (pp. 91–114). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Sampson, R. J. (1988). Local friendship ties and community attachment in mass society: A multilevel systemic model. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 766–779.
- Sampson, R. J., & Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 774–802.
- Sampson, R. J., Morenoff, J. D., & Earls, F. (1999). Beyond social capital: Spatial dynamics of collective efficacy for children. *American Sociological Review*, 64, 633–660.
- Sampson, R. J., Morenoff, J. D., & Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing neighborhood effects: Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 443–478.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277, 918–924.
- Silver, E., & Miller, L. L. (2004). Sources of informal social control in Chicago neighborhoods. *Criminology*, 42, 551–584.
- Simcha-Fagan, O., & Schwartz, J. (1986). Neighborhood and delinquency: An assessment of contextual effects. *Criminology*, 24, 667–704.
- Skogan, W. G. (1990). *Disorder and decline: Crime and the spiral of decay in American neighborhoods*. New York: The Free Press.
- Smith, S. (2005). "Don't put my name on it": Social capital activation and job-finding assistance among the Black urban poor. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 1–57.
- Taylor, R. B. (1996). Neighborhood responses to disorder and local attachments: The systemic model of attachment, social disorganization, and neighborhood use value. *Sociological Forum*, 11, 41–74.
- Taylor, R. B. (1997). Social order and disorder of street blocks and neighborhoods: Ecology, microecology, and the systemic model of social disorganization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 34, 113–155.
- Taylor, R. B. (2002). Fear of crime, social ties and collective efficacy: Maybe masquerading measurement, maybe déjà vu all over again. *Justice Quarterly*, 19, 773–792.
- Taylor, R. B., Gottfredson, S., & Brower, S. (1984). Block crime and fear: Defensible space, local social ties, and territorial functioning. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 21, 303–331.
- Veysen, B. M., & Messner, S. F. (1999). Further testing of social disorganization theory: An elaboration of Sampson and Groves' 'community structure and crime.' *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36, 156–174.
- Warner, B. D. (2007). Directly intervene or call the authorities? A study of forms of neighborhood social control within a social disorganization framework. *Criminology*, 45, 99–129.

Warner, B. D., & Rountree, P. W. (1997). Local social ties in a community and crime model: Questioning the systemic nature of informal social control. *Social Problems*, 44, 520–536.

Wellman, B. (1979). The community question: The intimate networks of East Yorkers. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 1201–1231.

Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Vintage Books.

Woldoff, R. A. (2002). The effects of local stressors on neighborhood attachment. *Social Forces*, 81, 87–116.