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Neighborhood Context and Generalized Trust: A Multilevel Mediation Examination of Fear and Police Efficacy

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
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NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXT AND GENERALIZED TRUST: A MULTILEVEL
MEDIATION EXAMINATION OF FEAR AND POLICE EFFICACY

By
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ABSTRACT

Prior research suggests that neighborhood context has an important role in shaping individuals' perceptions of generalized trust, which is an important ingredient in establishing informal social control. Since most of the empirical research focuses on the direct effects of neighborhood structural conditions, there is a rather limited understanding of how social processes affect individual levels of trust. As a result, it remains unclear whether several theoretically relevant social processes mediate the effects of neighborhood compositional features. The current study uses data from the Project of Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods—Community Survey (PHDCN-CS) to investigate whether social mechanisms, specifically fear and police efficacy, mediate the relationship between several adverse neighborhood conditions on individual-level generalized trust. The findings show that both fear and police efficacy are salient mechanisms in the neighborhood context and trust relationship. The theoretical and policy implications of the results are discussed, along with implications and directions for future research in this area.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Neighborhood Context, Human Behavior, and Generalized Trust – An Overview

Scholars of urban life have commonly agreed on the fundamental role of trust in producing social ties and relationships that are beneficial to communities (Bursik, 1999; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987). Early research on neighborhood effects contended that the changing physical and social environment of cities affected the quality of life and weakened the social connections of residents (Park and Burgess, 1921; Park, 1925). Indeed, Shaw and McKay's (1942) social disorganization thesis showed that communities characterized by low economic status, population turnover, and racial heterogeneity inhibited the development of the viable social ties and networks that are elemental in reducing delinquency and crime (see also Sampson and Groves, 1989). As a result of Shaw and McKay's seminal work, the trends found in socially "disorganized" areas became a catalyst in the development of "kinds of places" explanations as opposed to "kinds of people" explanations in examining various pathologies of neighborhoods (Anderson, 1999; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, Mason, Bedimo, Scribner, Basolo, and Farley, 2003; Kubrin, Stuckey, and Krohn, 2008; Reiss and Rhodes, 1961; Sampson, 2012; Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Given these patterns noted above, subsequent research on neighborhood effects has directly emphasized the roles that structural characteristics play in reducing levels of trust (Ross, Mirowsky, and Pribesh, 2001; Ross and Mirowsky, 2009; Ross, 2011; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Trust, defined as the belief in the integrity of other people (Ross et al., 2001), is an important element in the ability of individuals to depend on others for assistance and to form

effective relationships among each other (Coleman, 1988; Rotter, 1980). An individual's belief in others' trustworthiness has been linked to a variety of positive benefits to both individuals and communities by producing practical living conditions and strengthening overall friendship and kinship ties among urban residents (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978; Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson et al., 1997). As depicted in Figure 1 (path a), much of the available literature has suggested that dimensions of neighborhood stratification negatively affect individuals' trust in others due to conditions associated with disadvantage and disorganization. These include low socioeconomic status, residential instability, racial heterogeneity, and disorder (Drukker, Kaplan, Feron, and Os, 2003; Liska and Warner, 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993; Putnam, 2000; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987). Indeed, influential work on neighborhood effects by Wilson (1987) and Massey and Denton (1993) illustrates how particular environments can influence the lack of trust in others as part of a larger psychological and cultural response to stressful living conditions. For example, as identified by Massey and Denton:

In the face of persistent neighborhood disorder, residents come to distrust their neighbors and to look upon them as threats rather than as sources of support or assistance. Residents modify their routines and increasingly stay indoors...By provoking withdrawal, disorder weakens informal processes of social control that operate to maintain a neighborhood's stability. (p.138)

Consistent with this line of thought, Sampson and colleagues (1997) emphasized the importance of trust in their construct of collective efficacy, which is defined as the linkage of cohesion and

mutual trust with shared expectations for intervening in support of neighborhood social control (see also Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). In their study of 343 Chicago communities, the authors found that collective efficacy was pertinent in providing a “protective factor” from the adverse structural characteristics of urbanism and social disorganization (see Sampson, 2012:175). Similarly, scholars have underlined trust as an important element of social capital because trusting relationships build useful resources for individuals (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). Expanding on the importance of trust, Putnam (2000) argues that social capital, defined as the networks and norms of reciprocity and trust, is beneficial for disadvantaged areas. Furthermore, he contends that in areas where social capital is lacking, the effects of adverse neighborhood conditions (e.g., poverty, unemployment rates, and family disruption) become magnified, resulting in greater difficulty for individuals to deal with the troubles found in disadvantaged contexts.

Although previous efforts have established a direct relationship between neighborhood context and reduced trust (see figure 1 – path a), there are two main shortcomings that need to be addressed. First, prior efforts have mainly focused on objective community characteristics (e.g., poverty, physical disorder, and crime rates) as opposed to subjective characteristics (e.g., collective perceptions of community issues/problems) (for an exception, see Ross, Mirowsky, and Pribesh, 2002). Research indicates that individuals often perceive higher levels of crime and social problems in their locales compared to the actual observed social ills that are found in the same areas (DuBow, McCabe, and Kaplan 1979; Maxfield, 1987; Quillian and Pager, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; Skogan, 1990; Taylor, Shumaker, and Gottfredson, 1985). While it is likely that objective neighborhood factors can inhibit individuals’ trust of others, there is a lack of attention given to subjective community factors that may also have an impact on

reducing trust. For example, neighborhoods that are collectively perceived to have high levels of disorder, violence, and to be on the decline may more firmly provide an explanation of the relationship linking neighborhood context to decreased individual-level trust. Thus, it is important to examine perceived contextual factors, net of individual factors and structural characteristics such as concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, racial heterogeneity, and crime rates. Second, absent from current empirical efforts is attention directed toward the intervening mechanisms that may link dimensions of neighborhood structure with lack of individual-level generalized trust¹. This gap in the literature is surprising given that scholars of neighborhood effects advocate that individuals react to neighborhoods differently and these reactions “constitute social mechanisms and practices that in turn shape perceptions, personal relationships, and behaviors ...within... neighborhood borders...” (Sampson, 2012:357). Strands of theories based on neighborhood effects suggest there are social and psychological factors more apt to occur in adverse areas, which in turn may affect the levels of trust among individuals. The current study builds on previous scholarship on neighborhood effects by focusing on mediating factors that may contribute to individuals’ lack of trust in others who reside in structurally stratified locales.

Theoretical models of neighborhood effects provide a robust backdrop to support the idea that individual-level mechanisms play a prominent role in the relationship between neighborhood context and lack of trust. As illustrated in Figure 1 (path b), evidence demonstrates that negative structural characteristics, measured by disadvantage, disorganization, and/or disorder,

¹ Although not a direct comparison to predicting trust, in Liska, Sanchirico, and Reed (1988) and Liska and Warner (1991), the authors included a measure of poverty in their model that examined individual-level predictors (e.g., fear and robbery) on constraining social interactions. However, these efforts did not look at how their key measures mediated the effect of neighborhood context on reduced social interactions.

create psychological and social conditions that directly influence individual-level fear (Brunton-Smith and Sturgis, 2011; Garofalo, 1981; Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Smith, 1987; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Furthermore, Figure 1 (path c), shows evidence that threatening environments negatively influence individuals' perceptions of police efficacy, which is found to undermine trust in others (Anderson, 1999; Brunson, 2007; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating, 2007; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998).

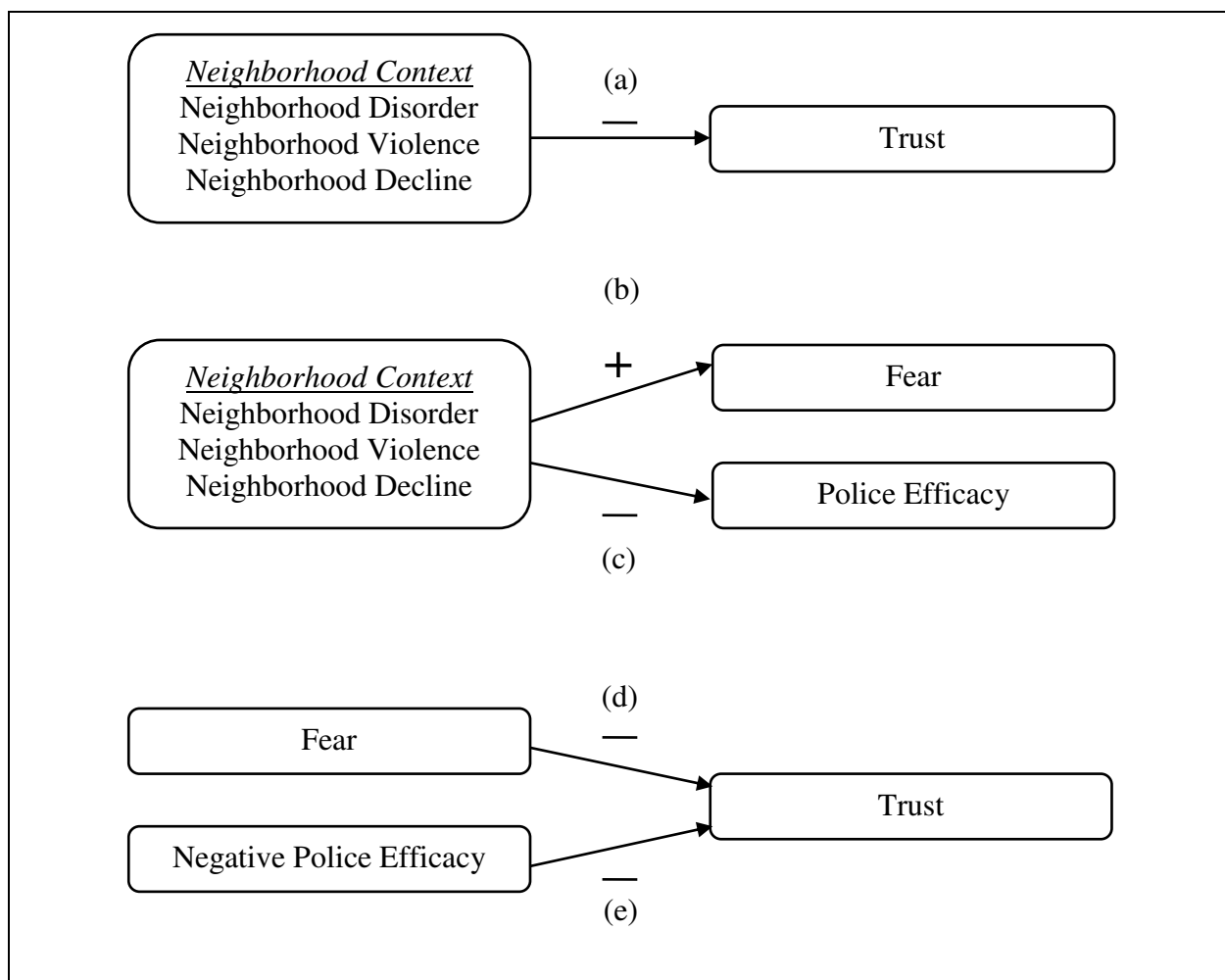


Figure 1: Empirical Relationships Established in Previous Literature.

In sum, these established findings suggest that neighborhood characteristics may not directly influence individuals' willingness to trust others, but rather specific contexts provide a backdrop to the social and psychological processes linking neighborhood context with constrained trust among individuals.

Based on previous theoretical and empirical efforts, there are good reasons to suspect fear and negative assessment of police efficacy are important mechanisms that may reduce the trust of individuals residing in distressed neighborhood contexts. In the following two subsections, I elaborate on the roles of fear and police efficacy as promising mechanisms linking neighborhood context to lack of individual trust.

1.1.1 Fear as a Mechanism that Reduces Trust

One particular extension of neighborhood-level research is that stratified living conditions can increase perceptions of fear among individuals (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Hale, Pack, and Salked, 1994; LaGrange, Ferraro, and Supancic, 1992; Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Liska et al., 1988; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Warr, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). A number of scholars have highlighted the consequences of fear on both individual and neighborhood actions and behaviors. Fear of crime and victimization have been found to break the sense of neighborhood cohesion and increase withdrawal from community life (Conklin, 1975; Liska et al., 1988; Smith, 1987; Sundeen and Mathieu, 1976; Wilson, 1987), alter habits such as staying home, increasing target hardening, and avoiding social activities (Garofalo, 1981; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1984), and impair health and psychological wellbeing (Perkins and Taylor, 1996; Ross, 1993). Figure 1 (path d) demonstrates one of the major consequences of fear-provoking behaviors is the reduction of trust among individuals, because it fosters suspicion (Liska et al., 1988; Skogan, 1986; 1990; Warr, 2000). Indeed, research on neighborhood effects

illustrates that particular contexts provide the antecedent roots in provoking cues (e.g., physical and social incivilities of crime and disorder) that lead to heightened levels of fear (Ferraro, 1995; Furstenberg, 1971; Garofalo, 1981; LaGrange et al., 1992; Warr, 1990). These cues in turn cause individuals to alter their habits in such ways as the increase of social isolation levels (Doeksen, 1997; Ross and Mirowsky, 2000) and reduce engagement in social ties and trust with others (Smith, 1987; Spelman, 2004). As a result, previous studies imply that the relationship between living in adverse neighborhood conditions and reducing individual-level trust may be mediated by fear.

1.1.2 Police Efficacy as a Mechanism that Reduces Trust

Another advancement stemming from neighborhood-level research includes police efficacy, which is defined as the perception that police are responsive to problems, prevent crime, and maintain order in their respective communities². Although numerous scholars have acknowledged the consequences of a lack of police efficacy in urban areas (see Anderson, 1999; Kane, 2002; Klinger, 1997; Wilson, 1987), less attention has been devoted to how police efficacy affects trust among residents.

Several studies have examined the effects of race on negative attitudes toward the police. Findings indicate that African Americans (and other minorities) view the police to be less effective at providing aid when assistance is needed (Anderson, 1999; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Hurst and Frank, 2000; Hurst, Frank, and Browning, 2000; Jacob, 1971; Taylor, Esbensen, Brick, and Freng, 2010; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999). Although there appears to be individual-level differences in demographic characteristics such as race, previous research indicates that

² In this study, “police efficacy” is congruent to the concept of “formal social control” (see Sampson and Graif, 2009). Although the interchangeability of this measure is recognized, in order to maintain consistency throughout the manuscript, the term “police efficacy” will be applied.

neighborhood-level factors predict attitudes toward the police beyond the factor of race (Skogan, 2005; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). As shown in Figure 1 (path e), in neighborhoods characterized by scarce resources, disorganization, and disadvantage, the level of police efficacy is perceived to be much lower (Anderson, 1999; Massey and Denton, 1993; Ross et al., 2001; Wilson, 1987). As a result of a perception that the police are unreliable, the breakdown of social order may cause residents to believe that others around them also cannot be trusted (Ross et al, 2001; Ross, Mirowsky, and Pribesh, 2002). In keeping with these findings, it is plausible that perceived negative police efficacy not only amplifies mistrust of others, but may also be another intervening mechanism linking negative neighborhood conditions to lower levels of trust.

1.2 The Purpose of the Study

Contemporary theories of neighborhood stratification have suggested neighborhood context, fear, and police efficacy are intertwined. However, there is only a limited understanding of how the combination of these factors can influence individuals' trust in others. Scholarship advocates that neighborhoods set the backdrop to the social and psychological mechanisms that alter individuals' perceptions and behaviors (Massey and Denton, 1993; Sampson, 2012; Wilson, 1987). Given this standard, a major limitation from previous efforts is the empirical examination of intervening mechanisms through which exposure to neighborhood stratification is thought to affect individuals' levels of trust in others. Figure 2 illustrates the theoretically implied relationship between neighborhood context, psychological and social mechanisms, and trust.

Although we know that disadvantaged/disordered neighborhoods are characterized by a lack of trust and a scarcity of social connections between individuals, research rarely focuses on

the psychological and behavioral processes which may mediate the link between neighborhood context and trust.

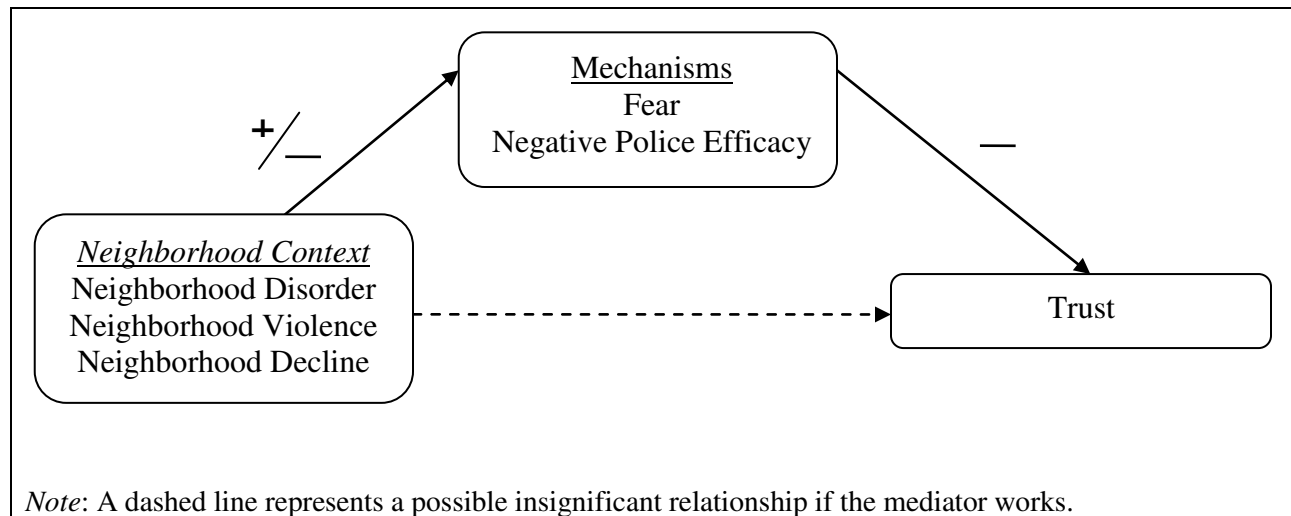


Figure 2: Model of the Gap in the Literature Suggested by Theory and Empirical Research.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the existing neighborhood, fear, police efficacy, and trust literatures by examining the interplay of these key factors. As illustrated and discussed in Figure 1, studies have empirically demonstrated direct relationships between the following: (a) neighborhood context and trust; (b) neighborhood context and fear; (c) neighborhood context and police efficacy; (d) fear and trust; and (e) police efficacy and trust³. However, largely absent from extant research is a theoretically explicit focus on the mechanisms, specifically fear and police efficacy, that may link adverse neighborhood contexts to constrained trust in others.

³ To my knowledge, there has been little empirical attention examining the direct relationship between police efficacy and individuals' trust in others (see Rothstein and Stolle, 2008). However, based on theory and extant literature (see Anderson, 1999; Wilson, 1987; Ross et al., 2001), there is a well-reasoned inclination that such a link exists. That is, individuals from adverse neighborhood conditions view the police as less responsive to their needs; and as a result, these individuals feel that others (in addition to the criminal justice systems) cannot be trusted.

To address this shortcoming in the literature, I argue that adverse structural and perceptual neighborhood conditions may weaken individuals' trust indirectly by way of two pathways. First, individuals residing in troublesome neighborhood settings may become more fearful of their environment, thereby reducing their level of trust with other citizens. Secondly, residents of these adverse environments view the police to be less responsive, ultimately believing that the police are unwilling to cope with their problems, thereby undermining trust in other individuals. Thus, the purpose of this study is to determine whether fear and lack of police efficacy mediates the combined effects of negative neighborhood characteristics on reducing individuals' trust⁴.

1.2.1 The Contributions of the Study

The available research estimating neighborhood effects and trust has relied primarily on neighborhood disadvantage or official crime rates (Massey and Denton, 1993; Ross et al., 2001; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson, 1987). However, there is considerable evidence that additional, subjective neighborhood-level factors may also affect individuals' willingness to trust others. This study analyzes the subjective roles of neighborhood-level disorder, decline, and perceived violence, net of objective characteristics and homicide rates in predicting individual-level trust. Furthermore, although it has been argued that neighborhoods affect the perceptions and practices of individual behavior (see Sampson, 2012), relatively few studies have attempted to estimate the psychological and behavioral mechanisms constituted by neighborhoods that may weaken individuals' trust. Given this limitation in previous work, this study contributes to both theories of neighborhood effects as well as the literature on social/cultural mechanisms by empirically

⁴ It must be noted that there may be supplementary pathways (e.g., environmental, geographical, institutional) that reduce individual-level trust. However, due to data limitations, the examination of additional pathways was not available (see chapter 6).

examining the extent to which fear and perceptions of negative police efficacy mediate the relationship between neighborhood context and reduced trust among individuals.

1.2.2 The Importance of the Study

Identifying the intervening mechanisms that explain the relationship between neighborhood context and trust is important for several reasons. First, trust has been identified as an antecedent to various positive direct and indirect benefits for both individuals and communities. For example, trust has been linked to economic mobility, informal social control, and collective efficacy (Bourdieu, 1979; 1980; Putnam, 2000; Sampson et al., 1997). Thus, identifying the predictors that may weaken individuals' trust can have important implications for understanding the resources needed to form effective relationships that provide safety and order to sustain viable communities (Coleman, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978; Putnam, 2000; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson, 1987). Second, fear and perceptions of weak police efficacy have been identified as precursors to an array of negative individual- and neighborhood-level outcomes. For example, fear has been linked to poor mental and physical health (Ross, 1993; Stafford, Chandola, and Marmot, 2007), suspicion of neighbors (Smith, 1987), the avoidance of particular places and areas (Garofalo, 1981; Skogan, 1986; Warr, 1994), and may also encourage vigilante justice (Scheingold, 1984). Furthermore, individuals who believe the police to be less effective have been found to influence perceptions of injustice (Tyler, 1990) and increase the adoption of street cultures that are conducive to violence (Anderson, 1999; Intravia, Wolff, Stewart, and Simons, 2014). Thus, examining neighborhood predictors of fear and police efficacy outside of poverty and crime can have different implications which are important for understanding such behavioral, physiological, and psychological effects. Third, as limited

empirical attention has been given to the mechanisms that may impact the relationship between adverse neighborhood contexts and trust, very little is known about how processes such as fear and police efficacy may influence extant findings. As a result, identifying the factors that may intervene and negatively alter individuals' willingness to trust others is important for understanding the courses of action that ultimately affect the quality of human interactions within adverse living environments (Putnam, 2000; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson, 1987).

1.3 The Organization of the Study

In chapter 2, I illustrate the importance of examining trust. Specifically, I detail the history of trust and focus on the individual- and societal-levels of trust. In addition, I discuss the positive roles that it generates, most notably highlighting why trust is needed in order to establish social connections imperative for urban landscapes. In chapter 3, I set up the background for the study in several ways. First, I provide a brief overview on the concept of “neighborhood effects” and specify how stratified living conditions affect individual-level behaviors and attitudes. Second, I detail the theoretical frameworks of neighborhood effects, which act as the bases for my research and foundations of my argument. Third, I review several literatures that focus on fear and police efficacy. In my review of the fear literature, I highlight the individual- and neighborhood-level facilitators and inhibitors of fear, as well as the related positive and negative responses. In the literature review on police efficacy, I begin by defining the concept. In addition, I also discuss how neighborhood contexts are influential in creating negative perceptions of police efficacy, the consequences of these perceptions, and also elucidate how perceptions of reduced police efficacy can lead individuals to a decrease in trust of others. At the end of chapter 3, I present the hypotheses of the study. In chapter 4, I describe the data and

measures that are used to conduct my research. Furthermore, I also detail the methodological analyses applied in order to test my hypotheses. Chapter 5 presents the univariate, bivariate, and multivariate results of my analyses. Lastly, chapter 6 presents the discussion/conclusion of the study, in addition to implications for future empirical assessments.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPLICATING THE IMPORTANCE OF TRUST

2.1 The Importance of Trust in Urban Research

The importance of trust in society can be traced back to Emile Durkheim (1893; 1897) who argued that societies achieve solidarity through mutual cooperation and trust. In his seminal work *The Division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim (1893) believed that trust was important for societies to create a division of labor based on equal rights and duties for its members. While trust is the foundation of solidarity and mutual cooperation, distrust among individuals is likely to result in anomic settings that deteriorate the solidarity established in society. Durkheim's (1897) subsequent work *Suicide* illustrated that anomic conditions resulted in higher levels of suicide, whereas higher levels of social solidarity are negatively related to this pathological behavior. As a result of earlier work presented by Durkheim, current scholarship from various disciplines studies the role of trust in an effort to understand the important benefits this construct has for individuals and communities (Coleman, 1988; 1990; Fukuyama, 1995; Portes, 1998; Sampson et al., 1997). Although there appears to be widespread agreement on the importance of trust in human behavior, there is no consensus on a definition due to having "different bases and degrees depending on the context of the trust relationship" (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000:551).

In the literature, scholars often distinguish between two types of trust in others – specific/particular trust and general/social trust (Paxton, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Welch, Rivera, Conway, Yonkoski, Luton, and Giancola, 2005). Specific or particular trust, sometimes called thick trust, involves a narrow circle of acquaintances and is embedded in personal relationships between family members and close friends (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, generalized or

social trust, also known as thin trust, extends beyond the radius of personal acquaintances and is concerned with trusting unfamiliar individuals in a neighborhood or community (Delhey, Newton, and Welzel, 2011; Putnam, 2000). In research on urban life, “which involves daily interactions with strangers,” generalized/social trust is considered more important than specific trust for the social fabric of a community (Delhney et al., 2011:786). As communicated by Uslaner (2003:172):

This moral foundation of trust means that we must do more than simply cooperate with others we know as trustworthy. We must have positive views of strangers, of people who are different from ourselves and *presume that they are trustworthy*.

In recognition of the multifaceted concept of trust, this study focuses on the importance of “*generalized or social trust*,” which is commonly referred to as *others in society who can generally be trusted* (Putnam, 2000; Sztompka, 1999).

To date, past scholarship has contended that generalized trust among individuals is important for securing connections and resources that have micro- and macro-level benefits. At the individual-level, Bourdieu (1979; 1980) believes that trust in others can enhance individuals’ networks, including those that are linked to economic gains. Other literature argues that social trust is beneficial at the community/societal level. Coleman (1988) contends that generalized trust assists in facilitating actions that have broader benefits for all members of society. Subsequent works of generalized trust make similar assertions. For example, Putnam’s (1993) examination of an Italian dataset shows that social trust is a significant factor in building efficient governments and democratic systems (see also Paxton, 2002). Moreover, generalized

trust is a significant factor at the community-level in benefiting intercity development (Loury, 1977), improving health-related issues and reducing mortality rates (Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, and Prothrow-Stith, 1997; Subramanian, Kim, and Kawachi, 2002), and increasing economic prosperity (Fukuyama, 1995; Knack and Keefer, 1997).

In short, higher levels of trust among individuals results in economic and social advantages as well as provide positive benefits for communities. In this chapter, I begin by addressing the trends and patterns in generalized trust. Next, I review the individual- and societal-level sources that generate trust. Third, I discuss the trust “radius,” which determines the boundary of individuals that the average person presumes as trustworthy. Finally, I elaborate on the benefits and disadvantages of generalized trust in urban research as well as summarize the literature that focuses on trust-based social connections.

2.2 Determinants of Generalized Trust

In the United States, the percentages of individuals who trust others have varied over time. At the national level, the General Social Survey (GSS) has measured levels of generalized trust among the general population for the past four decades. As shown in Figure 2.1, the overall percentage of trust has fluctuated, but ultimately fallen from approximately 46 percent in 1972 to 32 percent in 2012. Similarly, using a multi-survey average from the General Social Survey (1972-1998), National Election Study (1964-1998), DDB Needham Life Style Survey (1975-1999), and Monitoring the Future study (high school students only) (1976-1996), Putnam (2000:140) identified that trust, on average, has declined among adults from the mid-1960s to 1999.

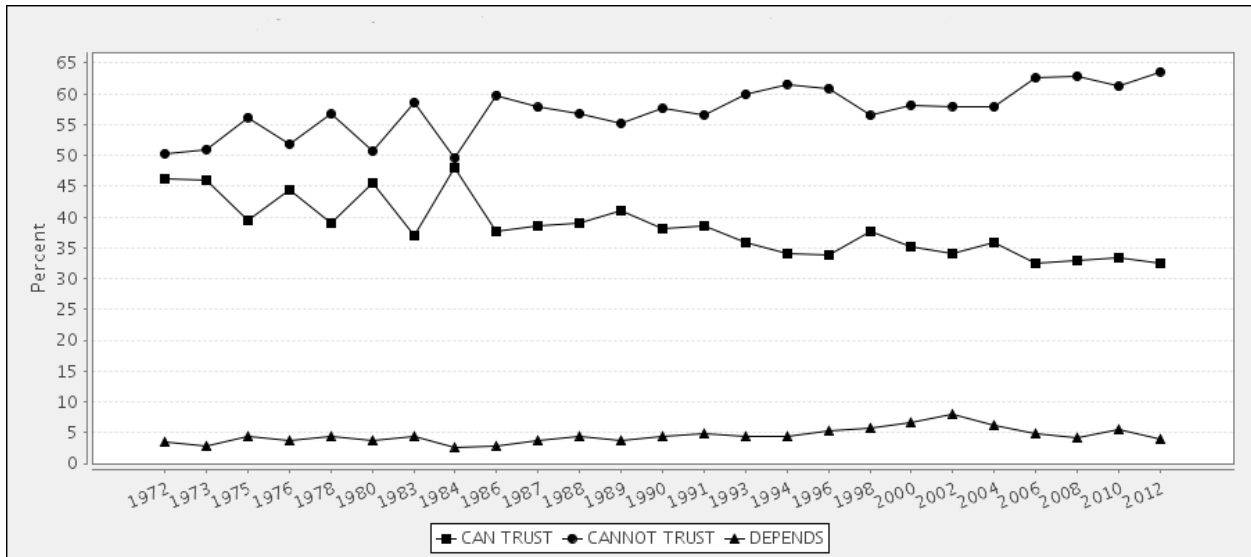


Figure 3: Generalized Trust Trends in United States, 1972-2012⁵.

Scholars have identified a variety of demographic and societal trends for explaining the variation in trust. For example, increased trust levels have been linked to generational differences. In fact, Early Baby Boomers are more trusting than younger generations (Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2003). Thus, some researchers attribute the decline in trust to newer generations who are increasingly pessimistic compared to cohorts born in earlier times. On the other hand, scholarship has also recognized societal trends that affect levels of trust. Indeed, Uslaner (2002) argues that the civil rights movement (1955-1968) “established collective memories that had profound [positive] effects on trust” (p.162). Moreover, the amount of trust has been linked to Presidential elections. For example, Rahn et al. (1997) utilized data from the National Election Studies (NES) and found that levels of trust increase during election years, which they attribute this explanation to individuals being more optimistic for future changes associated with their well-beings.

The overall trends in trust have motivated scholars to identify a variety of factors to explain the determinants of trust. Indeed, extant research has identified a variety of individual-

⁵ Source: General Social Survey.

and societal sources related to generalized trust. In particular, the literature suggests that trust is a property of individual-level factors. On the other hand, others argue that the establishment of trust is best explained by societal properties. Although the units of analysis for these explanations may differ, it is important to understand both major perspectives on the formation of trust. In the following subsections, the sources of generalized trust at both the individual- and societal-levels are reviewed.

2.2.1 Trust as a Property of Individual Characteristics

Studies on the individual determinants of generalized trust argue that trust is associated with individual characteristics such as personality traits or demographic attributes⁶. From a personality perspective, social psychologists argue that trust is learned in early childhood from parents, remains persistent in life, and is associated with characteristics such as optimism and control over one's own life (Delhey and Newton, 2003; Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2002; 2003). For example, using a 40-item scale that included 25 trust questions and 15 control questions, Rotter (1980) sampled college students and found that those who were more trusting of others not only were more likely to be characterized as trustworthy themselves, but they felt more in control of their environment and were less naïve (see also Rotter, 1967). Similarly, using data from the Monitoring the Future (MTF) project, Rahn and Transue (1998) determined that individuals who scored higher on measures such as life satisfaction, personal and property safety, and satisfaction with national government performance were more trusting compared to individuals who were less satisfied in life, felt less safe, and were less pleased with the

⁶ Previous literature also argues that trust may be formed outside of individual characteristics and is associated with the norms and beliefs found in one's shared environment. For example, as stated by Bachman (1998), "[the formation of trust] is largely generated beyond individuals' consciousness...through common habits and practices [in one's environment]" (p.306).

government. The authors also found that people who were more trusting tended to give individuals the benefit of the doubt, even if they did not know them personally. Delhey and Newton (2003), on the other hand, showed minimal support that personality characteristics are strongly associated with higher levels of generalized trust. Using data from over 9,000 respondents in seven nations, the authors found that optimism and being in control of one's own life were not related to generalized trust in six societies and weakly related to generalized trust in one society. However, the authors did find that optimism and control over one's own life to be a significant predictor to social and economic success, which have been linked to higher trust levels among individuals.

A different approach to the individual level determinants of generalized trust argues that trust is more closely associated with social and demographic factors as opposed to characteristics linked to personality and subjective feelings. Behind this line of thought, scholars believe that those who are more socially and economically successful are more trusting of others compared to those who are not socially and economically successful. As stated by Delhey and Newton: "social trust is a product of adult life experiences; those who have been treated kindly and generously by life are more likely to trust than those who suffer from poverty, unemployment, discrimination, exploitation, and social exclusion" (2003:96). Consistent to this line of thought, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) found that individuals who were more educated, married, had children, earned higher income, and experienced less traumatic events (e.g., divorce and health issues) were more trusting. Similarly, Delhey and Newton (2003) found that indicators of success and well-being, measured by income, social status, life satisfaction, job satisfaction, happiness, and anxiety, were medium to strong predictors of generalized trust in four out of the seven nations measured in their analyses (see also Putnam, 2000). In short, these studies

illuminate the importance of individual-level characteristics — particularly social and economic success — as salient predictors in influencing generalized trust.

2.2.2 Trust as a Property of Societal Characteristics

The societal explanations of generalized trust focus on larger aggregates such as societies, networks, and communities, whereas individual-level characteristics focus on the development of trusting attitudes and behaviors (Delhey and Newton, 2003). From the broadest standpoint, nations that are wealthier (Knack and Keefer, 1997), democratic (Newton, 2001; 2007; Paxton, 2002), and provide universal welfare benefits (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008) are more trusting than nations that are less affluent, non-democratic, and have restricted welfare benefits. Another explanation of trust focuses on characteristics of networks and associations as opposed to entire countries and nations. From this perspective, formal and informal networks create ties and trust by joining like-minded people together in order to facilitate social solidarity, democracy, or sense of community (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Putnam, 2000). Although participation in networks and organizations can bind different social groups together, there is lack of support illustrating that social networks can build or reinforce pre-existing levels of trust (Knack and Keefer, 1997; Newton, 1999; Uslaner, 2002). Conversely, it has been acknowledged that the relationship between network involvement and trust may be reciprocal (Putnam, 2000); suggesting the link between trust and involvement in social connections provides a more plausible explanation (Newton, 2001). The logic for this belief is that successful individuals (both socially and economically) are more likely to not only trust, but also participate in formal and informal networks; therefore, suggesting that individual characteristics

encourage both levels of trust and involvement in formal and informal relational networks (Newton, 2001:207).

Finally, some scholars have argued that the community-level characteristics are salient in promoting generalized trust (House and Wolf, 1978). For example, Putnam (2000) argues that residents display higher levels of trust in small towns and rural areas as opposed to larger cities and urban locales. Although not explicitly stated, Putnam (2000:138) suggests a link between community characteristics and generalized trust by demonstrating that individuals who have been victimized by crime and violence are less likely to trust others. Furthermore, Putnam makes a clear note that crime and violence are more prevalent in urban landscapes, which inexplicitly links adverse community characteristics to lower levels of trust. Similar to these findings, various adverse neighborhood features have been associated with reducing trust among individuals, which include residential mobility (Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Merry, 1981; Putnam, 2000), population heterogeneity (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; Leigh, 2006), and disorder (Ross and Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001).

In sum, the foregoing discussion illustrates the individual and societal characteristics that are salient in establishing (and reducing) generalized trust. Indeed, extant research on the individual-level determinants of trust suggests that personality characteristics and social and economic success are important predictors in generating higher levels of trust among individuals. Furthermore, discourse around communities and trust levels emphasize that adverse living conditions tend to decrease individual-level trust. In the following subsection, the generality of who individuals trust, commonly referred to the “radius of trust” is reviewed.

2.2.3 The Radius of Trust

As noted in section 2.1, individuals interact with a variety of people on a daily basis. This may include individuals they know personally (e.g., friends, family members, coworkers) as well as those who are unfamiliar (e.g., strangers and outsiders). The reality of diverse daily interactions has directed prior research to identify two types of trust: particular and generalized. Owing to the reason that generalized trust is more important for securing resources and benefits that have broader benefits for individuals and communities (Nannestad, 2008; Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2003), the trust radius, which measures how wide the “imagined circle” of people an average individual trusts, is an additional reason for understanding the implications of generalized trust in urban localities.

To date, there have been a few empirical studies to examine the trust radius. Fukuyama (1995) posited that the radius of trust has declined the past five decades to the point that fewer individuals extend their trust beyond friendships and familial networks (see Welch et al., 2005, 468-9; Wuthnow, 1998). More recently, Delhey and colleagues (2011) made a seminal step in moving the trust radius “concept” from a speculative argument to operationalization. In their influential work using a sample of 51 countries from the World Values Survey (WVS), Delhey et al. (2011) drew on six measures that asked respondents whether they trust people from various groups (ranging from trust completely to do not trust at all) to determine the average level of trust. From these six measures, the authors distinguished between two types of trust: in-group and out-group. In-group trust is concerned with trusting people known personally, family members, and people in the respondent’s neighborhood; whereas out-group trust includes people one meets for the first time, people of another religion, and people of another nationality. The difference between these two groups determined the radius of trust. Next, from these data,

Delhey and colleagues calculated the “trust radius” by multiplying the level of trust by the radius of trust. Finally, the authors’ examined the trust radius with nine measures of societal civiness.

Delhey and colleagues assessment resulted in three key findings: first, “trust in most people” corresponds higher with out-group trust as opposed to in-group trust suggesting that respondents in most countries imagine a wide circle of people when answering an unspecified/generalized trust question. Second, the radius of trust differs between geographical areas of the world. Specifically, the trust radius is higher in western Protestant and wealthier countries and lower in Confucian and less affluent nations. Third, the radius of trust is positively related to seven of the nine measures of civiness utilized in the study. In sum, the study conducted by Delhey and associates (2011) suggest that radius-sensitive measure of trust is a valid measure of general trust and most individuals visualize a wide circle of people when answering the standard trust questions used in various large-scale data sets and surveys.

2.3 The Importance of Generalized Trust in Establishing Social Connections

In an urban-community framework, sociologists and criminologists have long contended that the role of generalized trust is an essential element for building the reciprocally supportive social connections imperative for sustaining social control and safer living environments (Putnam, 1995; 2000; Sampson et al., 1997). For example, in her influential work on urban city planning and organization, Jane Jacobs (1961) argued that in order for cities to build trusting relationships among individuals, they need to be systematically organized to provide greater levels of informal public contact (e.g., more accessible sidewalks). To Jacobs, these trusting connections develop from public interactions and provide “eyes on the street,” which contributes to a large role in differentiating safe and supportive neighborhoods from unsafe and unsupportive ones.

Similarly, Robert Putnam (1995) incorporated the element of trust in his definition of social capital to explain the decline of civic engagement and the rising levels of crime and social problems within urban locales at a national level. According to Putnam (1995; 2000), social capital⁷, unlike physical and human capital, is embedded in the fabric of the trusting relationships which enables individuals to act together more effectively to facilitate collective goals and actions (see also Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Coleman, 1990; Colvin, Cullen, and Vander Ven, 2002; Lin, 1986; Paxton, 1999). Using national-level data on a variety of social behaviors spanning numerous decades in the 20th century, Putnam demonstrated that America's social capital was declining through evidence of reduced membership in voluntary associations, individuals' trust in others, disruption of family ties (e.g., two parents in the labor force), technology (e.g., television) and voting behaviors. In addition to these trends, Putnam (1995:309) empirically illustrated an inverse relationship between social capital and violent crime. States that scored higher on the social-capital index experienced fewer murders. Furthermore, he found that states were overall less aggressive when rated high in social capital (p.311). In short, due to the erosion of social capital, individuals are less connected to one another, trusting of others, and less involved in their communities. As a result, communities that are depleted in social capital are more likely to face pathologies, such as higher levels of crime and disorder.

Correspondingly, trust is a key ingredient in the formation of collective efficacy⁸, which involves the ability of a neighborhood to take action toward a specific goal through shared efforts. Therefore, collective efficacy is a task-specific form of social connection that unites

⁷ Social capital is a multidisciplinary concept that has been given numerous definitions and applied to explain an abundance of outcomes (for an excellent review, see Adler and Kwon, 2002). However, to maintain consistency with the argument of this study, the form of social capital that is discussed applies to the structure of social relations available to individuals as a result of their location of residence.

⁸ Although collective efficacy is similar to social capital with regards to establishing and maintaining community control through trusting relationships, the definition of social capital includes the dimension of social networks, while collective efficacy does not stress this element (Ansari, 2013). However, it has been acknowledged that collective efficacy cannot be present in the absence of social relations (Sampson, 2006).

cohesion and mutual trust with shared expectations for intervening on behalf of the common good (Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson and Rudenbush, 1999; Sampson and Graif, 2009).

According to Sampson (2012:151-153), the strength of friendship and kinship ties is not important in establishing collective efficacy within an urban environment; what is salient are the relations that are tied deeply to trust and shared expectations with others. In their original study on the concept, Sampson and colleagues (1997) found that collective efficacy was negatively related to violence (see also Sampson and Groves, 1989). Furthermore, the authors found that collective efficacy mediated a substantial portion of the effect between neighborhood stratification and various measures of violence.

In sum, generalized trust is an important factor in establishing social connections that are conducive for supporting social control to maintain pleasurable and safer living environments. In the following subsection, empirical research on trust-based social connections within urban environments is discussed.

2.3.1 Empirical Status of Trust-Based Social Connections in Urban Research

To date, several studies have focused on trust-based connections in urban communities. The positive effect of trust-based social connections in urban locales is evident in Sampson and Groves' (1989) study of the social disorganization model. In their neighborhood-level assessment on hundreds of areas located in Great Britain, the authors found that the density of community-level social organizations mediated a significant amount of the effect that structural characteristics had on violent and nonviolent crime (see also Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Similarly, Elliott, Wilson, Huizinga, Sampson, Elliott, and Rankin (1996) examined whether neighborhood-level organizational- and social-related characteristics mediated the disadvantaged effect of neighborhoods on various unconventional youth outcomes and problem behaviors. In

their multi-site examination, the authors concluded that neighborhoods characterized by high levels of social integration, informal social networks, and informal control had lower rates of youth problem behaviors and adverse outcomes in disadvantaged contexts. Using counties as their units of analysis, Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer (2001) conceptualized social capital as the interplay between trust and civic engagement, and found that in areas where levels of generalized trust and engagement were higher, homicide rates were lower (see also Messner, Baumer, and Rosenfeld, 2004). More importantly, this relationship remained significant while controlling for structural factors such as deprivation, population density, and the reciprocal influence of homicide on social capital. Similarly, Morenoff et al. (2001) found that areas characterized by low-levels of collective efficacy experienced higher rates of homicide.

In summary, the literature on trust-based social connections indicates that crime and other social problems is less prevalent in neighborhoods where generalized trust is more pronounced. Conversely, neighborhoods characterized by lower levels of trust-based social connections are more likely to experience crime, violence, and youth-related problem behaviors. Thus, generalized trust is an important factor in forming prosocial connections that are conducive to providing safer living conditions and heightened levels of social control in urban locales.

2.3.2 Drawbacks of Establishing Trust

Much of the research reviewed above is supportive of the constructive benefits derived from forming trust-based prosocial connections. However, an alternative argument contends that not all trusting relationships result in positive consequences that are beneficial to communities; and the same mechanisms capable in establishing positive social connections may lead to less desirable consequences. Specifically, the “negative effects” or “dark side” of social capital has been documented to increase problem behaviors by facilitating connections that are conducive to

displaying criminal tendencies (Browning, 2009; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958; Venkatesh, 1997; Whyte, 1937; Wilson, 1996). For instance, Whyte's (1937) study of Italian-Americans located in Boston showed that dense and active social connections were paramount in the formation and organization of local street gangs responsible for crime-related activities (see also Miller, 1958). Moreover, Venkatesh's (1997) ethnographic fieldwork on inner-city Chicago housing projects illustrated that gangs were trust-based social organizations that operated unconventional businesses, such as the sale of crack cocaine. Thus, while trust-based social connections may contribute to positive outcomes in neighborhoods (e.g., less crime and disorder), trusting relationships also provide a source of social capital for offenders to engage in illegal behaviors.

Although previous efforts have acknowledged that social capital can result in individuals securing resources that may negatively impact their communities, it is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether the mechanisms (e.g., fear and reduced police efficacy) pertinent to unfavorable living environments are believed to reduce the role of trust that ultimately results in antisocial connections. However, consistent with the theoretical arguments discussed below, the social and psychological processes that are more likely to take place in adverse contexts are salient factors for advancing our understanding of the levels of trust that are believed to be beneficial to producing positive social relationships in order to sustain viable communities.

2.3.3 Summary of Generalized Trust

Scholars of urban research have illustrated the importance of trust in establishing social connections that are conducive to generating community controls in order to maintain safe and viable living environments. Overall, the available evidence suggests communities that rely on higher levels of generalized trust are more efficient in combating crime and social problems than

communities that are characterized as less trustworthy (Elliott et al., 1996; Putnam, 1995; 2000; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997). In other words, without the establishment of trust between individuals residing in urban contexts, the quality of life in these areas may decrease due to the inability of residents to provide social control in their communities.

Given the important implications derived from individual-level trust in urban research, chapter 3 sets the context for the analyses by reviewing theories of neighborhood stratification that are pertinent in influencing individuals' trust. Strands from theoretical models of neighborhood effects suggest that exposure to disadvantaged and disorganized settings affects individual-level trust through social and psychological mechanisms, such as fear and police efficacy (Massey and Denton, 1993; Ross et al., 2001; Wilson, 1987). The final sections of chapter 3 discuss the literatures on fear and reduced police efficacy, which shows theoretical promise in mediating the relationship between adverse neighborhood conditions and reduced individual-level trust.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction to the Theoretical Relevance of Neighborhood Effects

From a broad standpoint, the concept of “neighborhood effect” generally corresponds with how neighborhood-level characteristics affect individual-level outcomes (Harding, Gennetian, Winship, Sanbonmatsu, and Kling, 2010; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Early research combining ecological predictors on individual-level events can be traced to Emile Durkheim’s (1897) investigation of suicide rates. In his influential thesis, Durkheim concluded that the causes of suicide were not a result of individual-level factors; rather, he illustrated that suicide rates were motivated by the social structure of society and its inability to regulate and integrate individuals in a sufficient manner. Since Durkheim’s early work revealing that emergent properties of larger aggregates influence individual-level actions, scholarship has placed important emphases on how exposure to disadvantaged neighborhoods influence attitudes, actions, and behaviors of individuals independent of compositional characteristics (Massey and Denton, 1993; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987).

Contemporary research, however, has acknowledged that neighborhoods are not static features of individuals’ lives; residents may experience the same (adverse) neighborhood settings in different ways (Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Lupton, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). As stated by Harding and colleagues, “Because our theories are often about emergent properties of neighborhoods rather than neighborhood composition, we need to measure emergent properties” (2010:13). Consistent to this line of thought, scholars have focused their attention to specifying the social processes and mechanisms through which neighborhoods affect individual behavior

(Harding et al., 2010; Sharkey and Faber, 2014; Wodtke, Harding, and Elwert, 2011). For example, Susan Mayer and Christopher Jencks identified three key elements on how disadvantaged contexts affect individual behavior, which included the inability to maintain social order, encouragement of forming an oppositional subculture, and limiting access to institutions and resources (see Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Mayer and Jencks, 1989). Moreover, Sampson and colleagues (2002) reviewed 40 empirical studies from 1996 to 2001 that focused on neighborhood effects. In their assessment, the author identified four key mechanisms – social ties, norms/collective efficacy, institutional resources, and routine activities – as strong and independent mechanisms linking neighborhoods to troubling individual behavior (e.g., crime).

In sum, in order to understand how stratified environments affect individual-level outcomes, it is important to conceptualize and understand how theoretical models of neighborhood effects exert (or inhibit) processes that ultimately influence the attitudes and behaviors of residents living in ecologically adverse conditions. Germinating from the neighborhood effects literature, the following sections explore the theoretical frameworks that explicitly link neighborhood context to trust, as well as the social mechanisms derived from adverse living environments that provide a salient promise in connecting neighborhood context to generalized trust.

3.2 Theoretical Foundations on Neighborhood Context and Trust

Theoretical models of neighborhood effects suggest there is substantial variation in individuals' levels of generalized trust across areas (Anderson, 1999; Massey and Denton, 1993; Ross et al., 2001; Sampson et al., 1997; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987). Given these considerations, much research speculates the differences in individual-level trust are due to types of neighborhood contexts where individuals live. There is strong evidence linking the

consequences of residing in economically disadvantage environments to reduced levels of generalized trust (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2002; Coleman, 1990; Massey and Denton, 1993; Putnam, 1995; Ross et al., 2001; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987). Moreover, theoretical models of neighborhood effects on generalized trust describe mechanisms through which psychological and social factors affect the levels of trust among individuals. Before discussing the theoretically driven mechanisms that are believed to affect individual-level trust, this chapter reviews the theoretical frameworks linking neighborhood context to generalized trust. These models of neighborhood effects have their foundations in theories of disadvantage, isolation, disorder.

3.2.1 Theories of Disadvantage

Social Disorganization

Early research on neighborhood effects has long contended that the changing physical and social environment of cities affect the quality of life and weaken the social connections of residents (Park and Burgess, 1921; Park, 1925; Wirth, 1938). Park and Burgess (1925) provided one of the earliest analyses of how community characteristics affect the levels of social control that distinguish organized and disorganized areas. Studying the rapid social and economic changes in the city of Chicago, the authors illustrated through their concentric zone model that the ecological transitions led to social disorganization. Building upon this notion, Shaw and McKay (1942) were interested in the relationship between structural factors and crime/delinquency. In their social disorganization thesis, the authors argued that community characteristics such as socioeconomic status, population turnover, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity are important in the development of viable social ties and networks that are elemental in reducing delinquency and crime (see also Sampson and Groves, 1989). Specifically, low

socioeconomic status (SES) plays a fundamental role in restricting individuals' options of where and with whom they can call home. Consequently, low SES often results in people living in areas where residential mobility and racial/ethnic heterogeneity are more pronounced. In communities plagued by population turnover and racial/ethnic differences, it is more difficult for residents to know, interact, and build a relationship with each other. Therefore, neighborhoods with high levels of residential instability and heterogeneity cannot effectively regulate/control themselves, resulting in heightened levels of delinquency and crime. This lack of community control found in the areas described by Shaw and McKay leads to *social disorganization*. The authors concluded that crime/delinquency and other social problems were linked to the social, cultural, and economic conditions of areas, as opposed to abnormal individual-level biological and psychological traits.

Because Shaw and McKay's (1942) original intention was to understand the neighborhood-crime relationship, their social disorganization model assumes that social connections mediated the effect of neighborhood structure and adverse outcomes (e.g., crime). The authors illustrated in their study that social disorganization of communities caused delinquency through the breakdown of social controls; however, they never provided a clear insight to the types of social controls that were needed to maintain an organized and safe community. As a result of the ambiguous conclusions on social control drawn from Shaw and McKay (1942), the value of social connections became the focus of the revitalized systemic model of social disorganization (Bursik, 1988; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978).

Kornhauser (1978:125) described social disorganization as the inability of a community to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls. Scholars of

the systemic perspective have highlighted the importance of neighborhood characteristics, such as residential tenure and population homogeneity, in the development of friendship and kinship bonds among residents (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sampson, 1988). According to the systemic model, communities that are more residentially stable and racially homogenous tend to foster informal social control, which is defined as the scope of collective intervention that the community directs toward local problems (Kornhauser, 1978). Once social connections are established, the levels of social control in neighborhoods are more pronounced, which in turn reduces the negative risks associated with disorganization (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson, 1987; 1988; Sampson and Groves, 1989).

In its original conception, Shaw and McKay's analysis of social disorganization theory focused on how neighborhood characteristics resulted in high crime and delinquency. They did not explicitly state whether *trust* was a consequence of neighborhood disorganization resulting in the reduction of individuals establishing social controls. However, in the revitalized systemic model of social disorganization theory, the concept of *generalized trust* is *implied* as an important factor in establishing social connections/ties, because disorganized settings (e.g., low socioeconomic status, high residential mobility, population heterogeneity) make it more difficult for residents to adapt, trust, and communicate with others (Coleman, 1988; Jacobs, 1961; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995; Rotter, 1980; Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson and Groves, 1989). For example, as stated by Leigh (2006), ethnic diversity results in low levels of trust because "those in homogenous communities have similar tastes, because members of the majority group have an aversion to heterogeneity, or because diverse communities find it more difficult to enforce a system of social sanctions" (p. 269).

The social disorganization theory and the systemic model have been well-documented with regards to influencing levels of trust. Indeed, empirical efforts have linked low socioeconomic status to reduced levels of trust (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; Bjornskov, 2006; Delhey and Newton, 2005; Drukker et al., 2003; Fairbrother and Martin, 2013; Letki, 2008). Additional studies have argued that low socioeconomic status is closely associated with racial heterogeneity and residential instability (Warner and Rountree, 1997). As a result of this position and congruent with the negative impact of low socioeconomic status on trust, scholars have found trust to be lower in neighborhoods characterized by instability (Coleman, 1990; Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Merry, 1981) and racial/ethnic heterogeneity (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; 2002; Bjornskov, 2006; Delhey and Newton, 2005; Lancee and Dronkers, 2008; Marschall and Stolle, 2004; Putnam, 2000; 2007; for exceptions see Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers, 2009 and Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read, & Allum, 2011). Similar studies have shown favorable support with regards to the systemic argument that community structures affect individuals' willingness to engage in meaningful social relations that are built on trust (see Bursik, 1999; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). In short, previous efforts have empirically demonstrated that social ties/connections are more widespread in areas characterized by residential stability, population homogeneity (Sampson, 1986; 1988), and where poverty is less pronounced (Elliott et al., 1996; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sampson, 1986; 1988; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997), as opposed to neighborhood settings where population instability, heterogeneity, and poverty are widespread.

3.2.2 Theories of Isolation

Urban Disadvantage and Deprivation

This research advances theories on neighborhood effects by arguing that communities characterized by an extreme concentration of disadvantaged individuals produce elevated levels of social pathologies (Anderson, 1999; Krivo and Peterson, 1996; Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). In William Julius Wilson's (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged*, he brings to the forefront the disadvantaged segments of African American communities and their social struggles with poverty. According to Wilson, urban areas have suffered economic hardships due to the deindustrialization of cities and changes within labor forces, elevated levels of prolonged unemployment, family disruption, and the relocation of middle- and upper-class African American families to suburban locales. As a result of this transformation of inner-city areas, Wilson argues that part of the African American population has become "socially isolated," defined as "the lack of contact or sustained interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society" (1987:60). Furthermore, Wilson contends that the history of racial discrimination combined with current adverse social and structural conditions result in a robust foundation for the poor to remain socially isolated from the larger society.

In other works, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1993) explored racial segregation and the creation of the urban underclass. In their seminal book *American Apartheid*, the authors asserted that poverty concentration in urban areas was constructed through "a series of well-defined institutional practices, private behaviors, and public policies by which whites sought to contain growing urban black populations" (1993:10). In their assessment, Massey and Denton showed that unfair housing policies and discrimination in home mortgage applications were fundamental in separating African Americans from residing near whites. According to the

authors, segregated areas not only signify a breakdown in social order and security, but also promote mistrust and withdrawal from community life (1993:138). As stated by Massey and Denton (1993:172):

In this social world [social disadvantage/isolation], ghetto dwellers acquired a tough, cynical attitude toward life, a deep suspicion of the motives of others, and a marked lack of trust in the goodwill or benevolent intentions of people and institutions.

Furthermore, as disadvantage/segregation increases, the concentration of other social and physical problems (including disorder) increases. The authors point out that withdrawal from social life further exacerbates disorder. As a result, disorder then reduces the social connections needed to operate a stable and safe neighborhood environment (see also Massey, 1996).

Although through different processes imposed by Wilson (1987) or Massey and Denton (1993), recent research supports the notion that concentrated poverty affects levels of individual trust. For example, Rothstein and Uslander (2005) illustrated that generalized trust is lower in countries where economic opportunities and resources are diminished. Similarly, using a multi-site sample of American and Mexican respondents, Mirowsky and Ross (1983) found that individuals residing in low socioeconomic locales, with higher rates of exploitation and victimization, residents are less trusting of others (see also Ross et al., 2001). The extant research also suggests that concentrated disadvantage affects trust-based social connections. Wacquant and Wilson (1989) established that areas characterized by extreme-poverty more negatively influences African Americans' engagement in social ties with others when compared

to low-poverty areas. Moreover, the authors found that the limited social ties that are established in these areas tend to have less social worth.

In addition to the findings illustrating that poverty reduces trust, inequalities associated with concentrated disadvantage such as residential isolation/segregation have also been shown to affect levels of generalized trust. For example, Uslander (2011) used measures of diversity and segregation, finding that although diversity reduces trust modestly, individuals who reside in segregated cities with homogenous social networks are the least likely to be trusting of others. The author concludes that residential segregation, rather than racial diversity, is a more salient factor in explaining the reduction of trust among individuals.

3.2.3 Theories of Disorder

Broken Windows

In addition to the structural dimensions found in socially disorganized and disadvantaged neighborhoods, the concept of neighborhood disorder is another important determinant linking psychological and social processes to the reduction of individual-level generalized trust. Rooted in the early Chicago School of sociology, the “broken windows” perspective highlights how poor inner-city locales augment physical and social disorder (Jacobs, 1961; Skogan, 1986; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Wirth, 1938). In their essay “Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety,” James Q. Wilson and George Kelling (1982) explained the process of formerly stable and safe neighborhoods becoming areas that experience heightened levels of crime and social ills. The basic premise behind the authors’ thinking assumes that if a broken window (or other sign equated with a sense of incivility) is left unattended/unrepaired, it serves as a signal of disorder. This can lead to the emergence of criminal activity because potential offenders assume that residents are indifferent to events in their neighborhood. In their

observations, Wilson and Kelling found that neighborhoods suffering from signs of physical (e.g., graffiti, abandoned buildings/structures, litter, broken bottles) and/or social deterioration (e.g., drunks, prostitutes, rowdy teenagers, panhandlers) experienced a number of main concerns. First, signs of incivilities invite “disorderly people” to take over public spaces (1982:30). Second, in response to the physical and social deterioration, civilized residents become fearful and withdraw from public spaces which then result in a breakdown of informal social control as trusting relationships diminish. Third, physical and social disorder begins to escalate, thereby indicating that individuals do not care about the behavior of others in their neighborhood (p.31). As summarized by Ross et al. (2001), disordered neighborhoods “indicate that the people who live around them are not concerned with public order, that residents are not respectful of each other’s property, that the local agents of social control are either unable or unwilling to cope with local problems, and that those in power have abandoned them, all which undermine trust” (p. 571).

Consistent with the broken windows perspective, extant research has examined the impact of disorder on generalized trust. The findings regarding this relationship illustrate that people who reside in disorganized neighborhoods are not only more likely to believe that social control is diminished (Lewis and Salem, 1986; Skogan, 1990), but they also indicate that higher disorder results in increased levels of distrust of others (Ross and Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001; 2002). For example, Ross and colleagues’ (2001) argue that perceived neighborhood disorder has both direct and indirect effects on mistrust through increasing individuals’ perceptions of powerlessness. In their multilevel assessment of 2,482 Illinois residents, the authors found that residents who live in neighborhoods characterized by high levels of disorder are more mistrusting. In addition, among residents who felt powerless in avoiding harm and threat

(common in disorder contexts), the effect of neighborhood disorder on mistrust was amplified (see also Mirowsky and Ross, 1983; Ross, 2011; Ross et al., 2002). Furthermore, although not directly examining the disorder-trust relationship, a growing body of research has found that unfavorable perceptions of neighborhood conditions (e.g., disorder) negatively affect trust-based interactions/connections in communities (Austin, Furr, and Spine, 2002; Fullilove, Heon, Jimenez, Parsons, Green, and Fullilove, 1998; Liska et al., 1988; Macintyre and Ellaway, 2000).

3.2.4 Summary of Theoretical Foundation

Taken together, the theoretical models of neighborhood effects reviewed in this chapter illustrate that particular neighborhood characteristics negatively affect individuals' generalized trust in others. Moreover, neighborhood-level analyses illustrates that context plays an important role in shaping trust-based civic connections (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Marschall and Stolle, 2004; Sampson, 1988; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989). Specifically, drawing from theories of disadvantage and Broken Windows, it is well documented that adverse neighborhood conditions reduce levels of generalized trust as a result of poverty and disorder (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). A substantial body of literature has established the association between neighborhood conditions and distrust, yet relatively few studies have examined subjective neighborhood characteristics on reductions of individual-level trust (for exceptions, see the disorder/incivility framework discussed above). Given these lapses in research, the first purpose of this study is to expand the explanatory power of neighborhood conditions by empirically examining whether adverse neighborhood conditions decrease individual-level trust.

3.3 Beyond Stratification: Processes Leading from Neighborhood Conditions to Trust

Strands of stratification theory suggest that psychological and social factors are more apt to occur in neighborhoods characterized by disadvantage and disorder. This in turn may provide a more plausible explanation in the reduction of trust among individuals. That being said, the possible mechanisms of mediation between the relationship of neighborhood conditions and distrust are unclear. The importance of individual-level responses to urban communities is emphasized by Sampson (2012:46-47):

...the social mechanisms and dynamic processes accounting for neighborhood effects have remained largely a black box... Social mechanisms provide theoretically plausible accounts of *how* neighborhoods bring about change in a given phenomenon... Social mechanisms make up the hypothesized links in the pathway of explanation from a theoretically manipulable cause to an outcome.

Consistent with Sampson's (2012) position on the significance of social mechanisms, the theoretical foundation presented in this chapter suggests that particular environments influence individual-level trust as a part of a larger psychological and social response to stressful neighborhood conditions. In the ensuing sections of this chapter, I present two individual-level responses, including fear and lack of police efficacy, that show theoretical and empirical promise in mediating the link between adverse neighborhood conditions and generalized trust.

3.3.1 Fear

The emergence of fear as a social problem was first recognized via national crime surveys in the United States (Ennis, 1967; Reiss, 1967). However, the fear of crime (among

other social problems) did not receive much attention until the 1980s when scholars realized the number of fearful individuals significantly surpasses the number of actual victims of crime during any given timeframe (Hale, 1996; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Taylor et al., 1985). Thus, while fear may increase as crime increases, the prevalence of fear does not recede as quickly when crime decreases (Taylor and Hale, 1986). In defining fear, there is a lack of agreement among scholars (Fattah and Sacco, 1989; Ferraro, 1995; Gabriel and Greve, 2003; Hale, 1996; Maxfield, 1984). However, according to Smith, "...fear...may be conceptualized as an expression of the sense of powerlessness and uncertainty that accompanies much of urban life" (1989:198). Although there is not a universal agreement in defining the concept of fear, the general consensus in the literature believes that fear considerably impacts the quality of individuals' lives (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Box, Hales, and Andrews, 1988; Garofalo, 1981; Garofalo and Laub, 1978; Fisher and Nasar, 1992; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Riger, LeBailly, and Gordon, 1981; Warr, 1985; 2000). Scholarship has identified an abundance of factors that cause fear. At the individual-level, demographic correlates generally display a higher level of fear among the elderly, women, non-whites, non-married, and the poorly educated as compared to youth, men, whites, married persons, and those with a higher education (Borooah and Carcach, 1997; Brillon, 1987; Hindelang et al., 1978; Kennedy and Silverman, 1985; Rountree and Land, 1996; Ross, 1993; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Will and McGrath, 1995; for an exception, see Baker, Nienstedt, Everett, and McClery, 1983).

In addition, the vulnerability perspective argues that direct and indirect (e.g., knowing someone, especially within the same locale who was victimized) experiences of crime, as well as learning about crime and victimization through the media, are positive correlates of fear. Empirical efforts have found fear increases as a result of personal victimization (Balkin, 1978;

Dubow, McCabe, and Kaplan, 1979; Liska et al., 1988; Skogan, 1987; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Yin, 1980), indirect experiences (Box et al., 1988; Gates and Rohe, 1987; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Taylor and Hale, 1986), and through media attention (Gordon and Heath, 1981; Heath, 1984; O'Keefe and Reid-Nash, 1987; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Although there is ample support indicating direct and indirect victimization experiences influence heightened levels of fear, other assessments have been less convincing, indicating the victimization-fear relationship is weakly related (Box et al., 1988; Garofalo, 1979; Hindelang et al., 1978). For example, using a sample of respondents from eight American cities, Garofalo (1979) found that fear of crime is related to victimization experiences. However, the author found that females and older respondents are the most fearful, although both of these particular demographic groups are statistically victimized much less than males and younger individuals. This finding suggests that demographic factors are important predictors of fear and that personal victimization does not impact age and sex on fear of crime. Similarly, using the British Crime Survey (BCS), Box and colleagues (1988) examined numerous factors believed to be related to fear, such as sex, age, race, incivilities, personal victimization, and perceptions of risk. In their assessment, the authors found that victimization experiences are negatively related to fear and that the victimization-fear relationship only becomes positive when incivilities are included in the model. The authors suggest that individuals who have been previously victimized may be more likely to remain cautious, which ultimately reduces their levels of fear. However, in neighborhoods characterized by disorder and crime, respondents have a more difficult time taking effective precautions and/or these areas remind them of their victimization experiences, which in turn increases fear among these previously victimized individuals.

As a result of the mixed evidence found in individual-level facilitators of fear, researchers were encouraged to draw from a more sociological tradition and explore the wider contextual forces (e.g., neighborhood factors) related to this phenomenon (Box et al., 1988; Hale, 1996; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). In the following sections, I provide empirical support for how neighborhoods affect individual-level fear. Specifically, I illustrate which neighborhood conditions are most pronounced in increasing fear among individuals. Following this review, I explain how the psychological and behavioral consequences of fear reduce individual lifestyle choices, most importantly social communication and trust among individuals.

3.3.1.1 Neighborhood Context and Fear. As reviewed earlier, theories on neighborhood effects provide a robust foundation for the undermining of generalized trust. In addition, stratification theories also play an imperative role in producing neighborhood-level conditions that influence the escalation of fear among individuals. Ross (1993:171) asserts, “Community context is likely the ultimate exogenous variable – the one that sets in motion the destructive cycle of fear....” Given this consideration, a number of studies show the context of an individual’s residence, in addition to the social and physical conditions of his/her environment in which daily routines are conducted, have a negative influence on residents’ levels of fear (Baumer, 1978; Baumer and Hunter, 1978; Bannister, 1991; Box et al., 1988; Clemente and Kleiman, 1977; Conklin, 1975; Fisher, 1981; Hough, 1995; Hunter, 1978; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, and Liu, 2001; Skogan, 1986; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). In the literature, the roles of neighborhood conditions on fear can be separated into two broad domains: one that focuses on the structural characteristics of disadvantage neighborhoods and

another that concentrates on perceived disorders found in one's community. The research corresponding to these two domains are reviewed next.

Structural Characteristics of Disadvantage Neighborhoods

Areas that are characterized by high levels of crime have been predictive in producing individual-level fear (Conklin, 1975; Furstenburg, 1971; Liska and Warner, 1991; Liu, 1993; for an exception, see Lewis and Salem, 1986). Despite the commonsense appeal of this rationale, many researchers believe that the crime-fear relationship is not straightforward because the highest crime locations do not always correspond to the highest concentration of fearful individuals (Lewis and Salem, 1986). Additional research provides evidence that fear of crime may result from social and economic conditions, such as unfamiliarity between or with residents and living near others who are racially/ethnically dissimilar (Chiricos, Hogan, and Gertz, 1997; Merry, 1981). Consistent with arguments made by scholars of stratified disadvantage (Massey and Denton, 1993; Park and Burgess, 1925; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987), empirical findings suggest that structural characteristics such as low economic status/poverty, population instability, and heterogeneity may result in a smaller probability of individuals socially integrating and/or interacting with others, resulting in heightened concerns about personal security and wellbeing (Covington and Taylor, 1991; Skogan, 1995; Taylor, 1996). Indeed, numerous studies have shown that individuals who are more socially integrated in their neighborhoods experience lower levels of fear compared to those who are less assimilated in their locales (for exceptions, see Kanan and Pruitt, 2002; Taylor and Covington, 1993). For instance, Adams and Serpe (2002) found that areas where individuals who reported higher levels of integration (measured by respondents' satisfaction with area), happiness, and commonalities with neighbors, were less fearful compared to neighborhoods where residents did not feel

integrated (see also Gibson, Zhao, Lovrich, and Gaffney, 2002; Hartnagel, 1979; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Rountree and Land, 1996).

In sum, variations of fear have been linked to the structural characteristics of disadvantage neighborhoods. Literature indicates individuals more integrated in their environment tend to both diminish their perceptions of danger and increase their feelings of safety (Austin et al., 2002; Rountree and Land, 1996). In contrast, less assimilated residents experience greater levels of fear and uncertainty (Fischer, 1981; Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). While there is research supporting the social disorganization argument that organized communities are more likely to combat social ills, others argue residents' levels of fear are not necessarily shaped by neighborhood-level factors, but rather by perceptions of disorder and other problems in their communities. The importance of perceived neighborhood disorder on trust is discussed next.

Perceptions of Neighborhood Disorder

Rooted in the "Broken Windows" perspective embedded in the larger social disorganization framework, the incivility thesis argues untended physical and social disorders cause individuals to become fearful when they believe a stable social order has deteriorated in their community (Covington and Taylor, 1991; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Despite empirical support for the correlation between fear and neighborhood conditions (e.g., crime, instability, heterogeneity, isolation), Hunter (1978) argues the physical and social disorder of communities heighten the effects of adverse structural characteristics, and as a result have a robust impact on increasing residents' fear of crime. While the fear of crime reflected in the disorder/incivility argument may be similar to the structural characteristics argument noted above, a number of studies have advanced criminological literature to the position that perceived neighborhood

conditions/incivilities can influence fear above and beyond the level of structural risks found in the neighborhood (Covington and Taylor, 1991; Hope and Hough, 1988; Hunter, 1978). As a result, the vast amount of research dedicated to this relationship warrants its own attention.

The importance of the perceived incivilities-fear relationship in urban locales is highlighted by Hunter (1978:9-10):

...fear in the urban environment is above all a fear of social disorder that may come to threaten the individual... this fear results more from experiencing incivility than from direct experience with crime itself... incivility may...produce a greater variation in fear than does crime because of its relative frequency in daily experiences of urban residents.

In particular, numerous studies have examined how perceived physical and social incivilities increase fear among residents (Baumer and Hunter, 1978; Ferraro, 1995; Garofalo, 1981; Lavrakas, 1982; Markowitz et al., 2001; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, and Alarid, 2010; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Wyant, 2008). As Taylor and Hale note, “social and physical incivilities are fear-inspiring not only because they indicate a lack of concern for public order, but also because their continued presence points up the inability of officials to cope with these problems” (1986:154). Recent research supports the existence of the perceived incivility-fear relationship. For example, Scarborough et al. (2010) sampled 1,181 residents in Kansas City and found that perceived social and physical disorders increased individuals’ levels of fear, net of demographic characteristics, disadvantage, and crime. Similar results were found in support of the disorder/fear relationship via the use of a national sample of residents in Great Britain (Hope

and Hough, 1988). Alternatively, Lewis and Maxfield (1980) share a different position on the relationship between disorder and fear. They argue that disorder by itself is not sufficient to elicit fear among individuals, yet in conjunction with other neighborhood conditions, disorder influences fear. Drawing from a random sample of residents from four Chicago neighborhoods, the authors found the combination of both concerns with crime and incivilities increased levels of fear.

Despite strong empirical support for the incivility-fear relationship, there is mixed evidence relating to the mediating factors that may explain this association. For example, LaGrange et al. (1992) investigated the interplay of social and physical incivilities, perceptions of risk, and feelings of fear. In their assessment, the authors found incivilities were related to both perceived risk and fear. However, when including all key constructs in the same model, the incivility-fear effect was almost entirely mediated through perceived risk of crime. Although LaGrange and colleagues (1992) found that perceived risk to be more robust than fear, Wyant (2008) found that incivilities were a robust predictor of fear and that perceived risk did not play a substantial role in mediating this relationship.

Taken the evidence as a whole, the available research suggests that both structural and perceptual neighborhood characteristics are salient factors in understanding heightened levels of individual fear among citizens.

3.3.1.2 Consequences of Fear. There is a general consensus in the literature that the consequences of fear can negatively affect the quality of life of those who are affected by it (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Box et al., 1988; Conklin, 1975; Fisher and Nasar, 1992; Ross, 1993; Wilson, 1975; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Fear can provoke a range of health-related issues such as physiological and psychological changes. Physiological changes

in response to fear include increased heart beat, rapid breathing, reduced salivation, and augmented galvanic skin response (Warr, 2000). From a psychological standpoint, fear increases anger, anxiety, depression, distrust, frustration, and overall poor mental health (Conklin, 1975; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1997; Perkins and Taylor, 1996; Ross, 1993; Stafford et al., 2007; Warr, 2000).

In addition to these health concerns, fear can also cause changes in social behavior; where changes in the means of protection and avoidance among individuals can be observed. For example, protective behavioral changes include target hardening strategies such as purchasing security alarm systems, installing outside lighting, using watch/guard dogs, and purchasing extra locks and guns for the home (Liska et al., 1988; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Teske and Arnold, 1991). Avoidance behaviors may consist of minimizing contact in particular places by staying at home more often, changing travel habits outside of the home (e.g., walking, using public transportation, avoiding certain areas), and/or limiting general contact with others (Conklin, 1971; Liska et al., 1988; McIntyre, 1967; Miethe, 1995; Patterson, 1985; Skogan, 1986). Furthermore, one negative individual consequence associated with fear includes the general distrust of others. The importance of fear on trust is discussed in the following subsection.

Fear and Trust

In addition to promoting the use of avoidance strategies, fear plays a critical role in producing feelings of distrust. It has been documented that individuals who exhibit heightened levels of fear are more likely to distrust others (Conklin, 1971; 1975; Garofalo, 1981; Liska et al., 1988; Palmer, Ziersch, Arthurson, and Baum, 2005; Skogan, 1986; Warr, 2000). For example, Skogan (1990) argued that neighborhood incivilities, including the fear of crime, foster

suspicion and distrust among residents (see also McIntyre, 1967). In another example, Palmer and colleagues (2005) conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews with a small sample of respondents from Australia on various issues related to crime, fear, and social interactions. The authors found that individuals who perceived more fear were also more distrusting of others, which ultimately restricted their willingness to interact with residents. Although not a direct examination of fear and trust, Liska and colleagues (1988) found that fear constrains social behavior. In fact, the authors found that this relationship is part of a positive escalating loop where fear hinders social conduct, which in turn, further heightens fear (see also Liska and Warner, 1991).

While there is favorable support for the relationship between fear and distrust, it is plausible that the limited number of assessments directly examining this association is due to two reasons. First, in past efforts, the construct of fear may have been captured in related emotional concepts to crime and similar pathologies (e.g., worry or anxiety). Furstenberg (1971) was among the first to note that the construct of fear is related to worrying about personal well-being. Consistent with this position, studies have operationalized fear as “worrying about being victimized” (see Rountree, 1998), or included a measurement of worry in addition to fear of crime (see Taylor and Hale, 1986), which is substantially different from other assessments that commonly measure fear as relating perceptions of personal safety. Second, due to lack of consistency found in the operationalization of fear⁹ (Ferraro, 1995; Warr, 2000), it is plausible that fear of crime may have been assumed and/or used as a proxy for perceptions of physical and social disorder. Given the latter possibility, the examination of fear, in addition to perceived

⁹ The definition of fear and its lack of agreement of operationalizing this construct are discussed in the methods section.

incivilities, may provide a more rigorous measurement in examining the lack of individual-level trust.

Furthermore, while it is not a direct comparison between the fear and trust relationship, numerous studies have found that fear of crime limits individuals' willingness to engage in trust-based social encounters/interactions (Miethe, 1995; Palmer et al., 2005; Smith, 1983; 1986). Drawing a sample from the National Crime Survey (NCS) and using simultaneous equation modeling, Liska et al. (1988) determined that the relationship between fear and constrained social behavior is part of a positive escalating loop. Specifically, fear reduces social behavior, which in turn further increases fear. Consequently, the lack of trust and social connections with others as a result of fear can have a detrimental impact on communities by undermining the cohesiveness of neighborhoods (Conklin, 1971; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). This may eventually increase crime and other social problems in those same areas (Liska et al., 1988; Skogan, 1986; 1990).

3.3.1.3 Summary of Fear as a Mediator. In summary, the above research illustrates that fear is an emotional response more likely to occur as a result of exposure to neighborhood conditions characterized by disadvantage and disorder. Specifically, structural conditions derived from social disorganization theory show that in neighborhoods where population instability and racial heterogeneity are heightened, individual-level fear is more likely to increase as result of residents being less integrated and familiar with their surroundings (Adams and Serpe, 2000; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Rountree and Land, 1996; Skogan, 1995; Taylor, 1996; Taylor and Covington, 1993; Wyant, 2008). "Broken Windows" theory is another important framework illustrating perceptions of neighborhood disorder and other problems increase individual-level fear because untended incivilities/problems are believed

to signal a lack of order in communities (Covington and Taylor, 1991; Hope and Hough, 1988; Hunter, 1978; Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Scarborough et al., 2010; Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Corresponding research has shown empirical support linking individual-level fear to a variety of behavioral and protective changes in order to avoid potential harm from others (Box et al., 1988; Conklin, 1975; Fisher and Nasar, 1992; McIntyre, 1967; Ross, 1993; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Teske and Arnold, 1991; Wilson, 1975). Although limited in the number of assessments, extant efforts have additionally shown that one key adaptation to fear includes heightened levels of social distrust (Conklin, 1975; Garofalo, 1981; Liska et al., 1988; Palmer et al., 2005; Skogan, 1986; Warr, 2000), which thereby reduces socialization with residents and engagement in trust-based social connections (Conklin, 1971; Miethe, 1995; Palmer et al., 2005; Smith, 1983; 1986).

In sum, there is a considerable amount of evidence to suggest fear is a prominent process in understanding the relationship between neighborhood context and trust. Yet aside from these important findings, a major theoretical and empirical gap remains: no prior research has examined whether fear is a mechanism connecting the effects of adverse neighborhood conditions to reduced generalized trust. Thus, the second goal of this study is to determine whether the relationship between unfavorable neighborhood conditions and the reduction of individual-level trust is mediated by fear.

3.3.2 Police Efficacy

Beginning in the 1960s, as a result of political and social movements that sparked riots due to police action, a vast amount of interest and attention was directed towards how the public viewed issues relating to the police and criminal justice system (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Campbell and Schuman, 1972; Winslow, 1968). Concepts on policing found in the social

science literatures have not only remained a contentious issue, but they are classified in different ways. For example, from a vast standpoint, measures on legal cynicism and criminal injustice usually refer to the legitimacy and fairness of the laws found in the broader criminal justice system (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998). On the other hand, measures on policing commonly focus on the satisfaction of these actors' services, legitimacy of their work, or efficiency on responding and handling neighborhood issues. In this study, the concept of police efficacy is used, which is generally defined as the perceptions and attitudes directed toward the police regarding their responsiveness to problems, prevention of crime, and order maintenance in their respective communities. According to Jesilow, Meyer, and Namazzi (1995), scholarship has largely focused on the police because they are most likely to be visible in public and in contact with citizens (p.67). Many studies have reported various individual-level determinants of negative perceptions of the police, including age and gender. For instance, younger individuals are more inclined to have unfavorable contacts with the police (Brunson, 2007; Brunson and Miller, 2006), which corresponds with their negative view of the police (Hurst and Frank, 2000; Jesilow et al., 1995; Leiber, Nalla, and Farnworth, 1998; for exceptions, see Cao, Frank, and Cullen, 1996; Correia, Reisig, and Lovrich, 1996). As a result, many have acknowledged an inverse relationship between age and police perceptions. Furthermore, although it is well established that men commit more crimes than women (e.g., Bureau Justice of Statistics) and therefore are more likely to come in contact with the police (Decker, 1981), the role of gender differences as a predictor of negative police perceptions (e.g., males more than females) is unsupported (Cao, et al., 1996; Garofalo, 1977; Hindelang, 1974).

Outside of gender and youth demographics, one of the strongest predictors of perceived police efficacy is race. There is an abundance of research indicating African Americans (among

other minority groups) are more likely to hold unfavorable attitudes toward the police than whites (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Fine, Freudenberg, Payne, Perkins, Smith, and Wanzer, 2003; Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Hurst and Frank, 2000; Jacob, 1971; Leiber et al., 1998; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Tyler, 2005; Webb and Marshall, 1995; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999; 2002; 2005; for an exception, see Frank, Brandl, Cullen, and Stichman, 1996). Accordingly, based on history (e.g., riots in urban locales) and empirical evidence, it is well known that citizens from different racial/ethnic backgrounds do not share a homogenous view toward the police. Although there is consistent evidence between race and perceptions of police efficacy, some scholars argue that “kinds of people” or compositional explanations fail to illustrate the complete explanation (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997; Sampson, 2012). In other words, the types of neighborhood contexts in which individuals live may play a prominent role above and beyond racial differences in shaping perceptions and attitudes toward the effectiveness of police services (Sampson, 2012:357). Consistent with this line of thought, scholarship has suggested that neighborhood context, rather than individual race/ethnicity, is a stronger predictor of perceptions and attitudes related to negative police efficacy (Anderson, 1999; Cao et al., 1996; Jesilow et al., 1995; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer, 1999; 2000; for exceptions, see Engel, 2005; MacDonald, Stokes, Ridgeway, and Riley, 2007; Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum, 2003).

In the subsequent sections, drawing from theories of disadvantage and the “Broken Windows” framework, I illustrate and provide empirical support on how neighborhoods negatively affect individuals’ perceptions toward the police and other legal/justice systems. Following this review, I explain how the psychological and social responses to lack of police efficacy decrease social connections and general trust among individuals.

3.3.2.1 Neighborhood Context and Police Efficacy. For researchers to understand precisely how neighborhood context fosters negative perceptions of police efficacy, it is important to consider the following: (1) the social and economic structure of living areas, (2) the different styles of policing across these contexts, and (3) the place stratification of race. Structural conditions of the social disorganization framework provide a sound underpinning that demonstrates negative perceptions of police efficacy are an emergent property of various neighborhood conditions. The extant theory and literature suggests that the role of neighborhood context on perceived police efficacy can be separated in three neighborhood characteristics: disadvantage, racial context (e.g., racial/ethnic heterogeneity), and perceptions of neighborhood disorder and problems.

Neighborhood Disadvantage

A growing body of literature posits that neighborhood conditions play a prominent role in influencing individuals' perceptions and attitudes toward the police (Dunham and Alpert, 1988; MacDonald and Stokes, 2006; Reisig and Parks, 2000). Indeed, neighborhood studies have indicated that individuals residing in disadvantaged communities are significantly less likely to express satisfaction with the police (Frank et al., 1996; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer, 2000). For example, Reisig and Parks (2000) stated that "cognitive and emotionally-based responses to neighborhood conditions appeared to be the most important determinants of individual attitudes toward the police" (p.625). In their assessment of 5,631 individuals nested within 58 Indianapolis neighborhoods, the authors found that citizens who perceived their neighborhoods to have higher-levels of crime, incivilities, and to be less safe were more likely to display negative satisfaction with the police. Furthermore, related studies have found that neighborhood context is an important predictor of forming perceptions and

attitudes toward legal cynicism and injustice (Anderson, 1999; Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Henderson, Cullen, Cao, Browning, and Kopache, 1997; Jacob, 1971; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Wilson, 1987). Although these assessments do not provide a direct link between the disadvantage and police efficacy relationship, they do suggest that context is important for shaping negative views toward the criminal justice system as a whole.

More recently, scholars have suggested that the negative relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and police efficacy could be best explained by the ecological variations in police patterns and behaviors constructed across neighborhoods (Brunson, 2007; Kane, 2002; Klinger, 1997; Weitzer, 1999). Specifically, in his book titled *The Police in America*, Walker (1992) captures the intersection of place and police practices by stating:

Residents of inner-city ghetto communities often have articulated two concerns related to police responsiveness. First, many argue that the police are overly aggressive in their uses of pat down searches, arrests, and coercive authority generally, which may lead to alienation and conflict between the police and the public. Second, despite these negative appraisals of police behavior, many inner-city residents also argue that the police are largely unresponsive to crime and deviance in their communities, leaving them unprotected from violent offenders (as cited in Kane, 2005:471-72).

Consistent with this argument, Klinger's (1997) social ecology of policing theory suggests that police officers respond to troublesome behaviors in low-crime neighborhoods differently than in high-crime neighborhoods due to officers handling problems in high-crime areas with greater

force. Similar to Klinger's (1997) position, a number of studies have found that distressed neighborhood environments influence higher levels of police patrol, which in turn lead to more frequent negative police interactions with residents such as unjustified street stops, verbal abuse and harassment, and use of excessive force/ rough treatment (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Carr et al., 2007; Engel, Smith, and Cullen, 2012; Kane, 2005; Terrill and Reisig, 2003; Weitzer, 1999). Thus, individuals residing in disadvantaged contexts may be subjected to an augmented risk of negative interactions with the police, which may be a plausible explanation for perceiving the police as less effective.

Perceptions of Neighborhood Disorder

Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that signs of disorder signal to residents that neighborhood conditions are unsafe; therefore, it is possible that perceptions of physical and social disorder sends a message to individuals that the police are unsupportive and ultimately do not care about their issues, which in turn negatively affects their perceptions of the police (Jesilow et al., 1995; Massey and Denton, 1993; Schafer et al., 2003). Although limited in the number of studies, research has established a link between perceptions of neighborhood disorder/problems and police efficacy. For example, surveying 539 adults in the city of Cincinnati, Cao and colleagues (1996) found that community disorder, net of all other predictors, had the strongest effect in explaining confidence in the police. The authors concluded that as residents' perceptions of neighborhood disorder increased, confidence in the police decreased (see also Jesilow et al., 1995). Similarly, Reisig and Parks (2000) found that individuals who perceived their neighborhood to have high levels of crime and incivilities were less satisfied with the police. More recently, using a sample of 1,269 residents from a Midwestern community, Schafer et al. (2003) examined how perceptions of the police are shaped by residents'

neighborhood contexts. In their analysis, the authors found that residents who perceived both major crime problems and an overall unsafe feeling within their community were more likely to hold negative perceptions toward the police.

Taken together, the results from extant efforts illustrate that neighborhood context and racial composition are significant predictors of police efficacy. It is well documented that neighborhoods characterized by disadvantage and perceived disorder/problems are more likely to negatively view the police and their services. Furthermore, previous studies also show that the racial composition of an area is an important determinant of police efficacy. African Americans living in distressed contexts are not only more inclined to perceive the police in a disapproving manner, but are also negatively disposed to the variations in police patterns and behaviors that are conducive to bringing forth these unfavorable perceptions and attitudes.

3.3.2.2 Consequences of Police Efficacy. There are a number of consequences resulting from individuals who perceive the police to be less effective. For example, perceptions of reduced police efficacy can promote subcultures that are conducive to violence (Anderson, 1999; Intravia et al., 2014; Stewart and Simons, 2006). Moreover, negative perceptions of police efficacy can provoke physiological and psychological responses such as fear. Several studies have examined the effects of police efficacy on alleviating fear of crime, finding mixed results. Despite some empirical support illustrating that police efficacy reduces fear of crime (Baker et al., 1983; Baumer, 1985; Krahn and Kennedy, 1985; Sundeen and Mathieu, 1976), other assessments have been less convincing (Bennett, 1994; Garofalo, 1979; Hale et al., 1994; Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Silverman and Della-Giustina, 2001). According to Bennett (1994), extant efforts examining police efficacy and fear have been supportive at the bivariate level as opposed to the multivariate level. The author contends that these two constructs are “linked by one or

more common variables” and that neighborhood- and individual-level factors affect both police efficacy and fear (p. 189). Given this possibility, there may be antecedent roots at both the neighborhood and individual-level that influence both negative perceptions of police efficacy and increase individuals’ fear.

Despite the empirical support linking negative perceptions of the police to a variety of consequences, there is limited knowledge in understanding whether negative perceptions of police efficacy can extend to individuals’ generalized trust in others. Although there is a limited amount of research linking negative attitudes toward the police to reduce individual-level generalized trust, extant theory and research provide a robust foundation for this connection. The rationale behind this relationship is discussed next.

Police Efficacy and Trust

The broader democracy and government literature suggests that a strong, trusting government system can encourage mutual trust and confidence among others (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Rahn, Brehm, and Carlson, 1999). According to Uslaner (2003:173-74), states can build generalized trust in three ways. First, honesty in government (as opposed to corruption) can enhance interpersonal trust. Second, a strong, well-running government makes people feel more secure about their circumstances, which ultimately may result in individuals cooperating with one another (see Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Misztal, 1996). Third, political leaders who rely upon the masses for support may tailor their agenda to dominant interests/issues in society (e.g., socioeconomic stratification). As a result, politics may empower individuals who have little resources to have faith and trust in others (see Levi, 1998; Muller and Seligson, 1994).

Before discussing the theoretical and empirical rationale that link negative police efficacy to reduced levels of generalized trust, it is first necessary to clarify that trust in the police and

generalized trust are distinct concepts. Trust in the police (and other social institutions) functions as a critical signal to individuals about the honest and uncorrupt society in which they reside (Delhey and Newton, 2004; Rothstein and Stolle, 2008). On the contrary, generalized trust is concerned with trusting unfamiliar others (e.g., strangers) within a more proximate setting such as a neighborhood or community. Thus, one can argue that a government/political institution such as the police can increase or decrease levels of generalized trust in others by being fair and effective when responding to citizens' problems. For example, as stated by Rothstein and Stolle (2008:454):

Institutions of law and order have one particular important task: to detect and punish people who are "traitors"...cheat, steal, murder...and therefore should not be trusted. Thus, if citizens think that these institutions do what they are supposed to do in a fair and effective manner then they also have reason to believe that the chance of people getting away with such treacherous behavior is small. If so, citizens believe that people have good reason to refrain from acting in a treacherous manner...and they will believe that "most people can be trusted" in their society.

Congruent to this line of thought, Rothstein and Stolle (2008) examined whether confidence in the police can extend beyond these legal actors and affect levels of generalized trust. Using a longitudinal cross-national sample provided by the World Values Survey (WVS), the authors found that individuals who were less confident in the police also displayed less generalized trust in others. Similarly, although not a direct comparison between police efficacy

and trust, scholars of urban life have signaled a link on how levels of generalized trust are reduced as a result of actions of government and law officials, most notably in respect to police efficacy. In fact, Kane (2002) provides some insight into why residents of distressed living conditions may view the police as less honest and effective, which may then ultimately reduce their trust with others. In his assessment of New York City police precincts and patterns of police behavior from 1975 to 1996, Kane found that variations in police misconduct such as bribery, excessive force, extortion, and abuse are more likely to occur in areas characterized by disadvantage, residential instability, and an increased Latino population. Because residents in these unfavorable environments often rely on police aid more profoundly than those in advantaged neighborhoods, the heightened levels of misconduct experienced at the hands of the police may increase suspicion and distrust extending beyond these actors and to other individuals (Ross et al, 2001; 2002).

Moreover, another key explanation of how negative police efficacy may lead to generalized distrust in others involves using self-defense to deter future victimization. According to Kleck (1997), one of the key reasons found for defensive gun ownership is that the police cannot provide adequate protection. Consistent to Kleck's argument, empirical efforts have established a link between lack of perceived police effectiveness and firearm ownership. For example, using a random sample of 9,021 residents from three large Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), Smith and Uchida (1988) found that individuals who perceive police protection to be ineffective are more likely to purchase a firearm for self-protection. Similarly, Young, McDowall, and Loftin (1987) concluded an inverse relationship between confidence in the police and courts and defensive gun ownership among a sample of individuals residing in Detroit Michigan. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that individuals may own a firearm because

they feel that others cannot be trusted when the police and actors of the law are absent or unresponsive (see also Kleck and Gertz, 1995).

Scholarship has also argued that residents of disadvantaged communities may respond to police illegitimacy by turning to alternative methods such as violence and unlawful behavior to address disputes (Anderson, 1999; Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). This in turn may ultimately affect levels of trust for individuals living among these social ills. For example, in the seminal study “Crime as Social Control,” Donald Black (1983) proposed the theory on “self-help” to explain violence when legal protection is dormant. According to the author, access to police protection, like all social resources, is not evenly distributed across social space. As a result, individuals may take the law in their own hands as a form of social control to resolve conflicts and disputes, which may ultimately increase violence. In addition, Anderson (1999) suggests this connection between police efficacy and generalized trust in his discussion of individuals residing in distressed living environments relying on police assistance. Specifically, Anderson (p. 34) argues that residents of disadvantaged communities feel a sense of isolation from main stream society and its institutions because the police are less likely to respond to their needs when requesting aid and support; as a result, many residents become less trusting of others and rely on themselves to solve the issues and problems that they face on a daily basis (see also Wilson, 1987). Furthermore, Ross and colleagues’ (2001) structural amplification perspective illustrates that individuals living in disadvantaged contexts characterized by heightened levels of disorder and decline “influences [generalized] mistrust [of others] directly and indirectly by increasing perceptions of powerlessness” (p.569).

In short, the aforementioned studies suggest that negative police efficacy, which often results in the breakdown of social order and increased social problems, elevates feelings of individual-level distrust toward others.

3.3.2.3 Summary of Police Efficacy as a Mediator. In conclusion, negative perceptions of police efficacy are emotional and/or social responses, which are more likely to develop in adverse living environments (Anderson, 1999; Brunson, 2007; Cao et al., 1996; Kane, 2002; Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003; Schafer et al., 2003). Particularly, theoretical domains embedded in the disadvantage and disorder frameworks argue that negative perceptions of police efficacy are the result of neighborhood conditions characterized by low economic status, disorganization (e.g., racial/ethnic heterogeneity), and heightened perceptions of neighborhood disorder and crime. In these adverse contexts, the police are not only more likely to be more abusive and corrupt (Kane, 2002; Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003), but individuals are also more likely to view them in a negative manner (Anderson, 1999; Brunson, 2007; Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Henderson et al., 1997; Jacob, 1971; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Klinger, 1997; Wilson, 1987).

Furthermore, theories on neighborhood effects, self-help theory, and previous empirical efforts advocate that individuals' unfavorable attitudes directed at the police extend beyond these actors, ultimately negatively affecting their generalized trust and social connections with others (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Kleck, 1997; Levi, 1998; Rothstein and Stolle, 2008; Uslander, 2003; Wilson, 1987). These findings advocate that due to individuals residing in neighborhoods characterized by disadvantage and perceived disorder and crime, citizens are often likely to perceive the police to be unreliable, and may cause residents to believe that others cannot be trusted as well (Anderson, 1999; Ross et al, 2001; 2002; Wilson, 1987). Despite these important findings and implications, a major theoretical and empirical limitation warrants attention:

specifically, no prior research has examined whether police efficacy is a mechanism connecting the effects of distressed neighborhood conditions to lower levels of generalized trust. Thus, the third objective of this study is to determine whether the relationship between adverse neighborhood characteristics and the reduction of individual-level trust is mediated by perceptions of reduced police efficacy.

3.4 Current Study and Hypotheses

Based on theoretical rationale and prior empirical research, this study aims to address key limitations founded in the broader urban sociology/criminology frameworks. As illustrated earlier in chapter 3, previous research indicates that neighborhood disadvantage and disorder are empirically related to reductions in individual-level trust. Moreover, there is a limited amount of research investigating how subjective neighborhood conditions influence individual levels of generalized trust. While some studies provide evidence for the relationship between perceived neighborhood disorder and distrust (Mirowsky and Ross, 1983; Ross, 2011; Ross and Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001; 2002), little is known about how additional unfavorable subjective neighborhood conditions, such as perceptions of violence and community declination, affect individuals' trust with others. The disorder framework illustrates that individuals who perceive their neighborhood in an unfavorable manner are less likely to be trustful of others and build trust-based social connections. Thus, based on theoretical models of neighborhood effects, the first hypothesis is the following:

Hypothesis 1: Adverse neighborhood contexts will be significantly and negatively related to reduce individual level trust.

Theoretical perspectives on neighborhood effects derived from theories of disadvantage and Wilson and Kelling's (1982) "Broken Windows" perspective provide ample evidence that unfavorable environments increase individual-levels of fear (Fischer, 1981; Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Markowitz et al., 2001; Massey and Denton, 1993; Reisig and Parks, 2004; Scarborough et al., 2010; Skogan, 1990; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Wilson, 1987; Wyant, 2008) and reduce positive perceptions of police efficacy (Anderson, 1999; Brunson, 2007; Dunham and Alpert, 1988; Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Kane, 2002; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Klinger, 1997; Weitzer, 1999; 2000; Wilson, 1987). Several studies also provide empirical rationale linking individual levels of fear and negative perceptions of police efficacy to diminished levels of generalized trust among residents (for research related to fear and trust, see Conklin, 1971; 1975; Garofalo, 1981; Liska et al., 1988; Miethe, 1995; Palmer et al., 2005; Skogan, 1986; Smith, 1983; 1986; Warr, 2000; for research suggesting that police efficacy may reduce trust, see Anderson, 1999; Levi, 1998; Muller and Seligson, 1994; Ross et al., 2001; 2002; Uslaner, 2003; Wilson, 1987). However, there is a limited understanding of how neighborhood characteristics, psychological and social consequences of fear and police efficacy, and generalized trust are intertwined. Thus, drawing from theories of neighborhood effects, as well as evidence from previous empirical research, the second and third hypotheses are as noted:

Hypothesis 2: The significant relationships between adverse neighborhood contexts on individual trust will be mediated by individual-level fear.

Hypothesis 3: The significant relationships between adverse neighborhood contexts on individual trust will be mediated by individual-level perceptions of negative police efficacy.

In the following chapters, the data and methodology to examine the key hypotheses of the study are discussed. Following this discussion, the results of the multilevel-mediation analyses are presented. Lastly, the implications and recommendations for future research are reviewed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the data and methods used for this study are discussed. The first section identifies and describes the data set that is used for the analyses. The second section describes each of the variables used within the study. Following the discussion of variables, the third section presents the descriptive statistics. The final section of this chapter outlines the analytic strategy utilized in the current study.

4.1 Data

To test the theoretical priorities, the present study examines data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods—Community Survey (PHDCN—CS), 1994-1995. The community survey consists of two parts: specifically, Part 1 of the community survey collected individual-level data on an array of topics from adult residents located in Chicago, Illinois. The information contains “measures of the best and worst aspects of living in Chicago” (p. v of community survey data set description). The information includes topics such as, but not limited to, neighborhood structural characteristics, relationships with neighbors, cultural values, informal and formal social controls, victimization, fear of crime, beliefs regarding violence and behavior of children, attitudes toward the police, perceptions of neighborhood issues, and demographic information. Part 2 of the community survey contains data from Part 1, aggregated to the neighborhood cluster (NC) level (p. v of community survey data set description). In the present study, I use both individual- and community-level data parts from the PHDCN. The data set is ideal for the present study because it provides measures related to all the key concepts

for the proposed investigation as well as numerous control variables that may confound the results.

The PHDCN community survey is a cross-sectional survey of Chicago residents conducted in 1994-1995¹⁰. The initial procedure combined Chicago's 847 populated census tracts into 343 neighborhood clusters (NCs)¹¹. The neighborhoods were composed of geographically contiguous and socially homogenous census tracts based on factors such as physical boundaries (e.g., railroad tracks, parks, and highways), census data on racial and ethnic composition, SES, housing density, family structure, and prior knowledge of the Chicago neighborhoods (Sampson et al., 1997:924). The data collection from the 343 NCs utilized a stratified random sampling strategy consisting of three stages. Stage one sampled city blocks within each of the neighborhoods. At stage two, dwelling units were sampled from within each selected block. Stage three consisted of face-to-face interviewing with one adult resident (18 years of age or older) from each selected dwelling unit. Between 20 and 50 households per neighborhood cluster were selected according to the sampling strategy (Raudenbush and Sampson, 1999:7). As a result of this three-staged procedure, the final sample consisted of 8,782 Chicago residents representative of all 343 NCs (hereafter "neighborhoods"). The response rate was 75%. However, due to both missing data on one neighborhood¹² and not everyone in the

¹⁰ In conjunction with the community survey, the PHDCN also executed a seven-cohort longitudinal study on how family structures, schools, and neighborhoods affect adolescent development from 1994-2001. Although the community survey utilized the same sampling frame as the longitudinal study (e.g., NCs), independent data was collected for the 1994-1995 community survey (see Sampson, 2012:84).

¹¹ The survey protocol defined 'neighborhood' by stating "...we mean the area around where you live and around your house. It may include places you shop, religious or public institutions, or a local business district. It is the general area around your house where you might perform routine tasks, such as shopping, going to the park, or visiting with neighbors."

¹² One neighborhood was dropped from the PHDCN due to a low amount of respondents that would not be sufficient to obtain a reliable aggregate measure (see Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls, 1999:641).

sample answering questions on all relevant measures, the final sample size for this study's analyses contains 7,291 individuals (83% of the sample) residing in 342 neighborhoods¹³.

According to Sampson and Bartusch (1998:785), the city of Chicago has a long history of neighborhood differentiation and provides a diverse population with respect to socioeconomic status and racial and ethnic composition. Consequently, the PHDCN community survey captured "a representative probability sample of Chicago residents and a large enough within-cluster sample to create reliable between-neighborhood measures" (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998:785). Table 4.1 illustrates the racial/ethnic breakdown by SES strata of the 343 PHDCN neighborhoods¹⁴.

Table 4.1: Racial/Ethnic Composition Breakdown of PHDCN Neighborhood Clusters by Socioeconomic Status according to the 1990 Census.

Race/Ethnicity	SES		
	Low	Medium	High
≥ 75% Black	77	37	11
≥ 75% White	0	5	69
≥ 75% Latino	12	9	0
≥ 20% Latino and ≥ 20% White	6	40	12
≥ 20% Latino and ≥ 20% Black	9	4	0
≥ 20% Black and ≥ 20% White	2	4	11
NCs not classified above	8	15	12
Total	114	114	115

¹³ Additional analysis showed that missing data within neighborhoods were not restricted to any one demographic group (Sampson et al., 1997; 1999). Furthermore, Sampson et al. 1997 and 1999 were unable to utilize all 8,782 respondents from the PHDCN community survey due to having insufficient data on each of their key measures. As a result, these studies yielded sample sizes of 7,669 (86%) and 7,729 (88%), respectively.

¹⁴ Source: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/PHDCN/sampling.jsp>

4.2 Measures

In this section, the measures of the study's key concepts are presented in three parts: dependent variable, key independent variables, and control variables.

4.2.1 Dependent Variable

Generalized trust is measured using a five-item Likert scale (*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree*). Respondents were asked how strongly they agreed with the following: (a) people in this neighborhood can be trusted, (b) people around here are willing to help their neighbors, (c) this is a close-knit neighborhood, (d) people in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other, and (e) people in this neighborhood do not share the same values. Items (d) and (e) were reverse coded to maintain consistency with the other measures in the scale. The responses were summed to obtain a total score representing the extent to which the respondent held beliefs that were consistent with socially trusting other individuals. The alpha is .73.

Although not identical, the measures used to construct the generalized trust scale are consistent to prior studies that assessed this concept. Importantly, in line with previous efforts, generalized trust is measured using the attitudes, behaviors, and emotions of residents toward other individuals in their neighborhood (e.g., Ahn and Esarey, 2008; Bakker and Dekker, 2012; Gesthuizen et al., 2008; Lancee and Dronkers, 2008)¹⁵.

¹⁵ For example, the following items have been used in previous studies to measure trust: "I feel at home with people living in my neighborhood," "I live in a cozy and cohesive neighborhood," "In this neighborhood, people associate in a pleasant way," "When I go on holiday [vacation], I trust my keys to my neighbors," "I have a lot of contact with neighborhood residents," and "People in this neighborhood hardly know each other."

4.2.2 Independent Variables

Neighborhood Characteristics

Three neighborhood-level scales derived from the PHDCN community survey were used in the analyses to measure characteristics associated with theories of neighborhood effects.

Consistent with arguments made by Wilson and Kelling (1982) and previous studies in this line of research (Cao et al., 1996; Quillian and Pager, 2001), these measures gauged the *perceptions* of neighborhood issues reported by residents.

Perceptions of neighborhood disorder was created using six items that asked respondents to report on “how much of a problem” were the following physical and social incivilities: (a) litter, broken glass, or trash on sidewalks and streets, (b) graffiti on buildings and walls, (c) vacant or deserted houses of storefronts, (d) drinking in public, (e) people selling or using drugs, and (f) groups of teenagers or adults hanging out in the neighborhood and causing trouble. The response format consisted of *1=not a problem*, *2=somewhat of a problem*, and *3=a big problem*. The six items were summed and aggregated to the neighborhood level to form a construct of neighborhood disorder. The alpha coefficient was .81.

Perceptions of neighborhood decline was measured based on four questions that asked respondents to gauge changes in their neighborhood “during the past five years” on the following variables: (a) change in personal safety in the neighborhood, (b) change in the way the neighborhood looks, (c) change in the people living in the neighborhood, and (d) change in the level of police protection in the neighborhood. Responses included the following format: *1=better*, *2=same*, and *3=worse*. The four items were summed and aggregated to the neighborhood level to form a construct of neighborhood decline. The alpha coefficient was .81.

Finally, a *perception of neighborhood violence* index was measured by respondents' responses to five violent-related acts that occurred in their "neighborhood during the past six months": (a) a fight in which a weapon was used, (b) a violent argument between neighbors, (c) gang fights, (d) a sexual assault or rape, (e) a robbery or mugging. The response choices ranged on a four-point Likert scale which included *1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often*. The five items were summed and aggregated to the neighborhood level to form a construct of perceived neighborhood violence. The alpha coefficient was .85.

Individual-Level Mediators

Although there is consensus among scholars that fear can affect individuals' quality of life (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Box et al., 1988; Garofalo, 1981; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Riger et al., 1981; Warr, 1985; 2000), there is much less agreement on creating a clear definition of this concept (Ferraro, 1995; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Furstenberg, 1971; Hale, 1996; Robinson, 1998; Taylor and Hale, 1986; Warr, 2000). Regarding the "fear of crime" construct, some researchers argue that it should be measured as *feelings* directly related to crime (see Hale, 1996). On the other hand, scholars contend that the measure should tap into the behavioral aspects of individuals (e.g., avoiding areas or walking alone) (see Gabriel and Greve, 2003). For instance, Gabriel and Greve (2003) posit that "...fear must always be accompanied by a cognitive face, i.e., the cognitive perception of the situation as threatening or dangerous. Being afraid implies that the situation at hand is perceived as dangerous, regardless of how vague this perception may be. It is logically impossible to be afraid but not judge the situation as threatening" (p.602).

Consistent with the argument by Gabriel and Greve, *fear* was measured using three-items that gauge individual behavior in response to perceiving a situation as threatening. The items

included: (a) many people in this neighborhood are afraid to go out at night, (b) there are areas of this neighborhood where everyone knows trouble is expected, and (c) you're taking a big chance if you walk in this neighborhood alone after dark. The response categories for each question ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree on a five-item Likert scale (*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree*). The three items were summed to form a construct of *fear*¹⁶. The alpha coefficient is .79.

Police efficacy was measured by a summary scale consisting of five variables pertaining to the effectiveness and fairness of the police to respond to neighborhood concerns and issues. On a five-point Likert scale similar to that used for fear (1= strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree), respondents were asked to report their level of agreement to the following statements: (a) the police in this neighborhood are responsive to local issues, (b) the police are doing a good job in dealing with problems that really concern people in this neighborhood, (c) the police are not doing a good job in preventing crime in this neighborhood, (d) the police do a good job in responding to people in this neighborhood, and (e) the police are not able to maintain order on the streets and sidewalks in the neighborhood. Items (c) and (e) were reversed coded to maintain consistency with the other measures in the construct. The alpha coefficient is .76.

4.2.3 Control Variables

A core-set of variables at the individual and neighborhood levels were controlled to assure that any relationships found between neighborhood context, mediating processes, and generalized trust were not the result of spuriousness.

¹⁶ The fear construct in this study is also congruent to the argument of fear imposed by Ferraro (1995); that is, "some recognition of potential danger is necessary to evoke fear" (p.4).

Individual-Level Controls

The items controlled at the individual level included age, sex, race, employment status, income, education, years in home, home ownership, mobility, violent victimization, legal cynicism, and a neighborhood selection variable labeled neighborhood attachment. *Age* was a continuous variable measured in years. *Sex* was a dichotomous variable (males=1, females=0). Race included two dichotomous measures: *Black* (=1, non-black=0) and *Hispanic* (=1, non-Hispanic=0). *Marital Status* was also a dichotomous measure (1=married, 0=not married). *Employment Status* was coded 1=employed and 0=not employed. *Family Income* was a continuous variable based on 15 distinct income brackets (1=less than \$5,000 to 15=\$150,000 or more). *Education* was a continuous measure that asks the highest grade or years of school completed (0 years to 17 years). *Years in Home* was a continuous measure that discerns how many years the respondent has resided at their address (0 years to 81.5 years). *Home Ownership* was a dichotomous measure coded 1=own home and 0=non-ownership. *Mobility* was a continuous measure indicating the number of times respondents reported moving in the past five years. *Violent Victimization* was a dichotomous variable distinguishing whether the respondent has ever been violently victimized (1=yes, 0=no). Consistent to Sampson and Bartusch (1998:786), *Legal Cynicism* was measured using a summary scale consisting of five items that assessed general beliefs about the legitimacy of the law and social norms. The items included: (a) laws were made to be broken, (b) it's okay to do anything you want as long as you don't hurt anyone, (c) to make money, there are no right or wrong ways anymore, only easy ways and hard ways, (d) nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself, and (e) fighting between friends or within families is nobody else's business. The response categories for each question ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree on a five-

item Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). The alpha coefficient is .76.

Lastly, there has been discourse on methodological procedures used to accurately examine “neighborhood effects” (Blakely and Woodward, 2000; Harding et al., 2010; Oakes, 2004; Sampson, 2008; Sharkey and Faber, 2014). Indeed, one perspective argues that neighborhood effects cannot be measured using survey or observational data because individuals are “selected” into neighborhoods as opposed to being randomly distributed within them (see Oakes, 2004:1932). Because of this concern, Oakes (2004) argues that neighborhood effects should only be analyzed with a randomized/experimental design that consists of interventions; where researchers can alter the social structure by moving individuals into different neighborhood settings (e.g., selecting a neighborhood setting that has less social issues). On the other hand, Sampson and Sharkey argue that “*Choosing to remain* in a changing or even declining neighborhood is a form of selection...and it can be just as consequential as the decision to relocate, an often overlooked point in the debate about neighborhood effects” (2008:2). As a result of these concerns, a selection variable was included into the predictive equations to reduce the possibility of selection bias (see Haynie, Silver, and Teasdale, 2006). Following the lead of Haynie and colleagues (2006), this study incorporated a dummy selection variable, *neighborhood attachment*, indicating whether respondents liked or disliked their neighborhoods (1=like, 0=dislike). Including this selection measure, as well as several theoretically- and empirically-driven control variables should reduce potential selection effects.

Neighborhood-Level Controls

In addition to the aforementioned individual-level controls, six neighborhood-level measures were used as controls. *Neighborhood Disadvantage* is a six-item scale that captures

the concentration of poor individuals residing in deprived living conditions (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). According to Sampson et al. (1999:640), this index represents “economic disadvantage in racially segregated neighborhoods.” The scale was constructed using factor analysis with oblique factor rotation for the following items: the (a) proportion of households living below the poverty level, (b) proportion of individuals receiving public assistance, (c) proportion of individuals unemployed, (d) proportion of individuals who are African American, (e) proportion of children living in the household (less than 18 years old), and (f) the proportion of households that were female-headed. A constant (5.58) was added to the term to eliminate negative values. *Immigration Concentration* was constructed using factor analysis with oblique factor rotation for the following items: (a) the percentage of Latinos and (b) the percentage of foreign-born persons. A constant (1.63) was added to the term to eliminate negative values. *Residential Stability* was created using factor analysis with oblique factor rotation for the following items: (a) the percentage of persons living in the same household for five years or more and (b) the percentage of owner-occupied homes. A constant (2.18) was added to the term to eliminate negative values. *Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity*¹⁷ was created by using Lieberman’s (1969) Index of Heterogeneity. This index places racial/ethnic diversity on a continuum ranging from minimum heterogeneity (a score of 0 indicates that all residents correspond to one racial/ethnic group) to maximum heterogeneity (a score of .83 indicates that all residents equally divided into the six racial/ethnic categories) for each neighborhood. *Homicide Rate* was calculated using a three-year interval (1988-1990) for the number of homicides per 100,000

¹⁷ Taking into account both the relative size and number of racial/ethnic groups in the population, the following equation provided in Kubrin (2000) was used: $\text{Racial/ethnic heterogeneity} = 1 - [(\text{proportion of white})^2 + (\text{proportion of black})^2 + (\text{proportion of Hispanic})^2 + (\text{proportion of American Indian})^2 + (\text{proportion of Asian/Pacific Islander})^2 + (\text{proportion of other race})^2]$. This index has been used in previous studies and has been found to be a reliable indicator of population heterogeneity at the neighborhood-level (see Blau, 1977; Kubrin, 2000; Smith and Jarjoura, 1988; Warner and Rountree, 1997).

persons in neighborhood clusters. To reduce skewness, the natural log of the homicide rates per population was used. *Population Density*, defined as the total population per neighborhood, was given by the 1990 census.

4.3 Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.2 presents the descriptive statistics for the key independent and dependent measures in the study. The average score of the main dependent variable *trust* is 16.82 (sd = 3.39). With the scores ranging from 5-25, the descriptive statistics suggest a wide variation in individual level trust. With respect to the two mediating focuses of this analysis, *fear* (\bar{x} = 9.44, sd = 2.90) and *police efficacy* (\bar{x} = 16.76, sd = 3.60), the descriptives also indicate there is broad variation in the levels of fear and perceptions of negative police efficacy (range = 3 to 15 and 5 to 25, respectively).

Consistent with past research, the bivariate correlations indicate that all of the included individual- and neighborhood-level predictors are significantly associated with generalized trust (see Table 4.2). In support of the aforementioned theories of neighborhood effects discussed in chapter 3, and in agreement with prior literature, the bivariate correlations between the study's key adverse neighborhood conditions and individual level generalized trust are significant in their expected negative direction ($p < .05$). Furthermore, correlation coefficients were examined between the key mediators, fear and police efficacy, for collinearity issues (not shown in tabular form). The results indicate the correlation between fear and police efficacy is .38 ($p < .05$), suggesting that collinearity between the mediators is not problematic.

Table 4.2: Descriptive Statistics for the Study Variables.

Variables	Mean (SD)	Range	Correlation with Trust
<u>Dependent Variable</u>			
Generalized Trust	16.82 (3.39)	5-25	---
<u>Independent Variables</u>			
Mediators			
Fear	9.44 (2.90)	3-15	-.40*
Police Efficacy	16.76 (3.60)	5-25	.41*
Neighborhood Characteristics			
Neighborhood Disorder ^b	1.84 (.37)	1.11-2.76	-.34*
Neighborhood Decline ^b	1.96 (.22)	1.22-2.73	-.16*
Neighborhood Violence ^b	2.02 (.40)	1.27-3.31	-.33*
Controls			
Age	42.65 (16.72)	17-100	.15*
Sex (1=male)	.41 (.49)	0-1	.03*
White (=1)	.27 (.45)	0-1	.20*
Black (=1)	.39 (.49)	0-1	-.11*
Hispanic (=1)	.24 (.43)	0-1	-.07*
Marital Status (1=married)	.37 (.48)	0-1	.11*
Employment Status (1=employed)	.58 (.49)	0-1	.07*
Household Income	5.66 (3.53)	1-15	.24*
Education	12.31 (3.12)	0-17	.10*
# Years in Home	10.39 (11.96)	0-81.5	.14*
Respondent Own Home (1=own)	.45 (.50)	0-1	.25*
Mobility	.95 (1.38)	0-11	-.12*
Perceived Social Disorder	1.85 (.72)	1-3	-.43*
Perceived Physical Disorder	1.75 (.63)	1-3	-.37*
Perceived Neighborhood Decline	2.03 (.51)	1-3	-.30*
Violent Victimization (1=yes)	.13 (.34)	0-1	-.13*
Legal Cynicism	11.83 (3.38)	5-25	-.13*
Neighborhood Attachment (1=like)	.70 (.46)	0-1	-.33*
Immigration Concentration ^a	1.72 (1.02)	0-4.71	-.06*
Logged Homicide Rate 1990 ^a	2.73 (1.38)	0-5.05	-.26*
Total Population ^a	8307 (2894)	2293-25178	.03*
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity ^a	1.44 (.54)	.76-2.00	.10*
Residential Stability ^a	2.18 (1.00)	0-4.51	.17*
Concentrated Disadvantage ^a	5.55 (4.40)	0-22.48	-.25*

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; $N_1 = 7,291$ Individuals; $N_2 = 342$ Neighborhoods.

^a Measurement made at the neighborhood level.

^b Perceptions are aggregated up to the neighborhood level.

4.4 Analytic Strategy

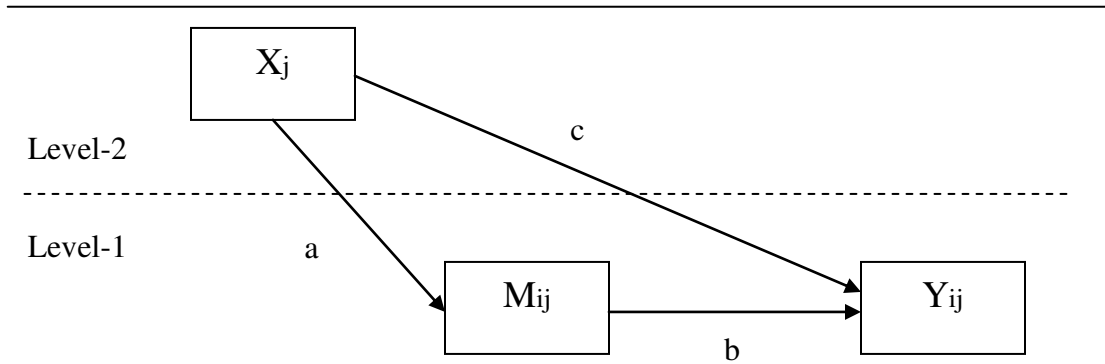
The primary analytic method used is multilevel modeling techniques. Multilevel modeling is appropriate for simultaneously examining both within-neighborhood and between-neighborhood level variance components on the outcome variable (see Baumer and Arnio, 2011). Due to the hierarchical nature of the data, individuals within the same neighborhood may share more similarities than individuals in another neighborhood, and therefore may not provide independent observations (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). In order to obtain unbiased estimates of standard errors and accurately test hypotheses, standard ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression techniques are inappropriate because they assume that error terms are uncorrelated across observations. This assumption is often violated in nested data and may result in the underestimation of standard errors when classical statistical techniques (i.e., OLS) are used (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). To address this problem, this study uses multilevel techniques with robust standard error estimates available in STATA (version 12).

This study uses a series of equations that account for the nested structure of the data and the dependence of individuals' responses within neighborhoods that are estimated simultaneously (e.g., level-1 and level-2 models). To test for multilevel mediation effects theorized in chapter 3, this study employed a 2-1-1 model using Zhang, Zyphur, and Preacher's (2009) CWC(M)¹⁸ procedure that requires group-centered predictors to reduce confounded and inaccurate estimates (Enders and Tofighi, 2007; Zhang et al., 2009)¹⁹. As shown in figure 4, a 2-1-1 multilevel mediation model is composed of the level-2 neighborhood constructs (e.g.,

¹⁸ CWC(M) = centered within context with reintroduction of the subtracted means (Zhang et al., p.701).

¹⁹ According to Zhang and colleagues (2009), to reduce confounded effects in 2-1-1 multilevel mediation modeling, it is recommended to decompose the mediators into separate between- and within-neighborhood components by using group-mean centering at level-1, as opposed to grand-mean centering or no centering. Moreover, the authors also suggest including both the level-1 mediator(s) and its/their group mean(s) in the regression equation(s).

adverse neighborhood characteristic) influencing the level-1 mediators (fear and police efficacy – path a), which in turn affects the individual-level outcome (generalized trust – path b)²⁰.



Notes: X_j = level-2 independent variable(s); M_{ij} = level-1 mediator(s); Y_{ij} = level-1 dependent variable.

Figure 4: A 2-1-1 Multilevel Mediation Model.

The first step in testing multilevel mediation is establishing a relationship between the level-2 predictors (neighborhood measures) and the level-1 outcome (trust). This is done using equations (1) and (2). Equation (1) corresponds to the level-1 model (individuals residing within neighborhoods). It is written as:

$$(1) \quad \text{Level 1: } Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{qij} + e_{ij}$$

where Y_{ij} represents the score on the neighborhood-level measure for respondent i in neighborhood j . β_{0j} is the intercept and β_{1j} is the regression slope. X_{qij} is the value of covariate q associated with respondent i in neighborhood j and e_{ij} is the residual error term that is assumed to be independently and normally distributed with a mean of zero and constant variance σ^2 .

²⁰ Source: Zhang, Zyphur, and Preacher (2009:698).

The level-2 model allows the intercepts from the level-1 model to vary randomly across neighborhoods. The line equation for this model is shown in equation (2):

$$(2) \quad \text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = Y_{00} + Y_{01s}X_{qij} + u_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

where Y_{00} is the average score of the outcome across all neighborhoods, Y_{01s} are the neighborhood-level regression coefficients, X_{qij} is the value of covariate q associated with respondent i in neighborhood j , u_{0j} is the between neighborhood variance with a mean of zero and constant variance σ^2 , and e_{ij} is the residual error term.

The second step establishes a relationship between the level-2 predictors (neighborhood measures) and the key level-1 mediators (fear and police efficacy). Equations (3) and (4) demonstrate this step:

$$(3) \quad \text{Level 1: } M_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

$$(4) \quad \text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = Y_{00} + Y_{01s}X_{qij} + u_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

where M_{ij} refers to the level-1 mediator(s).

The third step determines whether the relationship between the level-2 predictors (neighborhood measures) and level-1 outcome (trust) is reduced in magnitude or becomes nonsignificant when the level-1 mediators are added to the model. This is shown in equations five (5) through seven (7):

$$(5) \quad \text{Level 1: } Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(M_{ij} - M_{oj}) + e_{ij}$$

$$(6) \quad \text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = Y_{00} + Y_{01s}X_{qij} + Y_{02s}M_{oj} + u_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

$$(7) \quad \beta_{1j} = Y_{10}$$

where M_{0j} is the average value of the mediator for neighborhood j and Y_{02} s and Y_{10} s are the between- and within-group coefficients of the mediator.

In chapter 5, the results from the multilevel mediation modeling are presented. Lastly, chapter 6 presents a discussion of the study, the strengths and weaknesses of the research, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 Unconditional Model Results

Before proceeding with the analyses, an unconditional, random analysis of variance (ANOVA) model was estimated. This model, also known as the null model, provides an estimate of how much of the variance in the dependent variable, generalized trust, is within neighborhoods and between neighborhoods.

Table 5.1: Multilevel Estimates of Random Effects for the Unconditional Model.

Variables	b	S.E.
Intercept	16.89*	.09
Individual variance (τ_{00})	9.64	.16
Neighborhood variance (σ^2)	2.05	.20
χ^2	832.77*	

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; $N_1 = 7,291$ Individuals; $N_2 = 342$ Neighborhoods.

The results of the ANOVA test shown in table 5.1 revealed that the total variance in the dependent variable is 11.69. Specifically, the amount of variance within neighborhoods is 9.64. The between neighborhood variance is 2.05. The intra-class coefficient, which measures the degree of dependence of the observations within each neighborhood, is .18²¹. This implies that approximately 82% of the variance in perceptions of generalized trust is within neighborhoods or

²¹ The intra-class coefficient was computer using the following equation: $\tau_{00} / (\tau_{00} + \sigma^2)$; where τ_{00} represents the individual variance in generalized trust and σ^2 corresponds with the neighborhood variance in generalized trust.

at the individual level, while the remaining 18% is between neighborhoods. Furthermore, the unconditional model revealed a significant random effect in the variance component ($\chi^2 = 832.77$, $p < .05$), which indicates that the measure of generalized trust varies significantly across neighborhoods and can be modeled.

To display the variation in generalized trust, figure 5 illustrates the bivariate relationships between the key neighborhood-level independent variables and generalized trust at different levels of disorder, decline, and violence. Figure 5 shows that as adverse neighborhood conditions increase, generalized trust decreases. While the downward trend in generalized trust across negative neighborhood conditions has been observed in previous investigations (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; 2002; Bjornskov, 2006; Delhey and Newton, 2005; Marschall and Stolle, 2004; Putnam, 2000:2007), it is important to assess whether this variation is explained by social processes, such as fear and negative police efficacy, that are more apt to occur in disadvantaged contexts.

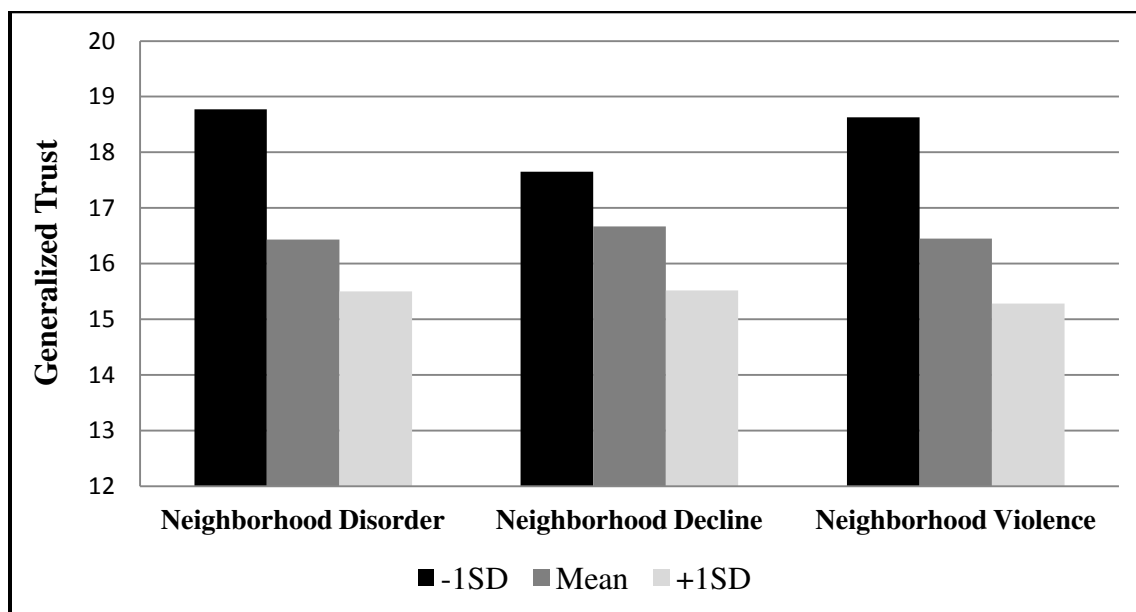


Figure 5: Variation in Generalized Trust across Adverse Neighborhood Conditions.

5.2 Multilevel Mediation Results

Table 5.2 provides the baseline estimates for all key independent and control variables and is designed to answer the first research question addressed in this study: do adverse neighborhood contexts significantly reduce individual-level generalized trust? In addition, the baseline table serves as the first step in the mediation process by establishing whether the study's key individual-level variables are related to the dependent variable (generalized trust) (Baron and Kenny, 1986). Controlling for all individual- and neighborhood-level confounders, the baseline results reveal support for the first hypothesis. Specifically, neighborhoods that are perceived to have high disorder, experience decline, and heightened levels of violence negatively influence individual-level generalized trust. Moreover, the baseline analysis illustrates that ten individual-level controls are related to generalized trust. Lower levels of trust is more likely to be found among individuals who are younger, have less income, spent less years residing in their current home, non-homeowners, perceive higher social and physical disorder, perceive declination in their neighborhood, victims of violence, cynical toward the legal system, and not attached to their neighborhood. In addition, three neighborhood-level controls are significantly related to trust: total population, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and residential stability. This suggests that neighborhoods characterized by higher population density, less racial/ethnic diversity, and greater residential stability are less trusting of others.

Interestingly, and contrary to a number of arguments made in prior literature (see chapters 2 and 3), a number of individual- and neighborhood-level predictors such as sex, race, marital status, employment status, education, mobility, immigration concentration, homicide rate, and concentrated disadvantage were not significantly related to generalized trust. Overall, consistent with prior assessments on neighborhood-level predictors of trust (Alesina and

Table 5.2: Baseline Multilevel Model of Individual-Level Generalized Trust Regressed on Neighborhood Characteristics.

Variables	b	S.E.
<u>Mediators</u>		
Fear	---	---
Police Efficacy	---	---
<u>Neighborhood Characteristics</u>		
Neighborhood Disorder ^a	-.22*	.07
Neighborhood Decline ^a	-.30*	.05
Neighborhood Violence ^a	-.10*	.05
<u>Controls</u>		
Age	.01*	.05
Sex (1=male)	-.01	.13
Black (1=Black)	-.03	.02
Hispanic (1=Hispanic)	-.02	.02
Marital Status (1=married)	.01	.01
Employment Status (1=employed)	.03	.02
Household Income	.01*	.02
Education	-.03	.02
# Years in Home	.03*	.01
Respondent Own Home (1=own)	.10*	.02
Mobility	-.09	.06
Perceived Social Disorder	-.15*	.01
Perceived Physical Disorder	-.07*	.02
Perceived Neighborhood Decline	-.21*	.01
Violent Victimization (1=yes)	-.07*	.02
Legal Cynicism	-.05*	.01
Neighborhood Attachment (1=like)	.44*	.02
Immigration Concentration ^b	.02	.02
Logged Homicide Rate 1990 ^b	-.02	.01
Total Population ^b	-.08*	.03
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity ^b	.10*	.05
Residential Stability ^b	.06*	.01
Concentrated Disadvantage ^b	-.02	.05
Intercept	4.09*	.14
Total Variance Explained ^c	20%	

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; $N_1 = 7,291$ Individuals; $N_2 = 342$ Neighborhoods.

^a Perceptions are aggregated up to the neighborhood level.

^b Measurement made at the neighborhood level.

^c Represents the proportional reduction in the total variance compared to the fully unconditional model.

LaFerrara, 2000; Leigh, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Ross and Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001), the baseline model provides compelling evidence that adverse neighborhood conditions significantly and negatively reduce generalized trust among individuals.

Before presenting the full mediation results to answer the final two hypotheses of this study, the next step in the mediation process is to determine whether the main independent variables (e.g., neighborhood disorder, neighborhood decline, and neighborhood violence) are significantly related to the mediators (e.g., fear and police efficacy) (Baron and Kenny, 1986).

Table 5.3: Key Neighborhood-Level Variables Regressed on Mediators.

Variables	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>
	<u>Fear</u> b (S.E.)	<u>Police Efficacy</u> b (S.E.)
<u>Neighborhood Characteristics</u>		
Neighborhood Disorder ^a	.59* (.10)	-1.82* (.33)
Neighborhood Decline ^a	.46* (.08)	-1.48* (.26)
Neighborhood Violence ^a	.23* (.07)	-.50* (.23)
Intercept	1.32* (.21)	23.45* (.72)

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; $N_1 = 7,291$ Individuals; $N_2 = 342$ Neighborhoods.

Models include all control variables reported in Table 2.

^a Perceptions are aggregated up to the neighborhood level.

As presented in Table 5.3 (models 1 and 2), all of the adverse neighborhood conditions were significantly related to both fear and police efficacy in their theoretically expected direction. These results illustrate that as neighborhood disorder, decline, and violence increase, individual-level fear heightens and individual-level perceptions of police efficacy are reduced. In sum, the

results from Table 5.3 provide verification to carry out the remaining multilevel mediation analyses.

Table 5.4 displays the full multilevel mediation results, while controlling for all level-1 and level-2 confounders. Model 1 is designed to answer the second hypothesis addressed in this study: the significant relationships between adverse neighborhood contexts on individual trust will be mediated by individual-level fear. Model 1 illustrates that when fear is included in the model neighborhood violence becomes nonsignificant, indicating that fear significantly mediates the relationship between neighborhood violence and generalized trust. In fact, individual-level fear mediated 70% $[(.10-.03)/.10]$ of the neighborhood violence effect on individual-level generalized trust. Although neighborhood disorder and decline remain significant, these two adverse neighborhood conditions were substantially weakened once fear was included in the model. Specifically, fear mediated approximately 32% $[(.22-.15)/.22]$ of neighborhood disorder and 20% $[(.30-.24)/.30]$ of neighborhood decline's effect on generalized trust. In short, although fear did not significantly mediate all the key adverse neighborhood conditions on generalized trust, the sizeable reductions in the aforementioned coefficients represented statistically significant mediation (see Preacher and Hayes, 2008; Sobol, 1982), as well as provides support for the study's second hypothesis²².

In Model 2 (Table 5.4), fear is removed and perceptions of police efficacy is included to address the study's third hypothesis: the significant relationships between adverse neighborhood contexts on individual trust will be mediated by individual-level perceptions of negative police efficacy. Similar to the results of Model 1, negative perceptions of police efficacy significantly mediated the relationship between neighborhood violence and individual-level generalized trust.

²² Equation for assessing significant reduction when using a single mediator: $Z = \frac{a_1b_1}{\sqrt{b_1^2S_{a1}^2 + a_1^2S_{b1}^2}}$

Table 5.4: Multilevel-Mediation Models Regressed on Individual-Level Generalized Trust.

Variables	<u>Model 1</u> b (S.E.)	<u>Model 2</u> b (S.E.)	<u>Model 3</u> b (S.E.)
<u>Mediators</u>			
Fear	-.14* (.04)	---	-.09* (.01)
Police Efficacy	---	.03* (.00)	.03* (.00)
<u>Neighborhood Characteristics</u>			
Neighborhood Disorder ^a	-.15* (.07)	-.14* (.07)	-.08 (.07)
Neighborhood Decline ^a	-.24* (.05)	-.22* (.05)	-.18* (.06)
Neighborhood Violence ^a	-.03 (.05)	-.05 (.05)	-.02 (.05)
<u>Controls</u>			
Age	.02* (.00)	.05 (.05)	.01 (.01)
Sex (1=male)	-.02 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.02 (.01)
Black (1=Black)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
Hispanic (1=Hispanic)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
Marital Status (1=married)	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)
Employment Status (1=employed)	.03 (.02)	.02 (.01)	.02 (.02)
Household Income	.11* (.02)	.11* (.02)	.11* (.02)
Education	-.04 (.03)	-.03 (.03)	-.03 (.03)
# Years in Home	.03* (.01)	.03* (.01)	.02* (.01)
Respondent Own Home (1=own)	.09* (.02)	.10* (.02)	.09* (.02)
Mobility	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Perceived Social Disorder	-.11* (.01)	-.13* (.01)	-.10* (.01)
Perceived Physical Disorder	-.05* (.01)	-.05* (.02)	-.04* (.01)
Perceived Neighborhood Decline	-.19* (.01)	-.15* (.02)	-.14* (.02)
Violent Victimization (1=yes)	-.05* (.02)	-.05* (.02)	-.03 (.02)
Legal Cynicism	-.04* (.01)	-.05* (.01)	-.04* (.01)
Neighborhood Selection (1=like)	.41* (.02)	.42* (.02)	.40* (.02)
Immigration Concentration ^b	.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Logged Homicide Rate 1990 ^b	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Total Population ^b	-.08* (.03)	-.08* (.03)	-.08* (.03)
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity ^b	.05 (.05)	.07 (.05)	.03 (.05)
Residential Stability ^b	.06* (.01)	.06* (.01)	.06* (.01)
Concentrated Disadvantage ^b	-.02 (.05)	.01 (.05)	-.01 (.05)
Intercept	4.26* (.14)	2.98* (.29)	3.21* (.30)
Total Variance Explained ^c	17%	16%	15%

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; $N_1 = 7,291$ Individuals; $N_2 = 342$ Neighborhoods.

^a Perceptions are aggregated up to the neighborhood level.

^b Measurement made at the neighborhood level.

^c Represents the proportional reduction in the total variance compared to the fully unconditional model.

In particular, individual-level police efficacy mediated 50% $[(.10-.05)/.10]$ of the neighborhood violence effect on individual-level generalized trust. Moreover, neighborhood disorder and decline remained significant but were substantially reduced by approximately 36% $[(.22-.14)/.22]$ and 27% $[(.30-.22)/.30]$, respectively. These reductions represent statistically significant mediation.

Model 3 (Table 5.4) included both mediators, fear and police efficacy. In model 3, fear and police efficacy, combined, significantly mediated the relationships between neighborhood disorder and neighborhood violence on individual-level generalized trust. Indeed, when both mediators are included in the model, neighborhood violence reduced by 80% $[(.10-.02)/.10]$ and neighborhood disorder reduced by about 64% $[(.22-.08)/.22]$, respectively. Furthermore, although neighborhood decline remained significant, when both fear and police efficacy are included in the model, the coefficient for neighborhood decline reduced by 40% $[(.30-.18)/.30]$. The reduction signifies statistically significant mediation (Preacher and Hayes, 2008)²³.

In conclusion, the results from the multilevel mediation analyses provide empirical and theoretical evidence supporting the hypotheses that adverse neighborhood contexts (disorder, decline, and violence) operate in part through individual-level mechanisms, such as fear and police efficacy, which ultimately reduce levels of generalized trust among individuals. In the final chapter, the results presented in this chapter are discussed in detail, as well as the implications of this study's findings for theory and policy. In addition, limitations and directions for future research involving neighborhood effects and individual-level trust are reviewed.

²³ Using the formula illustrated by Preacher and Hayes (2008), the “product-of-coefficients approach” was used to determine whether the reduction in the analyses were significant when simultaneously including multiple mediators. The following equations were used to estimate the corresponding z-score for each indirect effect through the mediators: $Z = \frac{f}{\sqrt{\text{Var}[f]}}$; whereas $f = a_1b_1 + a_2b_2$; and, $\text{var}[f] = b_1^2S_{a1}^2 + a_1^2S_{b1}^2 + a_2^2S_{b2}^2 + 2[a_1a_2S_{b12} + b_1b_2S_{a12}]$.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

“Trust is the chicken soup of social life. It brings us all sorts of good things – from a willingness to get involved in our communities to higher rates of economic growth and, ultimately, to satisfaction with government performance, to making daily life more pleasant” (Uslaner, 2002, p. 1)

Ever since Emile Durkheim (1893; 1897) illustrated that trust among individuals was important for maintaining a stable and cooperative society, scholars from various disciplines have examined both the benefits of trust and consequences of distrust on individual behavior and community wellbeing (Coleman, 1988; 1990; Fukuyama, 1995; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Sampson et al., 1997; Shaw and McKay, 1942). Indeed, in neighborhoods where trust levels are higher, individuals are more likely to buffer their community from social problems, crime, and violence (Elliott et al., 1996; Putnam, 1995; 2000; Rosenfeld et al., 2001; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997).

The focus of this study was to take a multivariate analytic approach to the study of neighborhoods and trust. Although past efforts have established a link between adverse neighborhood contexts and reduced individual-level generalized trust, relatively little is known about the intervening mechanisms that explain this relationship. Several theoretical frameworks on neighborhood effects provide compelling reasons to believe that social processes provide a more stringent explanation in justifying the relationship between adverse neighborhood contexts on reduced individual-level trust. In addition, the theoretical rationale behind this motivation

was strengthened from past empirical efforts illustrating plausible evidence that linked social mechanisms, derived from neighborhood settings, to generalized trust. The primary purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to expand the literature on the types of subjective neighborhood conditions (as opposed to objective neighborhood factors) that reduce individual-level generalized trust; and more importantly, (2) to identify the intervening mechanisms that explain the relationship between neighborhood context and generalized trust. Using the Community Survey data set from the PHDCN, a series of multivariate mediation models were conducted to address the gaps in knowledge derived from theoretical models of neighborhood effects and the literatures on generalized trust and trust-based social connections. As a result, several important conclusions were drawn from these findings.

This chapter begins with a detailed review of the multilevel mediation results presented in chapter 5. Next, the theoretical implications of the findings are reviewed. Following this, the implications of the findings as they pertain to policy are discussed. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the study and providing recommendation for future development in the area of neighborhoods and trust.

6.1 Neighborhood Context, Social Processes, and Generalized Trust

The presented study contributes to the literatures on neighborhood effects and generalized trust by explicitly examining the pathways through which adverse neighborhood-level characteristics influence individual-level trust. First, it was hypothesized that adverse neighborhood conditions were significantly and negatively related to individual-level trust. The baseline results illustrated when adverse neighborhoods conditions were examined directly with generalized trust, neighborhood disorder, decline, and violence were all significantly related to trust in accordance to their hypothesized direction. These results are important for two reasons:

(1) the findings expand the scope of adverse neighborhood conditions that are capable of reducing individual-level trust; and (2) the findings underline prior assertions that subjective neighborhood factors are important to consider when examining neighborhood effects (DuBow et al., 1979; Maxfield, 1987; Quillian and Pager, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; Skogan, 1990).

Interestingly, while all key subjective neighborhood factors were significantly related to trust in their expected direction, approximately half of the objective neighborhood factors controlled in the baseline model were significantly related to reduced individual-level trust. Furthermore, the coefficients in the baseline model suggested that subjective neighborhood conditions were also the strongest predictors of reducing generalized trust at the individual-level (as compared to the objective neighborhood measures). While contexts such as residential stability and population size parallel prior research findings in this area (Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Merry, 1981; Putnam, 2000), other neighborhood-level characteristics were found to be divergent from extant efforts. For example, homicide rate and disadvantage were not significantly related to trust and population heterogeneity was significant in the opposite direction (see Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; Bjorksoy, 2006; Delhey and Newton, 2005; Drukker et al., 2003; Fairbrother and Martin, 2013; Leigh, 2006; Letki, 2008). As a result, the baseline results underpin the burgeoning argument that individuals often perceive higher levels of crime and social problems in their neighborhood settings compared to the actual observed social ills recorded in the same areas (DuBow et al., 1979; Maxfield, 1987; Quillian and Pager, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; Skogan, 1990; Taylor et al., 1985).

It was also hypothesized that social processes would provide a more plausible link between the adverse neighborhood context and generalized trust relationship. Specifically, prior

literature and theory suggested that two mechanisms, fear and police efficacy, were fundamental individual-level processes connecting the aforementioned relationship. The presented results found that both fear and police efficacy mediated the neighborhood context and trust relationship. In fact, the coefficients from the adverse neighborhood conditions were reduced between 20 and 70 percent when fear was included in the model and reduced between 27 and 50 percent when police efficacy was included in the model, independently. Moreover, when both mediators were simultaneously included in the model, the adverse neighborhood-level measures coefficients decreased between 40 and 80 percent, respectively. These findings are consistent with the discourse implied in prior literature on identifying social processes that link adverse neighborhood contexts to diminished individual-level trust (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Kane, 2002; Liska and Warner, 1991; Ross et al., 2001; Rothstein and Stolle, 2008; Skogan, 1990).

Overall, the results of the current study provide further support that adverse living environments reduce individual's trust. Moreover, the results support the notion that social mechanisms provide a compelling explanation how adverse neighborhood contexts reduce individual-level generalized trust. In the following section, the theoretical implications driven from the current study's findings are discussed.

6.2 Theoretical Implications of the Current Research

Theoretical models of neighborhood effects generally correspond with neighborhood-level characteristics influencing individual-level outcomes (Harding et al., 2010; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Sampson et al., 2002). While empirical efforts have attempted to explain neighborhood-level determinants that decrease individual-level generalized trust, relatively little prior research has examined the mechanisms linking this relationship. Drawing from theoretical models of neighborhood effects, including theories of disadvantage, deprivation, and disorder,

the current research identified two key mechanisms — fear and police efficacy — as mechanisms linking adverse living environments to decreased levels of individual-level generalized trust.

The results of the current study illustrated that key mechanisms, specifically fear and negative police efficacy, are promising processes linking the relationship between adverse neighborhood conditions and trust. The current findings provided evidence that adverse neighborhood conditions not only reduce individual's trust directly, but exposure to unfavorable neighborhood settings decreased generalized trust as a result of social attitudes, actions, and behaviors that are more apt to occur in depleted environments (Massey and Denton, 1993; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Wilson, 1987).

The findings described in this study are especially relevant as they provide evidence in understanding the types of mechanisms responsible for reducing trust in adverse structural contexts; these are salient in forming effective relationships that are linked to safe and sustainable communities (Putnam, 2000; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson, 1987). The current research makes several theoretical contributions regarding the broader implications of generalized trust and trust-based social connections in urban locales. First, generalized trust has been linked to heightened levels of social capital, informal social control, and collective efficacy (Putnam, 2000, Sampson et al., 1997). Empirical research on trust-based social relations indicate that individuals are not only more likely to connect with people who are socially and racially different from themselves, but residing in neighborhoods where residential trust is higher provides a safer living environment through the common idea to maintain and regulate one's neighborhood from social problems and crime (Durkheim, 1897; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Shaw and McKay, 1942). Second, the social mechanisms

responsible for reducing trust among individuals residing in adverse structural contexts have been linked to violence. For example, fear of crime has been shown to heighten distrust and promote withdrawal from community life (Liska et al., 1988; Ross et al., 2001; Skogan, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). As a result, in neighborhoods where residents are more fearful of their surroundings, the residents are less likely to form effective relationships to combat against social ills such as disorder and violence that are more apt to occur in their locales (Elliott et al., 1996; Putnam, 1995; 2000; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997). Moreover, in neighborhoods where residents perceive the police to be ineffective and unresponsive, individuals may become vigilant to resolve conflicts and disputes. In fact, Black's (1983) self-help thesis illustrates that individuals may turn to violence as a form of social control when protecting themselves and their environment (see also Anderson, 1999). In addition, the literature on defensive gun ownership illustrates that individuals may own a firearm to protect themselves from victimization when police protection is deficient, therefore increasing the chances of violent disputes (Kleck, 1997; Young et al., 1987; Smith and Uchida, 1988). In short, the current results have implications for understanding and combating violence brought about by contexts and mechanisms that are more likely to reduce generalized trust and trust-based social connections.

Assessing the findings from a broader theoretical standpoint, the results reinforce Sampson's (2012) argument that communities exert diverse processes, which are important to consider when studying neighborhood effects. Thus, these findings have theoretical implications for neighborhood effects research, which should consider the intervening processes that link neighborhood context to individual-level outcomes or behaviors (Harding et al., 2010; Jencks and Mayer, 1990). These implications are salient in order for researchers to understand a more

accurate portrayal of how neighborhoods exert their influence on individual-level behavior (for example, see Harding et al., 2010; Sharkey and Faber, 2014; Wodtke et al., 2011).

6.3 Policy Implications

Obtaining a clearer understanding of the pathways through which neighborhoods exert their effects on levels of generalized trust is important for policy implications. Reduced trust can lead to isolation among individuals, which may increase community crime, violence, and disorder (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Massey and Denton, 1993; Putnam, 1995; Sampson et al., 1997). “Just as trust breeds trust, so too does distrust breed distrust” (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000:558); thus, it is plausible to expect that reduced trust may extend beyond individuals at the neighborhood setting and extend to other institutions such as schools, financial, medical, and the government (Marschall and Stolle, 2004). From a policy perspective, the findings strongly suggest strategies that focus on processes influenced by neighborhoods, because individuals are “inextricably dependent on the social environment” (Sampson, 2012:426). In particular, based on the current study’s results, policy interventions need to focus on methods to increase generalized trust at the neighborhood level, which include *police-citizen interactions* and *targeted community-level intervention*.

First, it is salient to improve police-citizen relationships in adverse neighborhood settings. There is an abundance of literature illustrating that residents living in adverse neighborhood conditions feel alienated from the police and judicial systems (Anderson, 1999; Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987), lack satisfaction and confidence in policing services (Cao et al., 1996; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Wilson and Kelling, 1982), and perceive these legal actors as unresponsive and untrustworthy (Anderson, 1999; Jesilow et al., 1995; Kane, 2005). Furthermore, negative perceptions of the police, in turn, may ultimately increase crime and

violence (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Intravia et al., 2013). In destitute contexts, policy interventions need to focus on improving police-citizen relationships. For example, using qualitative interviewing techniques, Carr et al. (2007) found that youths want the police to be professional, approachable, and honest. In addition, the authors found that individuals would like the police to be more visible, positively interact with citizens, and be involved with their communities (see also Maxson, Hennigan, and Sloane, 2003). A different approach to confidently enhance police-citizen interactions is to have police departments work with institutions located within adverse contexts (e.g., churches, schools, and community organizations) in order to enhance positive relationships with individuals residing in these destitute communities (Stewart, Schreck, and Brunson, 2008). Improving police-citizen encounters in adverse neighborhoods may not only heighten satisfaction and confidence with the police, legal systems, and other institutions, but positive police-citizen interactions may also reduce violent confrontations between individuals that result from a lack of confidence in police services.

In addition to improving citizen-police relationships, another policy implication is to focus on community-level interventions to reduce fear by combating both crime and deteriorating neighborhood conditions. Fear is commonly accepted as a major social problem established in adverse neighborhood contexts (Liska et al., 1988; Scarborough et al, 2010; Wyant, 2008). Furthermore, fear increases suspicion and decreases trust at the individual-level (Markowitz et al., 2001; Ross et al., 2002; Skogan, 1986; 1990; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Taylor, 2002). Thus, to decrease fear, it is salient to rebuild communities at risk by targeting the conditions that heighten fear, as well as increasing generalized trust and trust-based social connections (e.g., informal social control and collective efficacy). Based on theory and research,

it is important to monitor social groups and encourage residents to intervene when individuals act in deviant ways (Sampson et al., 1997, Maimon and Browning, 2010). In addition, it is essential to increase neighborhood attachment among residents in order to promote trust and encourage environmental settings where residents share the same values against social problems. In fact, previous research illustrates that neighborhood attachment plays a vital role in reducing fear among individuals (Adams and Serpe, 2000; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Lewis and Salem, 1986). Lastly, in conjunction with improving police-citizen relationships, the police may play an important role in reducing fear. Wilson and Kelling (1989) argue that police visibility and availability is a promising way to alleviate fear among residents (see Cordner, 1986; Skogan, 1990; Weisburd and Eck, 2004).

Based on the current study's findings, policy implications driven at improving police-citizen relationships and reducing fear in adverse neighborhood contexts are promising ways to increase generalized trust among individuals. In the final section of this chapter, limitations of the study and recommendations for future research in the area of neighborhood effects and trust are discussed.

6.4 Research Limitations and Recommendations for Future Avenues of Inquiry

Despite the current study contributing to the empirical research in the area of neighborhood effects and generalized trust, it is not without its limitations. In this section, the limitations of the current study are discussed as well as recommendations for future research in this area.

First, the current study was limited to two mechanisms, fear and police efficacy, to explain the relationship between neighborhood context and generalized trust. Although the current findings illustrated that fear and police efficacy are important mechanisms linking the

neighborhood context and trust relationship, more research on the social processes that explicate this relationship is warranted. As stated by Harding et al. (2010:1), “researchers need to shift focus away from broad theories of neighborhood effects and examine the specific mechanisms through which the characteristics of a neighborhood might affect an individual.” Consistent to this statement, there is a burgeoning literature on various pathways that examine neighborhood effects with individual-level outcomes. For example, previous efforts on neighborhood effects have suggested that social-interactive (e.g., networks, parenting), environmental (e.g., exposure to violence), geographical (e.g., access to public services that other individuals may not experience), and institutional (e.g., quality of schools, health facilities, organizations) mechanisms are promising processes linking context to individual-level consequences (Galster, 2012; Harding et al., 2010; Sampson et al., 2012; Wodtke et al., 2011). Hence, it remains unclear whether additional mechanisms may provide a more plausible foundation in the neighborhood context and trust relationship. Future research should explore whether other types of processes (e.g., environmental, geographical, institutional) establish a more definitive conclusion.

Due to data limitations, the measure of fear was similar with, but not identical to, more widely used measures of fear found in existing literature. It is unclear whether similar results would be obtained if a different measure of fear were used. In addition, owing to data restrictions, this study did not have a measure of optimism. Extant efforts have argued that optimism (and similar characteristics) at the individual-level are important predictors of trust (Delhey and Newton, 2003; Rahn and Transue, 1998). As a result, it is difficult to be certain that the significant relationships found in this study would be consistent if a measure of optimism was controlled in the analyses. However, the current study utilized a theoretically-driven

framework, a neighborhood selection factor, and an extensive set of neighborhood- and individual-level controls that could potentially render the findings spurious. Despite this limitation, the findings from this study are still believed to offer credible support for the neighborhood context and trust relationship.

Moreover, it is plausible that the relationships examined in this study between fear, police efficacy, and generalized trust may be reciprocal in nature. For instance, Ross and Jang (2000) found that informal integration with neighbors reduced levels of fear in highly disordered neighborhood settings. In addition, although not a direct comparison between police efficacy and trust, Brehm and Rahn (1997) examined the reciprocal relationship between institutional confidence and trust. They found that confidence in governmental institutions has a larger effect on generalized trust than the reverse. Thus, these studies suggest that the observed relationships presented in this dissertation should be interpreted cautiously. While the results are consistent with theoretical expectations, it is difficult to rule out the possibility of potential reverse causation without longitudinal data.

Lastly, there were generalizability limitations with the sample and research design. This study focused solely on a sample of urban adult residents living in Chicago Illinois. Thus, it is unknown whether the relationships between neighborhood context, mechanisms, and trust found in this assessment would generalize to other geographical regions or areas (e.g., southern, rural). Therefore, it is recommended that future research expand the scope of the study's findings to additional (or multisite) geographical settings in order to bolster, if possible, the validity behind this study's empirical conclusions. Due to using secondary data that recorded responses at only a single time point, the research design utilized in this study was cross-sectional in nature. Consequently, the results prohibit causal ordering that would be obtained using longitudinal data.

It is recommended that future assessments utilize longitudinal data to strengthen the accuracy of assertions found in this study.

Despite the above limitations, the results of this study provided an important advancement of the neighborhood context and generalized trust relationship. As noted above, there are a number of recommendations for future research to strengthen the overall theoretical and empirical statements contended in this study, as well as the broader neighborhood effects and trust foundation.

6.5 Conclusion

Theory and research in criminology and sociology has shown a link between adverse neighborhood conditions and reduced individual-level generalized trust (Alesina and LaFerrara, 2000; Leigh, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Ross et al., 2001). However, previous efforts provided little, if any, attention on the intervening mechanisms that may explain the neighborhood context and trust relationship. As a result of this theoretical and empirical gap in knowledge, this study aimed to examine two key objectives: (1) to expand the scope of adverse neighborhood conditions that may reduce individual-level generalized trust; and (2) to examine whether fear and police efficacy are significant social processes that explicate the relationship between adverse neighborhood context and individual-level trust. To address these foci, the current study utilized data from the Project of Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods Community Survey, which consisted of over 8,000 individuals residing in 343 neighborhoods.

The results illustrated support for the study's hypotheses. Subjective neighborhood factors such as disorder, violence, and decline were significant and negative predictors of individual-level generalized trust. More importantly, the results illustrated that both fear and police efficacy were significant mechanisms explaining the neighborhood context and

generalized trust relationship. Based upon the current findings, social mechanisms are important to consider when studying why neighborhoods reduce individual-level trust. The theoretical implications of these findings are consistent with the arguments made by scholars on neighborhood effects: specifically, it is essential to examine the intervening processes that mediate the relationships between neighborhood context and individual-level outcomes (Harding et al., 2010; Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Sampson, 2012; Sharkey and Faber, 2014; Wodtke et al., 2011).

In summation, the current study has not only contributed, but also advanced the theoretical and empirical boundary in this area. Future research on neighborhood effects should continue to explore the intervening mechanisms that reduce generalized trust and trust-based social connections.

APPENDIX A

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE) APPROVAL AND RE-APPROVAL MEMORANDUMS



Office of the Vice President for Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 01/29/2013

To: Jonathan Intravia

Address: 634 West Call Street, Tallahassee, FL 32306

Dept.: CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
Revised_Intravia_Examining Disorder and Crime at the Neighborhood Level

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 01/27/2014 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the chairman of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Eric Stewart, Advisor
HSC No. 2013.9833



Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
P. O. Box 3062742
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

RE-APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 08/14/2014

To: Jonathan Intravia

Address: 634 West Call Street, Tallahassee, FL 32306

Dept.: CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Re-approval of Use of Human subjects in Research:
Revised_Intravia_Examining Disorder and Crime at the Neighborhood Level

Your request to continue the research project listed above involving human subjects has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee. If your project has not been completed by 11/12/2014, you are must request renewed approval by the Committee.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your renewal request, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this re-approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting of research subjects. You are reminded that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report in writing, any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chairman of your department and/or your major professor are reminded of their responsibility for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in their department. They are advised to review the protocols as often as necessary to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

Cc:
HSC No. 2013.11684



Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
P. O. Box 3062742
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

RE-APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 09/02/2014

To: Jonathan Intravia

Address: 634 West Call Street, Tallahassee, FL 32306

Dept.: CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Re-approval of Use of Human subjects in Research:
Revised_Intravia_Examining Disorder and Crime at the Neighborhood Level

Your request to continue the research project listed above involving human subjects has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee. If your project has not been completed by 09/01/2015, you are must request renewed approval by the Committee.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your renewal request, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this re-approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting of research subjects. You are reminded that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report in writing, any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chairman of your department and/or your major professor are reminded of their responsibility for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in their department. They are advised to review the protocols as often as necessary to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

Cc:
HSC No. 2014.13529

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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