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Community Organizations and Crime:

An Examination of the Social-Institutional Processes of Neighborhoods

Caterina Gouvis Roman, Temple University

with Mike Kane, Demelza Baer and Emily Turner

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Community Organizations and Crime: An Examination of the Social-Institutional Processes of Neighborhoods

Executive Summary

The main goal of the study is to articulate and measure how local organizations are linked to social control and crime. The study tests methods for examining and measuring the social control generating function of local organizations and institutions in order to inform policy, research and practice around community development for crime control and public safety. Researchers in various disciplines studying poverty and social exclusion have been increasingly interested in articulating and measuring the positive features of communities associated with decreasing negative outcomes and increasing positive ones. Social capital has been the term used to capture these positive or pro-social features of communities. There are varying definitions of social capital provided by theorists (Coleman 1990; Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 1993), but generally, social capital refers to the activation of actual or potential resources embodied in communities stemming from a durable network of relationships or structures of social organization. Across the broad range of studies testing measures of social capital, few empirical studies have focused on how organizations and institutions can be vehicles for increasing socialization and achieving positive neighborhood outcomes. Sociologically, institutions represent broad networks of people and places organized to achieve some commonly held function or goal. But limited extant theoretical literature has contributed to the scant attention paid to the social institutional processes of neighborhoods.

As a result of the gap in research on community institutions, there are many policy issues and questions that remain unsolved. For example, studies testing Putnam's ideas about voluntary associations and other studies examining collective efficacy have focused on unobservable processes or the strength and breadth of participation in voluntary associations. How do communities increase the mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors that in turn increase willingness to intervene for the common good of the neighborhood (i.e., collective efficacy)? Programs and initiatives focused on strengthening neighborhood institutions may be more realistic and practical. Accessibility to and the capacity of organizations should be viewed as central components of building and maintaining healthy neighborhoods. Community organizations have a place in the community development, sociological, and criminological literature as a vehicle for understanding community integration and socialization, but this place is only partly explicated by theories—and rarely tested through empirical research. The study addresses these limitations by conceptualizing and defining constructs related to institutional capacity (the social-institutional processes) of neighborhoods. The specific research questions include:

- What is the relationship between the presence of organizations and established measures of community informal social control?
- What is the relationship between the *characteristics* of organizations and established measures of community informal social control?
- Can the identified features or characteristics of organizations and institutions be formed into a valid and reliable instrument for measuring community social control?



- Does the relationship found between organizations and social control hold across communities with different levels of socio-economic characteristics?
- Is strong institutional capacity linked to lower crime?

This study examines and validates measures of the capacity of organizations at the neighborhood level, and tests the measures against established measures of social control and neighborhood integration. We extend Bursik and Grasmick's (1993) systemic model of social disorganization to explicitly include the role of organizations in facilitating the development of collective efficacy and collective action, as well as directly influencing effective socialization and acting as a mediator to reduce crime and violence. We seek to determine whether aggregate measures of organizations in neighborhoods be used to describe mechanisms that bring about social control. Given our understanding of how crime is mediated by collective efficacy, the challenge is to tap into the presence of organizations that have the capacity to encourage collective action and/or work as socializing mechanisms in the community. Within this role, it can be hypothesized that highcapacity community institutions, like collective efficacy, will act as mediators against violence. Essentially, we test a measure to represent the social-institutional processes of neighborhoods. The study builds on a recent study by the proposal authors that found that organizations contribute to social control, but not all organizations contribute in the same way or to the same degree (Roman and Moore 2003).

The theoretical model examined is set within a social disorganization framework, but integrates community development theories on capacity to fully explicate the role of organizations in social organization and crime control. The hypothesized relationships within an integrated framework are illustrated in Figure I. The solid arrows portray the relationships relevant for this study. The dotted arrows show the relationships that have been established by previous studies, but are not the subject of this study.

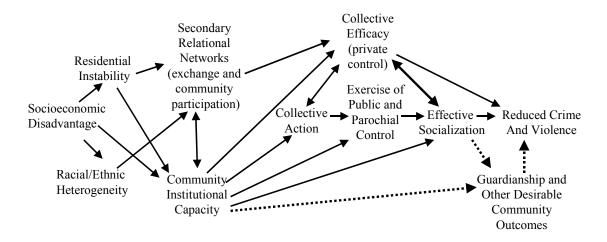


Figure I. Community Institutional Capacity Model

In theory, high capacity institutions not only act to increase secondary relational networks, but also expand the neighborhood's ability to transmit pro-social norms and achieve collective action (whether perceived or actual) around common goals. High capacity institutions also offer



tangible resources for residents that assist with the development of human capital. This development of human capital is part of collective action. As individual efficacy increases, so does the possibility of collective efficacy and actual collective action. In turn, collective efficacy and collective action lead to the exercise of control at the private, parochial and public levels. High capacity institutions should also directly influence socialization, as some organizations, such as schools and churches, take on the task of socialization. High capacity institutions also provide opportunities for individuals to share information and act collectively to respond to problems. Although individual residents within an organization can subjectively feel empowered to act, it is the organization that provides the structural access to power and resources (Breton, 1994). Organizations also provide stability over time as individuals move, tire, or refocus their efforts and priorities elsewhere.

High capacity institutions are construed in this model as *generating* collective action and effective socialization that then serve to encourage and generate collective efficacy that ultimately influence crime. In addition, high capacity institutions have the ability to provide guardianship that directly discourages opportunities for crime.

Hypotheses

The constructs and relationships examined are shown in Figure II. This figure is a trimmed version of Figure I. We hypothesize that community institutional capacity and collective efficacy are related concepts. If organizations are vehicles that lead to social integration, and collective action, and social integration is the foundation for collective efficacy (as hypothesized in the literature), than institutional capacity should be found in the same neighborhoods as collective efficacy. Research has found that neighborhoods with high levels of social ties do not always have high levels of collective efficacy. But organizations often are also vehicles that bring people together for a cause or a unified purpose. Organizations offer human capital development that may positively affect neighborhoods with regard to collective action. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that high community institutional capacity would lead to collective efficacy. We envision collective efficacy as an outcome of community institutional capacity. Community institutional capacity will be correlated with collective efficacy, cohesion and control. Consistent with the social disorganization tradition, we also hypothesize that the relationship found between community institutional capacity and collective efficacy will be influenced by residential instability, socioeconomic disadvantage and racial heterogeneity. We also hypothesize that the accessibility of organizations will be related to collective efficacy. Furthermore, we believe that neighborhoods with high levels of institutional capacity will be neighborhoods with low crime rates.

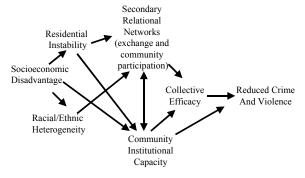


Figure II. Community Institutional Capacity Model Examined in Current Study



Data and Methods

The target community consists of the Capitol Hill, Ivy City, and Trinidad neighborhoods of Northeast Washington, D.C. The target area is bordered on the west by South and North Capitol Street, on the north by New York Avenue, on the east by the Anacostia River, and on the south by Virginia Avenue. These neighborhoods were chosen for a number of reasons: (1) they provide a mix of some of D.C.'s most disadvantaged neighborhoods, gentrifying neighborhoods and middle and upper class neighborhoods, as well as a mix of racial and ethnic groups; (2) each of the neighborhoods within these areas are well defined and recognized; (3) the Urban Institute has a history of working in these communities; and (4) there are natural boundaries around the target area borders that reduce the likelihood that local residents cross these boundaries to access local organizational services. The unit of analysis is the block group. The target site consists of 55 block groups.

We compiled information on all organizations and institutions in the target area and right outside the target area that provide some asset or resource to neighborhood residents. The organizational information was compiled from a variety sources. We consulted with local civic leaders and publically available information, as well as purchasing listings from two prominent data warehouse companies. Dun and Bradstreet provided business listings, including demographic information, a standard industry classification code, and mapping information, for the target area (primarily zip codes 20002 and 20003). The second data source, PowerFinder (formerly called PhoneDisc), was utilized to supplement and enhance the data received from Dun and Bradstreet. Once we had a comprehensive list of organizations, we geocoded the data using ArcGIS to determine which organizations were located within a 300 meter buffer of the target area for the study. Government agencies located in the neighborhood were not included because these agencies would more closely approximate the public level of control. Our intent was to survey two types of institutions:

- 1. Community-based organizations and social service organizations that have a recognized role as assisting the *local* community. These organizations include emergency shelter and counseling services, neighborhood and tenant associations, community councils, Boys and Girls Clubs, crime prevention programs, neighborhood watches, local civic groups, local political organizations, community development corporations (CDCs) and other non-profit community based organizations. All local social service programs not run by the government that provide human development services like job training programs, literacy, and mentoring programs were included. Non-profit organizations that solely served a national function and provided no local services were excluded from this category. Religious ministries were included in this category, not in "congregations" category.
- 2. Churches and Religious Congregations. Research has demonstrated the role of the congregations as mechanisms of social control—through the concentration of people with similar values (Stark et al., 1980), social solidarity (Bainbridge 1989), impact on the family structure (Peterson, 1991), and, most recently, parochial control (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Rose, 2000). In addition to providing a forum for religion, teaching, socializing, and activities, the religious congregation may provide valuable services to the residents of the community, which often reaches beyond the members of the congregation. This category represents places of worship only.



For our analysis, the final database of organizations relied only on category 1 within the typology above. As we discuss in the full report, we were not successful in surveying religious congregations, so that component of the data collection has been dropped from analyses (see report for detailed information). With regard to the organization category, there were 82 validated community-based or social service organizations across the 55 block groups and 88 organizations across the larger "buffer area" around the target area.

Sample of Households

To collect data for the criterion measure, we sampled housing units across the 55 block groups in our target area. The intent was to collect neighborhood level measures of previously validated measures (i.e., measures already established) of collective efficacy, social cohesion and control, and similar constructs. Occupied housing units within the 55 block group target area were identified through property tax assessment data for the District of Columbia. A stratified random sample, by block group, of 1375 housing units was selected in June 2005. Essentially, a total of 25 households were selected from each of 55 block groups, for a total of 725 residential households.

DATA COLLECTION

Survey of Organizations

To explore dimensions of capacity that include characteristics of organizations as discussed earlier (referred to as organizational capacity), an organizational survey was administered to all community-based organizations and social service organizations in the target area. The survey explores measures of neighborhood capacity that tapped the following dimensions: organizational stability, leadership, human resources, financial resources, technical resources, community outreach, networking and products and services. We mailed surveys to 284 community organizations. (After survey follow-up and site visits, we believe the universe of valid organizations to be 88 organizations.)

The surveys were administered by Urban Institute staff as mail surveys. The surveys took roughly 30 minutes to complete. Given multiple efforts and a low response rate, we shortened to the survey to a number of key items: Does your organization provide [services]? (e) How many people does your organization serve a day [service capacity]? (f) Does your organization produce an annual report? [products, resources, outreach, and stability], (g) Does your organization have a website? [resources and outreach], (h) Is your technology adequate for you to compete for grants and contracts? [technological resources], (i) Is there a formal set of advisors or Board of Directors for your organization? [leadership], (j) What is the total operating budget for your organization for the last two fiscal years? [financial resources], (k) How many paid employees does your organization have? [human resources], and (1) Does your organization use volunteers? [human resources, outreach]. When it became clear that we would still have a significant number of organizations with missing data (missing =41), we turned to administrative data, collected using websites and public tax return data. We successfully collected administrative data for 11 organizations. Out of 88 organizations in our sample, our final response rate is 49 percent.

Survey of Households

The in-person resident survey data collection protocol was finalized at the end of July 2005.



A consulting firm was hired in August 2005 and interviewers were hired and training in four training sessions in September 2005. Surveying began on September 10, 2005 and was completed by the end of April 2006. The response rate was 67 percent.

MEASURES

We developed three components of community institutional capacity: (1) presence, (2) organizational capacity, and (3) accessibility.

- 1. <u>Presence</u>. In order to reduce any bias by relying on one method to capture presence, we focus on one method for estimating presence in the target neighborhood relevant to block groups: the number of organizations within a 300 meter radius (0.186 miles) from any edge of the block group. The buffer from edge method creates unequal size buffers that relate proportionally to the size and shape of the block group. We want to note that we collected organization data for buffer areas that fell outside of target area of the 55 block groups. This information yielded an additional 6 organizations, bringing the number of organizations in the "expanded" target (or buffer) area to 88. We did this to ensure that we did not suffer from edge effects, which would underestimate the capacity score of each "neighborhood." The presence of organizations is defined as the total number of organizations within each edge buffer. Hence, presence merely reflects quantity without attempting to capture capacity or quality.
- 2. Organizational Capacity. The organizational capacity index is based on eight of the final eleven questions used in the shortened survey. Because we ended up relying on administrative data for 11 organizations, we were forced to only use those variables where we could similar information through administrative data. The index is an additive capacity score of the eight items. For the items, values were assigned to each response category and then the values were summed. The additive index ranges for the organizations for which we had data range from 6 (low capacity) to 28 (high capacity). Excluding the missing, the average additive capacity score is 14, with a standard deviation of 4.51. Because we were missing data on 30 organizations, we used data estimation techniques to develop capacity scores for missing organizations. We then created another index that used capacity measures for all organizations (to include the 30 organizations). To obtain a neighborhood-level measure (i.e., block group), the capacity scores for the additive scales with and without missing data were then aggregated (summed) by neighborhoods. The result is a block group summary measure for the additive indices (with and without missing organization scores).
- 3. Accessibility. To explore the possibility that every meter, mile or foot closer to neighborhoods (i.e., block groups) matters with regard to an organization's ability to generate social capital, we developed an accessibility score for block groups. We believe that more aptly measuring the presence of local organizations entails gauging *proximity* or *distance*. Using all validated community organizations, for each block group, we aggregated the distance from the closest block group edge to each of the 88 organizations. We used Euclidean distance, also known as "as the crow flies." The 88 distances for each block group are summed. A lower accessibility score means a block group has more organizations nearby than a block group with a higher accessibility score. Euclidean distance was deemed appropriate because the target area is relatively small and people walk to organizations and services, cutting through alleys and parks.



Criterion Measures: Collective Efficacy and Cohesion and Control

Social Cohesion and Social Control

Following studies by Sampson and colleagues (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush, 2001), cohesion is measured (from household survey data collection) asking respondents whether they strongly agree, agree, agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree to the statements below:

- 1. This is a close-knit neighborhood.
- 2. People around here are willing to help their neighbors.
- 3. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other (reverse coded)
- 4. People in this neighborhood do not share the same values (reverse coded)
- 5. People in this neighborhood can be trusted.

Social control is measured using the following five questions (respondents were asked whether these situations were very likely, likely, neither likely nor unlikely, unlikely, or very unlikely):

- 1. If a group of neighborhood children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?
- 2. If some children were spray painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?
- 3. If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely it is that people in your neighborhood would scold that child?
- 4. If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was beaten or threatened, how likely is it that your neighbors would break it up?
- 5. Suppose that because of budget cuts the fire station closest to your home was going to be closed down by the city. How likely is it that neighborhood residents would organize to try to do something to keep the fire station open?

Cohesion has an individual reliability of .74; control has a reliability of .83.

Collective Efficacy

We created our collective efficacy scale by combining our cohesion measure and our measure of control. The individual reliability of the collective efficacy measure is .84. In addition to examining internal consistency, we examine whether the above scales are useful indicators of neighborhoods. We estimate aggregate reliability following O'Brien's (1990) generalizability theory model, where households/individuals are nested within block groups. Aggregate reliability was high for all measures.

We also included a number of control variables that the sociological and criminological literature has found to be related to informal neighborhood processes: population density, concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, racial heterogeneity, and commercial land use. The first four control variables were measured using 2000 Census data (see full report for detailed operationalization). Percent commercial land use is the number of commercial parcels and dividing by the number of all parcels (i.e., all parcel types) in each block group. The data were obtained using District of Columbia parcel data for 2005.



Crime Measures

We focused on four key measures of crime using incident data and calls for service data provided by the District of Columbia Metropolitan police department as described below. All incidents were mapped using ArcMap 9.0 using a street centerline file provided by the District of Columbia's Office of Chief Technology Officer (OCTO). All maps were projected using Maryland State Plane using a North American Datum (NAD) 83. All dependent variables are examined using the average of the aggregate sum of the incidents or calls for service across a two-year time span.

- 1. Aggravated Assault Rate. The assault rate measure is the number of incidents reported to the police for assault with a deadly weapon (ADW) (i.e., aggravated assault) from January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2006. All aggravated assault incidents are person-level with each victim accounted for separately. For stability purposes, the victimization data are aggregated using the two-year time period (January 1, 2005- December 31, 2005, January 1, 2006- December 31, 2006) and then averaged. To calculate rates, we divided by the block group population, and multiplied by 1,000.
- 2. Property Crime Rate. This measure is the number of burglaries, larcenies and motor vehicle thefts, reported to the police from January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2006. The incidents were averaged across the two years. To calculate rates, we divided by the block group population, and multiplied by 1,000.
- 3. Social Disorder. Social disorder is operationalized as calls for service in 2005 and 2006 for a broadly-defined class of social disorder, but not including (disorderly conduct): shooting, sounds of gunshots, man down, woman down, indecent exposure, soliciting for prostitution, and destruction of property (these are classifications made by the 911 call-takers). The calls were averaged across 2005 and 2006, and the block group population for 2000 was used as the denominator.
- 4. <u>Physical Disorder</u>. Physical disorder is operationalized using calls received by the District of Columbia Citywide Call Center (202-727-1000) for 2005 to 2006. The calls used for this variable are calls for abandoned vehicles, graffiti removal, illegal dumping and streetlight repair. The calls were averaged over the two-year period. The rate was derived by dividing incidents by the population of block groups in 2000. The data were provided by the District of Columbia Office of the Chief Technology Officer.

ANALYSIS

Because we sought to establish criterion-related validity, first, bivariate and partial correlations were run between the new measures and the criterion measures. Then, regression analyses were conducted to examine the variables in a multi-variate framework.

KEY FINDINGS

The partial correlations revealed that when controlling for the neighborhood structural constraints (disadvantage and residential stability), only our accessibility measure remains significant (capacity and presence are not significant). Accessibility has a significant negative relationship with collective efficacy (-.241; p<.10) and a significant relationship with social cohesion (-.300; p<.05). Although only one of our new measures exhibited a significant



relationship with the criterion measures, we believe this is a very positive finding. These significant results are strong findings for construct validity for the organizational accessibility measure.

- When examining the partial correlations between our new measures and the crime measures, we found only two significant correlations: the neighborhood organizational capacity score measure was significantly correlated with the aggravated assault rate when controlling for prior assault rate, residential stability and concentrated disadvantage; accessibility was significantly and positively correlated with the aggravated assault rate (.351; p<.05).
- The results of the regression analyses show that controlling for the neighborhood structural constraints, the accessibly of organizations predicts social cohesion (but not collective efficacy or informal social control).
- The regression results of the models examining whether the newly created neighborhood organizational variables are associated with various types of crime and disorder, controlling for neighborhood structural constraints, show that of the three new measures, only organizational accessibility is significantly associated with crime. Neighborhood organizational accessibility is significantly and negatively associated with the aggravated assault rate. In other words, as hypothesized, neighborhoods with organizations further away are significantly more likely to be neighborhoods with higher assault rates. Neighborhood organizational accessibility is not significantly related to rates of social or physical disorder, or property crime.

CONCLUSION

Organizations serve as places that may generate social cohesion and the expectation for social action. This study found that, when taking in the context of the larger local landscape of the location of community organizations, access (defined as overall distance) to organizations that serve the local community matters. This study measured the accessibility of organizations by examining the aggregate distances from each of the neighborhoods to the community-based organizations in the larger target area. The findings indicate that distance matters for the social health of neighborhoods. Increased access to organizations is related to higher levels of social cohesion. These relationships hold when controlling for neighborhood structural characteristics that include residential stability, concentrated disadvantage, commercial land use, and racial heterogeneity. Neighborhoods that are isolated from community-based organizations and social services may have a reduced ability to foster social interaction. In addition, we found that neighborhoods that had more local organizations nearby were also neighborhoods with lower rates of aggravated assault. The measure used in this study operationalizes distance so that every unit of distance matters with regard to its utility in the community. This definition has important implications for thinking about where, in the geographic sense, local organizations can provide the most benefit.

Within this exploratory study, the partial correlations provided some evidence that the neighborhood-level capacity of organizations (aggregate capacity scores) may be an important measure to capture when studying social capital and public safety. The study findings show that the traits of organizations relate to a community's level of collective efficacy and social cohesion, when controlling for residential stability and concentrated disadvantage. Our measurement of capacity was a simple scale that only tapped into a few key characteristics of the organizations; we had hoped that



with our study (if we were successful with the organizational survey) we could have gained some insights into the variations within organizations that influence capacity at the neighborhood level. Much research remains to be done. Below we touch on a number of recommendations for future research on neighborhood measures of institutional capacity.

Because this study was exploratory, more research should be conducted to replicate measure development. The study used a small sample (55 block groups) across neighborhoods. Similar studies replicated in different neighborhoods in Washington, D.C, as well as across the country, will assist in measure development and validation. Replication in areas that are less urban can further elucidate factors that may influence relationships between organizations and the social and psychological aspects of neighborhood life studied in this research.

The cross-sectional nature of this study limited our ability to infer causal relationships. As stated above, the full conceptual model developed in this study has not been tested. Longitudinal research can assist in understanding the interrelationships among aspects of social capital such as CIC, collective efficacy, collective action and participation. The opportunity for strong longitudinal study designs that include organizational characteristics may be limited to those that are prospective, as opposed to retrospective. Retrospective studies may not be feasible, given the difficulty of obtaining accurate historical information on organizations that no longer exist. Some of the organizations surveyed in this study were newer, small organizations that were created as a result of one- or two-year funding streams for specific projects (e.g., a two-year mentoring program) that are likely to dry up when the grant period ends. However, we see many opportunities for retrospective research focusing on particular types of organizations where data may flow more freely. For instance, studies focusing on pro-social places like recreation and community centers and parks may be able to obtain reliable longitudinal data on programs and center amenities from city or state agencies. Also, retrospective studies focusing simply on presence (i.e., counting organizations) will be useful.

Longitudinal studies are of particular importance in that they can establish causal order. Our conceptual model hypothesizes that collective efficacy is the outcome of high community institutional capacity. Although we found no evidence in our target area, we acknowledge that, without establishing temporal order, there exists the possibility that high capacity institutions may be found in the most disorganized areas because disorganized areas have the most need for organizations. It is plausible to say that, in some instances, millions of dollars in grants have been given to impoverished neighborhoods to set up comprehensive community-based initiatives and/or new organizations targeted to reduce community disorganization. We did not address this potential endogeneity problem. However, our measure of community institutional capacity attempts to capture some aspects of the alternative hypothesis by incorporating a variable representing the stability of organizations in the capacity scale. As a result, our measure most likely would capture this important dimension that would vary across neighborhoods. It may be likely that areas low on collective efficacy may have the most organizations, but when capacity is fully accounted for, these neighborhoods with high capacity organizations would have higher levels of collective efficacy relative to other poor neighborhoods nearby.

In this study, we only examined the role of local nonprofit and grassroots organizations that provide some service to the local community. It is important to be able to identify those organizations that foster these aspects of social life beyond those who directly participate in or receive services from the organizations. Not all organizations will contribute to social capital in the



same way or to the same degree. The original survey was designed to include a full array of dimensions that are hypothesized to be related to community capacity. Because of a low response rate for the organization survey, we were limited to including only a very limited number of items in our organizational capacity scale. Our additive scale assumes organizations that provide direct service to large numbers of people have more capacity than organizations that do not directly provide human services, but work to build overall capacity (such as advocacy organizations or organizations that develop, renovate and build housing units, for instance). With larger sample sizes, a variety of organizational capacity measures can be tested. Dedicated resources and larger sample sizes will assist in obtaining reliable data that can be examined using more sophisticated factor methodologies to explore and validate important dimensions of capacity.

With regard to location, we attempted to assess capacity by examining where organizations were within and across the entire target area. This study examined presence and accessibility of organizations as the number of organizations present in a 300 meter buffer from block group edge, and the aggregate distances from block group edge to organizations, respectively. The accessibility measure shows great promise as a measure of institutional capital in neighborhoods. Accessibility scores were developed so that every foot mattered—the variable is defined as a continuous variable from zero to infinity. We did not adopt a critical "cut-off" point where we assumed any additional distances past this cut off were of no value to the neighborhood. Continued exploration of these methods and other methods, as well as understanding when and how distance matters is critical to understanding opportunities for neighborhoods.

Given some of the findings presented in this report, it may be useful for communities tracking neighborhood health to begin keeping records on community institutions and organizations, by type of organization. The existence of community-based organizations and institutions such as churches, schools, parks, and recreation centers, in most instances, is known to community workers. Address information is often of public record. However, we cannot conclude or advise communities as to how many organizations or what types are good for a neighborhood. Neighborhoods will vary on the number and types of organizations needed. With more research, we envision that communities could track organizations by typology simply by validating their existence and location. Communities across D.C. and other urban areas could update the data annually or on a biennial basis.

This is the second study where the primary author attempted to survey a vast array of organizations in a variety of neighborhoods, and hence we have learned many lessons. Most importantly, success collecting data in one community does not necessarily translate to success in collecting information in a different community. In our first study, where the target area was a tight knit community of 29 block groups with few institutions, we were much more successful collecting survey information. When we attempted to collect information from organizations in the neighborhoods of the current study, we were unable to reach many organizations, and the majority of those reached were distrustful of surveys or the staff indicated they were too busy to complete the short survey. We had twice as many resources for the current study as we did for the first study, and yet, we would estimate the need for four times the resources used in the first study.

In recent years, collective efficacy has become a well-known concept in many communities, as well as in research and policy circles. Research has shown that increasing collective efficacy has implications for improving a variety of healthy outcomes for children and adults across neighborhoods, from reducing violence and victimization to reductions in obesity. Community



leaders and community development practitioners seek practical programs that buoy local social networks and support systems, but no silver bullet solution to increase collective efficacy has been realized. Social capital is often discussed as the silver bullet for community health and well being. Relatively little is known about how communities can foster cohesion and social capital. Furthermore, few empirical studies have focused on how organizations can be vehicles for increasing socialization and achieving positive neighborhood outcomes. Even studies testing Putnam's ideas about voluntary associations and other studies examining collective efficacy have focused on unobservable processes or the strength and breadth of participation in voluntary associations. People are complex, and encouraging changes in individual behavior have proven difficult. In addition, how can one foster individuals' participation in organizations that do not exist in many communities? Accessibility to and the capacity of organizations should be viewed as central components of building and maintaining healthy neighborhoods. Strategies and policies aimed at organizations and encouraging organizational and agency networks may be more practical and have direct, tangible benefits for communities than efforts to build collective efficacy.

We hope this exploratory study attempting to understand the role of local organizations in communities from the organizational and neighborhood level provides impetus for continued examination. The potential implications for policy and practice of the systematic study of community institutional capacity are many. Using established, accessible measures of institutional capacity, we can not only assess who has it and who does not, but also evaluate the practicality of building social capital through organizations and the larger community infrastructure.



CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This study articulates and measures how local organizations are linked to social control and crime. The study tests the hypotheses that (1) community-based organizations help build formal and informal social control for neighborhoods, and (2) communities with many community organizations and high-capacity organizations will have less crime and disorder than communities with fewer organizations or low-capacity organizations. Neighborhood advocates and community practitioners agree that crime and disorder are often top concerns among residents. Sociologically, institutions represent broad networks of people and places organized to achieve some commonly held function or goal. Hence, understanding the role of local institutions/organizations is of central importance to a community's abilities to achieve better outcomes.

For decades researchers have been examining the relationship between disadvantage and neighborhood crime in efforts to understand the distribution of offenders and violence across communities. High crime areas are often communities with a host of problems including high unemployment and limited economic activity, overcrowded, dilapidated buildings, and high poverty levels. Evidence is mounting that the prevalence of poverty has risen in already impoverished areas (Bernstein et al., 2000; Jargowsky, 1997; Wilson, 1996) and decay is becoming more entrenched in America's cities (Zukin 1998). These problems put an increased strain on communities and diminish the ability of neighborhoods to reduce or stop decay and crime.

Researchers studying local disadvantage and crime generally base their research in social disorganization theory. Most recently, social disorganization theorists have studied the dynamics within neighborhoods using measures to represent the concept of systemic control (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). Bursik and Grasmick offer a modernized social disorganization theory, arguing that social disorganization is really a systemic theory of neighborhood crime control. Bursik and Grasmick and other researchers following in their path (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997; Sampson 2001a), stress the institutional base of communities as being an important factor in the disadvantage-crime relationship because it represents a component of social capital or parochial



control (parochial control being one of three levels of control within Bursik and Grasmick's systemic theory). However, to date, dimensions of parochial control have been rarely explored and explicated. In particular, few empirical studies have focused on how organizations and institutions can be vehicles for increasing socialization and achieving positive neighborhood outcomes. Sociologically, institutions represent broad networks of people and places organized to achieve some commonly held function or goal. But limited extant theoretical literature has contributed to the scant attention paid to the social institutional processes of neighborhoods.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The main goal of the study is to articulate and measure how local organizations¹ are linked to social control and crime. The study tests methods for examining and measuring the social control generating function of local organizations and institutions in order to inform policy, research and practice around community development for crime control and public safety. Researchers in various disciplines studying poverty and social exclusion have been increasingly interested in articulating and measuring the positive features of communities associated with decreasing negative outcomes and increasing positive ones. Social capital has been the term used to capture these positive or pro-social features of communities. There are varying definitions of social capital provided by theorists (Coleman 1990; Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 1993), but generally, social capital refers to the activation of actual or potential resources embodied in communities stemming from a durable network of relationships or structures of social organization.²

As a result of the gap in research on community institutions, there are many policy issues and questions that remain unsolved. For example, studies testing Putnam's ideas about voluntary associations and other studies examining collective efficacy have focused on unobservable processes or the strength and breadth of participation in voluntary associations. How do communities increase the mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors that in turn increase willingness to intervene for the common good of the neighborhood (i.e., collective efficacy)? Programs and initiatives focused on

¹ We use the terms organizations and institutions interchangeably.

² In Sampson's 1995 discussion of the relationship between community factors and crime, he explicitly draws the connection between social control, social disorganization and social capital (p. 199):

Coleman's notion of social capital can be linked with social disorganization theory in a straightforward manner—lack of social capital is one of the primary features of socially disorganized communities. The theoretical task is to identify the characteristics of communities that facilitate the availability of social capital to families and children. One of the most important factors, according to Coleman (1990:318-20), is the closure (that is, connectedness) of social networks among families and children in a community. In a system involving parents and children, communities characterized by an extensive set of obligations, expectations, and social networks connecting adults are better able to facilitate the control and supervision of children.



strengthening neighborhood institutions may be more realistic and practical. Accessibility to and the capacity of organizations should be viewed as central components of building and maintaining healthy neighborhoods. Community organizations have a place in the community development, sociological, and criminological literature as a vehicle for understanding community integration and socialization, but this place is only partly explicated by theories—and rarely tested through empirical research. The study addresses these limitations by conceptualizing and defining constructs related to institutional capacity (the social-institutional processes) of neighborhoods. The specific research questions include:

- What is the relationship between the presence of organizations and established measures of community informal social control?
- What is the relationship between the characteristics of organizations and established measures of community informal social control?
- Can the identified features or characteristics of organizations and institutions be formed into a valid and reliable instrument for measuring community social control?
- Does the relationship found between organizations and social control hold across communities with different levels of socio-economic characteristics?
- Is strong institutional capacity linked to lower crime?

This study examines and validates measures of the capacity of organizations at the neighborhood level, and tests the measures against established measures of social control and neighborhood integration. We extend Bursik and Grasmick's (1993) systemic model of social disorganization to explicitly include the role of organizations in facilitating the development of collective efficacy and collective action, as well as directly influencing effective socialization and acting as a mediator to reduce crime and violence. Essentially, we test a measure to represent the social-institutional processes of neighborhoods. The study builds on a recent study by the primary author that found that organizations contribute to social control, but not all organizations contribute in the same way or to the same degree (Roman and Moore 2003).



CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK³

Over time, two main strands of literature have emerged that inform how social capital and social control is important to community well being. The sociological and criminological literature uses social disorganization theory as a framework that posits that community social organization regulates and maintains effective social control. Communities with effective social control have lower crime rates (Sampson 1999; Sampson, Morenoff and Earls 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). Another strand of literature, made up of sociologists, social psychologists and economists, is less concerned with explaining crime, and more concerned with the community mechanisms and processes that bring about community revitalization (i.e., community development) and reduced levels of poverty. Researchers and policy analysts working in this tradition seek to inform how resources can be mobilized and social capital can be developed in poor communities. The community development literature discusses the nature and effectiveness of community organizations as tools to build community capacity.

Both the social disorganization literature and the community capacity literature are focused on individual interpersonal networks and the mechanisms linking individuals to their communities and traditional institutions—the family and schools. However, research in both traditions has overlooked the key role played by community organizations as mediating structures that facilitate the emergence and maintenance of values and ties that can lead to stronger communities.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social disorganization theory argues that disadvantaged neighborhoods lack the ability to foster informal social control, thereby facilitating increased opportunities for crime (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Kornhauser 1978; Sampson 1985, 1986; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997).

³ Parts of this background section come directly from Roman and Moore, 2003: "Measuring Local Institutions and Organizations: The Role of Community Institutional Capacity in Social Capital." Report to the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives. The Urban Institute. (The current study was a replication of the 2003 study).



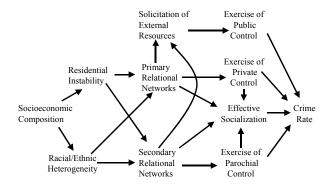
Contemporary proponents of social disorganization theory (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Sampson and Groves 1989; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999) draw on Albert Hunter's (1985) approach to local community social control which includes three levels of control: private level, parochial level, and public level. The private level represents the social support and mutual esteem derived from interpersonal relationships among residents; the parochial level represents the role of the broad interpersonal networks that are created through the interlocking of local institutions, such as stores, schools, churches and voluntary organizations; and the public level focuses on external resources (i.e., resources outside the neighborhood) and the ability of a neighborhood to influence government agencies in their allocation of resources to neighborhoods.

Social capital is imbedded in the relational networks across the levels of control and the dynamic interplay of these three levels is differentially realized across neighborhoods. The traditional emphasis on the private level of control has been expanded to include the dynamic relationship between all three layers of control (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). This expanded model has been referred to as the systemic model (see Figure 1). Residential instability, disadvantage and racial/ethnic heterogeneity are key structural constraints that influence community social organization, and in turn, the exercise of social control.

A key construct that has recently emerged from empirical studies framed in social disorganization theory is collective efficacy. Collective efficacy is the linkage of trust and shared norms to the willingness of residents to act together toward a pro-social collective goal (Sampson 1999; Sampson, Morenoff and Earls 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). Collective efficacy is consistent with redefinitions of social capital with regard to expectations for collective action for the betterment of neighborhoods (see Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993:1323; Sampson 2001a). Collective efficacy has its origins in earlier research examining social ties and social integration (Skogan 1986; Taylor 1988; Taylor, Gottfredson and Brower 1980). Taylor's research examined the relationship among and between social processes such as place attachment, neighborhood satisfaction, willingness to intervene, and community participation, and neighborhood outcomes such as fear, disorder and crime. Taylor's research and studies on collective efficacy based

⁴ Social disorganization theory falls under the rubric of ecological theories rooted in studies conducted by University of Chicago sociologists. Ecological refers to the multifaceted environment—physical, social and economic—that bears on individual behavior and aggregate phenomena. The Chicago theorists developed ecological models to explain findings that delinquency and crime were related to areas that were witnessing decay and physical deterioration. The work of Shaw and McKay (1931; 1942) and others (Burgess 1925; Thrasher 1927; Lander 1954; Bordua 1958; Schmid 1960; Chilton 1964) provided the basis for understanding how crime is related to community environments.

on Chicago data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) show that there are mechanisms that facilitate control that do not necessarily require strong ties (Bursik 1999; Sampson, et al. 1999).



Source: Bursik and Grasmick, 1993:39

Figure 1. The Basic Systemic Model of Crime

Criminologists working to refine social disorganization theory have shown that neighborhoods with high levels of collective efficacy are neighborhoods with low crime rates (Sampson et al. 1997; Morenoff, Sampson and Raudenbush et al. 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). Apart from crime, studies examining collective efficacy or similar constructs (e.g., willingness to intervene) have also found significant relationships between collective efficacy and health, education, and intimate partner violence (Browning and Cagney 2002; Perkins, Brown, Larsen and Brown 2001; Ross and Jang 2000). These findings have encouraged policy discussions, suggesting that not all disadvantaged neighborhoods are the same with regard to isolation and disorganization. Academics are cautiously optimistic about these findings, aware that research on collective efficacy is relatively new and hence, many of the findings of the studies discussed above have not yet been replicated outside of Chicago.

THE ROLE OF LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

According to the systemic model, local organizations have a role in the community as mechanisms that can increase social control. Organizations fit into this model generally through Hunter's parochial level of control. Organizations build secondary relational networks of individuals that increase effective socialization. These bonds foster informal social control and cohesion. These bonds can also foster bonds to formal agents of control such as the police or other government agencies. The link to government agencies is the tie that brings the public layer of control in contact



with the private and parochial layers. Essentially, the ties formed through organizations can help secure extra-local resources needed for community functioning. Local businesses also play a role in building parochial control. Parochial control may be built through shopping in one's neighborhood and patronizing local businesses (Bursik 1999; Hunter 1974, 1978; Sampson & Groves 1989).

The role of organizations has also been developed in theories outside, but related to, social disorganization theory. Putnam (1993, 2000) stresses the role of voluntary associations as the primary source for the development of social trust and horizontal social networks. The work of Wilson (1987, 1996) and other urban scholars studying poverty and the neighborhood effects⁵ of living in poor neighborhoods argues that disadvantaged neighborhoods have difficulty maintaining local institutions and attracting new ones. In a review of the literature on how neighborhood affects child and adolescent outcomes, Jencks and Mayer (1990) identified neighborhood institutional resources as one of five theoretical frameworks for linking individuals with neighborhood processes. The availability, accessibility, affordability and quality of institutional resources all influence neighborhood outcomes related to children and youth (Jencks and Mayer 1990; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000).

The role of organizations also has a place in routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson 1979; Felson and Cohen 1980; Felson 1987; Felson 1994) which posits that crime requires a motivated offender, suitable target and the absence of capable guardians. The physical environment and land use types provide differential opportunities under which the three aspects converge in time and space. Disorganized communities exhibit fewer pro-social opportunities that provide structured activities with capable guardianship. Hence, opportunities for crime would be fewer where there are schools, recreation centers and after school programs that have teachers, mentors, and recreational managers—places that limit the potential for crime to occur (Cohen and Felson 1979). The placement or location of organizations and institutions is a key feature in the distribution of opportunities for socialization (National Research Council 2002), guardianship and in turn, crime.

COMMUNITY CAPACITY LITERATURE

The community development literature has assembled a body of research articulating the importance of building capacity—capacity to increase human capital, and build civic identity and

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⁵ This body of literature is sometimes referred to as the "underclass" literature, and more recently as "neighborhood effects."



engagement in impoverished communities. This literature specifies that organizations can be the bridge between people and their neighborhoods to assist in revitalization efforts. This literature views organizations as vehicles that can mobilize neighborhood change through empowering residents to act on their own behalf or their neighborhood's behalf (Chaskin 2001; Connell and Kubisch 2001; DeVita and Fleming 2001; Ferguson and Stoutland 1999; Vidal 1996). Local institutions and organizations directly provide financial, human, political, and social resources to the community (DeVita and Fleming 2001). Organizations act as mobilizing agents to put communitybuilding efforts in motion. They also develop leadership, build community solidarity, and engage individual citizens in collective interests. In addition to varying functions, organizations have different capacities to serve their communities. Furthermore, even within the same types of organizations, organizations will have varying capacities (Eisinger 2002; Glickman and Servon 1998).

LIMITATIONS OF CURRENT RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF LOCAL **ORGANIZATIONS**

The capacity literature and the social disorganization literature contain few studies that document and measure the contribution of organizations to social control and social capital. The social disorganization framework is limited in articulating the role of organizations, basically stating only that organizations increase secondary relational networks that are important as a socialization tool in generating social control. A detailed explanation of how organizations socialize individuals is missing. Empirical studies largely examine participation in organizations at the expense of examining the numbers, types, capacity or quality of local institutions.

The inattention to actual organizational capacity may be partly due to the focus on individual-level behavior. Participation is an individual-level notion. As Sampson, Morenoff and Earls (1997:634) assert, "recent efforts seem to have bypassed Coleman's essential theoretical claim—that social capital is lodged not in individuals, but in the structure of social organization."

To the authors' knowledge, there have not yet been any studies that assess a neighborhood's ability to bridge all three levels of social control (private, parochial and public, nor examine the role of organizations in promoting these types of control. With regard to parochial control, outside of participation as a measure, there have been relatively few published studies that have tested for positive influences of organizations on neighborhoods. The few studies within sociology that have done so only measure the presence/absence and number of institutions (Morenoff et al. 2001; Peterson, Krivo and Harris 2000) or utilize qualitative measures to better understand one type of



local organization (see for example, Small's piece on the resource brokering of childcare institutions (Small, 2006). These studies address this limitation and suggest more research is needed that examines other measures, or more detailed measures of organizations. Morenoff and colleagues (2001:553) specifically addressed this limitation in their research study and stressed the importance of a more rigorous measure of institutions:

In conclusion, we should emphasize that perhaps the biggest limitation of the present analysis concerns our measures of organizations and institutions. Drawn from survey (self) reports, we are limited to resident' perceptions of the organizations in the areas. Residents may be mistaken, of course, suggesting independent data are needed on the number and type of organizations, along with their geographical jurisdictions. But probably more germane, it is not clear that the number of organizations is the key factor in social organization. Applying the logic we used for ties and efficacy, it may be that the density of organizations is important only insofar as it generates effective action on the part of the organizations that do exist. One can imagine a community with a large number of dispirited and isolated institutions, perhaps even in conflict with one another. This is hardly the recipe for social organization, suggesting that dense institutional ties are not sufficient. We therefore hope that future research is able to make advances in two ways—better objective measures of institutional density and direct measures of organizational networks and processes of decision making that are at the heart of making institutions collectively efficacious.

With regard to accessing resources that encourage the public level of control, studies are almost non-existent. A few studies have examined the relationship between social control, crime and community-police engagement (Kane 2003; Velez 2001), but these studies did not involve measures related to organizations or examine other extra-local resources besides police resources.

Organizations occupy an essential role by linking all three levels of control. Organizations are critical in obtaining community grant funds, and lobbying industry and government officials for economic resources—important resources necessary for revitalization and overall community well being. Studies that examine the varying capacity of neighborhoods to develop and maintain control at all three levels of control will be critical to the advancement of research in this field.

Further limiting sociological studies examining the efficacy of organizations is that the literature on community capacity is found under fields of study apart from social disorganization and crime. The systemic model of crime does not consider institutional capacity, and the community capacity literature examines organizations solely at the organization level, not the neighborhood level, making integration difficult.



THE CAPACITY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Local institutions and organizations serve a variety of functions in communities beyond increasing opportunities for effective socialization. They directly provide financial, human, political, and social resources to the community. Organizations act as mobilizing agents to put communitybuilding efforts in motion. They also develop leadership, build community solidarity, and engage individual citizens in collective interests. They provide opportunities for individuals to share information and act collectively to respond to problems. Although individual residents within an organization can subjectively feel empowered to act, it is the organization that provides the structural access to power and resources (Breton, 1994). Organizations also provide stability over time as individuals move, tire, or refocus their efforts and priorities elsewhere.

Organizations build solidarity by providing a forum that can be used to educate residents and the public about problems and strategies for solutions. The process of education, sharing, discussing and debating can lead to building consensus about local problems. This, in turn, gives the group power and solidarity when presenting to local government, or collaborating with local law enforcement to address problems.

The community, organized as a group, can generate participation and develop the community resident side of the partnerships or initiatives that involve government agencies. This engagement is a key component in building trust between residents and the government. The circle of trust is extended beyond one's personal network to incorporate people not personally known (Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994). Public service provision is fundamentally different when those receiving services are not engaged in the process of defining the nature of services to be delivered or problems to be addressed (Alinksy, 1969; Duffee, 1996; Putnam, 2000; Spergel, 1976). Community organizations are often the chosen vehicle for participation in collaborative initiatives.

In assisting the extension of trust beyond kinship and close interpersonal networks, organizations are essentially aiding in the transmission of values of cooperation towards citizens in general. This has been referred to as public civicness or civic engagement (Stolle and Rochon, 1998). Studies have demonstrated that participation in nonpolitical organizations stimulates political involvement and interest (Erickson and Nosanchuck, 1990; Olsen, 1972; Verba and Nie, 1972).

Defining Community Organization by Type

There are many types of community organizations. Different types of organizations may serve different purposes in the community. Below, we categorize organizations and institutions by their functions.



- **Issued-Based Organizations.** Issues-based organizations are focused broadly on a specific issue or mission, such as youth violence, and often have a geographic focus in the area. A local youth collaborative is an example of an issue-based organization, and may offer a variety of youth prevention and intervention programs, as well as intense networking among local organizations. Community development corporations (CDCs) can be viewed as a subset under this category. CDCs are collaborations of many local non-profit and community-based organizations with a general mission of community revitalization with regard to improving housing and increasing economic development.
- Neighborhood membership-based organizations such as neighborhood watches and block watches, are made up of groups of local members from a specific geographical location who gather to address a particular pressing concern or quality of life in general within that geographic area. The common denominator in membership-based organization is often place. The proximity to other people, places, or businesses creates a common concern for neighborly interaction, safety, revitalization, etc.
- Direct Service Organizations. These local organizations offer services to the community with regard to human development, but may not provide an opportunity for volunteerism or meetings. The local health clinic, a job development center, or a non-profit established to transitional housing to residents are all examples of direct service organizations. These organizations provide valuable services to residents in the community with the intent to build individual human capital. Service organizations respond to the needs of the community.
- Faith-based Organizations and Institutions are affiliated with America's religious congregations and faith-based charity groups, serve local areas and often rally around the issues of health care, poverty, and crime and justice in the local area in which communicants live or have an interest. The local religious congregation can provide a variety of services, from food-bank to emergency shelter, and mentoring services. The religious institution is often the last remaining institution within a community that is devoid of other types of institutions (Rose, 2000). Rose lists six characteristics of religious institutions that give them a unique role in the community: (1) they are in every community, (2) they are more stable than other institutions and have an enduring membership base, (3) religious institutions bring together a "cross-section of the community," (4) they promote activism, therefore strengthening social control, (5) they foster ties in the neighborhood, and (6) they aide in the development and maintenance of other organizations in the community.
- Pro-social places refer to institutions that offer opportunities for adults and youth to enjoy social and recreational activities. These include parks, recreation centers, libraries and schools. These local organizations or institutions are often stable community landmarks. They are easily recognizable, and serve a variety of purposes, from offering a place to gather to providing supervised instruction and services to youth and adults. For example, a local recreation center may provide structured sports and computer activities for youth as well as training and education classes for adults in the

⁶ Human capital can be defined as the skills, knowledge and abilities important for individual well-being and community economic growth (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1961, 1962).



- evening. They are often trusted places where children and adults in the community can seek recreation and cultivate relationships.
- Residential Services. In addition to the above organizations, neighborhoods have local businesses, such as commercial, financial and retail services. These types of businesses include small businesses, banks, real estate services, beauty salons, grocery stores, furnishing stores, hardware stores, gas stations, drug stores, automobile repair, mini-markets and restaurants that provide residential services to neighborhood residents. These businesses provide for the immediate needs of local residents and add to quality of life in the community (Bingham and Zhang, 1997; Stanback, et al., 1981). The sociological literature argues that poor neighborhoods are often isolated from services (Bursik, 1999; Wacquant 1993) and that, given the low income status of residents in these neighborhoods, there is no effective demand for commercial, financial, and retail services (Hunter, 1978).

Capacity Characteristics

In addition to varying functions, organizations have different capacities to serve their communities. Furthermore, even within the same types of organizations, organizations will have varying capacities. The sections that follow synthesize the research from a number of fields, including the nonprofit literature, organizational theory, community psychology, and community development literature into key organizational features that embody capacity. This report, in particular, builds on the findings from Roman and Moore (2003), where we surveyed a variety of community organizations in a large contiguous geographic area. We are explicitly focused on capacity as referring to the neighborhood capacity of the organization, or the potential capacity of the organization to act as a vehicle of socialization, not merely the ability of the organization to meet its specified goals. We view capacity is distinct from organizational effectiveness, or the set of attributes assumed to bear on effectiveness, although the two may be correlated (Eisinger 2002). We maintain this distinction because, conceptually, capacity and effectiveness are different, although the literature sometimes uses the terms interchangeably. Almost every organization that reaches its stated goals can be said to be effective, from the 10-member block group to the 50 person staffed health clinic. However, the staffed health clinic that is able to serve a large number of local neighborhood residents would be characterized as having more capacity. Capacity, therefore, as we define it, is a measure of scope and ability to reach the greatest number of residents with regard to improving overall well being in a neighborhood and for the clients. Capacity is multidimensional—it can be related to financial resources, human, political and social aspects of an organization (Glickman and Servon, 1998; Vidal, 1996).



It is important to note that these dimensions are not mutually exclusive and in actuality, are complementary. For instance, the more financial resources an organization has, for instance, the more human resources, such as staff, the organization may have. A particular resource or dimension alone cannot define capacity; capacity is the combination of all assets that relate to an organization's ability to serve the community. In Meyer's (1994:3) examination of community development partnerships, he provides a definition useful for this study: "community capacity is the combined influence of a community's commitment, resources, and skills which can be deployed to build on community strengths and address community problems." Defining capacity in this way is particularly relevant because the concept of capacity sets the role of the organization in the community development literature apart from the role of organizations as defined by the social disorganization framework. Within the community development literature, organizations serve as mobilizing entities toward collective action. Organizations engage individuals in activities that promote community well being—passively or actively. In order to better understand the various dimensions of capacity, we reviewed the literature to develop a common "skill set" or characteristics of organizations that could be equated with capacity and attempted to find these skill sets in organizations that were surveyed in 2003. The dimensions uncovered by our work include: basic demographics and stability, vision and mission, leadership, resources, outreach and networking, and products and services. We recognize that not all skill sets will be easily measured through surveys.

Basic Demographics/Stability

This construct refers to the type of organization, size and years in the community. Instability of organizations, like instability of residents, is hypothesized to contribute to the disorganization of neighborhoods. Wandersman (1981) identified size and stability as important variables when studying participation in communities. In a panel study of organizational life cycles, an organization's size and age were important predictors of how likely an organization is to survive (Hager, Galaskiewicz, Bielefeld, and Pins, 1996: 984). Hager and colleagues surveyed organizations that had ceased operating and found that "too small and "too young" were often among the reasons for organizations' demise.

Vision and Mission

An organization's vision is often articulated by a mission statement. Mission statements define the organization's purpose and can be used as both a planning tool and performance measurement tool. Devita and Fleming (2001) describe the vision and mission as a guiding principle



to assess the organization's needs, seek funding, and organize outreach activities. The mission statement can also be a guideline for measuring the effectiveness of the organization's work. Studies suggest that the presence of a clear, concise mission statement, with articulated goals and objectives is important to an organization's success in the community (Deich, 2001; Weiss, 1995).

Leadership

The literature on organizational behavior suggests that dynamic leadership may lead to organizational success (Glickman and Servon, 1998). However, it is important to note that leadership "is one of the most difficult issues to explore" within organizations (Light, 2002: 92) because the term is difficult to define and measure. Strong leaders may inspire a community, make things happen, and coordinate activities. In particular, leaders help facilitate the networking process. DeVita, Fleming and Twombly (2001: 19) state that "effective leaders enhance the organization's image, prestige, and reputation within the community and are instrumental in establishing the partnerships, collaborations, and other working relationships that advance the goals of the organization." Organizations can cultivate leadership by providing opportunities for individuals to act in this capacity. In turn, organizational leaders can help to develop other leaders and galvanize committed followers in the community. In this sense, leaders play a key role in the development of community voice (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001).

In addition to dynamic leadership, the general leadership structure of an organization has also been hypothesized to predict organizational effectiveness. The structure describes the centralization of power and formalization of roles in an organization. Structure can impact the ability of an organization to succeed in its stated mission (Glickman and Servon, 1998; Glisson and Hemmelgarn, 1998; Glisson and James, 2000). Tangible characteristics of organizations that demonstrate or describe structure include, for instance, whether an organization has bylaws or a Board of Directors, or whether an organization provides ongoing training and workshops specifically designed to improve organizational functioning. Structure is closely related to organizational climate—characteristics that describe the work environment that might influence attitudes and beliefs of staff members. An organizational structure that promotes equality and supports career growth may increase job satisfaction and commitment of staff (Glisson, 2002).

Resources

Resources are the tools that enable the organization to further their activities and attain goals. However, resources by themselves do not constitute capacity. Vidal (1996:15) reinforces this



point by explaining that "outside resources and other types of support are critical, but resources alone do not ensure success...the (CDCs) that have been most productive over times have the benefit of stable, capable leadership...act strategically...and make their varied activities mutually reinforcing in ways that enable their growing experience to increase the capacity of the organization." Resources can be classified further as human, financial, and technological.

Human resources refer to the paid and volunteer human capital within an organization. Studies have suggested that competent and stable staff increase an organization's capacity (Glickman and Servon, 1998; Leiterman and Stillman, 1993). Capable staff can include the use of consultants to buoy expertise in various fields. Eisinger (2002), in a study of food assistance programs, found that more paid workers and a high ratio of volunteers to clients are indications of high capacity. However, while more paid staff was associated with greater effectiveness, more volunteers was not associated with greater effectiveness.

Financial resources include the funding base and operating budget of local organizations. Organizations should be able to generate and acquire resources from grants, contracts, loans and other mechanisms. "The ability to increase, manage, and sustain funding is central to an (organization's) ability to build capacity" (Glickman and Servon, 1998:506). Some researchers have suggested that reliance on multiple funders and long-term planning (i.e. multi-year operating budgets) provides more stability and increases the organization's autonomy (Glickman and Servon, 1998; Vidal 1996).

Technological resources such as databases, websites, tracking systems, listservs, and access to email (DeVita, Fleming, and Twombly, 2001) can be used to help keep track of members, recruit members, increase resources, and plan events. Technology can be used to improve the organization and the organization's capacity to meet their goals. For example, organizations that have computerized performance monitoring systems may also have established strong methods to assess progress, re-evaluate their work and remain responsive to the populations they serve. Data systems may facilitate evaluation as well as the ability to write strong grant proposals that bring in government and private dollars. Research on partnerships shows that successful partnerships use indicators or performance measures to track progress and outcomes (Coulton, 1995; Deich, 2001; Hatry, 1999). These resources have been linked to increased capacity (Backer, 2001).

Outreach and Networking

Outreach and networking represent the horizontal and vertical linkages with other individuals, organizations and government agencies. These linkages are synonymous with integration.



The goal of outreach is to increase public relations and strengthen the horizontal dimensions—links among residents and other organizations within a community. Outreach helps establish an organization's connection to the community it serves. Outreach increases opportunities for peer-to peer connections, mentoring and information sharing. Researchers argue that effective capacity building takes place when these connections occur (Backer, 2001). Closely related to outreach is networking—establishing close relationships and ties with other organizations in and outside the community (vertical integration). Vertical connections can strengthen connection to political or government resources external to the local community (DeVita et al, 2001; Putnam, 1993, 2000; Tilly, 1996). The ability to network has been hypothesized to be a key predictor of capacity because it is a form of resource leveraging (DeVita, et al., 2001; Keyes, Bratt, Schwartz, & Vidal, 1996; Glickman and Servon, 1998). Putnam (2000) characterizes the ability and extent of resource leveraging among institutions and organizations as "external bridging" and emphasizes its importance in building social capital. The concept of bridging is closely aligned with the linkages between the parochial and public layers of control in the systemic model of social disorganization. Others refer to the ability to leverage extra local resources as political capacity (Glickman and Servon 1998). This refers to both the influence of the organization within political domains and its legitimacy within the community it serves.

Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld (1998) found that isolated organizations are most likely to struggle and fail. Isolated organizations have no mechanisms for increasing organizational relationships that build social capital and are vital to organizational stability. Interestingly, Hager et al (1996), who found that small size and young age were strong predictors of the organization's demise, found that the only variable correlated with small size and young age, according to respondents, was a disconnect with the community. This finding strengthens the argument that networking is an important variable for organizational capacity and vitality.

Products and Services

Products and services are the outputs of the organization. Essentially, outputs are what the organization does and what it produces. The service aspect captures the service capacity (e.g., provide food and shelter to one hundred residents). Services can represent the direct social service support provided to residents in domains such as health and mental health, education, and employment. An organization may provide services in multiple domains. For instance, a church may have a homework support program for youth as well as a job skills program for adults. The products aspect captures other outputs that relate to how an organization reaches the community, like



newsletters or annual reports. Products and services are closely related to resources, but are essentially a distinct dimension of capacity (DeVita et al, 2001). Performance indicators are often used to capture outputs with regard to services, which then, in turn, can be used to demonstrate outcomes (Hatry, 1999).

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current study addresses the limitations of extant research by examining the role of institutions in the generation of social control and public safety. We construct a measure of community institutions and organizations that captures this role. Integrating the sociological theory and the community capacity literature, our goal is to explicitly define the relationship of institutions through a useful measure of community institutional capacity (CIC) that fits within the three levels of control (Hunter 1985) as posited by current systemic models of social disorganization (see Figure 1). Can aggregate measures of organizations in neighborhoods be used to describe mechanisms that bring about social control? Given our understanding of how crime is mediated by collective efficacy, the challenge is to tap into the presence of organizations that have the capacity to encourage collective action and/or work as socializing mechanisms in the community. Within this role, it can be hypothesized that high-capacity community institutions, like collective efficacy, will act as mediators against violence.

Preliminary findings by the authors (Roman and Moore 2003) show that community institutional capacity has great potential as a component of social capital. The authors examined organizations within 30 all-black, high poverty neighborhoods in Southeast Washington, D.C. and found strong relationships between institutional capacity measures and measures such as collective efficacy. Furthermore, the researchers found that neighborhoods closest to the largest number of organizations had the highest levels of collective efficacy and neighborhood satisfaction. Neighborhoods with a large number of organizations nearby also predicted high participation and involvement in community and local recreational activities. Although these results are very promising, many questions remain. The exploratory study was limited in terms of sample size, variability of community characteristics and research methods. The study included only a small sample across very poor neighborhoods that were similar on most demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. In addition, the exploratory study did not successfully obtain data on some important capacity dimensions of organizations, nor did the study obtain data on outcomes such as crime. The small sample size and type of data collected (binary response) further limited the statistical methods



appropriate for analysis. The current study, however, expands the sample size, the breadth and extent of data elements collected, and the methods used to analyze the data.

The model is set within a social disorganization framework, but integrates community development theories on capacity to fully explicate the role of organizations in social organization and crime control. The hypothesized relationships within an integrated framework are illustrated in Figure 2. The solid arrows portray the relationships relevant for this study. The dotted arrows show the relationships that have been established by previous studies, but are not the subject of this study.

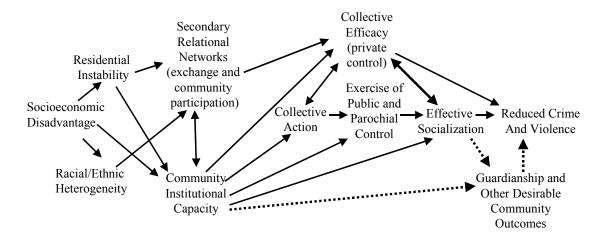


Figure 2. Community Institutional Capacity Model

In theory, high capacity institutions not only act to increase secondary relational networks, but also expand the neighborhood's ability to transmit pro-social norms and achieve collective action (whether perceived or actual) around common goals. High capacity institutions also offer tangible resources for residents that assist with the development of human capital. This development of human capital is part of collective action. As individual efficacy increases, so does the possibility of collective efficacy and actual collective action. In turn, collective efficacy and collective action lead to the exercise of control at the private, parochial and public levels. High capacity institutions should also directly influence socialization, as some organizations, such as schools and churches, take on the task of socialization. High capacity institutions also provide opportunities for individuals to share information and act collectively to respond to problems. Although individual residents within an organization can subjectively feel empowered to act, it is the organization that provides the structural access to power and resources (Breton, 1994). Organizations also provide stability over time as individuals move, tire, or refocus their efforts and priorities elsewhere.



Essentially, organizations build solidarity by providing a forum that can be used to educate residents and the public about problems and strategies for solutions. The process of education, sharing, discussing and debating can lead to building consensus about local problems. This, in turn, gives the group power and solidarity when presenting to local government, or collaborating with local law enforcement to address problems. The community, organized as a group, can generate participation and develop the community resident side of the partnerships or initiatives that involve government agencies. This engagement is a key component in building trust between residents and the government. The circle of trust is extended beyond one's personal network to incorporate people not personally known (Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994). In assisting the extension of trust beyond kinship and close interpersonal networks, organizations are essentially aiding in the transmission of values of cooperation towards citizens in general. Studies have demonstrated that participation in nonpolitical organizations stimulates political involvement and interest (Erickson and Nosanchuck, 1990; Olsen, 1972; Verba and Nie, 1972), and hence, assist in the acquisition of public goods and resources.

In summary, high capacity institutions are construed in this model as generating collective action and effective socialization that then serve to encourage and generate collective efficacy that ultimately influence crime. In addition, high capacity institutions have the ability to provide guardianship that directly discourages opportunities for crime.

Hypotheses

The constructs and relationships examined are shown in Figure 3. This figure is a trimmed version of Figure 2. We hypothesize that community institutional capacity and collective efficacy are related concepts. If organizations are vehicles that lead to social integration, and collective action, and social integration is the foundation for collective efficacy (as hypothesized in the literature), than institutional capacity should be found in the same neighborhoods as collective efficacy. Research has found that neighborhoods with high levels of social ties do not always have high levels of collective efficacy. But organizations often are also vehicles that bring people together for a cause or a unified purpose. Organizations offer human capital development that may positively affect neighborhoods with regard to collective action. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that high community institutional capacity would lead to collective efficacy. Essentially, then, we envision collective efficacy as an outcome of community institutional capacity.

One key hypothesis is that community institutional capacity will be correlated with collective efficacy, cohesion and control. Consistent with the social disorganization tradition, we also

hypothesize that the relationship found between community institutional capacity and collective efficacy will be influenced by residential instability, socioeconomic disadvantage and racial heterogeneity. We also hypothesize that the accessibility of organizations will be related to collective efficacy. Furthermore, we believe that neighborhoods with high levels of institutional capacity will be neighborhoods with low crime rates.

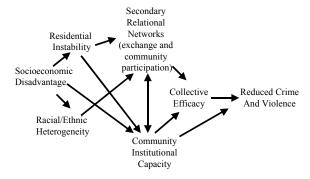


Figure 3. Community Institutional Capacity Model Examined in Current Study



CHAPTER 3 METHODS

DESIGN OVERVIEW

The main goal of this study is to test a method operationalizing community institutional capacity (CIC) so that we can examine its relationship to collective efficacy, cohesion, informal social control, and crime. First, to examine the utility of the measures developed we test the validity of the measures by comparing them to established measures representing desirable neighborhood characteristics. We utilize collective efficacy as criterion measures to establish the concurrent validity of the new measures. Then we will explore the relationship between institutional capacity and crime, as well as explore the relationship among a full complement of neighborhood variables (residential stability, economic disadvantage, ethnic heterogeneity, collective efficacy, institutional capacity, and crime). The measures of institutional capacity being tested rely on data collected on organizations. In addition to the collection of organization data, we collect household data for our criterion measures (i.e., collective efficacy and related constructs).

THE SAMPLE

The Target Community and Unit of Analysis

The target community consists of the Capitol Hill, Ivy City, and Trinidad neighborhoods of Northeast Washington, D.C (see Figure 4). The target area is bordered on the west by South and North Capitol Street, on the north by New York Avenue, on the east by the Anacostia River, and on the south by Virginia Avenue. These neighborhoods were chosen for a number of reasons: (1) they provide a mix of some of D.C.'s most disadvantaged neighborhoods, gentrifying neighborhoods and middle and upper class neighborhoods, as well as a mix of racial and ethnic groups; (2) each of the neighborhoods within these areas are well defined and recognized; (3) the Urban Institute has a history of working in these communities; and (4) there are natural boundaries around the target area borders that reduce the likelihood that local residents cross these boundaries to access local organizational services. The unit of analysis is the block group. The target site consists of 55 block groups. Block groups were chosen to provide variability on our measure of organizations. Blocks



would be too small of a unit, with the majority of blocks having no organizations. Census tracts are too large, in that research has found the neighborhood processes under study are best examined at levels closer to the block (Taylor 1997; Taylor, et. al. 1984). The actual effectiveness of institutions on lessening crime may be very context specific. It is highly likely that as research explores the effect of institutions on crime we will find that some institutions will be effective at crime prevention in some spatial contexts and ineffective in different spatial contexts. By including analyses at the block group level, we hope the research will contribute substantially to a more detailed understanding of the role of institutions in enhancing the ability of communities to maintain social control.

Sample of Organizations

We began by compiling information on all organizations, businesses and institutions in the target area and right outside the target area that provide some asset or resource to neighborhood residents. Four general types of organizations initially were included based on the social disorganization and community development literature. The types (categories) included: (a) community-based organizations (CBOs) and social service organizations (SSOs); (b) churches and other religious institutions; (c) pro-social places/institutions (schools, libraries, parks, and recreation centers); and (d) businesses⁷.

The organizational information was compiled from a variety sources. We consulted with local civic leaders and publically available information, as well as purchasing listings from two prominent data warehouse companies. Dun and Bradstreet provided business listings, including demographic information, a standard industry classification code, and mapping information, for the target area (primarily zip codes 20002 and 20003). At a cost of \$0.15 per listing, the total amount for the 4047 Dun and Bradstreet listings was \$607.00. Although we anticipated that the Dun and Bradstreet data would be weaker in providing information on non-profit organizations and smaller businesses, a preview before the data purchase revealed a significant proportion of the listings were not-for-profit community-based organizations, religious organizations, and political organizations.

The second data source, PowerFinder (formerly called PhoneDisc), was utilized to supplement and enhance the data received from Dun and Bradstreet. Although Dun and Bradstreet was originally designed to cater to the business community, PowerFinder is frequently consulted by researchers and officials to provide exhaustive listings of organizations within a defined area. At an annual subscription cost of \$875.00, we purchased access to the PowerFinder database. Although

⁷ Using research by Bingham and Zhang (1997) and Stanback et al., (1981) as a guide, we will include in this category all businesses that provide a residential local service to residents.



the subscription only permits 2500 downloads per quarter, we were able to download all of the listings for the target area (primarily zip codes 20002 and 20003) within a two-week time period in Spring 2005 (March and April) due to the timing of their business calendar. An initial qualitative analysis of the PowerFinder data, during which project Research Assistants read a randomly selected group of the listings, demonstrated the breadth and diversity of the listings - which ranged from large chain stores to local community action groups to small, owner-operated businesses. Though the PowerFinder data only provided the first six numbers of the Standard Industry Identification (SIC) number, the project Research Associate conducted a detailed comparison of the data in comparison to the Dun and Bradstreet listings (which included all eight numbers of the SIC code). The preliminary analysis revealed a significant degree of correspondence between the two data sources, confirming the strength of both data sources and the validity of the final, compiled list of organizations in the study area. We included organizations that were directly outside our target area on the north, south and western border.

Once we had a comprehensive list of organizations and businesses, we geocoded the data using ArcGIS to determine which organizations were located within a 300 meter buffer of the target area for the study. Geocoding uses addresses and a street network file to establish each organization's geographic location on a map based on latitude and longitude coordinates. All data were able to be coded to the address level for 100% geocoding hit rate). After the list of organizations in the target area was established, phone calls were made to a random sample of one half of the businesses to verify that businesses were still in existence. Phone calls were made and letters were mailed to all community organizations and churches to verify existence and address. We determined that we did not always have valid information about the location of the business, and instead had the location of the business owner. Given this issue and the limited resources for this study, we decided to use parcel information on retail locations in our analyses, instead of the Dunn and Bradstreet or PowerFinder data.

Government agencies located in the neighborhood were not included because these agencies would more closely approximate the public level of control. The types of organizations we attempted to include in the study are listed below. Using the social disorganization and community development literature as a guide, we created a typology of organizations⁸ that captures their hypothesized role in the community.

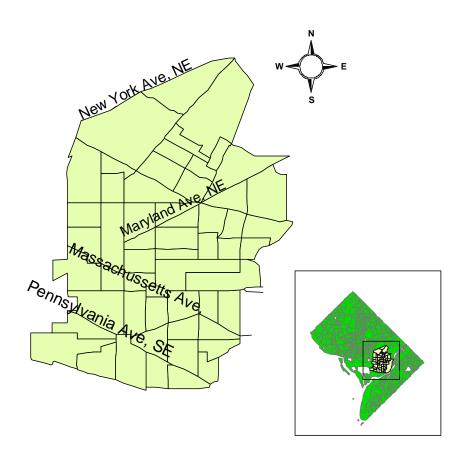


Figure 4. Study Target Area Washington, DC (Block groups)

⁸ We use the term *organizations* to include schools, churches and businesses, as well as community organizations.

- 1. Community-based organizations and social service organizations that have a recognized role as assisting the *local* community. These organizations include emergency shelter and counseling services, neighborhood and tenant associations, community councils, Boys and Girls Clubs, crime prevention programs, neighborhood watches, local civic groups, local political organizations, community development corporations (CDCs) and other non-profit community based organizations. All local social service programs not run by the government that provide human development services like job training programs, literacy, and mentoring programs⁹ were included. Non-profit organizations that solely served a national function and provided no local services were excluded from this category. Religious ministries were included in this category, not in "congregations" category.
- 2. Churches and Religious Congregations. Research has demonstrated the role of the churches and congregations as mechanisms of social control—through the concentration of people with similar values (Stark et al., 1980), social solidarity (Bainbridge 1989), impact on the family structure (Peterson, 1991), and, most recently, parochial control (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Rose, 2000). In addition to providing a forum for religion, teaching, socializing, and activities, the religious congregation may provide valuable services to the residents of the community, which often reaches beyond the members of the congregation. This category represents places of worship only. Faith-based social service organizations, such as Southeast Ministries or day care centers associated with a religious institution, are located in the first category, above.
- 3. **Pro-Social Places/Institutions**. This category of organizations represents schools, libraries, parks, and recreation centers. The routine activities perspective suggests that these organizations/places are pro-social meeting places, were youth and adults interact, often under supervision. Also, the systemic model of social disorganization would argue that interpersonal bonds may be likely to form, and, as individuals interact, pro-social norms of behavior may be transferred and maintained, thus promoting effective socialization.
- 4. **Businesses**. The sociological literature argues that poor neighborhoods cannot attract neighborhood businesses and retail development. Institutional disinvestment may lead to neighborhood decline as residents move to neighborhoods that have better local amenities like restaurants and retail shops. Using research by Bingham and Zhang (1997) and Stanback et al., (1981) as a guide, we had intended to include in this category all businesses that provide a residential local service to residents. However, given the data were not easily validated, we resort to using *percentage of the parcels in the block group that are commercial parcels* as a control variable in some of the final models.

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⁹ Data were collected on organizations, not programs. For instance if a Boys and Girls Club had three different programs—one for mentoring, one for literacy and one for computer training, we captured that information under the umbrella organization (i.e., the Boys and Girls Club). In cases where programs were a complete spin-off of a larger program, and that program had its own director and clients, we included the spin-off program as a separate organization. Note that some locations in the target area had a number of organizations operating in the same building. In these cases, organizations were counted independently, not grouped as a single organization.

For our analysis, the final database of organizations relied only on category 1 within the typology above. As we discuss below, we were not successful in surveying religious congregations, so that component of the data collection has been dropped from analyses. With regard to the organization category, there were 82 validated community-based or social service organizations across the 55 block groups and 88 organizations across the larger "buffer area" around the target area.

Sample of Households

To collect data for the criterion measure, we sampled housing units across the 55 block groups in our target area. The intent was to collect neighborhood level measures of previously validated measures (i.e., measures already established) of collective efficacy, social cohesion and control, and similar constructs. Occupied housing units within the 55 block group target area were identified through property tax assessment data for the District of Columbia. In short, we had property and assessment information for every parcel in the target area. First, all non-vacant, residential housing units were selected in the target area. Next, a stratified random sample, by block group, of 1375 housing units was selected. Essentially, a total of 25 households were selected from each of 55 block groups, for a total of 725 residential households. The goal was to obtain at least 15 completed surveys for each block group. Following response rates from other door-to-door surveys, we assumed a sixty-percent response rate in drawing the sample. The sample was drawn in July 2005.

DATA COLLECTION

Survey of Organizations

To explore dimensions of capacity that include characteristics of organizations as discussed earlier (referred to as *organizational capacity*), an organizational survey was administered to all community-based organizations and social service organizations in the target area. A separate survey protocol was used for religious institutions. The intent of the two surveys was to explore measures of neighborhood capacity that tapped the following dimensions: organizational stability, leadership, human resources, financial resources, technical resources, community outreach, networking and products and services. The surveys included multiple questions for each dimension. The questions were derived from the literature review on organizational capacity, and a small number of questions were derived directly from existing surveys of non-profit organizations. ¹⁰ A copy of the surveys can

¹⁰ A number of questions came directly from a survey used by The New York City Nonprofits Project. See J. E. Seley and J. Wolpert, "New York City's NonProfit Sector. May 2002. http://www.nycnonprofits.org.

be found in Appendix A and B. We could not find any existing public surveys that fully represented the multiple domains of capacity. Pro-social places and institutions, businesses, and mini markets were excluded from the survey because the dimensions of capacity we were seeking to measure are not relevant to these types of businesses or places. Within the social service organizations category, day care centers and local advisory neighborhood commissions (ANCs) were not surveyed, because not all domains explored are relevant to these organizations. In the end, after cleaning the list of organizations, we mailed surveys to 284 community organizations and 179 religious institutions. (After survey follow-up and site visits, we believe the universe of valid organizations to be 88 organizations and 95 churches. A very large number of organizations were dropped when we deemed that they were only focused on international or lobbying activities—this was due to the inclusion of Capitol Hill in the target area.)

The surveys were administered by Urban Institute staff as mail surveys. The surveys took roughly 30 minutes to complete. The surveys were pre-tested with three different types of organizations (a church, a community block association and larger anti-crime collaborative). Survey administration began in summer 2006 and lasted through September 2007. By December 2006 we had completed only 30 surveys. We initiated an intense period of follow-up through phone calls and site visits to organizations that had not responded or returned phone calls. By March 2007 only 20 percent of religious institutions had responded, and we dropped the congregations survey completely.

To improve the response rate for the nonprofit organizations, we had to abandon our lofty goal of collecting full capacity information, and reduced the survey to contain eleven items that captured the majority of the capacity domains. We felt the concerns of low response rate outweighed the concerns of ensuring content validity with regard to the different capacity domains. We recognize this tradeoff, but feel that we could retain content validity with a reduced form of the initial survey. The final eleven items were generated by determining which questions had the most

.

¹¹ We acknowledge that schools and recreation centers have aspects of capacity related to our measure, however, study resources limited us from developing and administering multiple surveys to all types of businesses and organizations and institutions. We did collect information on recreation center amenities and met with the Director of Parks and Recreation for Ward 8. Conversations with the director and the data collected revealed little variation on amenities for the 10 recreation centers in our target area. Organizations that were independent entities from schools, but that operated at the school is captured in our study under community organizations and social service organizations. In addition, businesses capacity may also be an important construct, but address-level data are not available on number of patrons served or amount of sales. Dunn and Bradstreet Market data included large categories to capture number of employees, but these data were incomplete. Furthermore, we do not believe that capacity of businesses could be adequately measured using number of employees. The overwhelming majority of businesses had from two to nine employees.

face validity for capturing the different dimensions. The final questions included (dimensions represented are in noted in brackets): (a) What type of organization is your organization? (b) What year was your organization started [stability]? (c) What is your organization's primary program area [services]? (d) What human or social services does your organization provide [services]? (e) How many people does your organization serve a day [service capacity]? (f) Does your organization produce an annual report? [products, resources, outreach, and stability], (g) Does your organization have a website? [resources and outreach], (h) Is your technology adequate for you to compete for grants and contracts? [technological resources], (i) Is there a formal set of advisors or Board of Directors for your organization? [leadership], (j) What is the total operating budget for your organization for the last two fiscal years? [financial resources], (k) How many paid employees does your organization have? [human resources], and (l) Does your organization use volunteers? [human resources, outreach].

We hired an intern during the summer of 2007 to further validate organizations, bringing our validated number of potential respondents down to 131. We received 81 completed organization surveys but after validation to ensure that the organization location was in the target area and was not a government agency, childcare agency or business, we deleted another 38 organizations which we had thought were valid when the surveys were mailed out. Four organizations refused to complete the survey. When it became clear that we would still have a significant number of organizations with missing data (missing =41), we turned to administrative data, collected using websites and public tax return data. We successfully collected administrative data for 11 of the 41 missing organizations.

Out of 88 organizations in our sample, our final response rate is 49 percent. The spatial distribution of non-respondents was determined to be roughly equivalent to those responding. We also explored the possibility that non-respondents may have particular characteristics related to capacity that would bias our results. We searched the Internet for information on characteristics of non-respondents. Additional site visits were made to non-responsive organizations. To the best of our knowledge, the non-respondents seem to represent a mix of organizations ranging in size and service focus.

Figure 5 illustrates the flow of the sample from survey administration through to analysis.

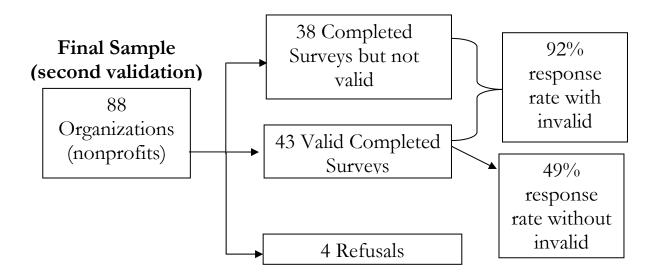


Figure 5. Flow of Sample for Organization Survey

Survey of Households

The in-person resident survey data collection protocol was finalized at the end of July 2005. A consulting firm was hired in August 2005 and "locally-based" interviewers (the majority of whom had just completed a substance abuse treatment program) were hired and trained in four training sessions in September 2005. Surveying began on September 10, 2005.

By mid-October there was significant attrition of community interviewers, less than half of those originally trained to conduct the survey were still in the field. In addition, community interviewers found that many residents in the target sample areas were not home to complete the door-to-door survey. In response, Urban Institute research staff also collected survey data. The consulting firm completed their work with us in mid-November after completing 618 resident surveys.

UI staff then hired six community interviewers to complete resident survey data collection. In addition to hiring these interviewers, Urban created a mail version of the survey. On November 28, 2005 the mail version of the resident survey was mailed with a \$5 dollar incentive to the 535 sampled households remaining in the unfinished block groups. The reformatted mail version mistakenly failed to ask whether the responded was male or female.¹² The Urban research staff

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¹² The respondent's sex was previously noted by the community interviewers on the door-to-door survey along with start and end time of the survey and was not asked outright as a separate question. The item was mistakenly dropped with those other administrative items related to the door-to-door survey, which were not relevant to the mail version.

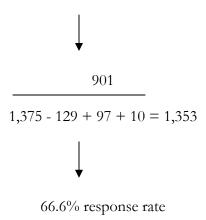
used reverse look up was able to obtain the phone numbers for 125 of the 208 returned mail surveys from this first mailing. All 125 households for which a number was found were called to determine whether respondent was male or female. Despite these efforts there are still 160 surveys from the first mailing missing data on respondent's sex.

In an effort to increase the response rate to the mail survey, UI staff searched the reverse phone directory for the phone numbers of all households who had not yet responded to the survey. Households were called if a number was available. On January 31, 2006 the mail survey was again mailed out (a question asking the respondent's sex was added to this mail survey version) to 188 of the sampled households in the remaining 18 block groups. Resident survey data collection and data entry were completed by the end of April 2006. Figure 6 displays survey response rate by method and block group.

Response rate was calculated as:

Total number of completed surveys

Sampled addresses – vacant/commercial addresses + resampled addresses +addon sample addresses from 2 block groups



Data entry validity checks were conducted on 10% of the surveys (90 surveys). The error rate was very small at 0.35 percent (33 data entry errors for 111 items* 90 surveys).

Table 3. Descri	ption of Hous	ehold Survey	Respondents	(N=901)
I WALE OF ECCES	puon or record	ciicia carve,	Tree politico	1 1 7 0 1 1

Income:		Marital Status:	
Less than \$10,000	7.8%	Never married	36.5%
\$10,000-\$19,999	7.5%	Separated	6.9%
\$20,000-\$29,999	9.8%	Divorced	10.4%
\$30,000-\$39,999	15.0%	Domestic Partnership	6.1%
\$40,000-\$49,999	15.85%	Married	35.1%
\$50,000-\$59,999	8.2%	Widowed	5.0%
\$60,000 and over	35.8%		
	(169 missing)		(37 missing)
Gender:		Race:	
Male	39.89%	Black or African American	61.7%
Female	60.1%	White	34.7%
	(199 missing)	Other	3.6%
			(44 missing
Age:		Education:	
19 to 25	4.0%	Less than high school	10.1%
25 to 34	21.6%	High School diploma	23.3%
35 to 44	27.5%	Some college	15.7%
45-64	36.4%	2-year degree	8.5%
65+	10.4%	4-year degree & above	21.3%
	(64 missing)	Graduate school	21.0%
	, G,		(48 missing
Own/Rent:		Years in Neighborhood:	
Own	53.9%	1-5 years	42.2%
Rent	41.8%	6-10 years	20.4%
Rent-to-own	4.3%	11-20 years	18.1%
	(45 missing)	>20 years	19.3%
			(11 missing

Communities Organizations and Crime Survey Responses by Block Group

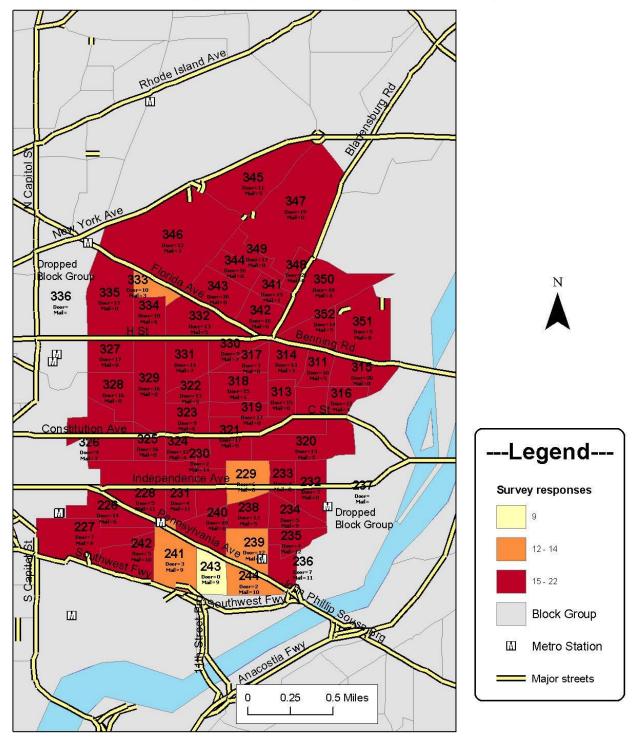


Figure 6. Survey Responses by Block Group

MEASURES

Community Institutional Capacity

The community institutional capacity measures developed in this study have three capacity components: (1) presence, (2) organizational capacity, and (3) accessibility.

Presence and Organizational Capacity

Our measures of organizational capacity by neighborhood will depend on the boundaries of each block group. If we were to examine organizations by block group alone, we would be restricting the role of organizations as benefiting only those who reside in the same block group as the organization. To better capture aspects of location, we explore buffers to operationalize location or *presence*. The unit of analysis for this study is defined as the census block group—an administrative boundary that may not have meaning for exploration of neighborhood processes. The debate is ongoing on the proper unit of analysis for neighborhood-level studies. Simply because an organization is in one's block group, it may not have value for residents in that block group. Block groups are an arbitrary grouping of street boundaries. While research indicates block groups may be a good unit of analysis for research (Coulton, Korbin and Su, 1996), block groups do not preclude residents from crossing the boundaries to go to a community meeting, the grocery store, school, or local recreation center, for instance.

We focus on one method for estimating *presence* in the target neighborhood relevant to block groups: the number of organizations within a 300 meter radius (0.186 miles) from any edge of the block group. We chose this buffer because we felt that, to capture "local" as it relates to neighborhood services, distances would generally relate to how far one would walk to use local businesses or services. We found little in the extant literature to guide our efforts in choosing distances.¹³

The buffer from edge method creates unequal size buffers that relate proportionally to the size and shape of the block group. Note that using the buffer techniques, an organization that is on

¹³ Several recent studies used catchments, or buffers in their research on institutions and communities. Wang and Minor (2002), in a work accessibility study, determined their catchment areas using a time range. For example, they determined that a 28-minute commute was reasonable, based on the commute time of 70% of Cleveland residents, and created buffer areas equivalent to the 28-minute commute (Wang and Minor 2002). Witten et al. (2003), created a variety of buffer zones in a New Zealand study of access to community resources, from 500-meters to 5000 meters. They selected these distances arbitrarily, yet they were consistent with ranges of distance used by the local government to determine access to resources. Sharkova and Sanchez (1999), in a Portland, Oregon study focusing on the accessibility of institutions that promote social capital used a one-mile catchment area from the center of a block group because one mile was determined to be an easy driving and walking distance.

the farthest point of the east side of a block group, for instance, could be much farther than the buffer distance away (300 meters) from a resident living on the far west side of the block group. Using the buffer from block group edge, a resident could be, at most, approximately 2,400 meters (1.5 miles) from an organization. We also want to note that we collected organization data for buffer areas that fell outside of target area of the 55 block groups. This information yielded an additional 6 organizations, bringing the number of organizations in the "expanded" target (or buffer) area to 88. We did this to ensure that we did not suffer from edge effects, which would underestimate the capacity score of each "neighborhood."

The *presence of organizations* is defined as the total number of organizations within each edge buffer. Hence, presence merely reflects quantity without attempting to capture capacity or quality. In addition to the presence measures, using data collected from the organization survey and administrative data, we also developed an index of organizational capacity. The index is based on eight of the final eleven questions used in the shortened survey. Because we ended up relying on administrative data for 11 organizations, we were forced to only use those variables where we could access similar information from administrative data. The index is an additive capacity score of the eight items shown in Table 4.¹⁴ For the items, values were assigned to each response category and then the values were summed. Table 4 displays the coding for the question items. The additive index ranges for the organizations for which we had data range from 6 (low capacity) to 28 (high capacity). Excluding the missing, the average additive capacity score is 14, with a standard deviation of 4.51. Because we were missing data on 30 organizations, we used data estimation techniques¹⁵ to develop capacity scores for missing organizations. We then created another index that used capacity measures for all organizations (to include the 30 organizations).

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¹⁴ We attempted to use 9 items, but factor analyses revealed that the index had a much higher alpha when excluding the question: *Do you rent, borrow, lease or own your space?*

¹⁵ These techniques involved using all available data on these organizations, including responses from questions emailed to organization staff, information from websites and annual reports.

Table 4. Item Scoring for Org	Table 4. Item Scoring for Organizational Capacity Measure						
Variable							
Year organization started	1=2000-2006 2=1990-1999 3=1980-1989 4=before 1980						
Direct service capacity	1=no direct service 2= less than 50 people/day 3=50 to 299 people/day 4= 300 or more/day						
Multiple services domains ^a	Continuous variable starting from 0						
Website	0= does not have website 1= has website						
Annual Report	0=no annual report 1= has annual report						
Board of directors	0= does not have BoD 1= has BoD						
Staff	1=no paid staff 2=.5 to 10 paid staff 3=11 to 25 paid staff 4=26 to 50 paid staff 5=over 50 paid staff						
Operating budget in 2004 Fiscal Year	1=less than \$100,000 2=between \$100,000 and \$749,000 3=between \$750,000 and \$2 million 4=over \$2 million						

^a 19 possible service domains= childcare, recreation or sports related, tutoring and/or mentoring, job related, counseling family planning, in-home assistance, adoption and foster care services, medical related, substance abuse treatment, public health, housing development, shelter, violence prevention, legal services, transitional housing, neighborhood and community improvement, parent education, housing advocacy, and other.

To obtain a neighborhood-level measure (i.e., block group), the capacity scores for the additive scales with and without missing data were then aggregated (summed) by neighborhoods.

The result is a block group summary measure for the additive indices (with and without missing organization scores).

Accessibility

To explore the possibility that every meter, mile or foot closer to neighborhoods (i.e., block groups) matters with regard to an organization's ability to generate social capital, we developed an accessibility score for block groups. We believe that more aptly measuring the presence of local organizations entails gauging *proximity* or *distance*. We are hypothesizing that distance to organizations matters for residents. Organizations and institutions that are closer to residents are more accessible (Witten, Exeter and Field, 2003). Using all validated community organizations, for each block group, we aggregated the distance from the closest block group edge to each of the 88 organizations. We used Euclidean distance, also known as "as the crow flies." The 88 distances for each block group are summed. A lower accessibility score means a block group has more organizations nearby than a block group with a higher accessibility score. Euclidean distance was deemed appropriate because the target area is relatively small and people walk to organizations and services, cutting through alleys and parks. There are no physical barriers, such as a lake or major highway blocking access to various places within the target area. We recognize the limitations in that by using Euclidean distance from closest block group edge to an organization, we make the assumption that residents are equally distributed across the block group.

Table 5 provides the descriptive statistics on the three measures of organizational capacity: presence, capacity (with and without missing data) and accessibility for the buffer areas.

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Surveyed Organizations by Block Group:
Accessibility and Organizational Capacity

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Number in Edge Buffer (Presence)	55	8.0	5.8	0	29
Accessibility (distance in miles)	55	109.1	19.8	82.2	168.2
Org Capacity (with missing)	55	68.7	71.5	0	322
Org Capacity (estimates of missing)	55	104.0	85.5	0	427

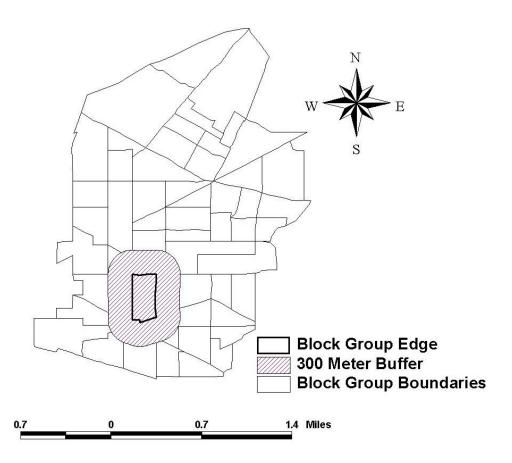


Figure 7. Buffer from Edge (300 meters from edge of block group)

Criterion Measures: Collective Efficacy and Cohesion and Control

The household survey was designed to capture information on collective efficacy (social cohesion and social control). (The household survey is provided in Appendix C.) Some of these criterion measures are scales that must be tested for reliability at the individual level. For the measures that utilize averaged scores of respondents, Cronbach's alpha is used to determine the

internal consistency of the measure. The goal is to maximize alpha in producing a small number of internally consistent scales for the criterion measures.¹⁶

Social Cohesion and Social Control

Following studies by Sampson and colleagues (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush, 2001), cohesion is measured using the following five questions:

- 6. This is a close-knit neighborhood.
- 7. People around here are willing to help their neighbors.
- 8. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other (reverse coded)
- 9. People in this neighborhood do not share the same values (reverse coded)
- 10. People in this neighborhood can be trusted.

Respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree to the above statements. Social control is measured using the following five questions:

- 6. If a group of neighborhood children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?
- 7. If some children were spray painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?
- 8. If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely it is that people in your neighborhood would scold that child?
- 9. If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was beaten or threatened, how likely is it that your neighbors would break it up?
- 10. Suppose that because of budget cuts the fire station closest to your home was going to be closed down by the city. How likely is it that neighborhood residents would organize to try to do something to keep the fire station open?

Respondents were asked whether these situations were very likely, likely, neither likely nor unlikely, unlikely, or very unlikely. Cohesion has an individual reliability of .74; control has a reliability of .83.

Collective Efficacy

We created our collective efficacy scale by combining our cohesion measure and our measure of control. The individual reliability of the collective efficacy measure is .84.

¹⁶ For all scales, we employed the following guidelines: If a respondent answered "don't know", the response is rated a neutral, if there is a midpoint on the scale. If respondent answered over half of the questions for the scale, the completed items are divided by the number of non-missing items. This method led to very few (on average, <15) missing scale items.

Reliability at the Aggregate Level

In addition to examining internal consistency, we examine whether the above scales are useful indicators of neighborhoods. We estimate aggregate reliability following O'Brien's (1990) generalizability theory model, where households/individuals are nested within block groups. The generalizability coefficient compares the variance attributable to block groups with the variance due to individuals and random error within block groups. Scale aggregate reliability is high when the variance between block groups is high and there is little variation among individuals within block groups. The formula to estimate aggregate reliability is:

$$E\rho^2 = \sigma^2(\alpha)/[\sigma^2(\alpha) + \sigma^2(r:\alpha,e)/n_r]$$

Epsilon rho-squared hat is the generalizability coefficient, alpha is the aggregate or block group, r is the respondent nested within block group, e is the error, and n is the number of respondents within block groups. Table 6 presents both the individual level reliability coefficients and aggregate reliability coefficients for our criterion measures. Each of criterion measures has strong coefficients and will be included in final analyses (generalizability coefficients under .4 would have been dropped from subsequent analysis).

Control Variables

In addition to our capacity measures in development and the criterion measures of community well being, we include a number of variables that the sociological and criminological literature has found to be related to informal neighborhood processes. These variables, based in a social disorganization framework include: population density, concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, racial heterogeneity, and commercial land use. The systemic model of social disorganization hypothesizes that high levels of population density, residential instability, and racial heterogeneity, lead to low capacities for neighborhood regulation (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Sampson et al., 1997). In addition, we include a variable capturing commercial land use using parcel data because we dropped a measure of the presence of businesses from the initial administrative data collected through Dunn and Bradstreet. Commercial land use may impact residential stability, as well as the number of nonprofits located in the neighborhood.

Г	able 6. Reliability Coefficients		
	Individual Level: Cronbach's Alpha	Aggregat Generali	
	(n~901)	Coefficien	•
		Fixed	Random
Scale		Effects	Effects
Collective efficacy	.84	.79	.81
Control	.83	.70	.72
Cohesion	.74	.78	.80

Table 7 shows the descriptive statistics for the criterion measures that will be used in subsequent analyses.

Table 7. Descriptive Statistics on Criterion Measures (Block Group Level)							
Variables	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max		
Collective efficacy	55	5.62	.49	4.5	6.8		
Control	55	2.83	.28	2.16	3.38		
Cohesion	55	2.79	.23	2.26	3.39		

Population density is measured as the number of people in 2000 per square mile. Racial heterogeneity is operationalized as 1 minus the sum of squared proportions of each of five races: Black non-Hispanic alone, White non-Hispanic alone, Asian/Pacific Islander alone, Hispanic alone, and American Indian/other alone.

Concentrated disadvantage is operationalized as an index of five Census items: (a) percent of all households receiving public assistance, (b) percent of population with income below the federal poverty level in 1999, (c) percent of civilian population age 16 or older in labor force who are unemployed, (d) percent of population who are Black/non-Hispanic, and (e) percent of households with children headed by a woman. The concentrated disadvantage index is calculated as the sum of z-scores for these items divided by five (the number of items). Residential stability is the sum of z-scores for responses to two Census items: percent living in same house since 1995 and the percent of housing occupied by owners. The sum of these two items is then divided by two (the number of items). Census 2000 data for block groups is used to construct these variables.

In addition, a variable for land use type is included to account for the possible relationship between types of land uses and neighborhood disorganization. As discussed earlier, the routine activities literature posits that certain types of land use create environments ripe for crime and disorder. Land use is measured as *percent commercial land use* by aggregating the number of commercial parcels and dividing by the number of all parcels (i.e., all parcel types) in each block group. The data were obtained using District of Columbia parcel data for 2005. Table 8 provides the descriptive statistics for the control variables.

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics for Control Variables									
Variables	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max				
Control Variables									
Concentrated Disadvantage	55	0.03	.72	-1.08	1.99				
Residential Stability	55	-0.01	.57	-1.29	1.12				
Racial Heterogeneity	55	.27	.18	0.04	0.61				
Percent Commercial	55	0.01	0.02	0	0.08				
Population Density (sq miles)	55	18325.09	5655.62	3612.50	30866.70				

Crime Measures

We focused on four key measures of crime using incident data and calls for service data provided by the District of Columbia Metropolitan police department: (1) the aggravated assault rate, (2) the property crime rate, (3) social disorder, and (4) physical disorder. All incidents were mapped using ArcMap 9.0 using a street centerline file provided by the District of Columbia's Office of Chief Technology Officer (OCTO). All maps were projected using Maryland State Plane using a North American Datum (NAD) 83. All dependent variables are examined using the average of the aggregate sum of the incidents or calls for service across a two-year time span.

Aggravated Assault Rate

The assault rate measure is the number of incidents reported to the police for assault with a deadly weapon (ADW) (i.e., aggravated assault) from January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2006. All aggravated assault incidents are person-level with each victim accounted for separately. For stability purposes, the victimization data are aggregated using the two-year time period (January 1, 2005- December 31, 2005, January 1, 2006- December 31, 2006) and then averaged. To calculate rates, we divided by the block group population, and multiplied by 1,000.

Property Crime Rate

This measure is the number of burglaries, larcenies and motor vehicle thefts, reported to the police from January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2006. The incidents were averaged across the two years. To calculate rates, we divided by the block group population, and multiplied by 1,000.

Social Disorder

Social disorder is operationalized as calls for service in 2005 and 2006 for a broadly-defined class of social disorder, but not including (disorderly conduct): shooting, sounds of gunshots, man down, woman down, indecent exposure, soliciting for prostitution, and destruction of property (these are classifications made by the 911 call-takers). The calls were averaged across 2005 and 2006, and the block group population for 2000 was used as the denominator.

Physical Disorder

Physical disorder is operationalized using calls received by the District of Columbia Citywide Call Center (202-727-1000) for 2005 to 2006. The call center was designed by city administrators to be a centralized point of contact for neighborhood quality of life issues that do not need to involve the police. The calls used for this variable are calls for abandoned vehicles, graffiti removal, illegal dumping and streetlight repair. The calls were averaged over the two-year period. The rate was derived by dividing incidents by the population of block groups in 2000. The data were provided by the District of Columbia Office of the Chief Technology Officer.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses posited in this study are based in the conceptual model shown earlier in Figure 2. Because the goal of this study is to create a measure of institutional capacity, only part of the conceptual model is tested.

The key hypotheses are:

- The community institutional capacity measures will be correlated with collective efficacy, cohesion and control.
- The relationship found between the community institutional capacity measures and collective efficacy will be influenced by residential instability, socioeconomic disadvantage and racial heterogeneity.
- Neighborhoods with high levels of community institutional capacity will be neighborhoods with low rates of violent crime, property crime and physical and social disorder.

ANALYSIS PLAN

The analysis plan includes two methods for examining the construct validity of the developed measures. Construct validity is central to the measurement of abstract theoretical constructs (Carmines and Zeller, 1979). The previous sections established that the criterion measures had their own reliability and validity. Now, we examine the relationship between the new

measures and the criterion measures to establish criterion-related validity. Criterion-related validity is sometimes referred to as predictive validity or concurrent validity. First, bivariate and partial correlations are run to establish criterion-related validity between the new measures and the criterion measures. Partial correlations are the correlations of two variables controlling for a third or more variables. The technique is commonly used in causal modeling of small models with three to five variables. If the partial correlation approaches zero, one can infer that the original correlation is spurious—there is no direct causal link between the two original variables (Kleinbaum and Kupper, 1978). Second, regression analyses are conducted to examine the variables in a multi-variate framework. Regression is used to enter more than four variables in equations.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

CONSTRUCT VALIDITY

Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate correlations are examined to establish the construct validity of the different capacity measures. The correlation matrix can be found in Appendix D. The key measures of interest can be found in rows 1-4 in Appendix D. Looking at the three criterion measures, the presence of organizations is positively correlated with social cohesion (.315; p< .05), followed by collective efficacy (.245; p< .10). Interestingly, although presence is correlated with cohesion and collective efficacy, it is not significantly correlated with informal social control. With regard to the control and crime variables, presence is negatively correlated with concentrated disadvantage (-.485; p< .0001), aggravated assault rate (-.429; p< .05), and the aggravated assault rate in the earlier time period (-.419; p< .05) and presence is positively correlated with racial heterogeneity (.567; p< .0001) and percent commercial (0.513; p < .0001).

With regard to the aggregate organizational capacity scores for block groups, the measure (we use the measure that contains estimates for missing data on organizations) has a significant positive correlation with two of the three criterion measures. Block group organizational capacity is positively correlated with collective efficacy (.261; p < .10) and social cohesion (.345; p=.01). Block group organizational capacity also significantly and negatively correlates with aggravated assault (-.412; p<.05). The third measure developed in this study—accessibility—is more highly correlated with the criterion measures than presence or capacity score. As hypothesized, accessibility has a significant negative correlation with collective efficacy (-.580; p<.0001), social cohesion (-.624; p<.0001) and control (-.493; p=.0001). Accessibility also positively correlates with the four crime measures.

Partial Correlations

Table 9 shows the partial correlations between the new measures and the criterion measures controlling for concentrated disadvantage and residential stability. We chose concentrated disadvantage and residential stability as the two key controls due to their strength of association with the new measures in the bivariate correlations. The partial correlations reveal that when controlling

for the neighborhood structural constraints (disadvantage and residential stability), only our accessibility measure remains significant. Accessibility has a significant negative relationship with collective efficacy (-.241; p<.10) and significant relationship with social cohesion (-.300; p<.05). Although only one of our new measures exhibited a significant relationship with the criterion measures, we believe this is a very positive finding. These significant results are strong findings for construct validity for the organizational accessibility measure.

We also examined the partial correlations between our new measures and the crime measures. Only two significant correlations remained (when comparing with bivariate correlations): the neighborhood organizational capacity score measure was significantly correlated with the aggravated assault rate when controlling for prior assault rate, residential stability and concentrated disadvantage; accessibility was significantly and positively correlated with the aggravated assault rate (.351; p<.05).

Regression Analysis

Tables 10, 11 and 12 present the results of the regression analyses. Our first hypothesis is that the newly created neighborhood organizational measures will predict the three criterion variables (collective efficacy, cohesion and control), so we first regress the criterion variables on "presence of organizations" and the neighborhood structural variables (Table 10). Tables 11 and 12 focus on the results using the two other new variables—neighborhood organizational capacity and accessibility—to predict collective efficacy, cohesion and control. Looking across the three tables, only the model using organizational accessibility (Table 12, column 2) shows a significant association between the new variable and a criterion variable (in this case social cohesion). Controlling for the neighborhood structural constraints, the accessibly of organizations appears to predict social cohesion.

Tables 13, 14 and 15 provide the regression results of the models examining whether the newly created neighborhood organizational variables are associated with various types of crime and disorder, controlling for neighborhood structural constraints. Of the three new measures, only organizational accessibility is significantly associated with crime—Table 15 indicates (see column 1) that neighborhood organizational accessibility is significantly and negatively associated with the aggravated assault rate. In other words, as hypothesized, neighborhoods with organizations further away are significantly more likely to be neighborhoods with higher assault rates. Neighborhood organizational accessibility is not significantly related to rates of social or physical disorder, or property crime.

Table 9. Partial Correlations Controlling for Concentrated Disadvantage and Residential Stability											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Presence	1.000	-	-	-	-0.150	-0.031	-0.214	-	-	-	-
2. Capacity score with miss	-	1.000	-	-	-0.079	0.014	-0.131	-	-	-	-
3. Capacity score estimates	-	-	1.000	-	-0.108	0.100	-0.175	-	-	-	-
4. Accessibility	-	-	-	1.000	-0.241 ^a	-0.300*	-0.151	-	-	-	-
5. Collective efficacy	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Cohesion	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
7. Control	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	-	-	-
8. Agg assault rate ^b	191	-	263 ^a	.351*	-	-	-	1.000		-	-
9. Property crime rate ^{b,c}	.007	-	.024	.018	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	-
10 . Social disorder call rate^{b,c}	.129	-	.107	020	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-
11. Phys disorder call rate ^{b,c}	.100	-	.057	215	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 10. OLS Regression of Criterion Measures on Presence of Organizations in Buffer Areas and Control Variables,

by Criterion Measure

	Collect Effica		Cohes	sion	Cont	rol
	b	SE b	В	SE b	b	SE b
Presence	-0.005	.10	.001	.00	-0006	.00
Concentrated disadv.	-0.641***	.07	-0.272***	.04	-0.365***	1.14
Residential stability	0.066	.08	0.012	.04	0.054	.19
Racial heterogeneity	-0.445	.32	-0.168	.15	-0.284	.11
Percent commercial	-3.208	2.64	-1.621	1.28	-1.530	2.77
Adjusted R ²	.63		.58		.59	

^ap<.10; ^{*}p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

^ap<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

^b Also controlled for prior aggravated assault rate (in 2000-2001)

^c Controlled for concentrated disadvantage, racial heterogeneity, and prior aggravated assault rate (not residential stability)

Table 11. OLS Regression of Criterion Measures on Capacity Score (with estimates) and Control Variables, by Criterion Measure

	Collective Efficacy		Cohes	sion	Control	
	b	SE b	В	SE b	В	SE b
Capacity score	-0.01 ^b	0.00	0.181 ^b	.00	-0.020 ^b	.000
Concentrated disadv.	-0.636***	0.07	-0.267***	.037	-0.366***	.046
Residential stability	0.068	0.075	0.012	.037	0.057	.046
Racial heterogeneity	-0.481	0.305	-0.128	.150	-0.361 ^a	.187
Percent commercial	-3.550	2.581	-1.688	1.27	-1.820	1.58
Adjusted R ²	.64		.58		.57	

^ap<.10; ^{*}p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001; ^bCoefficients are multiplied by 100.

Table 12. OLS Regression of Criterion Measures on Accessibility Measure and Control Variables, by Criterion Measure

	Collec		Cohes	sion	Control	
	В	SE b	b	SE b	b	SE b
Accessibility	004	.003	-0.003*	.001	-0.001	.002
Concentrated disadv.	-0.577***	.082	-0.231***	.040	-0.345***	.051
Residential stability	0.035	.077	-0.012	.037	0.049	.048
Racial heterogeneity	-0.635*	.306	-0.204	.148	-0.431*	.191
Percent commercial	-3.688	2.385	-1.462	1.153	-2.162	1.491
Adjusted R ²	.63		.61		.57	

^ap<.10; *p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.0001

Table 13. OLS Regression of Crime Measures on Presence Measure and Control Variables, by Crime

	Aggravated Assault Rate		Property Crime Rate		Social Disorder		Physical Disorder	
	В	SE b	b	SE b	b	SE b	b	SE b
Presence	-0.070	.08	0.111	1.08	1.023	.96	0.856	1.04
Concentrated disadv.	1.210	.77	-23.454*	10.31	-13.027	9.145	-22.043*	9.93
Residential stability	-3.534***	0.63	-10.280	8.46	-8.023	7.50	38.454**	* 8.25
Racial heterogeneity	1.526	2.65	115.717**	35.65	23.871	31.60	8.744	34.33
Percent commercial	-26.215	21.19	-88.116	284.67	-197.261	252.31	120.216	274.11
Prior agg. asslt rate	0.746***	0.07	6.500***	0.96	6.818***	0.85	6.705***	0.92
Adjusted R ²	.89		.52		.68		.61	

^ap<.10; *p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.0001

Table 14. OLS Regression of Crime Measures on Capacity Score Measure and Control Variables, by Crime

	Aggravated Assault Rate		Property Crime Rate		Social Disorder		Physical Disorder	
	В	SE b	b	SE b	В	SE b	b	SE b
Capacity score (est)	004	.005	0.007	.07	0.048	.058	0.058	.06
Concentrated disadv.	1.006	.834	-23.446*	10.09	-13.305	8.996	-22.497*	9.84
Residential stability	-3.331***	.676	-10.475	8.18	-7.067	7.296	40.065**	* 7.98
Racial heterogeneity	-0.411	2.723	121.900**	32.95	29.501	29.366	4.590	32.11
Percent commercial	-24.712	22.615	-82.000	273.68	-163.402	243.90	120.205	266.715
Prior agg. assault rate	0.735***	0.0768	6.546***	.93	6.816***	0.829	6.670**	* 0.91
Adjusted R ²	.87		.54		.67		.60	

^ap<.10; *p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.0001

Table 15. OLS Regression of Crime Measures on Accessibility Measure and Control Variables, by Crime

	Aggravated Assault Rate		Property Crime Rate		Social Disorder		Physical Disorder	
	В	SE b	b	SE b	b	SE b	b 5	SE b
Accessibility	0.074*	.029	-0.059	.37	-0.116	.330	-0.265	.35
Concentrated disadv.	0.873	.795	-23.38*	10.08	-14.032	9.033	-22.851*	9.85
Residential stability	-2.942***	.661	-10.793	8.38	-7.811	7.517	38.545***	8.20
Racial heterogeneity	0.489	2.610	121.380**	33.03	33.121	29.62	5.828	32.39
Percent commercial	-34.621 ^a	20.341	-71.870	257.89	-94.765	231.23	203.246	252.12
Prior agg. assault rate	0.631***	0.084	6.629***	1.06	7.000***	0.950	7.052***	1.04
Adjusted R ²	.88		.54		.67		.60	

^ap<.10; *p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.0001

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study set out to explore and develop methods for examining the social capital generating function of local organizations and institutions. We extend Bursik and Grasmick's (1993) systemic model of social disorganization to explicitly include the role of local organizations in facilitating the development of collective efficacy and collective action, as well as directly influencing effective socialization. We develop a construct called community institutional capacity (CIC) that is measured using three components: presence, accessibility and organizational capacity. We test the components of the construct separately against established measures of social capital.

This research was designed as a cross sectional study to explore dimensions of community institutional capacity. We view this study as exploratory—as a first step towards understanding not only the dimensions of institutional capacity, but towards systematically assessing its presence in a community. Our examination of the relationship between community institutional capacity and attitudes and behaviors supportive of social capital found that community institutional capacity has potential as a measure of social capital. The significant relationships between two of the new measures and some of the criterion variables and aggravated assault validates the importance of understanding and measuring the role of organizations within communities. Below we briefly review and discuss the findings.

PLACE AND ACCESSIBILITY MATTER

Organizations serve as places that may generate social cohesion and the expectation for social action. This study found that, when taking in the context of the larger local landscape of the location of community organizations, access (defined as overall distance) to organizations that serve the local community matters. This study measured the accessibility of organizations by examining the aggregate distances from each of the neighborhoods to the community-based organizations in the larger target area. The findings indicate that distance matters for the social health of neighborhoods. Increased access to organizations is related to higher levels of social cohesion. These relationships hold when controlling for neighborhood structural characteristics that include residential stability, concentrated disadvantage, commercial land use, and racial heterogeneity. Neighborhoods that are isolated from community-based organizations and social services may have

a reduced ability to foster social interaction. In addition, we found that neighborhoods that had more local organizations nearby were also neighborhoods with lower rates of aggravated assault. The measure used in this study operationalizes distance so that every unit of distance matters with regard to its utility in the community. This definition has important implications for thinking about *where*, in the geographic sense, local organizations can provide the most benefit.

CAPACITY CHARACTERISTICS MAY MATTER

Within this exploratory study, the partial correlations provided some evidence that the neighborhood-level capacity of organizations (aggregate capacity scores) may be an important measure to capture when studying social capital and public safety. The study findings show that the traits of organizations relate to a community's level of collective efficacy and social cohesion, when controlling for residential stability and concentrated disadvantage. Our measurement of capacity was a simple scale that only tapped into a few key characteristics of the organizations; we had hoped that with our study (if we were successful with the organizational survey) we could have gained some insights into the variations within organizations that influence capacity at the neighborhood level. Much research remains to be done. Below we touch on a number of recommendations for future research on neighborhood measures of institutional capacity.

Replication and Extension

Because this study was exploratory, more research should be conducted to replicate measure development. The study used a small sample (55 block groups) across neighborhoods. Similar studies replicated in different neighborhoods in Washington, D.C, as well as across the country, will assist in measure development and validation. Replication in areas that are less urban can further elucidate factors that may influence relationships between organizations and the social and psychological aspects of neighborhood life studied in this research.

As indicated a number of times throughout this report, the study has key limitations given the major challenges encountered in obtaining a high response rate for the organization survey and the congregations survey. We spent an extraordinary amount of resources attempting to clean organization data and follow-up with organizations. We dropped the congegrations survey after we could not obtain a response rate higher than 50 percent. We acknowledge that a major challenge in many areas in this day and age is that paper surveys mailed out with ample follow-up are simply not producing high – or even acceptable – rates of response. Even telephone surveys are proving problematic in terms of reliable response rates. Our telephone follow-up involved at least four calls

on different days and during different hours to both the organizations and congregations. We also visited the majority of organizations in person. Door-to-door surveys are expensive and interviewer bias may become an added challenge. The response challenges we encountered represent an ongoing issue that will need collaboration with marketers, survey specialists, and others in related disciplines if it is to be solved. Online surveys would be difficult in poorer areas because a high percentage of respondents may not have computers.

Longitudinal Research

The cross-sectional nature of this study limited our ability to infer causal relationships. As stated above, the full conceptual model developed in this study has not been tested. Longitudinal research can assist in understanding the interrelationships among aspects of social capital such as CIC, collective efficacy, collective action and participation. The opportunity for strong longitudinal study designs that include organizational characteristics may be limited to those that are prospective, as opposed to retrospective. Retrospective studies may not be feasible, given the difficulty of obtaining accurate historical information on organizations that no longer exist. Some of the organizations surveyed in this study were newer, small organizations that were created as a result of one- or two-year funding streams for specific projects (e.g., a two-year mentoring program) that are likely to dry up when the grant period ends. However, we see many opportunities for retrospective research focusing on particular types of organizations where data may flow more freely. For instance, studies focusing on pro-social places like recreation and community centers and parks may be able to obtain reliable longitudinal data on programs and center amenities from city or state agencies. Also, retrospective studies focusing simply on presence (i.e., counting organizations) will be useful.

Longitudinal studies are of particular importance in that they can establish causal order. Our conceptual model hypothesizes that collective efficacy is the outcome of high community institutional capacity. Although we found no evidence in our target area, we acknowledge that, without establishing temporal order, there exists the possibility that high capacity institutions may be found in the most *disorganized* areas because disorganized areas have the most need for organizations. It is plausible to say that, in some instances, millions of dollars in grants have been given to impoverished neighborhoods to set up comprehensive community-based initiatives and/or new organizations targeted to reduce community disorganization. We did not address this potential endogeneity problem. However, our measure of community institutional capacity attempts to capture some aspects of the alternative hypothesis by incorporating a variable representing the

stability of organizations in the capacity scale. As a result, our measure most likely would capture this important dimension that would vary across neighborhoods. It may be likely that areas low on collective efficacy may have the most organizations, but when capacity is fully accounted for, these neighborhoods with high capacity organizations would have higher levels of collective efficacy relative to other poor neighborhoods nearby.

Untapped Dimensions of Community Institutional Capacity

In this study, we only examined the role of local nonprofit and grassroots organizations that provide some service to the local community. It is important to be able to identify those organizations that foster these aspects of social life beyond those who directly participate in or receive services from the organizations. Not all organizations will contribute to social capital in the same way or to the same degree. The original survey was designed to include a full array of dimensions that are hypothesized to be related to community capacity. Because of a low response rate for the organization survey, we were limited to including only a very limited number of items in our organizational capacity scale. Our additive scale assumes organizations that provide direct service to large numbers of people have more capacity than organizations that do not directly provide human services, but work to build overall capacity (such as advocacy organizations or organizations that develop, renovate and build housing units, for instance). With larger sample sizes, a variety of organizational capacity measures can be tested. Dedicated resources and larger sample sizes will assist in obtaining reliable data that can be examined using more sophisticated factor methodologies to explore and validate important dimensions of capacity.

In addition, capacity dimensions such as vertical networking or public control are virtually untapped measures. Putnam has discussed these dimensions in detail (bridging and bonding) as central components in generating neighborhood social capital. The reduced survey protocol was necessary to obtain a reasonable response rate.

Given our reliance on the reduced survey form, we cannot ascertain for sure whether the social service organizations located "in the neighborhood" are "of the neighborhood." Through the survey data, administrative data and websites, we did our best to determine and include only those organizations that serve local residents (and may serve individuals outside the target area). However, it is important to recognize that this limitation in measurement can exaggerate the concentration of service agencies in the defined neighborhood, resulting in misleading conclusions.

We suggest that going forward, ethnography and qualitative research may have important roles to play in developing a rich set of measures that will eventually be needed for policy advancements in strengthening neighborhoods.

Methods of Measuring Presence and Distance

With regard to location, we attempted to assess capacity by examining where organizations were within and across the entire target area. This study examined presence and accessibility of organizations as the number of organizations present in a 300 meter buffer from block group edge, and the aggregate distances from block group edge to organizations, respectively. The accessibility measure shows great promise as a measure of institutional capital in neighborhoods. Accessibility scores were developed so that every foot mattered—the variable is defined as a continuous variable from zero to infinity. We did not adopt a critical "cut-off" point where we assumed any additional distances past this cut off were of no value to the neighborhood. Continued exploration of these methods and other methods, as well as understanding when and how distance matters is critical to understanding opportunities for neighborhoods.

Resources/Measures for Communities

Given some of the findings presented in this report, it may be useful for communities tracking neighborhood health to begin keeping records on community institutions and organizations, by type of organization. The existence of community-based organizations and institutions such as churches, schools, parks, and recreation centers, in most instances, is known to community workers. Address information is often of public record. However, we cannot conclude or advise communities as to how many organizations or what types are good for a neighborhood. Neighborhoods will vary on the number and types of organizations needed. With more research, we envision that communities could track organizations by typology simply by validating their existence and location. Communities across D.C. and other urban areas could update the data annually or on a biennial basis.

This is the second study where the primary author attempted to survey a vast array of organizations in a variety of neighborhoods, and hence we have learned many lessons. Most importantly, success collecting data in one community does not necessarily translate to success in collecting information in a different community. In our first study, where the target area was a tight knit community of 29 block groups with few institutions, we were much more successful collecting survey information. When we attempted to collect information from organizations in the neighborhoods of the current study, we were unable to reach many organizations, and the majority

of those reached were distrustful of surveys or the staff indicated they were too busy to complete the short survey. We had twice as many resources for the current study as we did for the first study, and yet, we would estimate the need for four times the resources used in the first study.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, collective efficacy has become a well-known concept in many communities, as well as in research and policy circles. Research has shown that increasing collective efficacy has implications for improving a variety of healthy outcomes for children and adults across neighborhoods, from reducing violence and victimization to reductions in obesity. Community leaders and community development practitioners seek practical programs that buoy local social networks and support systems, but no silver bullet solution to increase collective efficacy has been realized. Social capital is often discussed as the silver bullet for community health and well being. Relatively little is known about how communities can foster cohesion and social capital. Furthermore, few empirical studies have focused on how organizations can be vehicles for increasing socialization and achieving positive neighborhood outcomes. Even studies testing Putnam's ideas about voluntary associations and other studies examining collective efficacy have focused on unobservable processes or the strength and breadth of participation in voluntary associations. People are complex, and encouraging changes in individual behavior have proven difficult. In addition, how can one foster individuals' participation in organizations that do not exist in many communities? Accessibility to and the capacity of organizations should be viewed as central components of building and maintaining healthy neighborhoods. Strategies and policies aimed at organizations and encouraging organizational and agency networks may be more practical and have direct, tangible benefits for communities than efforts to build collective efficacy.

On a larger level with regard to future research, we foresee a strong need to create a central focal point for research on creating healthy and crime-free communities, perhaps through NIJ or other intermediaries or private foundations, so that these studies can provide a base for comparative analysis and meta-analysis. Theory and practice could advance by highlighting neighborhood-focused research as one of the priorities for work in preventing and reducing crime and emphasizing the need to understand social cohesion and related concepts. The opportunities for cross-disciplinary research are endless (and would be extremely valuable).

We hope this exploratory study attempting to understand the role of local organizations in communities from the organizational and neighborhood level provides impetus for continued examination. The potential implications for policy and practice of the systematic study of community institutional capacity are many. Using established, accessible measures of institutional capacity, we can not only assess who has it and who does not, but also evaluate the practicality of building social capital through organizations and the larger community infrastructure.

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APPENDIX A

Original Organization Survey Used for Data Collection

ORGANIZATION SURVEY

OCTOBER 16, 2006

[Fixed_Name]	
[Fixed_Street]	
Washington, DC [Allzip]	I

[UI_ID]

If any of the information that appears to the left is incorre	ect,
please cross it out and provide the corrected information.	
Also, please fill in information below:	
· •	
YOUR NAME:	
POSITION TITLE:	

Dear Representative of: [Fixed_Name]

The Urban Institute (UI), a local nonprofit research organization in the District, is conducting a study to understand the roles of local organizations within communities; particularly how organizations serve residents through programs at recreation and community centers, churches, and nonprofits.

EMAIL ADDRESS:

The survey is part of a larger project to describe and compare the quality of life among neighborhoods in our city. The project will provide local residents, community organizations, and government agencies with information about the extent and availability of community services; provide policy makers, researchers and advocates with data about the contributions of local organizations; and give potential funders, donors and volunteers insight on organizational needs. We all know that good schools, libraries, recreation and community centers, block groups, service providers and strong local businesses are good for the community, but few have measured the precise influence of these organizations/institutions on their communities.

The survey is voluntary--you do not have to participate. **The survey will also be completely confidential**--there will be no identification of individual organization names or name of the staff person completing the survey. **When the survey is returned to UI, this cover sheet is torn off and filed in a locked drawer <u>separately</u> from survey responses. We are legally bound to preserve confidentiality and our procedures have received approval by a formal Review Board.**

The survey should take you no longer than 20 minutes to complete. Simply fill it out and mail it back in the postage paid envelope. For your convenience, you are also welcome to complete the survey over the phone by calling Caterina Roman, the Project Director, at (202) 261-5704. When the study is completed in the winter, we will share the aggregate results with all interested community groups and publish findings in local newsletters and papers. Also, please feel free to call Ms. Roman if you have any questions or email: croman@ui.urban.org. Thank you very much in advance!

For more information on the Urban Institute, please visit www.urban.org.

[UI ID] 1. Please read the following and check the statement that most closely describes your organization. \Box 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization ☐ Applied for 501(c) (3) status, not yet received \square Branch of a larger 501(c)(3) ☐ Private company/firm (Not tax-exempt) ☐ Government agency ☐ Religious congregation (church, synagogue, mosque, etc.) but not a 501(c)(3) \Box 501(c)(4) Other: 2. Where are your headquarters? ☐ At this location (same address where survey was addressed) ☐ Somewhere else... Where are your headquarters? Please provide us with full street address, city, etc: 3. Do you own, rent or borrow the space you currently are using? \square Own the space ☐ Rent/lease □ Borrow ☐ Don't Know 4. Does your organization have regular staff with offices at more than one site/location in the District of Columbia? → If YES, where are all of the other site(s) located? □ Yes - \square No ☐ Don't Know 5. What year did your organization start operations at this current location? [E.g. 4 years and 5 months] ☐ Don't Know 6. What year was your organization started?

☐ Don't Know

7. What	is	your	organization's primary program	area? P	lease sel	lect (only	one.	
		a. b.	Animal related Arts, culture, humanities (incl. museums, libraries, parks)			c		Mental healt intervention (in tion, alcoholism	•
		c.	Community improvement & capacity building				n	n. Private gran	tmaking foundation
		d.	Crime prevention, criminal just	ice			n	. Public, socie	ety benefit
			Education				_ o	. Recreation &	& sports
		f.	Employment, job related	ronment				. Religious ou	•
		_	Environment					~	
			Health care—general & rehability	tative			g	•	
		i.	Housing & shelter General human services (day ca	oro			r	Other – plea	se fill in:
		j.	family services, mentoring, tuto etc.)						
		k.	Legal services, civil rights						
									· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Service	e to	Inc	lividuals						
8. Does	you	ır oı	ganization offer services for ind	ividuals	househo	lds/i	ndiv	idual clients?	
			Yes □ No	(Please	go to Qı	ıesti	on 1	0)	
9 If you	ır o	rgar	ization serves individuals, on av	erage ho	w many	neo	nle o	or households p	er day do you serve at
you are	not	exa	Please specify service units (e. ctly sure, even your best guess windicate. If not applicable, please	vill be he	<i>lpful</i> . If	it is	easi	er to specify nu	mbers in weeks or
				per	□day			□week	\square month
				per	□day			\square week	\square month
				per	□day			\square week	\square month
		Not	applicable		Oon't kn	ow			
		box	organization provide any of the h that lists a service provided by y Child day care						
			Recreation and/or sports				j.	In-patient or C	out-patient substance
		c.	Tutoring/Mentoring/Drop-out p	oreventio	n			abuse treatmen	nt
		d.	Family counseling				k.	Public health e	education, wellness
		e.	Reproductive health and family	_	g			programs	
		f.	Adoption assistance, foster care	e			1.	Housing devel	opment, rehab,
		_	In-home assistance	••		_		construction	•.
		h.	Job training, vocational rehabil	itation,			m.	Emergency sho	
			job placement or job referral				n.	Violence prevo	
		i.	Medical services, health treatm				0.	-	, civil rights protection
			rehabilitation – primarily outpa health support service	uent,			p.	Other:	

apply.	services in the following	ng geographic area(s) below? Please check <u>all</u> that
□ a. Local neighborhood□ b. Multiple neighborhood	•	□ f. Other – specify□ g. Not applicable
 □ c. Citywide □ d. Washington, D.C. m □ e. Elsewhere in the US 		
12. In the <u>past year</u> , how frequently household?	have you lacked the res	sources to provide services to a needy individual or
□ Frequently□ Seldom/Rarely□ Never		
☐ Not Applicable (no direct 13. Please estimate the percentage of	<i>'</i>	are:
a. Black (non-Hispanic)b. White (non-Hispanic)c. Asian	% % %	i. Born outside the US%j. Mentally or physically challenged%
d. Hispanic/Latino e. Other/ Multi-racial	% %	k. Prisoners, released prisoners or ex-offenders%
f. Children and teens g. Adults < 65 yrs h. 65 yrs of age or older	100% % %	 l. Below the poverty level% (e.g., yearly income \$16,900 for family of three; \$9,900 for a single person). m. Other:% Name of Group
Total	100%	Name of Group
14. Does your organization provide s ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ Not Applicable	services in languages o	ther than English?
Now, we have a question about	your organization's	s space.
15. Do you consider the space you of ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ D	ccupy to be adequate from the know	or your needs?

Now we have some questions about your organization's office and computer technology and other resources.

16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **Strongly Strongly** Not **Disagree Disagree** Agree Agree Applicable a. Our technology (for example internet access, telephones, and fax) is adequate for our organization's needs. b. We lack trained employees to make the best use of the technology now available to us. c. Additional technology would enable us to improve the services we provide. Computers and office technology have little to offer in the kind of work we do. 17. Does your organization have a website? □ Yes \square No ☐ Don't know 18. Does your organization produce an annual report? □ Yes □ No ☐ Don't know

20. If your board includes at least one member from the following groups, please check the corresponding box (**select** <u>all</u> that apply).

19. Is there a formal Board of Directors and/or set of advisors for your organization?

□ Yes

☐ Don't know

 \square No (Please go to Q21)

a.	Neighborhood residents	f.	In your opinion, someone in the
b.	Business community		community "who matters."
c.	Nonprofit leaders	g.	In your opinion, someone with
d.	Government officials		extensive external connections.
e.	Clients and others who benefit	h.	Schools/Education
	from your services	i.	Other:

Now we are going to ask some financial questions. The information you provide is completely confidential and will not be released to anyone. As stated in the cover letter, we are bound by law to keep all information strictly confidential. Only the person entering survey data into the secure database at the Urban Institute will see your responses. That person is required to strip the cover sheet off your survey responses. All data are entered into a database that does not contain any personal/organizational identifiers. All responses will be aggregated into categories for analysis and reporting purposes.

21.	Ple \$_ \$	ease i	ndicate your total operating budge FY2005 FY2004	et for the past t	two f	isca	l years.
22.	Ap sou	9/6 9/6 9/6 9/6 9/6 9/6 9/6		I should equal s, direct donatio ets, and sales	100	%):	ating revenues came from the following
23. 'sour	Wou		ou consider your organization's fi				y sound, somewhat sound, or not at all
		Very	\Box sound \Box Somewhat so	ınd 🗆 No	t at a	ıll so	ound Don't know
24.]	Doe	s you	ar organization have a formal bud	get?			
		Yes	□ No □ Don'	know			
25.]	Has	vour	organization done any of the foll	owing in the p	ast tv	vo v	ears? Please check all that apply.
		a.	Developed a formal strategic pla Devoted major effort to secure fl multi-year operating support	n		-	Disseminated information on government policies and activities that affect residents
		c.	Used management information s control costs and monitor quality costs			i.	Educated/advocated public and private officials about community needs
		d.	Organized community events to resident involvement	ncrease		j.	Partnered with another organization in a joint venture
		e.	Encouraged community input in organizational agenda/priorities	setting		k.	Became part of a comprehensive community initiative, coalition or
		f.	Encouraged community input in organization-sponsored activities		П	1.	partnership Talked to the city council or the ANC
		g.	Created or participated in networ	king	_		about an issue

20. Ho	w many <u>paid</u> employees (not incluning number full-time	_	ants) does you part-time	r organizati	on have?	
	Not Applicable – No Paid Emplo	yees (Please	go to Q29)			
27. Esti one.	imate the share of your paid emplo	oyees who liv	e within a mil	e of your or	rganization. P	lease select <u>or</u>
	a. Few or none		\Box d	About th	ree-quarters ((~75%)
	b. About one-quarter (~25%)		□ e.	All or al	most all (~100	0%)
	c. About one-half (~50%)		\Box f.	Don't kn	iow	
28. Do 	you agree or disagree with the fol	Strongly			Strongly	Don't Kno
_		Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	
8	a. Retaining staff is a problem for us.	О	O	O	O	O
ŀ	 Finding quality staff is a problem for us. 	O	О	O	O	O
(e. Staff are generally satisfied with salary/wages they receive.	O	О	O	O	О
(d. We provide our staff adequate fringe benefits.	О	O	О	O	O
30. Wh	es your organization use volunteer Yes No (Please go to Next Page) Don't know at is the total number of volunteer at is the average number of hours	rs used by you	_	_	•	
J1. **11		who live wit	hin a mile of y	our organiz	zation. Please	select <u>only o</u>
	imate the share of your volunteers se.	who have wh				
32. Est	se.	who have with	\Box d	About th	ree-quarters ((~75%)
32. Est	se. a. Few or none	who have wit	□ d. □ e.		ree-quarters (most all (~100	

3 0	ration use consultants? (for example: management assistance, technical assistance, ublic relations, fundraising, personnel recruitment, legal assistance, ing)
□ Yes	If YES, specify type:
\square No	
□ Don't know	★
	34a. Is this service free of cost? In other words, do the consultant donate their time?
	□ Yes
	No

Thank you very much for completing the survey! Please return in the postage paid envelope provided. If you have any questions, please call the project manager, Caterina Roman, at XXXXXX; or email her at XXXXXXX

APPENDIX B Original Congregations Survey Used for Data Collection

OCTOBER, 2006

If any of the information that appears to the left is incorrect
please cross it out and provide the corrected information.
Also, please fill in information below:
YOUR NAME:
POSITION TITLE:
PHONE NUMBER:
EMAIL ADDRESS:

Dear Representative of:

The Urban Institute (UI), a local nonprofit research organization in the District, is conducting a study to understand the roles of local organizations and congregations within communities; particularly how organizations serve residents through programs at recreation and community centers, churches, and nonprofits.

The survey is part of a larger project to describe and compare the quality of life among neighborhoods in our city. The project will provide local residents, community organizations, churches, and government agencies with information about the extent and availability of community services; provide policy makers, researchers and advocates with data about the contributions of local organizations; and give potential funders, donors and volunteers insight on organizational needs. We all know that congregations, good schools, libraries, recreation and community centers, block groups, service providers and strong local businesses are good for the community, but few have measured the precise influence of these organizations/institutions on their communities.

The survey is voluntary--you do not have to participate. **The survey is also completely confidential**--there will be no identification of individual organization names or name of the staff person completing the survey. **When the survey is returned to UI, this cover sheet is torn off and filed in a locked drawer <u>separately</u> from survey responses. We are legally bound to preserve confidentiality and our procedures have received approval by a formal Review Board.**

The survey should take you no longer than 20 minutes to complete. Simply fill it out and mail it back in the postage paid envelope. For your convenience, you are also welcome to complete the survey over the phone by calling Dave McClure at (202) 261-5605. When the study is completed in the fall, we will share the aggregate results with all interested community groups and publish findings in local newsletters and papers.

«UI_ID»

1. What is the full name	of your congregation?	
2. In what year was you	r congregation officially	y founded?
3. In what year did your	congregation begin wo	rshiping at its current location?
4. Does your congregati	on meet at more than or	ne location?
Yes		No →[go to Q5]
4a. Where is(an	re) the other site(s) locar	ted?
		nple/mosque, or some other kind of building? in one location write where they primarily meet.]
	rch / synagogue / templo ething else	e / mosque \rightarrow [go to Q6]
_	services?	ar congregation currently use for the primary
	School	
	Nonchurch Commun	nity Center
	Hotel	
	Theatre	
	Private Home	
	Shopping Mall	
	Other \rightarrow Specify	
6. Does this building be rents/leases space to		on, or does it belong to another group that loans or
-	Belongs to congrega	tion or denomination
	Belongs to another g	roup
7. What is the total num	ber of seats in the worsl	hip hall, including overflow space?
	numl	ber of seats
8. Do you consider the s Yes	space you occupy to be	adequate for your needs?

of association	on?	
	Yes	No \rightarrow [go to Q10]
9a.	that your congrega	names of <i>all</i> denominations, conventions, or other associations ation belongs to.
	Second Me	ention:
	Third Men	tion:
	ld like to ask you soo ways you might thin	ne questions about the size of your congregation. We are k about it.
congregation participants, co	counting both adults ounting both official	I you say are associated <i>in any way</i> with the religious life of this and children, counting both regular and irregular or registered members and also participating nonmembers. s associated with this congregation to any degree at all?
		# of persons associated with congregation
-	-	both adults and childrenwould you say regularly participate in ionwhether or not they are officially members of your
		# of persons who regularly participate
12. In a typica	l week, how many w	vorship services does your congregation hold?
		# of worship services per week
Now we wou	ld like to ask a few q	uestions about the people in your congregation.
a. B b. W c. A d. H	entage of your congrack (non-Hispanic) Thite (non-Hispanic) sian ispanic/Latino ther/ Multi-racial Total	regation is%%%%%%
14 How woul	d von abaroatoriza tl	an age of your congregation's membership?
a. Ch b. Ac	ildren and teens dults < 65 yrs yrs of age or older	ne age of your congregation's membership?%%%
	Total	100%

9. Is your congregation formally affiliated with a denomination, convention, or some similar kind

15. What perceincome \$16,900	_	•	_	_					-	•	,	e.g., yearly	
			%	percent	tage o	f memb	ers liv	ing b	elow	poverty	leve	el	
16. What perceithe place of wor	_	•	_	-	-	_	-	n mei	nbers) live <u>w</u>	<u>ithin</u>	a mile from	
	_		_ % p	ercentag	ge of 1	membe	rs who	live	withi	n a mile	fron	n the buildin	ıg
17. What percent of Columbia?	ntage o	f your	regula	r partici	pants	(congr	egatior	n mer	nbers) live <u>oı</u>	utside	e the District	t
	-		_% pe	ercentag	e of n	nember	s who	live o	outsid	e the Di	istric	t	
18. Does the pa		igious		live <u>wi</u> YES	thin a	mile fr NO	om the	e plac	e of v	worship	(chu	rch, temple,	
19. How many	people	curren	tly wo	rk in thi	s con	gregatio	on as fi	ull-tir	пе ра	id staff:	? _		
20. How many who receive reg									ime po	aid staff	f, inc	luding peopl	le
21. Does your o	_	ation u	se vol	unteers?	,								
No	(Please	go to	next p	page [Q	26])								
22. What is the	total nu			unteers us						ing an a	ivera,	ge week?	
23. What is the	_			hours ar # of hrs						uring a	typic	cal week?	
24. Estimate the select only one		•	r volu	nteers w	ho liv	e withi	n a mi	le of	your	organiz	ation	. Please	
a.	Few or	none						d.	Abo	ut three-	quart	ers (~75%)	
b. c.		one-qu one-ha						e. f.		or almos 't know	t all (~100%)	
25. On a scale f important are vo						-				•		t, how	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	,	8	9	1	0	

The next few questions have to do with how your congregation is organized.

26. Is there a formal Board of Directors/Trustees or other governing body?

YES

NO→[go to Q28]

27. Do the members of your Board of Directors/governing body include...

[Please check the box for all that apply]

- a. Neighborhood residents
- b. Business community
- c. Nonprofit leaders
- d. Government officials
- e. People who benefit from your services
- f. In your opinion, someone in the community "who matters."
- g. In your opinion, someone with extensive external connections/who is well-known outside the community.
- h. Anyone else? (other please specify: ______)

Yes

No

PROGRAMS

Now we would like to ask you about some other organized groups, activities, or programs that your congregation may or may not have.

28. Does you congregation have...?

a. Religious education classes for children, teens, or adults?
b. Any choirs, choruses, or other musical groups that sing or perform on a regular basis?
c. An elementary, middle, or high school?
d. An affiliated day care?
e. An affiliated nursing home?
f. A thrift shop/clothing closet?
g. A food pantry/soup kitchen?
h. A counseling or crisis hotline?
 i. Social service programs for children & youth such as tutoring, mentoring, recreational programming?
j. A prison ministry?
k. Provide cash assistance to families and individuals
l. Other programs serving local people in need such as shelters, street outreach to homeless, vocational training, etc? (If yes, please list a few below) Other programs:

your	Within the past 2 years have the congregation but that have <i>use</i> gregations, AA groups, day-care vs.	d or rented space in you	building? This n	night include other			
	Yes	No	Don't kı	now			
30. I	s your congregation or part of y	our congregation a mem Yes	ber of: No				
	a. A neighborhood association?	1 es	110				
	b. A local city coalition?						
	c. A network of clergy?						
	d. An interfaith group?						
	e. A social service collaboration?						
	Does your congregation make a gregation?	ny efforts to recruit new	members or partic	ipants to the			
	Yes	No					
32. V	Within the past two years has yo	our congregation done an		??			
	Yes No 32. Within the past two years has your congregation done any of the following?						
	d. Encouraged people already in the congregation to invite a new person?e. Conducted a survey or needs assessment of the						
meet build	Are there any spin-off organizating in your building, but are noding or may have found another ices provided.	w <u>independen</u> t organizat	ions that still may	be housed in your			
	> 7	Nature of Service		(*61			
	Name	Provided	Add	ress (if known)			

Now we are going to ask some financial questions. The information you provide is completely confidential and will not be released to anyone. As stated in the cover letter, we are bound by law to keep all information strictly confidential. Only the person entering survey data into the secure database at the Urban Institute will see your responses. That person is required to strip the cover sheet off your survey responses. All data are entered into a database that does not contain any personal/organizational identifiers. All responses will be aggregated into categories for analysis and reporting purposes.

34. Does your congregation operate with a for Yes	ormal, written annual budget? No
35. Does your congregation have a 501(c)(3) Yes for congregation	designation for your social service ministries?
Yes, through diocese or d No	enomination
FY2005? We are interested in the total amou	(excluding schools, if any, and capital campaign) for nt that your congregation spent for all purposes, social ministries, money sent to your denomination or urposes. (Check one)
Under \$25,000	\$200,001-500,000
\$25,000-50,000	\$500,001-1,000,000
\$50,001-100,000	\$1,000,000+
\$100,001-200,000	
37. What percentage of your annual budget is ministry programs (including staff time):	s designated for social outreach/social action/social
% of annual budget	
38. Approximately what percentage of your of following sources during the 2005 fiscal year	organization's total operating revenues came from the r? (total should equal 100%):
% Pledged congregational con	ntributions/dues or membership
% Offering plate/envelope (un	npledged)
% Rental income for use of but	uilding
% Special gifts, bequests	
% Endowment, interest incom	ne, trust funds
% Fundraisers or special even	nts
% Government grants or con-	
% Non-governmental grants (e.g., foundation grants)
% Other sources (specify:)

Appendix B

100% Total

	www.describe you describe you ation's financial health t						your
	Very sound	Somewha	at sound	1	Not at all s	not at all sound? at all sound echnology and oth ? NO Strongly	
Now w	ve have some questions a ces.	bout your c	ongregation	ı's compute	er technolo	ogy and othe	er
40. Doe	s your congregation use YES	email to co	mmunicate NO	with memb	ers?		
41. Doe	s your congregation have YES→ webs					NO	
42. Do	you agree or disagree wit	th the follow	wing stateme	ents?			
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	•	Not Appli- cable
a.	Our technology (for exampl access, telephones, and fax adequate for our congregat) is					
b.	We lack trained employees to best use of the technology not available to us.						
c.	Additional technology wou us to improve the services						
d.	Computers and office techn little to offer in the kind of do.						
·							

APPENDIX C

Household Survey

[AFFIX LABEL HERE] 2005 Neighborhood Survey Interview Date: _____ **URBAN INSTITUTE Interviewer Initials: Justice Policy Center** Start time: _____ PM or AM 1. Does your neighborhood have a name? □ No [SKIP TO Q2] □ DON'T KNOW REFUSED 1a. What is it called? _____ 2. How long, in years and months, have you lived in this neighborhood? ____Years ____ Months 3. How long, in years and months, have you lived in this house? ____Years ____ Months 4. How many children under 18 live in this household: [IF 0, SKIP TO Q6] 5. Do any of the children in your household under 18 attend public or private school in the District? □ No [SKIP TO Q6] □ DON'T KNOW O REF 5a. Public, or private school? [IF RESPONDENT SAYS "CHARTER SCHOOL" MARK "PUBLIC"] ○ Public ○ Private □ Both ○ DON'T KNOW O REF 6. Not counting those who live with you, how many of your relatives or in-laws live in your neighborhood? Would you say none, one or two, three to five, six to nine or ten or more? ○ none □ one or two three to five □ six to nine □ ten or more □ DON'T KNOW REFUSED 7. Not counting those who live with you, how many friends do you have in your neighborhood? Would you say none, one or two, three to five, six to nine or ten or more? □ none ○ one or two three to five □ six to nine □ ten or more ○ REFUSED DON'T KNOW 8. How many friends do you have who live outside of your neighborhood? Would you say none, one or two, three to five, six to nine or ten or more? □ none □ one or two three to five □ six to nine □ ten or more DON'T KNOW REFUSED

Next, I am going to ask a few questions about local organizations.

9.	Are you a member of a le	ocal church, synagogue	or other religious or spiritu	al community?
	□ Yes —	□ No [SKIP TO	Q12] ODON'T k	NOW O REF
	9a. Is the religious	s institution in your neig	Q12] ODON'T kehborhood? Yes	□ No
10.	Not including weddings FOR A SPECIFIC NUI		do you attend religious serv	rices? [BE SURE TO PROBE
11.		ding services? This mig	y sort of activity with people at include teaching Sunday so other things.	
	□ Yes	□ No	□ DON'T KNOW	o REF

Now I'd like to ask about other kinds of groups and organizations in your neighborhood. Does your neighborhood have...

	a. Does your neighborhood have?		any one in household	ave you <u>or</u>
12. Any public interest groups, political action groups, political clubs, or a local ANC Advisory Neighborhood	——No	Yes—	→ No	Yes
Commissions?	DK	REF	DK	REF
13. Any neighborhood association, like a block group, tenant	No	Yes —	▶ No	Yes
association or community council?	DK	REF	DK	REF
14. A business group or civic group such as Masons, Elks or	— No	Yes	→ No	Yes
Rotary Club?	DK	REF	DK	REF
15. Any type of crime watch group, like block watch or Citizens on Patrol?	No	Yes—	→ No	Yes
Citizens on Fation?	DK	REF	DK	REF
16. Any other anti-crime organization or partnership?	No	Yes —	▶No	Yes
	DK	REF	DK	REF
17. PSA—Police Service Area—meetings?	No	Yes—	→ No	Yes
	DK	REF	DK	REF
18. Any youth groups (such as youth sport leagues, the scouts	No	Yes —	→ No	Yes
or Boys & Girls Clubs)? [DOES HOUSEHOLD HAVE CHILDREN?]	DK	REF	DK No	REF O KIDS
19. Any adult sports club/league, or an outdoor activity club?	——No	Yes —	No	Yes
	DK	REF	DK	REF

				neighl	es your oorhood re?	months any one househo	e past 12 , have you <u>or</u> <u>in your</u> old participated organization?
20.	A parents' association, like th	ne PTA or PTO, or other		No	Yes —	→No	Yes
	school support or school serv HOUSEHOLD HAVE CHI	ice groups? [DOES		DK	REF	DK	REF
	HOUSEHOLD HAVE CHI	EDKEM.]	▼				NO KIDS
	Any clubs or organizations for	or senior citizens or older		— No	Yes——	→ No	Yes
	people?			DK	REF	DK	REF
22.	Any other local organization	in your neighborhood that	you t	No	Yes——	→ No	Yes
	know of?			DK	REF	DK	REF
23.	Not counting any participation anyone in your household at affairs? [IF RESPONDENT YES, OR NO, OR DON'T Yes	tended any public meeting T SAYS "MAYBE" OR '	g in which NOT S	ch there	was a discu PROBE: "	ission of c	community
24.	In the past 12 months did yo action for social or political a SAY: "WHATEVER YOU	reform? [IF RESPONDE	NT AS	KS WH	AT IS ME		
	J 163	3 110	o D 0.			0	
25.	In the past 12 months, have yorganization? [CAN INCLU ☐ Yes			served o			local club or
	Recreation and Commu	•	1.1				
26.	In the past year, have you or community centers in the Di	strict?			•		ers or
		○ No [SKIP TO Q27] ne of the services or progr					o REF

Now, I am going to read some questions about things that <u>people in your neighborhood</u> may or may not do.

27. For each of these statements, please tell me whether or not you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree. [INTERVIEWER, HAND RESPONDENT <u>PINK</u> RESPONSE CARD #1]

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	REF
a.	This is a close-knit neighborhood. (Would you say you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)	1	2	3	4	8	9
b.	People around here are willing to help their neighbors	1	2	3	4	8	9
c.	People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other	1	2	3	4	8	9
d.	People in this neighborhood do not share the same values	1	2	3	4	8	9
e.	People in this neighborhood can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	8	9
f.	Children around here have no place to play but the street	1	2	3	4	8	9
g.	The equipment and buildings in the park or playground that is closest to where I live are well kept	1	2	3	4	8	9
h.	The park or playground closest to where I live is safe during the day	1	2	3	4	8	9
i.	The park or playground closest to where I live is safe at night	1	2	3	4	8	9
j.	Churches/houses of worship in this neighborhood provide a place after school for children to stay out of trouble	1	2	3	4	8	9
k.	Churchgoing people in this neighborhood attend churches located in this neighborhood	1	2	3	4	8	9
1.	Churches located in this neighborhood are used mostly by people who live outside of this neighborhood	1	2	3	4	8	9

28. For each of the following, please tell me if it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely that people in your neighborhood would act in the following manner.

[INTERVIEWER, HAND RESPONDENT YELLOW RESPONSE CARD #2]

		Very Likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very Unlikely	Don't Know	REF
a.	If a group of neighborhood children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it? [Would you say it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely?]	1	2	3	4	8	9
b.	If some children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?	1	2	3	4	8	9
c.	If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely is it that people in your neighborhood would scold that child?	1	2	3	4	8	9
d.	If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was beaten or threatened, how likely is it that your neighbors would break it up?	1	2	3	4	8	9
e.	Suppose that because of budget cuts the fire station closest to your home was going to be closed down by the city. How likely is it that neighborhood residents would organize to try to do something to keep the fire station open?	1	2	3	4	8	9

We are more than half way through. Now I am going to ask about some things you might do with people in your neighborhood. [INTERVIEWER, SHOW <u>ORANGE</u> RESPONSE CARD #3]

29.	such things as watching	each other's children,	C	or each other? By favors we mea lending garden or house tools, as or never?	
	 Often 	 Sometimes 	□ Rarely	□ Never	
	o DON'	T KNOW	□ REFUSED		
30.	How often do you and of as child rearing or job of	1 1		r advice about personal things su ely or never?	ıch
	Often	 Sometimes 	□ Rarely	○ Never	
	o DON'	T KNOW	○ REFUSED		

31.	_		hood have parties or other g ay often, sometimes, rarely	et togethers where other people or never?
	Often	 Sometimes 	□ Rarely	□ Never
		I'T KNOW	□ REFUSED	
32.		other people in this neig sometimes, rarely or nev	ghborhood visit in each other?	er's homes or on the street?
	Often	Sometimes	 Rarely 	○ Never
		I'T KNOW	○ REFUSED	
33.	How often does worry you say often, sometin	ž -	u from walking someplace i	n your neighborhood? Would
	□ Often	□ Sometimes	□ Rarely	□ Never
	o DON	I'T KNOW	□ REFUSED	
34.	Do you or anyone else	in your household own	a car, van or other motor ve	chicle in working condition?
	□ Yes	□ No	□ DON'T KNOW	□ REF

The next six questions ask about the general location of the services you use. The response categories are [INTERVIEWER, HAND RESPONDENT GREEN RESPONSE

CARD #4]: Nearly always in my neighborhood; Usually in my neighborhood; About half and half; Usually outside the neighborhood; Almost always outside the neighborhood; Never do the activity:

·	Nearly			Usually	Almost	Never do	
	always in	Usually in	About	outside	always	the activity	
	my	my	half and	the	outside the	(or not	DON'T
	neighbor-	neighbor-	half	neighbor	neighborhood	applicable)	KNOW/
	hood	hood		-hood		of Parametry	REF
35. Where do you do your							DK
		_	4	2		1	211
grocery shopping?	6	5	4	3	2	1	REF
26 When you as sut to set at							KLI
36. When you go out to eat at							DK
a restaurant (not counting							DK
fast food), where is the	6	5	4	3	2	1	DEE
restaurant located?							REF
27 Whom do do							DK
37. Where do you do your				_	_		DK
banking?	6	5	4	3	2	1	DEE
20 117							REF
38. When you receive help							DK
with a medical problem,							
where is the office	6	5	4	3	2	1	REF
located?			'		_	1	
39. Where do you buy clothing							DK
							211
for yourself and other							REF
family members?	6	5	4	3	2	1	KLI
40. Where do you take your	6	5	4	3	2	1	DK
car for repair?		3	 '1)		NO CAR	
car for repair :						NO CAR	REF
	l	l	l	L	l	l	

Now I'd like to ask you specifically about a few services that may be available in your neighborhood. For each of the services I read, please tell me if it is nearby. Then I will ask you to rate the service on a scale of 1 to 10. 1 means very poor and 10 means excellent.

41. Is t	here S	SUBSTA	NCE AB	USE C	UUN	SELI	NG n	earb	y?							
	<u> </u>	Yes [CO	NTINUE \	NITH P	ART	B]										
	0	No [SKIF	TO NEX	T SERV	ICE,	Q42]										
	0	Don't Kn	ow [SKII	P TO N	EXT S	SERVI	CE, C	(42]								
41b.]		•	u rate its o	•	on a s	scale	of 1 to	o 10 ((1 me	eans v	ery p	oor a	nd 10	means	sexce	llent)?
	ĮC.	1 1	2	3	4		5		6	7		8	9	1	0	DK
42. Is t	here A	ASSISTA	NCE FO	R WE	LFAI	RE O	R EN	1PL(OYM	IENT	r PRG	OBLE	MS 1	nearby	?	
			NTINUE \											·		
		_	TO NEX			_										
		_	ow [SKII		-	-		(43]								
42b. l			u rate its o		on a s	scale	of 1 to	o 10 ((1 me	eans v	ery p	oor a	nd 10	means	exce	llent)?
		1	2	3	4		5		6	7		8	9	1	0	DK
43. Is t	here A	ASSISTA	NCE FO	R HO	USIN	G PR	ROBL	EMS	S nea	ırby?						
_	<u> </u>	Yes [CO	NTINUE \	NITH P	ART	B]										
	0	No [SKIF	TO NEX	T QUES	OIT	N, Q4	4]									
			ow [SKII					, Q4	4]							
43b. l		•	u rate its o	•	on a s	scale	of 1 to	o 10 ((1 me	eans v	ery p	oor ai	nd 10	means	s exce	llent)?
	Į O	1	2	3	4		5		6	7		8	9	1	0	DK
44 0	,		10 (1	11		1 1	0	1	. 1		1) 1		.· c•			e.a
44. On			10 (1=not QUARE]		satisti	ea, 10	J= co	mpie	tery s	satisti	iea) n	ow sa	tistie	a are y	ou wi	tn
	[II.)	ILL II ()	QUARE	J	1_	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Ι	ΟK
	a.	your ne	ighborho	od?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		ΟK
	b.	your blo			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		ΟK

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	DK
a.	police protection	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
b.	availability of child care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
c.	nearby parks & playgrounds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
d.	housing quality		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
e.	affordable housing		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
f.	friendly neighbors		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
g.	local schools		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
h.	public transit (bus, metro)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DK
i.	availability of needed stores			0			0			0		DK

			- 0.11-1110111	
46.	Would you recommend	l your neighborhood	as a good place for young families to mo	ve to now?

○ Yes ○ No ○ DON'T KNOW ○

WE ARE ALMOST DONE

47. I'm going to read you a list of things that are problems in some neighborhoods. For each, please tell me how much of a problem it is in your neighborhood.

	A big problem	Somewhat of a problem	Not a problem	DON'T KNOW	REF
a. How much of a problem is litter, broken glass trash on the sidewalks and streets? Would you	3	2	1	DK	R
say it is a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem in your neighborhood?					
b. How much of a problem is graffiti on buildings and walls? Would you say	3	2	1	DK	R
c. How much of a problem are vacant houses?	3	2	1	DK	R
d. How much of a problem are vacant storefronts?e. How much of a problem is drinking in	3	2	1	DK	R
public?	3	2	1	DK	R
f. How much of a problem is people selling drugs?	3	2	1	DK	R
g. How much of a problem is groups of rowdy teenagers hanging out in the neighborhood?	3	2	1	DK	R
h. How much of a problem is different social groups who do not get along with each other?	3	2	1	DK	R
i. How much of a problem is police not patrolling the area?	3	2	1	DK	R
j. How much of a problem is police not responding to calls from the area?	3	2	1	DK	R
k. How much of a problem is excessive use of force by police?	3	2	1	DK	R
1. How much of a problem is lack of trust between local businesses and residents?	3	2	1	DK	R

Finally, we just have a few more questions:

48. Did you vote in the November 2004	53. Which of the following group or groups represents								
presidential election when John Kerry and Ralph Nader ran against George W. Bush?	your race? Black or African American, White, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or some other race? [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]								
No Yes									
	 Black or African American 								
	○ White								
49. In what year were you born?	 Asian or Pacific Islander 								
45. III what year were you born:	○ Native American								
	○ Some other race → Which race is that?:								
	o REFUSED								
50. What is the highest grade of regular school									
you have completed?	53a. Do you consider yourself to be Hispanic?								
 Less than high school 	□ Yes □ No □ DON'T KNOW □ REF								
☐ High school/GED	54 DI 41:11 4 4 4 1 1: 10 11:								
○ Some college	54. Please think about your total combined family income during the past 12 months for all members of the family in								
☐ 2-year college degree	this household. Include money from jobs, social security,								
☐ 4-year college degree	retirement income, unemployment payments and so forth.								
☐ Graduate school	Which of these income brackets is closest to the total								
 REFUSED TO ANSWER 	household income in your family?								
51. Do you own or rent the place where you are	□ Less than \$10,000								
living?	□ 10,000 to 19,999								
\bigcirc own \bigcirc rent \bigcirc rent-to-own	□ 20,000 to 29,999								
\bigcirc DON'T KNOW \bigcirc REF	□ 30,000 to 39,999								
	□ 40,000 to 49,999								
	□ 50,000 to 59,999								
	□ 60,000 or over								
	 REFUSED TO ANSWER 								
52. Which of these categories best describes									
your marital status?	That is the end of the survey, thank you for participating. It will just take me one minute to give you the 5 dollars								
	and fill out the receipt.								
○ Separated									
DivorcedMarried	End time:								
Domestic PartnershipREF									
U NEF	INTERVIEWER: WAS REPONDENT								
GO TO NEXT COLUMN, Q53	MALE O FEMALE O								

Phone # obtained on receipt: \Box

APPENDIX D

Correlation Matrix

						Append	lix D: Cor	relation	Matrix								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Presence	1.000	0.876	0.974	-0.536	0.245	0.315	0.173	-0.485	-0.073	0.567	0.513	-0.114	-0.429	-0.010	-0.209	-0.167	-0.419
<i>Prob.</i> > <i>r</i>		<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.080	0.023	0.220	0.000	0.609	<.0001	0.000	0.423	0.002	0.944	0.138	0.238	0.002
2. Cap score w/miss	0.876	1.000	0.945	-0.318	0.256	0.316	0.189	-0.417	-0.228	0.354	0.503	-0.231	-0.290	0.038	-0.117	-0.121	-0.265
	<.0001		<.0001	0.018	0.060	0.019	0.166	0.002	0.094	0.008	<.0001	0.090	0.032	0.783	0.397	0.377	0.051
3. Cap score est.	0.974	0.945	1.000	-0.463	0.261	0.345	0.174	-0.481	-0.155	0.530	0.506	-0.207	-0.412	0.043	-0.176	-0.165	-0.382
	<.0001	<.0001		0.000	0.054	0.010	0.204	0.000	0.259	<.0001	<.0001	0.130	0.002	0.756	0.197	0.228	0.004
	-0.536	-0.318	-0.463	1.000	-0.580	-0.624	-0.493	0.672	-0.170	-0.591	-0.242	-0.295	0.808	0.296	0.576	0.382	0.770
4. Accessibility	<.0001	0.018	0.000		<.0001	<.0001	0.000	<.0001	0.213	<.0001	0.075	0.029	<.0001	0.028	<.0001	0.004	<.0001
	0.245	0.256	0.261	-0.580	1.000	0.947	0.964	-0.770	0.106	0.331	0.092	0.097	-0.619	-0.251	-0.424	-0.289	-0.662
Collective efficacy	0.08	0.06	0.054	<.0001		<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.440	0.014	0.503	0.481	<.0001	0.065	0.001	0.032	<.0001
	0.315	0.316	0.345	-0.624	0.947	1.000	0.828	-0.767	0.040	0.398	0.143	0.084	-0.646	-0.230	-0.428	-0.346	-0.671
6. Cohesion	0.023	0.017	0.010	<.0001	<.0001		<.0001	<.0001	0.771	0.003	0.297	0.543	<.0001	0.091	0.001	0.010	<.0001
	0.173	0.189	0.174	-0.493	0.964	0.828	1.000	-0.711	0.152	0.247	0.044	0.098	-0.546	-0.254	-0.387	-0.219	-0.600
7. Control	0.22	0.166	0.204	0.000	<.0001	<.0001		<.0001	0.267	0.069	0.749	0.479	<.0001	0.062	0.004	0.108	<.0001
	-0.485	-0.417	-0.481	0.672	-0.770	-0.767	-0.711	1.000	0.037	-0.619	-0.357	0.003	0.725	0.137	0.495	0.379	0.758
8. Concentrated dis	0	0.002	0.000	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001		0.786	<.0001	0.008	0.985	<.0001	0.319	0.000	0.004	<.0001
	-0.073	-0.228	-0.155	-0.170	0.106	0.040	0.152	0.037	1.000	-0.100	-0.295	0.266	-0.303	-0.293	-0.202	0.313	-0.106
9. Res. stability	0.609	0.094	0.259	0.213	0.440	0.771	0.267	0.786		0.468	0.029	0.050	0.025	0.030	0.139	0.020	0.439
	0.567	0.354	0.530	-0.591	0.331	0.398	0.247	-0.619	-0.100	1.000	0.406	-0.203	-0.536	0.118	-0.322	-0.322	-0.563
10.Racial heterogen.	<.0001	0.008	<.0001	<.0001	0.014	0.003	0.069	<.0001	0.468		0.002	0.138	<.0001	0.392	0.017	0.017	<.0001
	0.5126	0.503	0.506	-0.242	0.092	0.143	0.044	-0.357	-0.295	0.406	1.000	-0.277	-0.279	0.039	-0.172	-0.198	-0.281
11.Per. commercial	0.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.075	0.503	0.297	0.749	0.008	0.029	0.002		0.041	0.039	0.776	0.210	0.148	0.038
	-0.114	-0.231	-0.207	-0.295	0.097	0.084	0.098	0.003	0.266	-0.203	-0.277	1.000	-0.321	-0.550	-0.385	-0.312	-0.325
12. Population density	0.423	0.09	0.130	0.029	0.481	0.543	0.479	0.985	0.050	0.138	0.041		0.017	<.0001	0.004	0.020	0.015
	-0.429	-0.29	-0.412	0.808	-0.619	-0.646	-0.546	0.725	-0.303	-0.536	-0.279	-0.321	1.000	0.588	0.818	0.514	0.906
13.Agg assault rate	0.002	0.032	0.002	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.025	<.0001	0.039	0.017		<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001
	-0.01	0.038	0.043	0.296	-0.251	-0.230	-0.254	0.137	-0.293	0.118	0.039	-0.550	0.588	1.000	0.724	0.563	0.521
14. Prop crime rate	0.944	0.783	0.756	0.028	0.065	0.091	0.062	0.319	0.030	0.392	0.776	<.0001	<.0001		<.0001	<.0001	<.0001
15. Soc. disorder call	-0.209	-0.117	-0.176	0.576	-0.424	-0.428	-0.387	0.495	-0.202	-0.322	-0.172	-0.385	0.818	0.724	1.000	0.621	0.810
rate	0.138	0.397	0.197	<.0001	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.000		0.017	0.210	0.004	<.0001	<.0001		<.0001	<.0001
1.0 51	-0.167	-0.121	-0.165	0.382	-0.289	-0.346	-0.219	0.379		-0.322	-0.198	-0.312	0.514	0.563	0.621	1.000	0.651
16. Phys. dis. rate	0.238	0.377	0.228	0.004	0.032	0.010	0.108	0.004		0.017	0.148	0.020	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001		<.0001
17. Agg asslt (control)	-0.419	-0.265	-0.382	0.770	-0.662	-0.671	-0.600	0.758	-0.106	-0.563	-0.281	-0.325	0.906	0.521	0.810	0.651	
(2000-2001)	0.002	0.051	0.004	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.439	<.0001	0.038	0.015	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	1.000