PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE AND FEAR OF CRIME: THE ROLE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL CAPITAL

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ABSTRACT

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The goal of this study is to examine the association between collective perceptions of the police, social capital, and fear of crime in the neighborhood context. Extending Bahn's (1974) reassurance model, I argue that communities which perceive the police to be biased or ineffective at addressing neighborhood problems will have higher levels of fear. Few studies have examined how neighborhood social capital figures into this relationship, and the extant literature suffers from a lack of specificity and consistency in how social capital is conceptualized and measured. Drawing on the original formulation proposed by Bourdieu (1986), this study examines how four distinct dimensions of neighborhood social capital – social ties, attachment, neighboring, and collective efficacy – interact with perceptions of the police in their association with fear. Using the Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (2002-2003), I provide a between-neighborhood analysis which tests hypotheses of mediation and moderation specific to each dimension of social capital as they relate to perceptions of the police and fear of crime. I argue that the hypothesized negative association between social capital and fear will be amplified in neighborhoods where residents feel the police are ineffective at controlling crime or are biased in their policing. Thus, the stock of social capital in neighborhoods may compensate for the real or perceived lack of reassurance from sources of formal control. This study finds support for hypotheses overall, and indicates the importance of measuring dimensions of social capital separately, as different dimensions are found to operate independently and with varying associations with neighborhood fear.

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INTRODUCTION

The fear of crime has received considerable attention among criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, public health scholars and policy makers over the past several decades. Ferraro & LaGrange (1987) define fear of crime as an "emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime." Though studies have varied considerably in their approach to conceptualizing and operationally defining fear of crime and victimization (see Ferraro 1995), a great deal of evidence has surfaced which speaks to the deleterious effects of fear on both communities and individuals. At the individual level, fear of crime has been linked to poorer physical and mental health (Beatty et al. 2005; Chandola 2001; Green et al. 2002; Roberts et al. 2010; Ross 1993; Ross and Mirowsky 2001; Stafford et al. 2007), physical and psychological withdrawal from one's community (Skogan 1986), and lower perceived quality of life and personal well-being (Xu et al 2005; Moore & Trojanowicz 1988).

These individual-level consequences may feed back into community-level processes with negative effects. Researchers have argued that fear of crime may compromise citizens' ability to exert informal social control, often resulting in both increases in fear and increases in actual crime (Markowitz, et al, 2001; Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Skogan 1986). Skogan (1986) argues that fear may result in "a decline in the organizational life and mobilization capacity of the neighborhood; deteriorating business conditions; the importation and domestic production of delinquency and deviance; and further dramatic changes in the composition of the population. At the end lies a stage characterized by demographic collapse." Other research finds that fear of crime affects the viability of neighborhoods (Hale 1996; Meithe 1995). Though actual victimization carries with it a host of negative outcomes, this evidence suggests the fear of crime

itself contributes to a significant decline in individual and community well-being and functioning.

This study builds on extant research on the fear of crime by examining how perceptions of police are associated with the fear of crime, and how neighborhood social capital might figure into this relationship. Using data from the Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (2002-2003), and drawing on social capital theory through work by Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1998), I offer a theoretically-grounded conceptualization of neighborhood social capital, with measures that tap its various dimensions. I also draw upon literature from ethnographic, qualitative and survey-based studies examining individual and community perceptions of police, with a focus on the role of neighborhood context. As many authors have noted a deficiency in researchers' measures of the fear of crime (for a review, see Ferraro 1995), I offer what I consider a more robust measure of fear, and ground my analyses in reassurance and community concern models.

Though there has been a paucity of research examining the effect of multiple dimensions of neighborhood social capital on fear of crime, many studies have analyzed how single aspects of social capital affect various community outcomes in a piecemeal fashion. While many of these view social capital as a source of social control, they fail to situate their analyses within a broader context of social control, often testing how social capital mediates or moderates the effect of neighborhood disadvantage on fear. By focusing on the relationship between perceptions of the police, social capital, and fear of crime, the present study examines the compensatory role of neighborhood social capital – though social capital should operate to reduce fear across neighborhood contexts, those contexts where residents perceive the police to be biased or inefficacious will show a greater effect of social capital on fear, in the absence of reassurance from forms of formal control.

As others have argued (e.g. Portes 1998), social capital is often construed as a panacea for social problems, as researchers tend to highlight the positive consequences of sociability while ignoring potential negative consequences. Portes (1998) also demonstrates that the wide application of the concept has obscured its meaning. This is reflected in the neighborhoods and criminological research reviewed here, where dimensions of social capital distinct in the original conceptualization by Bourdieu (1985) are collapsed into various constructs without sound theoretical legitimization. Our collective knowledge of how social capital influences outcomes, and serves as an outcome in its own right, is further underdeveloped by the wide range of titles given each dimension, both within and across disciplines with a social ecological focus. Furthermore, operationalizations of each dimension vary significantly, as this paper will endeavor to show.

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1985) conceptualization, I focus on four dimensions of social capital: social ties, instrumental exchange, investment, and enforceable trust. Applied to the relationship between formal control and fear in neighborhoods, I argue that these dimensions are best captured with measures of social ties, neighboring behaviors, attachment, and collective efficacy. Though other researchers have argued for additional dimensions of social capital, including institutional-based social capital (Sampson & Graif 2009) and psychological sense of community (Perkins, Hughey & Speer 2002), these dimensions are outside the scope of the present study and not directly relevant to fear. Bourdieu's (1985) perspective stresses the affective element of social capital, particularly salient to the outcome of fear, which is itself an affective response to the threat of victimization (Ferraro 1995). Additionally, neighboring (and in some ways, collective efficacy) represents instrumental exchanges, which not only reinforce

membership in the group, but should serve to reduce fear when instrumental support from local police is not readily available.

The present study is concerned with two principle tasks: First, I will assess the direct effects of perceptions of the police on fear of crime, with the expectation that negative perceptions of the police will increase neighborhood fear of crime, net of community characteristics. Second, I will assess the role of neighborhood social capital in the relationship between perceptions of the police and fear of crime. Drawing on theory and previous empirical findings, I offer and test distinct hypotheses for each dimension of social capital.

First, I propose a mediation model whereby the effect of negative perceptions of the police on fear of crime is explained by a neighborhood's capacity for collective efficacy. From this perspective, negative perceptions of the police discourage resident intervention into local crime problems and thus undermine the emergence of collective efficacy, resulting in greater fear. Second, I propose that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the effect of dimensions of social capital (taken here as social ties, neighboring, attachment, and collective efficacy) on fear of crime, magnifying their negative association with fear. As the reassurance model (Bahn 1974) would suggest, a community where residents feel they can trust and depend upon the police will have low levels of fear. In contexts where residents feel the police are ineffective at controlling crime or are biased in their policing, communities will draw upon their stock of social capital to reduce collective levels of fear, compensating for the real or perceived lack of reassurance from sources of formal control.

Another unique contribution of the present study is the conceptualization of perceptions of the police and fear of crime as emergent properties of neighborhood communities. As extant

scholarship indicates, negative perceptions of, or relationships with, the police are not merely individual-level qualities, but are features of neighborhoods. That is, neighborhoods vary in their relationships with local police such that entire communities may perceive the police to be biased against them or ineffective at controlling local crime. This notion is reflected in a wealth of ethnographic research which finds that residents may resort to solving disputes or problems themselves in the absence of reliable police services, or may exaggerate situations in order to elicit the assistance of otherwise unresponsive police forces (e.g. Klinger 1997; Brunson and Miller 2006). Likewise, though most studies of neighborhoods and fear define fear as an individual-level phenomenon in multilevel analyses, researchers have conceptualized fear as a feature of neighborhoods, pointing out consequences of the fearfulness of neighborhoods, such as disinvestment and community withdrawal (e.g. Hale 1996; Meithe 1995; Skogan 1986). The present study seeks to explore the relationships between negative perceptions of the police, social capital, and fear of crime, as neighborhood-level phenomena.

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND: FEAR AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

Fear: Neighborhood-Level Predictors

A sizeable body of research has drawn links between physical and social disorder at the neighborhood level and fear (Covington & Taylor 1991; Markowitz, et al, 2001; Skogan 1990; Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008; Perkins and Taylor 1996; Stein 2014; Scarborough et al 2010). Such research draws upon broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982), which posits that visible incivilities and signs of disorder serve as a signal to offenders that residents are indifferent to what goes on in their neighborhood. Similarly, residents may perceive such disorder as an indication of the threat of crime. In fact, some empirical evidence indicates that disorder may have a stronger association with fear than the prevalence of serious crime (Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Brunton-Smith & Sturgis 2011; Perkins & Taylor 1996).

Perkins and Taylor's (1996) study utilizes three measures of disorder: survey reports of resident perceptions, systematic observation data, and content analysis of local newspapers. The authors find that resident perceptions and objective measures of physical and social disorder behave roughly the same way in their effect on fear. They find that the effect of individual perceptions of disorder contributes to fear at both the individual and aggregate levels. Additionally, the authors find that the effect of physical disorder is greater in magnitude compared to that of social disorder at the individual and block level (Perkins and Taylor 1996).

Other research finds that indicators of neighborhood disadvantage, such as poverty, unemployment, racial isolation, and the concentration of female-headed households are predictive of fear of crime (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Skogan 1990; Scarborough et al). Some studies indicate that positive indicators regarding the social

context of a neighborhood, such as social cohesion, shared expectations, and collective efficacy, may moderate the effect of disadvantage or disorder, lowering neighborhood-level fear of crime (e.g. Scarborough 2010; Swatt et al 2013; Stein 2014). The following review provides separate consideration of the literatures on the relationship between perceptions of the police and fear of crime, and neighborhood social capital and fear of crime.

Perceptions of the Police

Previous research has established a multitude of factors which shape individual and community perceptions of the police. Demographic characteristics such as gender, age, race, educational attainment and socioeconomic status are found to be fairly stable predictors of attitudes toward the police (Vogel et al 2011; Cao et al., 1996; Frank et al., 2005; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Worrall, 1999; Brunson & Miller 2006). Additionally, several studies have noted that non-English speaking Americans tend to hold lower opinions of the police, with Skogan (2005) finding this effect among Hispanics and Ferrer (2005) finding lower opinions among Cambodian immigrants.

The following section provides a review of the primary contextual factors which contribute to individual and community assessments of, and attitudes toward, the police. Aside from the demographic characteristics noted above, neighborhood characteristics such as economic disadvantage, social and physical disorder, and racial composition predict both individual and community perceptions of the police. Stressing the role of ecological context, the literature reviewed provides evidence that negative citizen-police interaction, engendered by the utilization of "hot-spot" policing, and police misconduct, sets the stage for negative views of local police.

The neighborhood context.

Much research has examined the relationship between residents and the police in disadvantaged, inner-city neighborhoods marked by high poverty and crime. Findings from ethnographic, qualitative, and survey research indicate low satisfaction with police in these neighborhoods, a sense that the police cannot be trusted or relied upon, and beliefs that local police actually constitute a source of perceived risk or danger among certain subgroups (Anderson 1999; Zatz & Portillos 2000; Cobbina et al 2008; Kubrin & Weitzer 2003; Wilson 1987). Wilson (1987) argues that a lack of contact with mainstream individuals and institutions, as well as chronic joblessness and concentrated disadvantage, contribute to the social isolation of inner city communities. Such isolation includes alienation from sources of formal control – namely police and justice systems – which lead residents to rely on themselves for protection, settling disputes between each other without the involvement of police (Anderson 1999).

Researchers find that both personal and vicarious contact with the police consistently predict individual and community perceptions (Weitzer and Tuch 2005; Brown and Benedict 2002; Schuck et al. 2008; Wentz and Schlimgen 2012; Skogan 2009). When considering how neighborhood contexts serve to shape residents' perceptions, it is important to note that the frequency and content of resident-police contact vary according to neighborhood advantage/disadvantage, levels of physical and social disorder, and racial composition. Police presence tends to be higher in disadvantaged neighborhoods marked by high crime (Klinger 1997, Kane 2002, Terrill and Reisig 2003; Rosenbaum 2006), and targeted patrolling in these areas allows for a greater prevalence of negative resident-police interactions (Engel et al. 2012; Brunson and Miller 2006; Kane 2005). Furthermore, researchers have documented a concentration of aggressive policing behaviors in these neighborhoods (Fagan and Davies 2002;

Terrill and Reisig 2003; Kane 2002; Reisig and Parks 2000; Brunson and Miller 2006), as well as heightened levels of police misconduct (Kubrin and Weitzer 2003; Fagan and Davies 2002; Smith 1986).

Other research finds that residents in disorderly neighborhoods are more likely to hold negative attitudes of the police compared to those in more orderly contexts (Vogel 2011; Sprott and Doob 2009). Thus, as disorder and perceptions of crime increase, confidence in the police decreases (see Sampson and Bartusch 1998; Reisig and Parks 2000). Interestingly, Skogan (2009) finds that contact with the police, regardless of whether it was viewed as positive or negative, resulted in reduced confidence in the police.

Klinger (1997) notes that police may respond to issues differently (ie. with less aggression) in low-crime areas as they view the residents as less cynical and more deserving of their assistance compared to residents in poor, high-crime areas. Accordingly, many residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods report that local police do not respond to calls quickly enough, and care little about victims in these contexts, viewing them as deserving of their situation (Cobbina et al 2008; Brunson & Miller 2006; Zatz & Portillos 2000).

Race in context.

The research to date indicates a strong link between disadvantage, race, and negative police encounters. A great deal of qualitative work highlights the problematic relationships between minority communities and the police, noting that residents often complain of police harassment. Such harassment takes the form of the use of racial slurs, verbal abuse and derogatory language, which other researchers have found to be common within the everyday behavior of police officers (Brunson and Miller 2006; Brunson and Weitzer 2009, White et al

1991). These forms of interaction lead many inner-city minority residents to regard police violence as a normative aspect of everyday life and interpret police presence as a source of danger, believing that the police cannot be held accountable for their actions (Brunson and Weitzer 2009; Cobbina et al 2008; Weitzer and Tuch 2006).

As these studies indicate, part of the consistent effect of race on perceptions of the police is due to the simple fact that minority individuals have more negative interactions with the police and live in high-crime neighborhoods where problematic policing is more likely to occur (Weitzer and Tuch 2004). Other studies find an independent effect of minority status after controlling for contextual characteristics, though they are unable to measure actual police practices in these contexts (Triplett, Sun & Gainey 2005; Vogel 2011).

There is less research concerning the views of non-black minorities. Though Drakulich and Crutchfield (2013) find that Asians do not differ significantly from whites in their views of police, they do find that neighborhoods characterized by larger Asian and foreign born populations perceive greater police injustice and in a related study find that the proportion Asian at the tract level predicts police mistrust (Drakulich 2013). Nationally, about one-third of Hispanics consider corruption to be common in their local police department, compared to almost half of African-Americans and one-sixth of whites (Weitzer and Tuch 2006). Others find that Hispanics' hold lower opinions than blacks (Garcia and Cao 2005) and Asian immigrants (Vogel 2001). Focusing on both race and class in the neighborhood context, Schuck (2008) finds that middle-class Hispanics in disadvantaged neighborhoods report more negative perceptions of the police.

This literature brings to light the multitude of factors which serve to shape perceptions of the police. It further highlights the contentious state of resident-police relationships in neighborhoods characterized by structural disadvantage, crime, disorder, and racial isolation (or simply the concentration of racial-ethnic minorities). With this understanding of the factors bearing on these perceptions, the following sections elucidate the connections between perceptions of the police, neighborhood social capital, and fear of crime.

Perceptions of the police and fear of crime.

Though there is a relative paucity of research on the relationship between perceptions of the police and fear of crime, particularly at the neighborhood level, there are theoretical reasons to expect that negative perceptions of the police would increase the level of fear in a community. The social control perspective, also known as the "community concern model," posits that fear of crime is not merely the result of individual characteristics (ie. vulnerability and past victimization) but rather that fear is higher when neighborhood residents believe that forms of social control are no longer effective (Lewis and Salem 1986). Though most researchers have applied this insight to the study of neighborhoods' capacity for informal social control, some research has applied this line of reasoning to neighborhood relationships with public social control (ie. local police and governmental institutions) (Hunter 1985; Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Lewis and Salem 1986; Taylor 1997).

Therefore, according to the community concern model, if a neighborhood exhibits a collective distrust of the police it is reasonable to expect that these perceptions would allow for an increased fear of crime, as their faith in the ability of the police to exert social control is weakened. The other side of this argument is also proposed by Bahn (1974) in what has come to

be called the "reassurance model," which posits that when residents believe the police force is strong and in control, they can be confident that they will be protected as they go about their business in their neighborhood and throughout the city. The studies reviewed here offer somewhat mixed support for this perspective.

Using a random sample of 10 neighborhoods in Portland, Oregon, Renauer (2007) tests the social control perspective in regard to fear of crime at the individual level. Overall, he finds that the fear of police encounters increases fear of crime, and favorable perceptions of police effectiveness significantly inhibit fear of crime, though only among respondents in low and medium disadvantaged neighborhoods (Renauer 2007). Likewise, McGarrell et al (1997) find that a measure of government responsiveness (the adequacy of police services and whether police-community relations are seen as problematic) predicts lower fear of crime among individuals, controlling for demographic characteristics, perceptions of informal social control, social integration, and perceptions of disorder.

Utilizing two waves of longitudinal data designed to measure perceptions of police and fear of crime after community policing initiatives in Houston, Skogan (2009) finds that confidence in the police is associated with a decrease in fear of crime a year later. Interestingly, the effect of confidence in the police on fear was of the same magnitude as the effect of prior victimization on fear (though clearly in opposite directions) (Skogan 2009). Likewise, Ho and McKean (2004) find that confidence in the police significantly reduces residents' perceptions of risk, net of demographic characteristics and past victimization. In contrast to these findings, Bennett (2001) finds no relationship between confidence in the police and fear. Likewise, Scarborough et al (2010) find that after controlling for demographic characteristics,

disadvantage, perceptions of disorder and the crime rate, satisfaction with police is not related to fear of crime, though the association is in the expected negative direction.

The limited research on the relationship between perceptions of the police and fear of crime provides somewhat mixed support. However, the general pattern is as suggested by the reassurance model (Bahn 1974) – individuals and communities who feel they can trust the police and believe the police are responsive to their needs exhibit lower levels of fear of crime. In contrast, those who express a fear of the police, or a marked lack of confidence in the efficacy of police action, report greater fear of crime, as we might expect given the community concern model (Lewis and Salem 1986). It is the task of this study to make clearer the relationship between perceptions of police effectiveness, perceptions of police bias, and neighborhood level fear of crime.

CHAPTER II: SOCIAL CAPITAL: THEORY AND BACKGROUND

The limited literature investigating the effect of neighborhood social capital on fear of crime reports mixed findings. Though ethnographic studies report that various forms of social capital serve to reduce residents' fear of crime (Clampet-Lundquist 2010; Merry 1981), findings from quantitative studies are less conclusive, partially reflecting the myriad ways researchers conceptualize and operationalize social capital. Some studies find that social bonds reduce fear (Riger et al 1981; Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Baumer 1985; Rountree & Land 1996; Taub, Taylor, & Dunham 1984; Kruger et al 2007), others find no effect (Maxfield 1984; Thompson & Krause 1998) and still others find that some dimensions of social capital increase fear (Skogan & Maxfield 1981).

Considering the wide range of conceptualizations and operationalizations of neighborhood social capital present in the extant research on fear of crime, the following review includes a discussion of the key theoretical components of the larger construct of social capital and how it is manifest in the neighborhood context. Additionally, I address issues surrounding the measurement of the different definitions of social capital, and how that might affect the interpretation of results.

Social Ties

It is widely noted in the literature that social capital necessitates social relationships (see Portes 1998). Bourdieu (1986) argues that social capital is linked to membership in a group, which entails ties ranging from "mutual acquaintance and recognition," to kinship ties, to institutionalized relationships. Though Coleman (1988) conceives of dense networks as a necessity for the development of social capital, collective efficacy theory (Sampson,

Raudenbush, Earls 1999) emphasizes the importance of acquaintanceship ties. That is, emergent forms of social capital in the neighborhood context are not contingent upon strong bond between neighbors, but rather the extent to which neighbors know who lives on their block, and can recognize a stranger from a neighbor.

Neighboring as Instrumental Exchange

Bourdieu sees material and symbolic exchange as necessary for the maintenance of network relationships and for securing material or symbolic profits associated with those relationships (Bourdieu 1986). He notes, "Exchange transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition and, through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, reproduces the group" (Bourdieu, 1986). In this sense, the group exists through exchanges made between members, and these exchanges are possible through the solidarity of the group. Portes (1998) frames these exchanges as the instrumental source of social capital, enacted under a norm of reciprocity.

These instrumental exchanges differ from mere economic exchange. From the perspective of the donor, the timing or form of repayment is not made clear or explicit (Portes 1998; Unger & Wandersman 1987). However, this source of social capital can be understood as an accumulation of informal obligations (Portes 1998). Bourdieu (1986) posits that these acts of exchange are unconsciously aimed at "transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, workplace, or even kinships, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc)…" I build on the work of Unger & Wandersman (1985) who define neighboring as, "informal mutual assistance and information sharing among neighbors which may consist of

instrumental or non-instrumental social support or contact." I propose that at the neighborhood level, the instrumental exchange dimension of social capital is embodied in neighboring activities, such as borrowing and lending household items, watching a neighbor's home, and so on.

Neighborhood Attachment as Investment

As argued by Bourdieu (1986), network relationships are a result of investment strategies enacted at the individual or collective level in order to establish or reproduce relational networks, aimed (consciously or unconsciously) at "transforming contingent relations…into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt." I propose that one form of such investment at the neighborhood level is neighborhood attachment. Neighborhood attachment has been defined in numerous ways, with some researchers arguing it to be a multidimensional construct. Regardless of the breadth of the various definitions proposed by scholars, all include an emotional or affective element which is central to the concept. Shumaker and Taylor (1983) define attachment as "a positive affective bond or association between individuals [or groups] and their residential environment." From this perspective, attachment is primarily a subjective and affective phenomenon at both individual and community levels which stems from perceptions of place and characteristics of local residents (Shumaker and Taylor 1983). More specifically, residents and communities draw upon their evaluations of, and sentiments regarding, local social ties and the physical amenities (such as quality of housing stock, or upkeep of property) in their neighborhoods. The authors also argue that attachment is predicted by individual and household characteristics (pertaining to their stage in the life course), perceptions of choice of residential location, and the perceived costs versus benefits of staying in their current neighborhood compared to living somewhere else (Shumaker and Taylor 1983).

Brown and Perkins (1992) argue that place attachment "…involves dynamic but enduring positive bonds between people and prized sociophysical settings, such as homes." The authors' view of attachment echoes that of Bourdieu as they posit that the bonds of attachment "reflect and cultivate group identity" and promote a sense of familiarity and security (Brown and Perkins 2003). Others see place attachment as an emotional bond to places which grows over time as a result of repeated positive interactions in that context (Altman and Low 1992; Williams et al 1992; Giuliani 2003).

Bolan (1997) puts forth a more finely-tuned operationalization of the concept of attachment, arguing for both attitudinal and behavioral components. According to Bolan (1997), the attitudinal component of attachment is comprised of resident evaluations of (and satisfaction with) the residential environment, and their sentimental attachment to the community. The extent of social ties and formal participation in neighborhood organizations and activities related to community life constitute an individual or community's level of behavioral attachment (Bolan 1997). Though the author confounds social ties with behavioral attachment, the notion that voluntary association at the neighborhood level is a form of attachment is consistent with Bourdieu's (1986) notion of investment strategies. That is, certain conditions, which will be discussed below, allow for residents to develop an affective attachment to their neighborhood environment and community. Affective attachment can then be seen as a form of investment – emotional investment. Furthermore, the behavioral component involving voluntary association in the context of neighborhood organizations puts that sentiment to work, as residents invest their time and energy into ensuring the well-being of their local community.

Collective Efficacy as Enforceable Trust

Portes (1998) draws on Durkheim's theory of social integration as he outlines another form of instrumental social capital, enforceable trust. Here, "donors" also make instrumental contributions, but these are not dependent on a relationship or even a knowledge of a particular recipient, but rather their mutual location in a common social structure. In these instances, repayment may manifest itself in the form of community approval, honor, recognition or status (Portes 1998). Though it is not necessary for donors to be aware of particular recipients of their contributions, Coleman (1988) notes the importance of a "closed" social structure, where closure is the extent to which a collectivity forms a coherent social group rather than a mere aggregate of individuals, and has a degree of trust in that social structure which allows for mutual obligation and expectation of norms.

This notion of enforceable trust is best represented in the neighborhood context as collective efficacy, or, "…the linkage of mutual trust and the willingness to intervene for the common good" (Sampson et al 1997). Collective efficacy is then the presence of a sense of informal social control, or the willingness of residents to intervene for the common good; and social cohesion, or the extent of mutual trust and solidarity of the group (Sampson et al 1997). Thus, collective efficacy can be seen as a group's social capital put to work – that is, collective efficacy is a task-specific process (Sampson et al 1999), but depends on the latent stock of social capital available to members of a group such as the extent of social ties, mutual trust, solidarity, and shared norms.

Social Capital: Structural Antecedents and Neighborhood Context

As this study is focused on the neighborhood context of police perceptions, social capital and fear, it is important to consider the structural and contextual factors which contribute to the development of social capital at the neighborhood level. A review of the literature suggests that two principle features of the neighborhood environment – residential stability and disorder – shape the formation of social capital. Residential stability and homeownership (at both the neighborhood- and individual-level) predict neighborhood-level social ties (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson 1991; Coleman 1990), neighboring behaviors (Guest et al. 2006; Greif 2009), place attachment (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Brown and Perkins 2003; Sampson 1988; Austin and Baba 1990; Blum and Kinoston 1984; Oh 2004), and collective efficacy (Sampson et al. 1997; Wickes et al. 2013). As the development of social capital is a temporal process, it is perhaps intuitive that neighborhoods with high rates of population turnover struggle to maintain social ties, and exhibit lower levels of neighboring, attachment, and collective efficacy.

Broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982) posits that physical and social disorder may signal the breakdown of social norms and cohesion to residents. From this perspective, such perceptions may undermine the development of neighborhood social capital as residents withdraw from the community. Empirical evidence suggests that communities characterized by physical and social disorder have a reduced capacity for instrumental and social neighboring (Woldoff 2002) and collective efficacy (Gibson et al 2006), and lower levels of affective and behavioral attachment (Woldoff 2002; McGuire 1997; LaGrange, Ferraro and Supancic 1992), though in a study of Baltimore neighborhoods, Taylor (1996) finds that place attachments are higher in areas with more crime and objectively observed disorder.

These findings suggest that the same structural and social features of neighborhoods which contribute to an increased fear of crime (and actual crime) may also compromise the development of social capital. For example, a comparative study of high- and low-crime neighborhoods in Atlanta finds neighboring behaviors (taken as varying degrees of socializing with neighbors, organizational involvement, and affective attachment) to be more common in high-crime compared to low-crime neighborhoods, a finding which the authors attribute to sociodemographic differences (Greenberg et al. 1982).

Using data from a community survey, Nation et al. (2010) find patterns by race according to the type of neighboring behavior observed. For whites, neighboring mainly consists of socializing, whereas blacks tend to watch neighbors' property more frequently. Nation (2010) argues that the concentration of blacks in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods and the lack of resources and racial oppression blacks face in these contexts lead to the emphasis on more instrumental neighboring behaviors. Likewise, Schieman (2005) finds that neighborhood disadvantage is associated with less giving of support among white men and receiving of support among white women, while it is associated with more giving and receiving among black women.

As Lee and colleagues (1991) argue, differences in the frequency of instrumental neighboring across contexts may be a reflection of varying needs and differential access to resources. For example, in contexts where safety is a chief concern of residents, neighboring behaviors are more likely to be those where residents watch each other's properties and exchange information regarding neighborhood crime. In a more advantaged context where residents have access to resources to deal with neighborhood issues and where safety is not a pressing concern, neighboring may be more likely to take the form of socializing or lending and borrowing household items. This is in line with research by Nation (2010) who finds that high-income

residents report neighboring more frequently than low-income residents, whereas low-income residents report watching their neighbor's property more often.

The finding that poor residents and black residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods report watching their neighbors' property more indicates an inability to rely on formal sources of control and surveillance, normally provided by the police. In an advantaged context, residents neighbor in ways that emphasize socializing behaviors over actual exchange. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, neighbors rely on each other as sources of control and surveillance, and thus neighboring behaviors in these contexts may serve as a mechanism by which fear of crime is reduced. Thus, though structural factors may compromise a neighborhood's ability to develop social capital, the lack of access to resources through institutional means may make the limited stock of social capital in such communities that much more valuable to their functioning and well-being, while also shaping the form that it takes.

Social Capital and Fear of Crime

Social ties and fear.

Clampet-Lundquist (2010) conducted a study of social capital and perceived safety using in-depth interviews with 41 families who were relocated from one of the most dangerous public housing developments in Philadelphia as part of the HOPE IV project. Recalling their experiences with violence while at DuBois (the pseudonym for the development), some respondents noted avoidant behaviors such as restricting the areas of the development they let their children play. However, the author finds that many residents derived a sense of safety and security in their social ties and through the exchange of information (regarding potential threats to residents' safety), despite their knowledge of the great amount of violence in the development.

Findings from this study also provides evidence of the consummatory source of social capital outlined by Portes (1998), where residents derive a strong sense of community not only through shared activities but also through solidarity founded in common goals surrounding living conditions and safety, a finding which has emerged in other studies (Thompson et al 2013; Feldman & Stall 2004; Venkatesh 2000). Half of the adults and most of the teens interviewed reported that they felt safe while living at DuBois, usually noting that this was because they knew everybody. One respondent commented: "You know everybody. You felt safe. I don't care how much drugs and, um, shootings they say was around there, you felt safe 'cause I was down there all my life and I'm 46 years old" (Clampet-Lundquist 2010).

Furthermore, even though the city of Philadelphia had made attempts to improve resident safety at DuBois several years before it was shut down by placing police officers on site and hiring a lobby monitor to screen visitors, these forms of formal control did not enter a single resident's narrative of their time at DuBois (Clampet-Lundquist 2010). These findings may suggest that persons in disadvantaged residential contexts may rely more upon forms of neighborhood social capital than the reassurance of a strong police presence.

In contrast, in a study of the effects of the revitalization of the Regent Park public housing development, Canada's oldest and largest, Thompson et al (2013) also find that residents who moved from the development felt more vulnerable to crime and victimization. According to respondents' accounts, the social cohesion and dense networks present at Regent Park served to regulate criminal behavior, and even dictated the times and places where it would and would not be tolerated. Residents who moved from Regent Park noted that they could rely on their neighbors for instrumental assistance and a sense of security. For many respondents, the loss of

these spatially-grounded ties due to the revitalization process resulted in increased concern for personal safety due to the absence of a social network which actively looked out for its members.

Quantitative studies focused on the relationship between social ties and the fear of crime are less conclusive. Using data on Dallas neighborhoods from 1995, Ferguson & Mindel (2007) attempt to test a model of social capital theory by studying the effects of social support networks, collective efficacy, and neighborhood satisfaction on perceived risk and fear of crime. The authors find no support for their hypothesis that high levels of social networks should negatively influence residents' fear of crime. However, they do find that an increased police presence contributes to increased levels of collective efficacy, which decreases individuals' fear of crime (Ferguson & Mindel 2007). In a study using data from Nashville neighborhoods collected in 1988, Kanan & Pruitt (2002) find that emotional (affective attachment to the neighborhood), investment (homeownership and length of residence), and social integration (social ties, number of neighbors known, activities done with neighbors) variables do not affect fear or risk perception (Kanan & Pruitt 2002).

Though ethnographic studies have provided clear evidence as to the utility of social ties for the reduction of fear, quantitative studies have provided only mixed support. As I will attempt to show, a lack of consensus on the measurement of social ties among quantitative researchers could contribute to these mixed findings. Additionally, it is important to note that ethnographies of this sort have tended to focus on high-crime, racially isolated communities, often with a focus on public housing communities. It will be the task of this paper, and future quantitative research on this topic, to specify the role of social ties across neighborhood types. Perhaps researchers have found little or no effect of ties on fear of crime as they have only controlled for routine measures of disadvantage, without attention to perceptions of formal

control through policing. This consideration may be important as Clampet-Lundquist's (2010) findings suggest that residents relied more on their ties to each other than the presence of police in their individual narratives. Scholarship finds that the structural composition of disadvantaged communities compromises the emergence of social capital and the formation of social ties, ethnographic findings seem to indicate that the ties these communities do have are instrumental in alleviating fear among their residents.

Regarding the measurement of social ties, most studies include a measure of the proportion of residents on a block or in a tract who report that they know some or most of the people on their block or in their neighborhood. For example, Sampson (1991) measures "acquaintanceship ties" as the proportion of residents who reported that most of the people in the area were either friend or acquaintances and if these included neighbors on their block. Guest (2006) measures "neighbor ties" with items asking respondents to indicate the number of friends or family on their block, the share of neighbors they know on a first name basis, and their ability to distinguish between residents and strangers; almost identical measures are used for Bellair & Browning's (2010) "level of familiarity" construct. Warner (2007) uses items asking how many relatives live in the respondent's neighborhood and how many neighbors would they consider friends, similar to the Wickes et al (2013) social ties measure. Sampson (1988) uses a measure of "local friendship ties," taken as the percentage of residents who report that half or more of their friends live within 15 minutes walking distance.

Other studies have employed measures which tend to confound social ties with neighboring behaviors. Referred to as "social ties" throughout their article, Ross & Jang (2000) measure "social ties" or "informal integration" as the frequency with which respondents visit informally with neighbors, chat with neighbors, give someone a ride, or watch each other's

houses when they are away. Likewise, Kanan & Pruitt's (2002) study included social ties as a facet of "social integration" and was measured as the number of neighbors known and the percent talked to for at least 10 minutes or visited in the 6 months preceding the interview. Finally, Warner & Rountree (1997) use measures of neighboring (borrowing items from neighbors, having meals with neighbors, helping neighbors with problems) as an indicator of social ties, and use the terms interchangeably.

Though it is clear that activities like neighboring are dependent on the existence of stable ties, I argue that the two are distinct facets of social capital which should be analyzed with separate measures. As Sampson (1999) argues, networks in and of themselves are neutral, and the process of activating these ties to achieve shared expectations and desired outcomes (through activities like neighboring or reciprocal exchange) is distinct from the ties themselves. Likewise, many measures of social ties take a neighborhood proportion of both acquaintanceship and kinship or friendship ties collapsed into a single measure. This may confound results, as collective efficacy theory (Sampson, Raudenbush, Earls 1999) posits that it is acquaintanceship ties in a neighborhood that allow for the achievement of desired outcomes. Empirical findings have established that strong ties are in some contexts a deterrent to the emergence of informal social control and collective efficacy, as offenders stand to gain from the same network-mediated benefits that law-abiding residents draw upon for protection from formal control and more severe sanctions of informal social control (Pattillo 1998; Browning et al 2004; Sampson 1999).

Neighboring and fear.

Empirical evidence of the relationship between neighboring and fear of crime is limited and the findings that do exist are mixed. Clampet-Lundquist's (2010) qualitative work in housing

projects in Philadelphia finds that frequently, local gang members and offenders involved in the drug trade would warn other residents of potential fights, violence, or crime in the area. This exchange of information aided families in construction protection strategies which ultimately enhanced feelings of safety (Clampet-Lundquist 2010).

Instrumental exchange in neighborhoods where perceived disorder is high serves to significantly reduce fear and mistrust among residents (Ross & Jang 2000). Others find that as residents report higher frequencies of neighboring, the degree to which they worry about crime decreases, though the effect is only marginally significant (Kanan & Pruitt 2002). Oh (2004) finds that the presence of neighboring behaviors decreases fear. Conceptualized as a component of behavioral attachment, the author's operationalization of neighboring here emphasizes socializing behavior such as attending neighbor's parties, as well as the exchange of advice and participation in a neighborhood watch group. In a model predicting neighboring behaviors, Greif (2009) finds that as residents report feelings of unsafety in their neighborhood, the frequency with which they engage in neighboring behaviors decreases.

Within the broader criminological and sociological neighborhood literature, neighboring generally refers to a set of behaviors which indicate instrumental exchange between neighbors, with most indices measuring the frequency at which residents watch each other's homes or children, lend or borrow tools and household items, visit or talk to each other, and discuss neighborhood crime or problems (Nation 2010; Bellair & Browning 2010; Kanan & Pruitt 2002; Long & Perkins 2007; Greif 2009). Other studies employ a more expansive definition of neighboring, often including measures of social ties and affective attachment in indices with instrumental exchange variables (Unger & Wandersman 1987; Unger & Wandersman 1985; Skjaeveland et al 1996; Haggerty 1982; Lee et al 1991), other researchers combine these

variables as a measure of social integration, social ties, attachment, interaction or informal surveillance (Rountree & Land 1996; Warner & Rountree 1997; Elliott et al 1996; Riger et al 1981; Bellair 2000; Woldoff 2002; Greif 2009), and some focus on items which capture socializing behaviors (Oh 2004; Woldoff 2002). Though most of the studies which examine neighboring in relation to fear, crime, or other community-level outcomes include measures of social interaction with neighbors (chatting, having lunch, etc), it will be useful for the current analyses to distinguish between instrumental neighboring and social neighboring to better understand how these behaviors are associated with fear.

Additionally, the exchange of neighboring is often omitted or collapsed into indices of neighboring in quantitative studies of fear or perceived safety. Clampet-Lundquist (2010) finds that residents in a public housing study derived a sense of safety through the information exchanged with residents who were involved with local gangs or the drug trade. Residents indicated that these individuals knew when a shooting was about to happen or a fight was about to break out, and would inform them that residents' and their children should go inside their apartments. (Clampet-Lundquist 2010). However, the exchange of this sort of information does not always serve to reduce community members' fear of crime. In some studies, the exchange of information regarding local crime between residents actually serves to increase the fear of crime, especially among those most vulnerable (Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Sacco 1993).

Neighborhood attachment and fear.

To date, few studies have examined the effect of neighborhood attachment on fear of crime, and those that have use varying operationalizations of the construct. In a study of neighborhood residents in Belgium, De Donder et al (2012) find that those who are satisfied with

their neighborhood and report involvement in local associations report lower feelings of unsafety. Delisi and Regoli (2000) measure attachment as the extent to which respondents' socialize with neighbors, desire to move, and whether they rent or own their homes, finding that those who do not socialize, do want to move, and rent their homes rate their neighborhoods as unsafe. Though the findings might be what we would expect theoretically, the authors' operationalization of attachment confounds the construct with social neighboring, highlighting the need to tease out these distinct dimensions to empirically test the influence of each.

Additionally, several studies have noted the effect of fear on neighborhood attachment. Fear is found to be negatively associated to collective neighborhood attachment (Brown and Perkins 2003; Sampson 1998). Drawing from Bolan's (1997) assertion that affective neighborhood attachment includes an evaluative element captured by neighborhood satisfaction, they find more support for the deleterious effects of fear on attachment, as Sampson (1991) finds that fear is negatively related to neighborhood satisfaction.

The literature on attachment underscores a basic claim of this paper, which is that neighborhood social capital is a multi-faceted construct that should be considered as distinct dimensions in its effect on fear of crime. Both Sampson (1991) and Dassopoulos et al (2012) find that social connectedness with neighbors or social cohesion increases individual-level neighborhood attachment net individual characteristics. Likewise, Austin and Baba (1990) find that as social ties increase, neighborhood attachment increases. Brown and Perkins (2003) find that higher levels of collective efficacy are predictive of greater place attachment at the block level. Others find that those who report higher levels of attachment are more likely to develop a stronger sense of community, engage in neighboring and reciprocal exchange behaviors; and perceptions of cohesion, trust, and informal social control are more prevalent among those who

express a strong attachment to their neighborhood (Perkins and Long 2002; Long and Perkins 2007; Lewicka 2005; Brown et al 2004).

As with the other dimensions of social capital examined in this paper, operationalizations of attachment often include items which tap it as components of other constructs or include other forms of social capital in scales of neighborhood attachment. Recall that Bolan's (1997) conceptualization of neighborhood attachment includes an attitudinal dimension and a behavioral dimension. In his operationalization the author includes measures of neighborhood satisfaction and sentiment as indicators of attitudinal attachment and measures of local organizational involvement and social ties as indicators of behavioral attachment.

Other researchers have attempted to capture these dimensions of attachment, often including items which indicate other facets of social capital. Oh (2004) measures attachment with indicators of organizational participation, neighborhood satisfaction and neighborhood sentiment, but also includes measures of neighborhood friendship, social neighboring, and social cohesion. Woldoff (2002) also set out to capture both behavioral and attitudinal attachment, and also confounds other indicators of neighborhood social capital with attachment. The author considers instrumental and social neighboring, informal social control, and organizational participation as indicators of behavioral attachment while items tapping neighborhood evaluations and sentiment, as well as the strength of social ties, are included in a scale of attitudinal attachment (Woldoff 2002). Though these constructs are undoubtedly related to attachment, I argue they better indicate other dimensions of neighborhood social capital and are best left distinct to allow for a greater understanding of how each is associated with fear.

Collective efficacy and fear.

A large body of research has demonstrated that collective efficacy is a stable and significant predictor of neighborhood crime rates whereby higher levels of collective efficacy are associated with lower crime (for an extensive review, see Pratt and Cullen 2005). However, few have examined the effect of collective efficacy on fear of crime. With an NCVS measure of fear of crime more indicative of perceived risk, Gibson et al (2006) find that collective efficacy is associated with less fear of crime.

In a sample of four Miami neighborhoods, Swatt et al (2013) find that collective efficacy (measured with items on social cohesion, willingness to intervene, and capacity for social control) reduces fear in two of the four neighborhoods, net of population characteristics and satisfaction with the police. The authors propose that the absence of a mitigating effect of collective efficacy on fear of crime in two of the neighborhoods could be because collective efficacy is only salient to fear of crime in neighborhoods with high crime. Likewise, the authors speculate that as housing values increase, the importance of perceptions of collective efficacy decreases (Swatt et al 2013). This line of reasoning is similar to that of the current study. In neighborhoods characterized with a wealth of resources which can be directed at crime control and securing police services, the capacity for collective efficacy (and social capital more broadly) is less consequential for residents' fear of crime.

Research finds that a neighborhood's dissatisfaction with, perceived bias of, or lack of faith in, local police compromises their capacity for informal social control or collective efficacy. Silver and Miller (2004) find that satisfaction with police is strongly and positively related to neighborhood levels of informal social control, controlling for structural disadvantage,

neighborhood attachment, and the homicide rate. Neighborhoods in which residents were satisfied with the services provided by police had higher levels of informal social control (Silver and Miller 2004). The authors argue that when residents view police as responsive to their needs, they feel empowered to intervene when they witness criminal or undesirable behavior on their neighborhood streets.

Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) make a similar argument, noting that residents who feel that local police are unresponsive are unlikely to intervene in problematic or criminal situations in their neighborhood as they interpret the risk as being too great. Likewise, Triplett, Sun and Gainey (2005) find that residents' perceptions of the ability of police to protect them are strongly related to their willingness to cooperate with police efforts within the neighborhood. Other evidence suggests that high police presence is associated with increased neighborhood collective efficacy, which in turn reduced levels of fear of crime (Ferguson and Mindel 2007). Finally, Drakulich (2013) finds that a neighborhood's capacity for informal social control increases as their perceptions of police efficacy increase, and decrease as their perceptions of police injustice increase.

CHAPTER III: HYPOTHESES

In the present study I conceptualize perceptions of the police and fear of crime as emergent properties of the neighborhood collectivity. The central claim of this paper is that forms of social capital will have direct negative associations with neighborhood fear, however these associations will be magnified in communities characterized by negative perceptions of the police. That is, in lieu of reassurance from the formal control of local police, neighborhood social capital will compensate for this deficit, reducing levels of neighborhood fear. I propose a series of hypotheses regarding the associations between negative perceptions of the police and neighborhood fear, as well as hypotheses regarding the role of each dimension of social capital in this relationship. A conceptual model for the interaction between social capital and perceptions of the police on neighborhood fear of crime for six dimensions of social capital can be found below in Figures 1-3.

In line with the logic of the reassurance (Bahn 1974) and community concern models (Lewis and Salem 1986), I propose that neighborhood fear will be higher in neighborhoods characterized by negative perceptions of the police, where residents believe they cannot rely on the police for the control of neighborhood problems, or perceive the police to be biased. Furthermore, I expect that the level of collective efficacy will at least partially explain (i.e. mediate) the relationship between negative perceptions of the police and fear of crime. That is, without the reassurance that local police can be relied upon to deal with neighborhood problems, residents will be less likely to intervene when they observe crime or delinquency in the neighborhood as they perceive the risk to be too great (Kubrin and Weitzer 2003). Thus, negative perceptions of the police may reduce a community's capacity for collective efficacy, increasing fear.

A strength of the present study is the examination of specific dimensions of social capital independently, recognizing that social capital is not a panacea for all social problems and each dimension may operate differently in its relationship with fear and perceptions of the police. Thus, I expect that information exchange, or the extent to which neighborhood residents talk about local crime, will directly increase fear. However, as found in previous qualitative research (e.g. Clampet-Lundquist 2010), I expect that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the effect of information exchange, reducing crime. The logic here is that information exchange increases residents' awareness of local crime problems, increasing fear. However, in communities marked by a perceived inability to rely on the police, the exchange of such information may be important in devising protection strategies. Put simply, the more residents are aware of crime problems, the better they can adjust their behavior to avoid personal victimization. Hypotheses are summarized below:

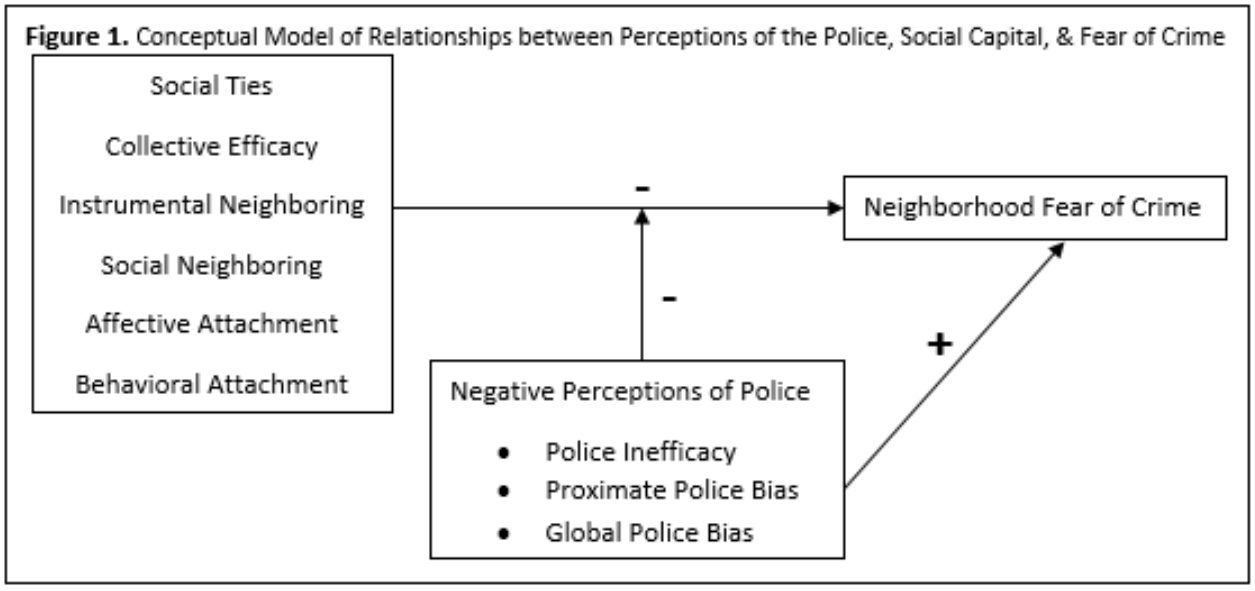
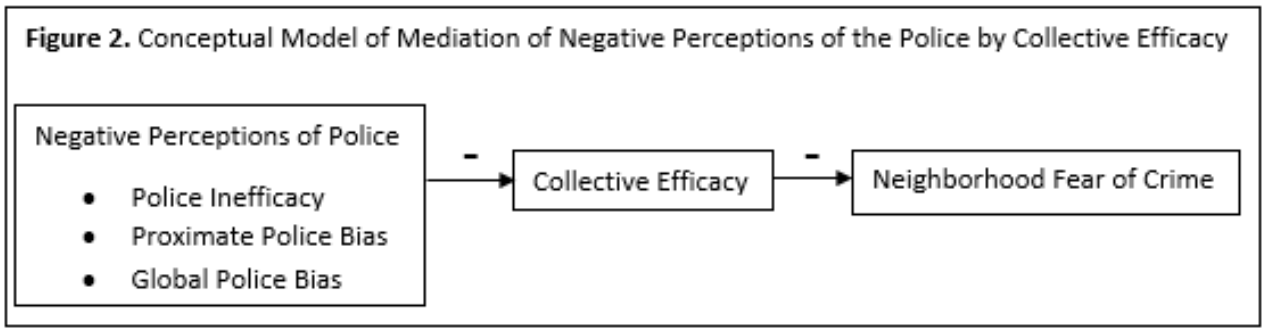


Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Relationships between Perceptions of the Police, Social Capital, & Fear of Crime



Hypothesis 1: *Fear of crime will be higher in neighborhoods where the community perceives the police to be biased or ineffective at addressing neighborhood problems.*

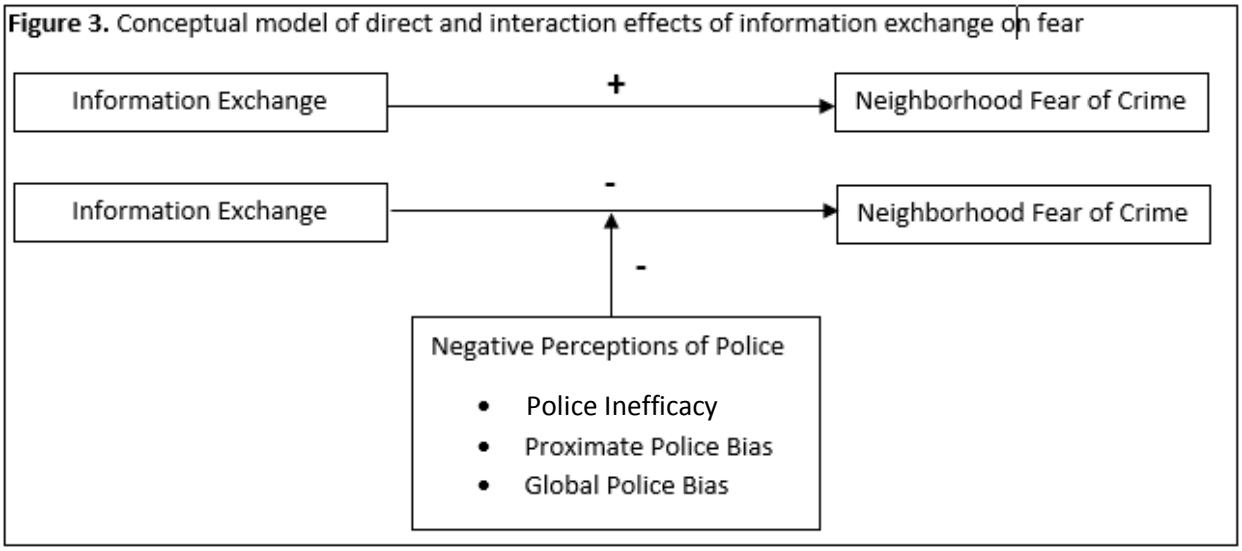
Hypothesis 2: *Neighborhoods where residents perceive the police as ineffective or biased will have a reduced capacity for collective efficacy, thereby increasing their fear of crime (see Figure 2).*

Hypothesis 3: *Neighborhood social ties, collective efficacy, instrumental neighboring, social neighboring, affective attachment, and behavioral attachment will directly reduce fear of crime (see Figure 1).*

Hypothesis 4: *Negative perceptions of the police will moderate the relationship between dimensions of social capital and fear of crime, reducing fear (see Figure 1 and Figure 3).*

Hypothesis 5: *The exchange of crime-related information will increase the fear of crime (see Figure 3).*

Figure 3. Conceptual model of direct and interaction effects of information exchange on fear



CHAPTER IV: DATA & METHODS

The data used in this study come from the Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (2002-2003). Using cluster sampling, a random sample of two blocks for each of Seattle's 123 census tracts were sampled, and about nine households per block were randomly sampled from each block, resulting in a random sample of 2,220 households. Additionally, an ethnic oversample was drawn resulting in about two households per 558 census blocks nested within 141 block groups with the highest concentration of racial and ethnic minorities in Seattle, resulting in an additional 1,145 households. Data were collected from the head of each household. The merging of these two samples results in a total of 3,759 respondents across Seattle's 123 tracts, with an average of 30 respondents per tract. Respondents completed surveys through computer-assisted telephone interviews. I aggregate individual responses to the neighborhood level to examine between-neighborhood variation.

Measures

I operationalize respondents' "neighborhood" as their census tract. Though researchers have begun to explore alternative ways of measuring neighborhood contexts (e.g. Grannis 1998; Hipp 2007), the tract as a proxy for neighborhood continues to be used widely in neighborhoods research (for a review, see Sampson, Raudenbush and Gannon-Rowley 2002) and is available in the data analyzed here.

By aggregating individual responses to the tract level, the present study presents a between-neighborhood analysis of all 123 census tracts in Seattle. *Fear of crime:* The outcome of interest in the present analyses is neighborhood fear of crime. Many studies of the fear of crime use a single item to measure fear, related to residents' perceptions of safety while walking

alone in the neighborhood at night. This measure has been criticized as it is a better indicator of judgments of the *likelihood* of victimization rather than an emotional response to crime (Ferraro & LaGrange 1987). In the present study, I create a summated scale of three items which address the affective nature of the fear of crime as argued by Ferraro & LaGrange (1987). The first item asks respondents, "How often do you worry or think about being physically attacked by a stranger in your neighborhood?" and the second asks, "How about someone breaking into your home and stealing your property?" Responses for these two items include "Less than once a month", "Once a month", "About once a week", and "Everyday." These items are particularly important in creating a robust measure of fear as Warr & Stafford (1983) find that a range of offenses are related to a heightened fear of victimization, with "having someone break into your home while you're away" ranking at the top of a list of offenses which include being murdered, threatened with a weapon, and assaulted. Third, I include an item where respondents are asked, "As far as crime in your neighborhood is concerned, how much do you worry about the safety of each of the following persons currently living in your household?" I include respondents' answer to this question regarding themselves, using a Likert scale response ranging from "Not at all concerned" to "Very concerned." These three items are coded such that higher values indicate higher levels of fear. Items are standardized before being summated into the scale, resulting in a Cronbach's alpha (α) of 0.69. *Fear of Crime* is log-transformed to adjust for skewness and ranges from 2.15 to 2.44. Descriptive statistics for all study variables can be found in the appendix. A correlation matrix can be found in Table 2 of the appendix.

Perceptions of the police.

To measure respondents' perceptions of the police, I distinguish between measures of police inefficacy and both proximate (i.e. specific to the respondents' neighborhood) and global

perceptions of police bias. *Police inefficacy* is a summated scale consisting of two items. Respondents are asked, "In your opinion, how effective would the following approaches be in resolving major problems around your neighborhood: Contacting the police" where possible responses range from "Not at all effective" to "Highly effective." The other item measuring police inefficacy asks respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the statement, "The police are doing a good job in dealing with problems that really concern people in this neighborhood," with responses ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree." To capture a lack of faith in the efficacy of the police to handle neighborhood problems, these items are reverse-coded and standardized before being summated into a single scale ranging from 3.07 to 5.13, where higher values indicate *lower* appraisals of police efficacy, or perceptions that the police are ineffective (α= 0.47).

To measure perceptions of *proximate police bias*, I sum responses for two items, where respondents are asked to indicate their level of agreement on a Likert scale with the following statements: "Racial profiling is a problem in this neighborhood," and "In this neighborhood, police just hassle residents, rather than being helpful" (α = 0.63) To measure perceptions of *global police bias,* I create a summated scale from five items, which ask respondents if they believe police treat certain groups better, the same, or worse than other groups. The questions ask respondents their opinion on wealthy versus poor people; whites versus African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics (separate items); and English-speaking people versus non-English speaking people (α = 0.82). Coding for each of the police bias scales are such that higher values indicate perceptions of greater bias.

Social capital.

As previously discussed I argue that neighboring constitutes a neighborhood-level manifestation of the "instrumental exchange" dimension of neighborhood social capital. In line with past research, and to offer greater nuance to the analyses, I distinguish betwe*en instrumental neighboring* and *social neighboring*. I operationalize *instrumental neighboring* as a summated scale of three items, all with responses of never, sometimes, or often. The questions ask respondents how often they have "Watched your neighbor's property when they were out of town?"; "Borrowed tools or small food items (e.g. milk, sugar) from your neighbors?"; "Helped a neighbor with a problem?" (α = 0.74). Other researchers have used a similar scale (e.g. Hipp et al 2014; Sampson et al 1999; Bellair & Browning 2010), but include items indicative of socializing, which I reserve for the *social neighboring* scale. Based on empirical evidence that fear of crime may be more closely related to learning about crime through conversations with neighbors than through other sources of information (see Skogan & Maxfield 1981), I include an additional single item for *information exchange.* Respondents indicate on a Likert scale ranging from "never" to "frequently" how often they talk to people on their block about nearby crime problems. Thus, to parse out the effects of crime-specific information exchange and more general neighboring behaviors, this item remains separate from the *instrumental neighboring* scale in the models. *Social neighboring* captures the extent to which neighborhood residents socialize informally with one another and is a summated scale of four items where respondents report the frequency with which they talk with neighbors, have lunch/dinner with neighbors, ask neighbors about personal things, and participated in block activities (α = 0.64).

Another dimension of social capital measured in this study is that of enforceable trust, represented at the neighborhood level as collective efficacy. *Collective efficacy* is operationalized as perceptions of how neighbors might act to enforce informal social control, as well as the level

of perceived trust in neighbors. Following the work of Sampson et al (1997), I create a summated scale of items. Respondents are asked to indicate their level of agreement, from strongly disagree to strongly agree, for the following statements: "You can count on adults in this neighborhood to watch out that children are safe and don't get in trouble"; "People in this neighborhood can be trusted"; "People around here are willing to help their neighbors." For the following questions, respondents are asked to indicated the likelihood of the following scenarios: "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?; "If some children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?"; "If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely is it that people in your neighborhood would scold that child?"; "If children were fighting out in the street, how likely is it that people in your neighborhood would stop it?" (α = 0.82).

As a measure of investment in the neighborhood collectivity, I include measures of neighborhood attachment. Following the distinction made by Bolan (1997) and others, I distinguish between affective attachment and behavioral attachment. *Affective attachment* is measured with a single item where respondents are asked, "If you ever had to move, how likely is it that you would miss the neighborhood?" with responses ranging from very unlikely to very likely. As a measure of *behavioral attachment,* I include an item which asks respondents' the frequency with which they participate in neighborhood associations, with responses including "often," "sometimes," and "never."

Social ties are an essential element of social capital. As discussed earlier, Bourdieu notes a range of social ties which can be drawn upon as a resource for social capital. *Social ties* is a summated scale of two items which ask respondents, "Can you easily tell if a person is a stranger

or resident on your block?" (yes or no response); and, "How many people on your block do you know on a first-name basis?" with responses ranging from "none of them" to "all of them." Standardizing these items before summating results in an alpha of 0.60.

Controls: Based on previous literature outlined above, I control for *proportion minority* to account for the racial composition of the neighborhood. To account for the socioeconomic context of the neighborhood, I control for *Neighborhood Disadvantage,* a summated scale of items tapping proportion renter, residential instability (proportion of residents that have lived in the neighborhood for less than five years), income, and physical disorder. Physical disorder is itself a summated scale of items which ask respondents to indicate whether each problem is a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem in their neighborhood. These include: "litter/garbage/trash on the streets," "spray-painted graffiti on buildings and streets," and "abandoned houses and run-down buildings," similar to measures used in past research (see Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999) (α = 0.65). Variables are standardized before being summed into the *Disadvantage* scale, which ranges from -5.46 to 4.85 (α = 0.86).

Analytic Strategy

To measure between-neighborhood effects, I use the aggregated measures of each scale. Using OLS regression, the first model will examine the main effects of police inefficacy, proximate police bias, and global police bias on neighborhood levels of fear of crime, net of neighborhood characteristics. Subsequent models are designed to test hypotheses for each dimension of neighborhood social capital independently. By including models which assess the direct effects of each dimension of social capital, and then interacting these dimensions with negative perceptions of the police, I am able to empirically test a principle claim of this paper –

that though dimensions of neighborhood social capital will directly reduce fear, their association will be magnified in the interaction between these dimensions and negative perceptions of the police. An examination of the variance inflation factors and collinearity diagnostics for the multivariate models indicate no collinearity issues in the models that include all three police variables.

CHAPTER V: RESULTS

Perceptions of the Police

Table 1 shows the OLS regression estimates for models where the log of fear is regressed on perceptions of the police, collective efficacy and control variables for disadvantage and proportion minority. Standard errors are presented in parentheses. Model 1 regresses the log of fear on perceptions of police inefficacy, proximate police bias, and global police bias. As expected, neighborhoods which perceive the police to be ineffective at controlling crime and neighborhood problems have higher levels of fear as indicated by the positive association between police inefficacy and the fear of crime, such that a unit increase in perceptions of police inefficacy is associated with a 4.7% increase in fear. ($b = .047$, $p < .01$). This finding is in line with the logic of the reassurance (Bahn 1974) and community concern models (Lewis and Salem 1986). Neighborhood communities who perceive the police to be ineffective at addressing neighborhood problems that are important to local residents have greater levels of fear as they lack reassurance from the police.

Perceptions of proximate police bias are associated with a 3.6% increase in fear, an effect that is quite significant at the .001 threshold. Neighborhoods that perceive the police to be biased against neighborhood residents have a greater collective fear of victimization, also in line with the reassurance and community concern perspectives. Perceptions of global police bias are also associated with an increase in neighborhood fear, such that a one-unit increase in global police bias predicts a 1.2% increase in fear ($p<.05$), indicating that neighborhoods where residents perceive police in general to be biased against individuals according to race, social class, and nativity are more fearful of victimization. The association of each perception of police variable

controls for the others, such that perceptions of police inefficacy, proximate police bias, and global police bias operate independently of each other in their association with fear.

Model 2 in Table 1 shows the effect of perceptions of the police, controlling for neighborhood disadvantage and proportion minority. Neighborhood disadvantage is associated with a 0.5% increase in fear ($p<.05$). The effect of tract proportion minority is negative ($b = 0.006$), though the effect is non-significant. While controlling for these neighborhood characteristics, perceptions of police inefficacy, proximate police bias, and global police bias remain significant at the .01 level, with little change in the magnitude of the coefficients. Thus, this model offers support for hypothesis 1, which posits that the fear of crime will be higher in neighborhoods where the community perceives the police to be biased or ineffective at addressing neighborhood problems.

Table 1. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Collective Efficacy and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Disadvantage		0.005 *	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.003
		(.002)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
Prop. Minority		-0.006	0.030	-0.016	0.024	-0.010	0.026
		(.037)	(.035)	(.037)	(.035)	(.040)	(.036)
Collective Efficacy			-0.014 ***	-0.006 †	-0.005	-0.006	-0.011 **
			(.003)	(.003)	(.006)	(.006)	(.004)
Police Inefficacy	0.047 **	0.043 **		0.036 *	0.064 *		
	(0.013)	(.014)		(.014)	(.028)		
Proximate Police Bias	0.036 ***	0.030 **		0.021 †		0.047	
	(0.008)	(.010)		(.011)		(.031)	
Global Police Bias	0.012 *	0.015 **		0.012 *			0.017
	(.005)	(.005)		(.005)			(.014)
Police Eff. X Coll. Eff.					-0.001		
					(.001)		
Prox. Bias x Coll. Eff.						-0.001	
						(.001)	
Global Bias x Coll. Eff.							-0.001
							(.001)
Constant	1.874 ***	1.900 ***	2.577 ***	2.119 ***	2.237 ***	2.296 ***	2.476 ***
	(.056)	(.062)	(.065)	(.132)	(.148)	(.159)	(.103)
Adjust. R2	0.41	0.42	0.37	0.43	0.41	0.40	0.37

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Collective Efficacy

Models 3 through 7 in Table 1 test the hypotheses regarding the role of collective efficacy. Model 3 shows the main effect of *collective efficacy*, controlling for neighborhood characteristics. Neighborhood disadvantage and proportion minority fail to reach statistical significance in any of the models which interact collective efficacy with perceptions of the police. Each unit increase in collective efficacy is associated with a 1.4% decrease in neighborhood fear, an effect that is quite significant at the .001 threshold. Model 4 tests the mediation model proposed in hypothesis 2, where it is expected that neighborhoods where residents perceive the police as ineffective or biased will have a reduced capacity for collective efficacy, thereby increasing their fear of crime. In Model 4, collective efficacy is associated with a 0.6% reduction in fear, and is marginally significant ($p<0.1$). Collective efficacy partially mediates the effect of police inefficacy on fear, as the effect of police inefficacy is reduced from 0.043 to 0.036. Likewise, the coefficient for proximate police bias is reduced from 0.030 to 0.021.

A formal t-test of coefficient changes (see Clogg et al 1995) indicates a significant reduction ($p<.001$) in the coefficients for police inefficacy when collective efficacy is included in the model. The t-test for the change in the proximate police bias coefficient indicates a significant reduction at the .05 level when collective efficacy is added to the model. Though there is a reduction in the significance and magnitude of the effect of global police bias on fear with the inclusion of collective efficacy, the formal t-test indicates this change is not significant. Overall, this model indicates partial support for the hypothesis that the effect of negative perceptions of the police (in particular police inefficacy and proximate police bias) is mediated by neighborhood collective efficacy.

Models 5 through 7 test hypothesis 4, which posits that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the relationship between collective efficacy and neighborhood fear, magnifying the negative effect of collective efficacy. Contrary to hypotheses, the effect of the interactions between collective efficacy and perceptions of police variables are not significant, indicating that the negative association between collective efficacy and neighborhood fear does not vary across levels of police perception variables.

Social Ties

Table 2 shows the OLS estimates for models testing hypotheses regarding social ties. Model 1 regresses the log of neighborhood fear on social ties, net of controls. Neighborhood disadvantage is associated with a 1.2% increase in fear, while proportion minority is associated with an 11.9% increase in fear. The effect of these control variables remains fairly consistent across models, though proportion minority is reduced to non-significance in model 3 and disadvantage is reduced to marginal significance ($p<.1$).

Controlling for disadvantage and proportion minority, the effect of social ties on fears is not significantly different from zero, offering no support for hypothesis 3. In model 2, neighborhood disadvantage is associated with a 1.2% increase in fear ($p<.001$) while the proportion minority is associated with an 11.9% increase in fear ($p<.01$). Model 2 includes the product term of social ties and police inefficacy, which is significant ($p<.05$). As model 2 indicates, the effect of social ties varies across different levels of perceived police inefficacy. Though model 2 indicates a significant interaction, the effect of ties on fear is positive, contrary to hypothesis 4. For example, social ties at mean levels of police inefficacy (4.01) are associated with a 7.58% increase in neighborhood fear [0.156 + (-.02(4.01)) = 0.0758]. At two standard

deviations below mean police inefficacy (3.15), that is, in neighborhoods where residents believe the police to be *more effective,* each unit increase in social ties is associated with a 9.3% increase in fear. At two standard deviations above mean police inefficacy, that is, in neighborhoods where police are perceived to be very *ineffective,* a unit increase in social ties is associated with a 5.86% increase in fear. While the effect of social ties on neighborhood fear is smaller in magnitude in contexts where residents view the police as ineffective, social ties are still associated with an increase in fear, contrary to the hypothesis of a compensatory effect of ties on fear. The interactions between social ties and measures of police bias were not significant, as shown in models 3 and 4.

Though these models fail to provide empirical support for hypotheses regarding the relationship between perceptions of the police, social ties, and neighborhood fear, the results support an additional claim of this study – that past research has suffered from a lack of specificity and theoretical legitimization when operationalizing dimensions of social capital. Measures of social ties captured in the present operationalization are often collapsed into scales of neighboring, attachment, or social cohesion in other studies and their inclusion has potentially obscured the independent effects of these constructs on fear.

Table 2. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Social Ties and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Disadvantage	0.012 ***	0.007 *	0.006 †	0.013 ***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.017)
Prop. Minority	0.119 **	0.100 **	0.016	0.104 **
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.037)
Social Ties	0.005	0.088 **	0.000	0.011
	(0.010)	(0.033)	(0.025)	(0.020)
Police Inefficacy		0.156 ***		
		(0.041)		
Proximate Police Bias			0.041	
			(.031)	
Global Police Bias				0.015
				(0.017)
Police Eff. X Social Ties		-0.020 *		
		(0.008)		
Prox. Bias x Social Ties			0.001	
			(0.006)	
Global Bias x Social Ties				-0.001
				(0.003)
Constant	2.233 ***	1.600 ***	2.101 ***	2.140 ***
	(0.049)	(0.172)	(0.132)	(0.111)
Adjust. R2	0.25	0.38	0.35	0.26

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Instrumental Neighboring

Table 3 shows the OLS models which test hypotheses regarding the relationship between perceptions of the police, forms of instrumental neighboring, and neighborhood fear. Model 1 regress the log of neighborhood fear of instrumental neighboring, controlling for neighborhood disadvantage and proportion minority. Disadvantage is associated with a 1.1% increase in fear while proportion minority is associated with an 11.4% increase in fear. Similar findings emerge in models 2 and 4, and these controls are reduced to non-significance in model 3. Though in the expected negative direction (b = -.001), the effect of instrumental neighboring on the log of fear is non-significant in model 1, and thus fails to provide support for hypothesis 3.

Model 2 includes the product term of instrumental neighboring and police inefficacy, which is significant at the .05 threshold. In support of hypothesis 4, the effect of instrumental neighboring on fear varies across levels of police inefficacy. At mean police inefficacy, each unit increase in instrumental neighboring is actually associated with a .19% increase in neighborhood fear. This positive association increases in magnitude as neighborhoods perceive police to be more *effective,* such that at two standard deviations below mean police inefficacy, each unit increases in instrumental neighboring is associated with a 0.97% increase in fear. At two standard deviations above mean police inefficacy, that is, where residents perceive the police to be very *ineffective,* each unit increase in instrumental neighboring is associated with a 0.58% decrease in neighborhood fear. Thus, instrumental neighboring appears to compensate for negative perceptions of the police in its negative association with fear in contexts where residents perceive the police to be ineffective, and *increases* fear in contexts where residents perceive the police to be effective at addressing neighborhood problems.

Table 3. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Instrumental Neighboring and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Disadvantage	0.011 **	0.01 *	0.005	0.013 ***	0.013 ***	0.008 **	0.008 **	0.014 ***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Prop. Minority	0.114 **	0.087 *	0.013	0.105 **	0.126 ***	0.083 *	0.036	0.115 **
	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.04)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.039)	(0.033)
Instrumental Neighboring	-0.001	0.038 *	-0.007	0.004				
	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.14)	(0.011)				
Information Exchange					0.156 **	0.182	-.014	0.178 *
					(0.053)	(0.116)	(0.101)	(0.077)
Police Inefficacy		0.130 ***				0.066 *		
		(0.036)				(0.026)		
Proximate Police Bias			0.032				0.015	
			(0.026)				(0.022)	
Global Police Bias				0.014				0.014
				(0.015)				(0.010)
Police Eff. X Inst. Neighb.		-0.009 *						
		(0.004)						
Prox. Bias x Inst. Neighb.			0.002					
			(0.003)					
Global Bias x Inst. Neighb.				-0.0004				
				(0.002)				
Police Eff x Info Exchange						-0.020		
						(0.027)		
Prox. Bias x Info Exchange							0.029	
							(0.024)	
Global Bias x Info Exchange								-0.004
								(0.012)
Constant	2.270 ***	1.728 ***	2.159 ***	2.170 ***	2.142 ***	1.926 ***	2.136 ***	2.063 ***
	(0.05)	(0.157)	(0.119)	(0.103)	(0.041)	(0.103)	(0.084)	(0.068)
Adjust. R2	0.25	0.37	0.35	0.25	0.30	0.37	0.37	0.31

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Information Exchange

Models 5 through 8 in Table 3 estimate the effect of information exchange, or the extent to which residents talk about local crime with neighbors, on the log of neighborhood fear. In model 5, disadvantage is associated with a 1.3% increase in fear and proportion minority is associated with a 12.6% increase in fear. The findings for these controls are generally consistent across models estimating the effect of instrumental exchange, though the effect of proportion minority is non-significant in model 7, which regresses fear on the interaction of instrumental exchange and proximate police bias. As shown in model 5, as the frequency with which residents of a neighborhood talk to each other about nearby crime problems increases, neighborhood fear

increases by 15.6% ($p<.01$), net of controls, providing support for hypothesis 5. Models 6 through 8 test the interactions between information exchange and perceptions of police variables, none of which are significant, failing to offer support for hypothesis 4.

Social Neighboring

Table 4 presents the OLS regression estimates for the effect of social neighboring and model covariates on the log of neighborhood fear. Recall that hypothesis 3 posits that social neighboring will have a direct, negative association with fear. Model 1 provides support for this hypothesis – net of controls, each unit increase in social neighboring is associated with a decrease of 1.2% in neighborhood fear ($p<.05$). In model 1, disadvantage is associated with a 1% increase in fear while proportion minority is associated with a 9.5% increase in fear.

Hypothesis 4 predicts that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the negative association between social neighboring and neighborhood fear, magnifying the negative effect of social neighboring on fear. Support is found for this hypothesis in the significant ($p<.01$) interaction between police inefficacy and social neighboring. For example, at mean levels of police inefficacy, social neighboring is associated with a 1.12% decrease in fear. At two standard deviations above mean police inefficacy, where neighborhoods perceive police to be very *ineffective,* social neighboring is associated with a 2.58% decrease in fear, offering support for hypothesis 4, and the notion of the compensatory role of social capital. At one standard deviation below mean police inefficacy, which indicates residents perceive the police to be *effective*, social neighboring is only associated with a 0.4% reduction in fear. At two standard deviations below mean police inefficacy, the effect of social neighboring on fear is actually positive – with each unit increase in social neighboring associated with a 0.5% increase in neighborhood fear. In

model 2, the magnitude of the effect of disadvantage on fear is reduced a 0.5% increase in fear, and the effect of proportion minority is reduced to marginal significance (p<.1).

Table 4. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Social Neighboring and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Disadvantage	0.010 ***	0.005 *	0.004 †	0.011 ***
	(.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Prop. Minority	0.095 **	0.058 †	-0.035	0.087 *
	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.039)	(.035)
Social Neighboring	-0.012 *	0.057 **	0.013	-0.006
	(.006)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Police Inefficacy		0.227 ***		
		(0.052)		
Proximate Police Bias			0.121 **	
			(0.036)	
Global Police Bias				0.016
				(0.021)
Police Eff. X Social Neighb.		-0.017 **		
		(0.005)		
Prox. Bias x Social Neighb.			-0.007 *	
			(0.003)	
Global Bias x Social Neighb.				-0.001
				(0.002)
Constant	2.387 ***	1.455 ***	1.946 ***	2.276 ***
	(0.063)	(0.216)	(0.155)	(0.145)
Adjust. R2	0.27	0.42	0.41	0.27

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Model 3 includes the interaction of social neighboring and proximate police bias. Note that the effects of disadvantage and proportion minority are reduced to marginal significance and non-significance for, respectively. In model 3, the interaction of social neighboring and proximate police bias is significant at the .05 threshold, indicating that social neighboring also varies across levels of proximate police bias. At mean proximate police bias (4.03), each unit increase in social neighboring is associated with a 1.5% reduction in neighborhood fear. In support of hypothesis 4, each unit increase in social neighboring is associated with a 2.5%

reduction in fear at two standard deviations above mean proximate police bias, or in neighborhoods where residents believe local police are very biased. Though the effect of social neighboring on fear is consistently negative across levels of proximate police bias, the magnitude is diminished in neighborhoods that do not perceive much police bias, as evidenced by the 0.5% reduction in fear for each unit increase in social neighboring at two standard deviations below mean proximate police bias.

These models offer support for the notion of the compensatory role of social capital. In contexts where police are perceived to be effective or unbiased towards residents, social neighboring exhibits a negative association with neighborhood fear, but the magnitude of this relationship is increased in contexts characterized by negative perceptions of the police. Thus, when residents feel like the police are ineffective or biased, the degree to which neighborhood residents engage in social neighboring behaviors compensates for this deficit, decreasing neighborhood fear.

Affective Attachment

Table 5 presents the OLS estimates for the effect of affective attachment, or the extent to which residents report that they would miss their neighborhood if they had to move, on the log of neighborhood fear. Though disadvantage is associated with a 1% increase in fear in models 1,2 and 4, proportion minority fails to reach statistical significance in any of the models and disadvantage is reduced to non-significance in model 3. Hypothesis 3 suggests that collective affective attachment will reduce the fear of crime. In model 1, each unit increases in affective attachment is associated with a 23.2% decrease in neighborhood fear, in support of hypothesis 3. Model 2 in Table 5 includes the interaction of affective attachment and police inefficacy. Failing

to provide support for hypothesis 4, the interaction of affective attachment and police inefficacy is non-significant.

Table 5. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Affective Attachment and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Disadvantage	0.010 ***	0.007 **	0.005	0.010 ***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Prop. Minority	0.060 †	0.021	-0.017	0.059 †
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.033)
Affective Attachment	-0.232 ***	0.002	-0.036	-0.254 **
	(0.046)	(0.137)	(0.117)	(0.085)
Police Inefficacy		0.082 **		
		(0.026)		
Proximate Police Bias			0.068	
			(0.024)	
Global Police Bias				-0.002
				(0.011)
Police Eff x Affective Attach.		-0.047		
		(0.030)		
Prox. Bias x Affective Attach.			-0.037	
			(0.025)	
Global Bias x Affective Attach.				0.005
				(0.012)
Constant	2.464 ***	2.100 ***	2.164 ***	2.471 ***
	(0.041)	(0.122)	(0.110)	(0.084)
Adjust. R2	0.38	0.45	0.45	0.37

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Model 3 in Table 5 includes the interaction of affective attachment and proximate police bias, which is non-significant. Likewise, model 4 fails to provide support for hypothesis 4, as the interaction between affective attachment and global police bias fails to reach statistical significance. Overall, though the direct effect of affective attachment on neighborhood fear supports hypothesis 3, the analyses fail to provide support for the expectation that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the effect of affective attachment on fear.

Behavioral Attachment

Table 6 presents the OLS estimates for the effect of behavioral attachment on neighborhood fear. Though disadvantage and proportion minority are associated with significant increases in fear in models 1, 2 and 4, neither are statistically significant in the model 3, which interacts behavioral attachment with proximate police bias. Model 1 regresses the log of neighborhood fear on behavioral attachment, controlling for neighborhood disadvantage and proportion minority. Though in the expected negative direction, the effect is non-significant, failing to provide support for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 4 posits that negative perceptions of the police will moderate the negative effect of behavioral attachment on neighborhood fear. Models 2 through 4 test the interactions between behavioral attachment and each of the perceptions of police variables and indicates no significant interactions. Thus, perceptions of the police do not moderate the effect of behavioral attachment on fear.

Table 6. OLS Regression Estimates for Effect of Behavioral Attachment and Model Covariates on Neighborhood Fear

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Disadvantage	0.011 ***	0.007 **	0.004 †	0.012 ***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Prop. Minority	0.118 **	0.070 *	0.012	0.110 **
	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.035)
Behavioral Attachment	-0.023	-0.067	0.034	0.045
	(0.035)	(0.127)	(0.091)	(0.074)
Police Inefficacy		0.049 **		
		(0.018)		
Proximate Police Bias			0.054 ***	
			(0.014)	
Global Police Bias				0.013 †
				(0.007)
Police Eff x Behavioral Attach.		0.017		
		(0.032)		
Prox. Bias x Behavioral Attach.			-0.019	
			(0.023)	
Global Bias x Behavioral Attach.				-0.010
				(0.012)
Constant	2.267 ***	2.072 ***	2.075 ***	2.187 ***
	(0.014)	(0.072)	(0.053)	(0.046)
Adjust. R2	0.25	0.34	0.36	0.26

N = 123

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 † p<.10

Overall, these models fail to provide empirical support for hypothesis 3 and 4, which argue that behavioral attachment will have a direct, negative effect on neighborhood fear and that negative perceptions of police will moderate this relationship, magnifying that negative effect and reducing fear. The models testing hypotheses regarding collective attachment illustrate the importance of disaggregating items which tap theoretically distinct notions of attachment, as the data indicate that affective attachment matters for neighborhood fear, while behavioral attachment appears to be inconsequential.

CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY & DISCUSSION

The present study provides an empirical assessment of the role of dimensions of neighborhood social capital – collective efficacy, social ties, neighboring, and neighborhood attachment – in the relationship between perceptions of the police and fear of crime at the neighborhood level of analysis. Extant research regarding social capital and the fear of crime suffers from a lack of specificity and precision in the measurement of the various dimensions of social capital, often confounding distinct concepts by collapsing multiple dimensions into a single scale with vague theoretical underpinnings. Such an approach has led to a discordant body of literature on the nature of the relationship between social capital and the fear of crime. This study draws on the original conceptualization of social capital put forth by Bourdieu (1986) and later clarifications by Portes (1998), and considers the role of formal control, or perceptions of the police, as predictors of community fear.

Hypotheses regarding the direct association between negative perceptions of the police and neighborhood fear were supported. Specifically, the present study finds that the degree to which communities believe the local police to be ineffective at dealing with neighborhood problems is associated with greater levels of fear in the neighborhood. This finding aligns with past research that finds that confidence in the police is inversely associated with fear at the individual level (Renaur 2007; McGarrell et al 1997; Skogan 2009). Additionally, neighborhoods characterized by perceptions that the police in their neighborhood are biased against local residents, or that police in general are biased against individuals because of their race-ethnicity, social class, or language have higher levels of fear. One contribution of the current study is the specification of various dimensions of community perceptions of the police, and the finding that each effect is significant while controlling for the others, indicating that

perceptions of police inefficacy, proximate police bias and global police bias operate separately, with independent effects on fear.

These findings offer support for the community concern model (Lewis and Salem 1986), which posits that fear is not merely a result of individual characteristics, but that residents are more fearful when forms of social control are seen as no longer effective. Overall, this study finds support for hypotheses regarding how various forms of social capital are directly associated with fear of crime, how they mediate the effect of negative perceptions of the police, and how negative perceptions of the police moderate the effect of forms of social capital. Speaking to the importance of examining social capital as a collection of distinct dimensions, this study finds that the interaction of social ties and police inefficacy actually serves to increase fear, contrary to expectations. This is an especially important finding considering that many past studies have collapsed measures of social ties into scales of neighboring, attachment, or cohesion, potentially obscuring the independent effects of these constructs.

Likewise, these analyses show the utility of disaggregating forms of neighboring and attachment. Social neighboring appears to matter the most in regards to the relationship between perceptions of the police and neighborhood fear, as it had a direct negative effect, and this effect was found to vary across levels of police inefficacy and proximate police bias, reducing fear. Though instrumental neighboring did not have a significant direct effect, it was moderated by police inefficacy and exhibited a negative association with fear in contexts where residents perceive the police to be ineffective. The exchange of information was associated with an increase in fear, but was not moderated by perceptions of the police. Collapsing these distinct dimensions of neighboring into a single scale may have obscured the independent effects of each dimension on fear, in regards to perceptions of the police. Finally, the two forms of attachment

analyzed here – affective and behavioral – produced divergent findings. Though neither were significant in their interactions with police perceptions, affective attachment is associated with a sizeable reduction in neighborhood fear, while behavioral attachment was not significantly associated to fear.

Beginning with direct effects, the present study finds that collective efficacy, social neighboring, and affective attachment are negatively associated with neighborhood fear, in line with the findings of the limited studies which have examined these relationships (e.g. Oh 2004; Gibson et al 2006; Swatt et al 2013; De donder et al 2012; Delisi and Regoli 2000). Neighborhood social ties, instrumental neighboring, and behavioral attachment were not significantly associated with neighborhood fear controlling for neighborhood disadvantage and racial composition. As expected, information exchange was significantly positively associated with fear, indicating that net of other neighborhood characteristics, the more residents in a neighborhood talk about local crime problems, the higher the level of fear in the neighborhood.

The guiding logic of the present study is that although forms of social capital will be directly associated with neighborhood fear, this negative association will be of greater magnitude in neighborhood contexts characterized by negative perceptions of the police. In lieu of reassurance from forms of social control, neighborhood fear may be reduced through the social capital of the neighborhood community. Though the hypotheses outlined expectations that negative perceptions of the police would magnify the negative effect of *all* dimensions of social capital, this was not borne out in the analyses. Thus, the utility of specifying social capital as a set of interrelated but distinct dimensions according to the more theoretically meaningful components proposed by Bourdieu (1986) becomes apparent, and constitutes a unique strength of this study, overcoming much of the ambiguity present in prior research.

Specifically, these analyses indicate that the direct effects of social ties, instrumental neighboring, and social neighboring are moderated by variables tapping negative perceptions of the police. In support of the notion of the compensatory role of social capital, instrumental neighboring had non-significant direct associations with fear, but became statistically significant in their interaction with negative perceptions of police inefficacy and negative in their association with fear. Thus, though instrumental neighboring may be inconsequential to neighborhood fear in general, the extent of these ties and behaviors in communities where the police are believed to be ineffective at dealing with local crime and neighborhood problems is associated with lower neighborhood fear. Likewise, the effect of social neighboring on fear is of greater magnitude in neighborhoods characterized by perceptions of police inefficacy and proximate police bias. This study also finds that collective efficacy, information exchange, and affective and behavioral attachment are not moderated by any of the three constructs of negative perceptions of the police. Put differently, these dimensions do not serve to compensate for the lack of reassurance from local police.

The finding that the positive association between social ties and fear of crime is only significant when interacted with police inefficacy helps to elucidate the mixed findings of the few studies which have examined this relationship, particularly the disjunction between qualitative and survey-based studies. For example, in models estimating fear which only control for perceived and objective neighborhood characteristics, both Kanan & Pruitt (2002) and Maxfield (1984) find no effect of social ties on the fear of crime, in line with the null direct effect of social ties in the current analyses. However, these studies fail to consider how social ties might operate across neighborhood contexts, particularly regarding the role of formal control. In contrast, in qualitative studies of housing projects, the importance of social ties for feelings of

security, safety, and reduced fear were prominent in the narratives of local residents (Clampet-Lunquist 2010; Thompson et al 2013). That social ties are found to increase fear across levels of police inefficacy, an association greater in magnitude in contexts where residents perceive the police to be effective, illustrates the need to situate analyses in the broader social context rather than simply looking at direct effects while controlling for indicators of neighborhood SES or disorder. Previous qualitative findings which focus on social ties are likely capturing the role of neighboring behaviors, which the present study finds exhibits a negative association with neighborhood fear across levels of police perceptions, but with greater magnitude in contexts with negative perceptions of the police.

The finding that instrumental neighboring is inconsequential for neighborhood levels of fear overall, but shows a significant negative effect in its interaction with police inefficacy also helps to make sense of mixed previous findings. Studies which simply control for features of the neighborhood context implicitly assume that the effect of this dimension of social capital is uniform across contexts. Thus, both Kanan & Pruitt (2002) and Ferguson & Mindell (2007) find null or marginally significant direct effects of instrumental neighboring behaviors on fear. Though to the author's knowledge, no other studies have examined instrumental neighboring and fear with a focus on police perceptions, Ross & Jang (2000) do provide analyses designed to focus on the role of the neighborhood context. As such, they find that instrumental neighboring has a significant negative association with fear in contexts characterized by high levels of physical disorder.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the present study finds support for the principle claim that negative perceptions of the police at the community level will be associated with greater levels of neighborhood fear, and will moderate the negative association between specific dimensions of social capital and fear. The mixed findings across dimensions of social capital indicate the importance of sound theoretical legitimization for the operationalization of these constructs, as each dimension appears to operate independently in this relationship. Thus, collapsing several dimensions of social capital into scales designed to tap social integration, or social capital vaguely, obscures the association between each dimension and fear. Furthermore, such an approach tells us little about the actual behaviors or properties of neighborhoods which affect fear.

The results of these analyses also help to clarify the mixed findings of past research. In particular, the present study illustrates the centrality of the neighborhood context and the context of formal social control. Models in past quantitative studies are designed with the assumption that social capital should operate uniformly across neighborhood contexts and merely control for perceived or observed neighborhood characteristics. By framing the relationship between social capital and fear in the broader context of social control, specifically relationships with the police, the present study illustrates the necessity to consider how these processes and properties might have varying meanings and functions in relation to fear across neighborhood contexts.

An additional contribution of this study is the analysis of perceptions of the police and fear of crime at the neighborhood level. Much scholarship has demonstrated that neighborhood communities as a whole, and not just individual persons or subpopulations, have problematic

views of, or relationships with the police. Put simply, negative perceptions of the police are not merely an individual-level phenomenon, but a quality of neighborhoods themselves. Likewise, though researchers have noted that neighborhoods are differentiated by varying levels of fear, to the extent that various forms of investment in neighborhoods is discouraged by the fear of crime (e.g. Hale 1996; Meithe 1995), the standard approach in neighborhoods research is to treat fear as an individual-level phenomenon in multilevel models. The present study has demonstrated that fear itself is a quality of neighborhoods, and varies according to perceptions of the police and the extent of social capital in neighborhood communities.

This study is not without its limitations. As the data come from a community survey limited to the city of Seattle, Washington, it is unclear the generalizability of these results to other American cities and non-urban contexts. While there may not be any compelling reason to believe that these processes differ significantly across cities, it is important to recognize that as a single city, Seattle has a unique economic, racial-ethnic, and social context. Future research should attempt to test the unique propositions of this study in other contexts. Relatedly, the present study is limited by the small sample size (N = 123), which compromises the power to detect significant effects. For example, the marginally significant effect of collective efficacy in the mediation model would likely be significant in a larger sample.

As in all cross-sectional studies, an additional limitation of the present approach is the inability to make claims regarding the causality of these relationships. Future research should explore how these processes operate over time. Furthermore, such a design prohibits ruling out selection effects. That is, it could be that the kind of people who choose to live in each neighborhood are predisposed to perceiving police a certain way, or exhibiting certain levels of fear. Additionally, it is reasonable to expect that some of these effects are bi-directional. That is,

neighborhoods characterized by fear may be less likely to view the police favorably. Finally, the present study defines "neighborhood" as the census tract. Hipp (2013) and others have demonstrated the necessity to examine neighborhood processes at the block level, where these variables may be more salient. However, there is no reason to expect that adopting such an approach should radically alter the results, and the results from these analyses at the tract level may be considered conservative estimates, as more variation is likely to be present between block groups or face-blocks.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Fear of Crime[a]	2.28	0.06	2.15	2.44
Neighborhood Disadvantage	0.00	2.08	-5.46	4.85
Proportion Minority	0.18	0.15	0.00	0.85
Police Inefficacy	4.01	0.43	3.07	5.13
Proximate Police Bias	4.03	0.67	2.62	5.78
Global Police Bias	6.00	0.84	4.21	8.20
Collective Efficacy	21.96	2.40	15.78	26.31
Social Ties	4.98	0.67	3.40	6.59
Instrumental Neighboring	7.96	1.11	5.10	10.01
Social Neighboring	9.97	0.84	7.95	12.40
Information Exchange	0.74	0.09	0.50	0.94
Affective Attachment	0.84	0.10	0.60	1.00
Behavioral Attachment	0.35	0.14	0.07	0.90

[a]Variable is log-transformed.

N = 123

TABLE 2. Correlation Matrix of Study Variables

	Fear	Police Inefficacy	Proximate Police Bias	Global Police Bias	Behavioral Attachment	Affective Attachment	Social Ties	Instrumental Neighboring	Social Neighboring	Collective Efficacy	Information Exchange	Neighborhood Disadvantage	Proportion Minority
Fear	1												
Police Inefficacy	-0.551	1											
Proximate Police Bias	-0.5954	0.6598	1										
Global Police Bias	-0.0746	-0.1973	-0.0683	1									
Behavioral Attachment	-0.1098	0.1817	-0.0081	0.1287	1								
Affective Attachment	-0.5011	0.3238	0.4031	0.2988	0.2789	1							
Social Ties	-0.2864	0.3617	0.3714	-0.077	0.4036	0.2533	1						
Instrumental Neighboring	-0.3545	0.4228	0.4549	0.0383	0.4033	0.3496	0.8502	1					
Social Neighboring	-0.3221	0.2691	0.2007	0.1829	0.5861	0.4222	0.6551	0.6896	1				
Collective Efficacy	-0.6202	0.6261	0.767	0.0307	0.2681	0.4858	0.6767	0.7515	0.51	1			
Information Exchange	0.3248	-0.2192	-0.302	-0.1529	0.3214	-0.1435	0.3479	0.3464	0.3471	-0.0448	1		
Neighborhood Disadvantage	0.4386	-0.4678	-0.5273	0.2426	-0.1746	-0.1777	-0.6489	-0.6464	-0.2165	-0.6553	-0.0849	1	
Proportion Minority	0.3668	-0.3814	-0.6054	-0.1393	0.0247	-0.3708	-0.2719	-0.368	-0.3356	-0.5196	0.1252	0.2345	1